F1: -- just to test if it's working, if the counter's going down.

PI: You don't have to use these (inaudible) if you don't want to. (inaudible)

F1: Right. It's really just a matter of if you hear yourself, then you know whether or not it's coming out.

PI: Mm-hmm.

F1: If you ever want to pause it, then use that red pause, and then stop on top.

PI: OK.

F1: So I think it's --

PI: And you'll be here in case we run into some unexpected difficulty?

F1: Oh, definitely. I'll be here. If anything technical happens, I can call up Matt.

PI: OK.

F1: Yeah.

PI: Good deal.

F1: All right.

PI: So it's ready to go now.

F1: Yes, it looks like it's counting down now. So if you want to pause it, you can pause it (inaudible).

PI: No, that's OK. I think we're ready to go.

(pause)

PI (0:00:53): It says record here.

PI (0:01:00): Yeah. Do you want me to test this side?

PI (0:01:02): Yeah, let's test it.

PI (0:01:03): I think I can hear it, yeah.

PI (0:01:05): OK.

PI (0:01:06): I can hear it.

PI (0:01:09): OK. Well, then, I guess we're ready to go.

PI (0:01:11): OK.

START OF INTERVIEW

PI (0:01:11): OK. This is Peter Iverson; I'm speaking with Peterson Zah on several topics today. This is the -- what day is it? I can't even remember. Anyway, in roughly mid-October, 2008. And Dr. Zah, one of the things we wanted to talk about in a little more detail was the issue of the disagreements and conflicts with the Hopi Nation, and recognizing that it's a more complicated story than most people realize. But you come from that

part of Navajo country, and I'd be glad to hear more about your perceptions about how this evolved and the difficulties that the two nations found in trying to resolve or at least be able to continue with things.

PI (0:02:09): OK. Maybe prior to that I can talk a little about the Earth, Sky, and People.

PI (0:02:16): Yes. That would be fine, if you were ready to do that. Sure. That would be great.

PI (0:02:17): Yeah. And then I'll get into that whole (inaudible) -- yeah.

PI (0:02:21): No, that's the right order, sure.

PI (0:02:24): OK. Earth, Sky, and People: one of the things that the Navajo people, traditional people, really believe in is that we are individuals that respect the earth, and you always have to be thankful for what the Earth has to offer to people. And in our situation, living back in Low Mountain, that there was no difference between what the other traditional Navajo people had taught the young ones and their sibling. [03:03] And so maybe that is one thing that the Earth has to offer is food to ourselves, to our animals, and all the living things out there that the Earth provides. And

therefore you have to respect the Mother Earth. And that means that when it rains, particularly during the female rain season, you have to sit down, you have to pay attention to what the Great Spirit is trying to tell us. And by these natural forces such as rain and snow, the Great Spirit is talking to us through some of those kinds of events and some of those movements that happen only by the force of the Great Spirit.

And so early on you learn that. And in my situation, that was something that I was taught, you know, by my grandparents. And that is respect for all other living things. And it's something that one individual living out there has to really really appreciate. And I guess because of those kinds of teaching, I carry that on later on in life, where, you know, I respected everybody. I respected things, I respected the woman population, what they brought; and I guess because of those kinds of feelings, I worked very closely with Annie Wauneka, and I made her my adviser, because she was able to bring a different perspective into my administration. And something that you hardly ever hear other people say, she

would be one of those individuals that gave those loving advice. And I know that when she's talking to you, she has this motherly instinct when she talks to people. And you can't help but just listen to her. And maybe it's because of those early-on things that I learned that I was able to respect people like her.

And it's something that I think every individual, whether they're Navajo or not, they have to practice -- is the respect they have for the living things out there, including the Earth. Because the Earth is alive. [06:00] And it's something that only the Great Spirit can do.

And then you have certain beliefs. Everyone has certain beliefs. Mine was the Navajo traditional belief. And people go to church; they have their own religious belief. And with me, I didn't really pay all that much attention to all of the other religion because I knew I was a Dineh and I was brought up to believe that concept, that there is a Great Spirit watching over each and every one of us. And that was the Navajo teachings that I got from my grandparents and from my parents. And as a traditional Navajo religious

belief. And I practiced that throughout my life. I may not go to every ceremony and participate intimately during those ceremonies, but my beliefs were there. It was just unfortunate that I can't go to, you know, every religious events that happened in your community and even with your friends and your relatives. But my belief is that the spirit is there, and to this day, I still do that. And it's something that I learn how to appreciate early on in life, also.

And it's something that I think every Navajo individual needs to pay attention to, because nowadays there's so many people out there -- groups of people -- that are trying to entice the young Navajo to go their way, and they're always trying to recruit them into their own religion. And we, as a Navajo people, we have to weigh each one and try to say to ourselves, "Which one fits me, and which one is something that I will end up really, really believing in?" But you only decide that after you do your own research and after you ask a lot of questions, like the way we should. And then you make those decisions, and that's how you decide. And so it's something I believe the

Navajo people are so fortunate in having, is those kinds of beliefs -- where you believe in the living things, you believe in everything that's alive. Animals and the sky. The whole system of universe that's out there, that only the Great Spirit can make. [09:04]

And that's why, on occasion, when I'm passing one of the four holy mountains like the San Francisco Peaks. Or you go over to Durango, Colorado, or Dibé Nitsaa. Mount Hesperus. You stop for a minute and you give a blessing to living things out there, because what it does is that it brings to you a certain beauty that man cannot do. For me, when I see the beauty of San Francisco Peaks and the beauty of one of the four holy mountains, I always think to myself, "Now, we can't do that. We can't make something like that -- we, as people. Man can't do it. Only the Great Spirit, and through the Great Spirit's mind and hands -- the Great Spirit and the deities that lived back then were the only ones that can do that. They were in power by God to do that. And they put these things, and they left these things behind, so that we can see that and retain our

aesthetic values -- our sense of beauty. Because in today's world sometimes we live so fast and there are so many things that are happening -- many, many negative things that are happening. You can't turn on a television each day and expect to hear some good news. And so when you come by either one of those four holy mountains, a beautiful lake -- you have to stop and you have to pay attention. You have to pay respect to those places that the Great Spirit has put those things before man's eyes. And I always appreciated it that way. Not necessarily do the Navajo people pray to the mountain, but they pray through the mountain to get to the Great Spirit, and I think there's a distinction between the two.

PI (0:11:20): Right.

PI (0:11:21): And so basically, that's my belief. And it's something that sometimes our general public won't really understand. But when you try to explain those using the English language, you lose a lot of taste.

PI (0:11:40): Yes.

PI (0:11:41): You lose a lot of meaning, and only one can explain the full meaning of what it means in the

Navajo language. And so Navajo people are blessed with also that kind of -- such a picturesque language that we have to describe whatever it is that we feel. [12:06] And see from day to day. So I just wanted to say that about the earth and the people.

PI (0:12:14): Thank you.

PI (0:12:14): Now, going into our relationship with our neighbor, the Hopi Nation -- that is one of the most complicated issue. And the way I look at it is that going all the way back, hundreds of years ago, when the state became a state here -- when Arizona became a state here in Arizona, and then when all these other states were created, and then when the United States government came into being here in North America, much of what we faced with the Hopi Nation was something that was created by the federal government. And so it was basically something that the federal government decided that they should resolve these issues certain ways. And when they say that, I'll always look at the other side of the coin, which is that it's something that we didn't really create, but it was created for us by the federal government. And it

was unfortunate that many of our people didn't really think of it that way. And they just had us fighting each other for years and years, and when you really studied the topic, it was something that the federal government did.

And so basically, the Navajo/Hopi land dispute is very complicated in that sense. And it was also something that has been everlasting, it seems like. Because it went through just so many generations of Navajo people. It went through so many leadership on both sides -- Navajo/Hopi. But I had one thing -- I had one thing that I believed in when I went into the chairmanship in 1983. And that is the concept that the Hopi people aren't going anywhere.

PI (0:14:39): Right.

PI (0:14:42): The Navajo people aren't going anywhere either.

PI (0:14:43): Right.

PI (0:14:44): So we might as well get along with one another and begin getting acquainted with each other -- irregardless of what the land dispute may bring to the people that we have to coexist and we have to live side-by-side in a peaceful way. That was my philosophy going into my chairmanship of my first

term. That I was to make every effort to befriend the Hopi Nation, and only through friendship and only through, you know, something like what we were made of -- understanding what we were made of, in a traditional way on both sides, can we bring about understanding and love for each other between our people.

Because regardless of what we thought about one another at the time, our younger generation, the Hopi young people and the Navajo young people, they were all intermarrying. Many of them were intermarrying with each other. So that meant that we, as leaders -- we had to look at those kinds of statistics among the young people, so therefore our job is to make the young people and the older people understand that we have that that's coming into both sides of the family. So we had to accept that.

And because of that, I was very, very fortunate to be in office for the Navajo Nation as its chairman at the same time that Ivan Sidney was also the chairman of the Hopi Nation. Ivan and I went to school together at Phoenix Indian School, way back in the 1950s -- in the mid-1950s. And we

knew each other back then. And he was just a little youngster that always befriended the Navajo people, and he was just that kind of a person. A very pleasant individual. And there wasn't any kind of hatefulness inside of him -- he was just a kind, kind person. And so when you know somebody that way, you don't want to -- you don't want to begin working with him in such a way that you try to create any kind of hostility between you and that particular person. And so I looked at Ivan that way, because I saw a lot of goodness in what could happen because of our position: [18:00] him being the Hopi leader, elected leader, and my being the Navajo/Hopi elected leader. And I thought that this was a perfect opportunity to bring the two tribes back together.

But one of the most difficult times during that period, when I got elected in 196--1982 and '83, when I took office in 1983 --

PI (0:18:32): Right.

PI (0:18:35): -- it was very, very difficult for both of us, because on both sides -- on both sides of the issue are people who were not really accepting what we were trying to do, putting the two tribes

together. Because in the past, they got polarized politically on the issue of the land ownership. And it was almost impossible to immediately put the two tribes back together. But we knew that in the long run, if we can give it a try, and if we can begin to put people back on the right track of a friendly coexistence, that in the long run it's going to work out. And people are going to cooperate, and people are going to work together for one common good of both -- in both tribes. Individuals from both tribes.

We knew that. And so... but it was a big, heavy political risk, on both sides, for us to do that. But my friend Ivan Sidney was one of these individuals that was tenacious, and he just had the right attitude. He had a lot of courage to do what he did. And I was just extremely lucky to become the chairman of the Navajo Nation at the same time that he was the chairman of the Hopi Nation. And as a result of our two positions, we then began the long, long road to the healing process. And to this day... something like thirty years have passed, and we still have, you know, a lot of work to do to have a complete cooperation

among all of the people that live on the Hopi as well as on the Navajo side. But what really makes me happy is to see the progress that's taking place. [21:03] To see how the two tribes are beginning to work together with the new generations of Navajo and Hopi people coming in. To enter into these different agreements that they now have, where they recognize each other as a sovereign nation, and that there are some problems that exist between the two, but that they agreed to disagree when there is a disagreement. But doing it in a friendly way. Doing it with integrity. Doing it with a lot of respect. That's different than the way the Navajo Nation and the Hopi Nation were going after each other, way back in the early 1970s, and even further back into 1960.

And so we kind of changed the whole complexion of the Navajo/Hopi land dispute. And so here I am thirty years later -- I'm just glad that we did what we did. Because it just had to be done. There was just too many resources being spent from both sides to fight one another, that it was bitter to come together, and where we have to

disagree with respect and dignity. But knowing that in the long run, the goal is to have the two tribes come together and become friends like they have been in the past, and begin making, you know, some progress that they really, really need to make.

In other words -- and I'll give you two examples.

PI (0:22:50): OK.

PI (0:22:57): One of them is the uranium tailing had to be dealt with in the Tuba City area, called rare metals -- east of Tuba City. Well, that uranium tailing, when the wind came in early spring, it blew the uranium tailing everywhere. On Navajo land as well as on Hopi land. And it landed on our animals, and it landed on the grass, and it landed on people. And the uranium tailing and the particles that they was blowing did not discriminate between Navajo and Hopi. It landed where it may. And as a result, the doctors at Indian Health Services were having to take care of many, many patients that were getting cancer to their bodies. [24:00] And no one really knows how

much of that came from the uranium tailing dust that was blowing all over the place.

And so Ivan Sidney and I had to agree, from the Navajo and from the Hopi side, to cooperate and bring the federal government out there so that they can begin the process of remediating the uranium tailing. And as a result, within something like three or four years, they were able to pay for the cost of remediation and covering the uranium tailing so that it's not dangerous. And so they had to make it so that it's safe for a thousand years.

PI (0:24:47): Really. That's... wow.

PI (0:24:49): And that could only be done if you have a commitment from both tribes, because the land where the tailing was was right in the middle of where the Navajo/Hopi line was.

And so we needed permission from the Hopi, and the Hopi needed permission from the Navajo, to make that into an agreed-upon resolution to the federal government. And that was the only way that the federal government could fund the project, if both tribes can agree. So I'm very proud to say that Ivan... Chairman Sidney pushed

that from his end and I pushed that from my end and as a result we had the agreement to correct that situation. That's only one good example of what cooperation can bring. The kind of progress that we were looking for to both tribes.

The second example is the roads -- all-weather roads in dire need out there.

PI (0:25:57): Uh-huh. Yes.

PI (0:26:00): Many of our tribal members, they have to drive pickup trucks through sand and gravel and through mud, because we don't have -- we don't enjoy all kinds of miles and miles of all-weather road. So we created what we called a Turquoise Trail. That would go -- and begin from the Hopi Nation's land and go into Navajo, and that would be a federally-funded program. And there are some areas on the Navajo and Hopi where those kinds of roads were really, really needed, particularly in the wintertime. And when it snows and rains, we need that all-weather road in between those two -- the various communities out there. And so it was only through inter-tribal agreement between the two tribes that we were able to push that. [27:03] And the late senator Barry Goldwater really, really

pushed that through Congress to get it appropriated.

So that's only a second example of the kind of progress that one could have through cooperation. Unfortunately, when we left office, our other people -- the leaders after us -- really did not pick up the slack, and so it never really, really got finished to our satisfaction.

But those are only two good examples of what could happen. And I think the school is another good example. Hopi High School.

PI (0:27:43): Right.

PI (0:27:44): You know, they needed Navajo support to build those facilities, and Ivan Sidney and I worked together to do that, because we had children from the Navajo side as well as children from the Hopi side that needed education. They were shutting down the boarding schools here in Phoenix and in California and Oklahoma and Nevada. So we needed a local school where Navajo and Hopi kids can go. And as a result, the creation of the Hopi High School by the federal government. And that was only possible through cooperation between the two tribes, and so besides these three examples, you

could go into any other subject -- you need those kinds of cooperations for the tribes to make any kind of meaningful progress that will benefit the young generations of the Navajo and Hopi people. And the land dispute is a very complicated issue.

PI (0:28:59): Yes, it is.

PI (0:29:01): And it's been going on for over a hundred years. So it was not easy to deal with. But I was very fortunate to have leadership from the Hopi Nation that was able to buy into some of the things that we were both promoting. So I can't say that I'm completely responsible for it -- it's something that the Hopi Nation and its leaders also had to push, as well as other people that I was working with.

And it's an issue that, you know, many of the people dealt with which always didn't come out right.

PI (0:29:50): Right.

PI (0:29:52): They meant well, but it just didn't come out to the satisfaction of the local people. [30:00] And so I was just very fortunate in having so many understanding people from both sides to deal with that issue.

PI (0:30:11): You know, I've heard this argued in two different ways. One is that you had the people out there -- many of the people out there who were among the more traditional and more separate, in some ways, people -- that relocation became particularly difficult for them, because you could never, obviously, provide an exactly identical kind of environment. And if you moved into Pinon, you know, some of the people in Pinon had mixed emotions about it, and if you added new land and all the rest... But I've heard it argued also that because a decreasing percentage of Navajos lived the sort of traditional subsistence, raising animals and so forth and so on, that because that percentage was declining, in some ways the disputes over grazing and so on were reduced, because a smaller percentage of people were involved economically, culturally, and socially, sort of, in the old way.

But I've also heard it argued, on the other hand, that because there was this decline, that it made the people who wanted to continue with it -- and many of them were elderly -- it made it all the more difficult for them to continue with

certain things that they thought were important. So they were particularly unhappy about... because they had already been sort of put in a marginal situation. Do you see what I mean? I mean, they sort of already -- you would hear people argue in both directions.

PI (0:31:37): Well, I think there were some traditional people, and the lifestyle that they led for many, many years -- there was a decline in that group of people, a decline in population. Which played into some of what was happening. And I would agree that, yes, that probably did happen. But it also reduced the number of Navajo traditional people that would continue that lifestyle.

PI (0:32:22): Exactly. Exactly.

PI (0:32:34): And they didn't really have any choice except to seek some other alternative, which was to move in with their children. In some cases, those children were removed already from the Navajo and Hopi land. And so it's something that made the relocation program very complicated, and it was such an emotional issue for many, many families. And for the federal government, the federal government thought that all we had to do was make

some houses available for Navajo people who may want to move off the Navajo reservation into these urban areas --

PI (0:33:22): Right.

PI (0:33:26): And then move into nearby cities and towns. And that's all we had to do to resolve the issue.

PI (0:33:35): Yeah.

PI (0:33:35): But it didn't work out that way, because the Navajo people live a certain lifestyle all their life. Which was, you know, the dependency on land and animals and grazing and all of that. And when you uproot people from those kinds of situations all of a sudden in one year, for example, and put them into an urban setting where they have to pay taxes, for example, on their homes. And when they have to do all these other things that they weren't accustomed to, then it becomes a difficult issue, and it's very, very -- extremely difficult for those particular families to live that kind of a lifestyle and begin changing all of a sudden within a matter of six months to a year -- to completely change, you know, their attitudes, their lifestyle, to the lifestyle of the urban people. It just was almost unacceptable to many

of the Navajo people who moved. And that's why it became such an emotional issue.

So the relocation program never really succeeded anywhere that the federal government did. And even going all the way back to the late 1940s and early 1950s: the federal program had this massive relocation program. And the whole idea was to get the Indian people off their reservation, put them into their urban areas, and let them become gainfully employed, and let them buy homes. And they'll have their children here and they'll become urbanized and they'll be just like any of us taxpaying citizens. And that was the plan.

PI (0:35:50): The border town schools had dormitories -- didn't they, also?

PI (0:35:52): Dorms?

PI (0:35:54): People were pushed in that direction?

PI (0:35:56): Dormitories and schools were then built in those towns. [36:00] But that never really, really worked out. Mainly because the Indian people didn't want to remain what they were meant to be. The Indian people wanted to be -- for Navajo, they wanted to be Navajo, and they wanted to live like

the Navajo people always lived. Out there out in the open space, and having horses, having cattle, having sheep, and everything. And the freedom to exist out there as they pleased. And that was -- that was a custom. And so I imagine from the Hopi side, they also had a lifestyle, but some of them also had to be relocated, you know, from where they were living before the partitioning of the land. And so they had to move back into their own side of the reservation -- the divided land.

PI (0:37:08): It's a much smaller number of people.

PI (0:37:09): Yeah. It's a much smaller number, but the effects were the same.

PI (0:37:14): Yes, that's right.

PI (0:37:15): The emotions and everything were the same. So it never really worked out, the relocation program, for the Indian people. Whether it's a Navajo/Hopi issue or relocating them for jobs and for schools away from the reservation, it just was not a good program.

PI (0:37:34): The Bennett Freeze didn't help things either.

PI (0:37:38): Well, the Bennett Freeze was a special issue. And it's still today. Thirty, forty years later. You know, we're still having to deal with that. And

that even made the Navajo/Hopi land dispute even more complicated on top of what it was before.

(pause)

PI (0:38:07): OK, I remembered the other question, relating to the -- and you may not want to tackle this right away -- but the Native American church, and how it is... it seems to me it's an outside (inaudible). It has a somewhat different role in place within Navajo Nation than it once had. It was such an enormously emotional issue for so many years. Raymond Nakai ran for chairman in part on the pledge to begin to change all of that. But there were a lot of people who did not like this new church coming in; but over time, there have been more people who have found it -- not necessarily as a replacement, but as an additional help in terms of brotherhood and in terms of dealing with some other domestic issues. [39:00] And today the percentage, or the number, of Navajos who are involved in it in one way or another is -- you know, it's different than it once was. It seems like more people have kind of accommodated or made their peace with it or whatever. But it certainly

seems to play a significant role in the lives of many Navajo people.

PI (0:39:27): Well, the Native American Church Movement, I guess, happened way back sometime in the late 1930s, 1940s. And the Native American people had their own way of practicing their religious beliefs and what they believe in. And I don't know all of the details and I don't pretend to be a historian on the subject, but that's something that the Navajo people felt, going into the mid-1950s, when this movement came to the Navajo Nation. And many of the Navajo people -- who, by the way, went to school --

PI (0:40:27): Right. That was one of the main conduits.

PI (0:40:30): Yup. And they went to school in Oklahoma; they went to school in other places throughout America. And they became friends in contact with other Indian tribes that had that religion. And they intermarried with some of those other Indian tribal members, and that whole idea of the Native American church movement then began moving on to the Navajo Nation. And I remember the Navajo Nation government fought them. And they even passed a resolution -- a tribal council resolution

-- saying that, you know, they don't really belong on the Navajo Nation. So in many respects, it was discriminatory, using religion for the Navajo Nation to do what they did.

But Navajo Nation, being a sovereign nation, the courts left it alone. And the Native American church -- people were raising the issue of freedom of religion, spelled out in the United States Constitution. So that battle began way back then.

And there's one individual that really lived through this whole fight between the tribal government and the Native American church -- it's David Clark. [42:12] And David Clark is considered one of the top leadership in the Native American church, and lives on the Navajo to this day. He still makes his home in Tiesto, Arizona. Highly respected individual; very bright individual, and really loves the Navajo people. And I have a tremendous amount of respect for David for what he believes and for what he did as an individual to enhance and to make the church a lot stronger around the Navajo.

And some people may disagree with the Native American church. But it's a religion; it's a

belief. It's a belief. And they have every right to promote what they were promoting. But one of the things that caught my eye as a young boy was what they were teaching. They were teaching that, for example, drinking is wrong. They were teaching that you can't do all of these violent things against one another; that if you have children, you have to take care of your children. And that education was very important. They talked -- the local people, all these, for me, wonderful things, because I heard them say that. And because of that, I guess early on, I decided that, you know, if they are promoting all of those things, then why are we fighting?

PI (0:44:01): Yes. Sure. Right.

PI (0:44:03): And it was no different than my also listening to, for example, a church such as the Protestant or the Catholics doing the same thing out there. And they were teaching some good things.

And so Native American church was a big movement that was pushed by individuals like David Clark. And there was another person by the name of Hola Tso --

PI (0:44:39): Tso. Right, right.

PI (0:44:40): And he was from around Sawmill area -- that lived through a lot during that period of time. And he worked very closely with David Clark. David Clark was just a young man. And David Clark was this individual that got jailed and arrested by tribal police and got jail. But he never gave in. He just kept on going and kept on going. And that's why he's such a devoted person to the church, is because of what he went through. And to this day he's still considered one of the well-known American Indian religious leaders throughout America. And he certainly has my respect for some of the things that he did accomplish a lot.

And some say that probably around half of the Navajo Nation is a member of the Native American church, or some would say, no, it's really a third. You have one-third of the Navajo people that belong to the Native American church; one third that still believes in the Navajo tradition; another third that believes in Christianity... And so they're out there. And they are groups to be reckoned with. And you have to just look at those different groups and see what they promote. See what the practitioners do, and what kind of

ceremonies they perform, and then what the group is doing as a whole, in order for someone to really get a good handle on what is it that these churches are all about.

But I also know that in any of these three groups, there's always a small minority that would abuse.

PI (0:46:53): Yes.

PI (0:46:55): That would abuse the system, that would abuse whatever the group is trying to do, and whatever paraphernalias that they use to try to keep the church going. There are the abusers. And maybe it's no different than in America, you know, we have different kinds of food, but sometimes we abuse those food. We abuse alcohol. We abuse other substances. And -- but it was not meant to be that way. So even in these religious groups, you also have that minority group that's represented. And no one likes to see it. I don't like to see it, that sometimes people use those in the wrong way.

PI (0:47:49): Right. When I put together that collection of documents for Navajo people, Dineh speeches and letters and petitions, I was very impressed going

through the transcript of the council meetings in the ‘50s about David Clark and people like that. [48:06] They really give eloquent testimony, and it’s also interesting to see letters from young members of the church who had been serving in the Armed Forces during World War II. And they say, you know, here I am, fighting for my country, and at the same time I’m not being allowed to vote in off-reservation elections, and we’re not able to hold a Native American Church meeting without it being disrupted. And in a sense they were calling on America to live up to its ideals and to practice what it preached. And there really seems to be a strong sense that it gradually becomes more and more politically effective that this doesn’t have to supplant or replace other forms of ceremonial or traditional leadership; it’s just an additional one that’s being brought in and that’s being made over time into something that becomes traditional, I think.

PZ (0:49:00): Yeah. Well, one of the other leaders -- one of the other leaders that kind of... When a tribal government was fighting with Native American

Church members, a leader came into being, and that was Raymond Nakai.

PI (0:49:15): Yes, exactly.

PZ (0:49:19): He was the person that kind of calmed everything down. And by telling the people and saying, "Look, we live in America -- in America, and through the Constitution, we have freedom of the religion, and why are we criticizing this one particular group so much, you know, that we're beginning to fight with each other and there's so much hatred that is beginning to surface here and there throughout Navajo land?" And so he calmed them down, and I always credited him for doing that. And he says in most of his political speeches that he gives, you know, that "I'm not going to -- as a Chairman, I'm not going to tell you what to believe in."

PI (0:50:09): Right.

PZ (0:50:10): You believe in whatever it is that you believe in; that's your right. And the government is no longer going to be fighting you. You believe in what you believe in.

PI (0:50:21): And he didn't do it for this purpose, but he got tremendous support from some of the areas in the

Navajo Nation that were aware that the church had a lot of members. And it made a lot of difference in him gaining the chairmanship.

PZ (0:50:35): It sure did. And you just have to give credit to people like, you know, the late Chairman Raymond Nakai for doing what he did. And it was through his effort, dealing with the Native American Church issue, that he introduced into the council for them to approve the Navajo Bill of Rights that essentially says that. [51:02] And so it was through people like him and David Clark and others that really work on that issue so hard to make that a document that we now have as part of our Navajo Nation preamble in our tribal code.

PI (0:51:30): When Mr. Nakai passed away some time ago, somebody asked me about his status -- his role. And I said, as an outsider I don't have much to say, but it always seemed to me like he had been -- he was the first of the modern-era chairmen. His use of the radio, his ability to speak eloquently in both languages, and his determination for the Navajo to really be in charge of their own government and to reduce the kind of power that Norman Littell, the attorney, had held. That he was -- I thought

historians and others had really not given that sufficient credit, that he was a more significant figure than many younger people realized.

And it seemed to me it was difficult, because he became Chairman when he was a relatively young man. And he served for those two terms, and then McDonald came in after that, and he came in after that. And he lived a long time, but it was difficult for him to find a proper role or medium or whatever to put that -- those abilities to work, you know, in a constructive and appropriate fashion, after he became the chairman. Maybe that's something that many chairmen in many tribes struggle with, when you've been in this position of authority and power and influence, and then what do you do next?

PZ (0:52:55): Yeah, I would agree that, you know, Raymond Nakai was one of those individuals that was very much dedicated to helping the Native American church -- helping the church itself grow, where it would be respected by the tribal government, and he kept the tribal government out of their affairs. And then in educating the Navajo public about what

freedom of religion is all about and what it means.

And so he had a giant role. And he was one of these individuals that used the radio very, very effectively. He was an excellent, excellent speaker --

PI (0:53:44): Yes, he was.

PZ (0:53:45): -- of the Navajo language. He created Navajo words to explain what he was talking about, and so he was very, in so many respects, artistic in that fashion. Where he came out with words that nobody ever used -- never thought of using. [54:06] But Navajo people caught on.

And for example, people back then didn't know how to say or how to illustrate sovereignty. What is the meaning of Indian sovereignty? And he came out with this word using the analogy of the rainbow. A rainbow. And he says, "Sovereignty is like a rainbow, and we were created within that rainbow, and the rainbow is something that the Indian people believe it comes from the Great Spirit. And it was not something that was given to us by the coming of the white man or any group of people. It was always here, and we were born

into it." And that's the way he explained the rainbow, and it was very powerful. And that was the creation on the part of Raymond Nakai to explain sovereignty to the Navajo people.

PI (0:55:20): Uh-huh. That's a good example.

PZ (0:55:27): Yeah. It's the same thing that Annie Wauneka did when using the Navajo language over the radio about tuberculosis. Because tuberculosis, you did not see. And you did not really feel the effects of the disease at the time that it's affecting your body. You didn't see it. And so Annie Wauneka was the one that comes out with those Navajo words, that says (jay et di?), meaning it's a disease that could eat into your heart, and you're going to have it so that your heart is diminish in size, and it won't function as well. And so she came out with those kinds of words to make Navajo people understand. Raymond Nakai was the same way.

PI (0:56:25): I remember reading about how she went around with Scott Preston and convinced him -- someone who was a traditional ceremonialist with ritual beliefs -- and encouraged him to speak to people, saying that they weren't being opposed to the religion, but

that the TB -- tuberculosis had to be fought in a different way, and we had to take advantage of some of these different approached to it. But, you know, I think about her... I remember talking at some length with Carl Todacheene, some years ago now, about her role. And as he called her, the "Pet Milk lady," because Pet Milk sponsored her program on the Gallup radio station.

PZ (0:57:01): Mm-hmm.

PI (0:57:05): But what tremendous strength people like that had -- they were so determined to speak to key issues and make sure the government was doing the right thing. And I can imagine Mrs. Wauneka, you know, in front of the Council -- that all-male congregation. And she was really something. And to have that kind of determination to serve for 30 years or whatever it was, you know, in that capacity -- really a determined person, and a person who realized that it would take a long time and hard work to make things better, but there were things that could become better through that kind of dedication.

PZ (0:57:57): Well, I always say that Annie Wauneka lived ahead of her time. She lived ahead of the women's

movement in this country. And before people started advocating for women's rights and the role of the women in families and the role of the women in government and all of that, Annie Wauneka was way -- thirty, forty, fifty years ahead. And, you know, by the fact that she was the lone woman on the Navajo Council for many years is just one of those that we saw during our lifetime -- what Annie Wauneka was all about and what she meant to the Navajo People.

I always say this, Peter, where the Navajo people -- you have to look at this history. When we were in captivity and we were marched all the way from Canyon de Chelly to Fort Defiance to Fort Wingate. And then all the way into Albuquerque into Santa Fe. And then coming back down to Fort Sumner -- southeast of Albuquerque and New Mexico. There was not one single Navajo leader that took control. There was always a group, and over at Fort Sumner, there was maybe ten, twelve, fifteen Navajo leaders that were just outstanding as a group. As a group. And they did their thing together; they planned, and they helped all the other members to survive. [60:00] And they always

managed to do things as a group. And right leading up to the signing of the treaty -- the signing of the Navajo and the federal government treaty of 1868. Prior to that, leading up to those days that were signed, when the people were signing the treaty, you know, the Navajo people -- those leadership got together; Chief Manuelito and and Ganado Mucho, and those people like that. And they did not object to going back to the Navajo land that was suggested to them that went along the state line. Arizona state line, going all the way up to Shiprock, and then coming back down on both sides of that state line. It was a small strip of land, maybe no more than two million acres of land; maybe 1.7 million or something like that. It was just a small piece of land that the federal government was willing to make that into the Navajo Nation. They asked the people to go back to that.

There were no arguments among the ten or twelve leaders that signed the treaty, representing the Navajo people. They didn't argue among themselves and say that "That land is too small." What probably happened was that they were so intent on

going back to the original Navajo land, which was different than what the federal government was thinking. And yeah, the federal government can draw those lines, and they can say -- they want us to go back to this little piece of land here, but you know, we're so homesick that we want to get the hell out of there.

PI (1:02:22): Yeah. Well, and they fought against the --

PZ (1:02:23): Yeah.

PI (1:02:24): Against -- it was Sherman who wanted initially to send them to Indian territory, and Barboncito says "Uh-uh." (laughter)

PZ (1:02:29): Yep. And so they went back to that land, and when they got back to the Fort Defiance area and they were given each a goat and a sheep, you know, that was their livelihood. That was their food. And some ration. Some commodity food that was given to them -- that was all they needed. [1:03:00] And then they used that, and they planted some corn, and they planted squash, tomatoes, apples, potatoes, and all of that. You know, they were back in business. And those leaders probably had another meeting and said, "Hey. We don't want to raise that issue back then, but this land is --

it's just small -- it's just too small for us. Why don't we start expanding." And any kind of arguments that they can think of -- good, reasonable arguments they can think of -- they used that to expand the reservation.

And the bottom line for that group of Navajo leaders was the size of the Navajo reservation. They wanted to expand. They wanted to grow. They said that this land wouldn't hold us, ten years, twenty years down. So our job and number-one priority is to expand the land.

And so they kept on growing and kept on growing, until they came to something like maybe fourteen, fifteen million acres. But they didn't stop there.

PI (1:04:15): No.

PZ (1:04:15): And the leadership later on, going into the era of Paul Jones and Scott Preston and, you know, Jacob Morgan, Howard Gorman, Raymond Nakai. All of those people, they kept at it. They kept on adding to the reservation. I was just looking at the map the other day, and then looking at the numbers: we now have nearly seventeen million acres of land. Seventeen million acres. That's a

huge, huge reservation. So collectively, the Navajo leadership did that. Not only in the period of one or two years --

PI (1:05:06): No. It's an ongoing --

PZ (1:05:08): But it was an ongoing thing for a hundred years. And the last time I saw the Navajo tribal budget, they had something like 53 million that I helped create when I left, called Land Acquisition Fund. We established a Land Acquisition Fund a year before I left the Navajo Nation. And said to the Navajo Nation, to the Navajo people, that we want this trust fund to grow. And some day, we're going to have twenty, thirty, forty million in there. [1:06:00] And when that happens, any land that's put up for sale adjacent to the Navajo Nation and away from the Navajo Nation -- any land put up for sale, you should be in a position to buy it. And this trust, Land Acquisition Fund, will give you that resources to use to buy those land. The last time, about a year and a half ago, when I looked at the tribal budget, it had around fifty million. And so the collection of the Navajo leaders -- they all had that in mind. Every one of them that came in the office, they said "Land Acquisition is

important." But they really didn't have the funds necessary to buy those lands.

And now, because of what we did during my administration, they're now able to buy those lands. And it's grown. And it may even, as we talk, it may be over seventeen million.

PI (1:07:09): Yeah. You should take great pride in that.

PZ (1:07:15): And I would say, within the next twenty years, it's going to keep on going. And so it was a situation where the leadership of the Navajo people, through all those years, that was their priority. That was what they did.

Now, there is no other group -- there is no other group in America among the Indian people... yes, they have some great American Indian leaders out there.

PI (1:07:45): Sure.

PZ (1:07:47): And you know -- you know all of them. And you have Sitting Bull out there; you have Chief Joseph; you have, you know, Geronimo. And you have all these people. They were good. They were good at the time. But they really didn't do what the Navajo people did. The Navajo people collectively, their leadership, through a long

period of time, their priority was to add land. And to this day they're still doing it.

For me -- for me, the measurement of what is considered a good American Indian leader for their people, land base should be one of them.

PI (1:08:36): Mm-hmm. Absolutely.

PZ (1:08:38): Because that is so important.

PI (1:08:41): There's so many people who want to make the story of Navajo history or other indigenous peoples primarily a story of victimization and loss. And I always quote to them Darcy McNichols, who said there's a difference between -- "Yes, we have lost many things," he wrote, "But we were never defeated." [1:09:00]

And also, you look to -- that's one of the reasons I enjoyed putting that documents book together, because it really speaks to not only leadership that adds to the land base, but also leadership that protects the land base, and that doesn't put the people in a position where, you know, it got divided up and allotted and so forth. You have Chee Dodge writing to the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Lane, in about 1916. And he said, "Well, you asked me what would happen if

we did allotment on the main -- the large Navajo reservation. And I'm writing to tell you, don't do it!"

PZ (1:09:37): Mm-hmm.

PI (1:09:38): "Don't do it! It will not serve us well! Because that's the heart of our country, and that's what we need to defend, and it's the foundation, essentially," he says, "that we're building from."

PI (1:09:47): Mmm-hmm.

PZ (1:09:48): And so the fact that while there was some allotment in the checkerboard area and things like that, the main section of the reservation, the heart of the reservation, and the large portions added by executive order, that Chee Dodge and people who followed. So as their -- one of their most important responsibilities was to make sure that that remained land held in trust and wasn't divided up into all these individually held parcels, which just, as you well know, has played havoc with economic and social/cultural issues on so many of the reservations.

So I think, you know, when you think of history as being something not just that happens to you but that you make, you know, that Navajo

leadership at the time understood that and acted upon it. And that's... if there's one thing we need to do more of, I would argue, not only in Navajo history but in American Indian history generally, is we need to recognize the kind of fight that Navajos and others made to forge a future that would be viable. And, you know, as you were saying, it's a very important dimension or sort of legacy of that leadership.

PZ (1:11:02): Well, I think it's because of those kinds of attitudes among the leadership of the Navajo people that, way back in the mid-1930s, when there was also a movement to divide up the land and make land so that it's allotted to individuals and individual families. Navajo people found out that what that did to their land holdings, and when the Navajo people started selling those allotted lands to the non-Indians, they put a stop to it. Because historically, it was getting into whatever it is that they were trying to do. [1:12:00] Rather than expanding the land -- the land base of the Navajo people -- by having these allotments on the Navajo, when the Navajo people were beginning to sell some of their own land, they said, "Hey.

That's not what we're all about. That's not something that you should be doing. Instead, we should be adding more land." And they put a stop to it.

So they acted. They acted when they had to act. Yeah, those decisions were hard by the tribal government, but for me, they did what was necessary, which was to act opposing any kind of diminishing the land-holding of the Navajo people. And so that's one good example of the quality leadership the Navajo exhibited through all these years.

The other one that I think is also very, very important is one that you and I are in, which is in education. Way back, in the late -- in the late 1870, 1880, when Chief Manuelito became such a powerful figure on the Navajo Nation, the Navajo people didn't want to send their children to school. They refused -- practically refused -- to send their children to school. And I could hear many of the older people saying "I don't want to send my children to school, because look at what the white people did to us. And I don't want to subject my children to that kind of education

where they would become somebody like them." And they -- the Navajo people were very upset about what was happening to them. And they weren't about to send their children to school.

And Chief Manuelito then came into being. And he says to the Navajo people, "Hey, look -- there are so many non-Navajos out there, non-Indians." And Chief Manuelito says, "I took a trip to Washington, D.C., and along the way I saw so many white people. And they have farms, they have food, they have big tractors, they have bulldozers, and they're plowing their land and they're raising so much food. They have cars, they have grocery stores. [1:15:00] And they even have a vehicle that flies in the air."

PI (1:15:05): (laughter) That's right.

PZ (1:15:12): And so he says, "These guys aren't going to leave!"

PI (1:15:14): Right.

PZ (1:15:15): "They're going to keep on fighting us." And he says, "I can't believe the number of non-Indian people that's out there." And he was explaining this at a sweat lodge, along with other Navajo leaders that were taking a sweat bath. And he

picked up a sand -- he picked up a sand in two hands, and it was breezy that day. And he let the sand go, and it flew. The same blew, and he says, "If you were to count all of the sand, the little pieces of sand in here, that's how many there are out there, plus maybe twenty, thirty, a hundred times over. That's how many non-Indian, non-Navajo people are out there. So put your bow and arrows down. Don't fight. There's just too many." And he says, "The best thing we can do is to send our children to school, and when we do that, we'll fight them with education."

PI (1:16:32): Right.

PZ (1:16:34): "We will turn our own children into being lawyers, being doctors, being engineers, being nurses. All of those kinds of education and schooling will have our students become that. And then we'll fight them with that. We're not going to use guns. We're not going to use bullets. We're not going to use bow and arrow. We're going to use education; that's how we'll fight that." That's the day when he said --

PI (1:17:07): Education -- yes.

PZ (1:17:08): "My children, education is the ladder. Go tell our people to take it," he says. And that's what he meant.

And so education was very unpopular among the Navajo people up to that point. And he was one of the leaders who came forth and said "I disagree with all of you. We need to send our children to school." And he said it at the time when it was very unpopular to say that. Very unpopular for anybody on the Navajo Nation to say that. And here we are, over a hundred years later: look at the number of Navajo children that are in colleges and universities across America.

PI (1:17:58): Yes. Yes.

PZ (1:18:00): I just talked with Rose Graham last week, who was here. And she was saying that there are over ten thousand Navajo children in school at colleges and universities throughout America.

PI (1:18:18): Really. Wow. That's very impressive.

PZ (1:18:22): And she says, "The Navajo Nation doesn't fund all of them."

PI (1:18:25): No, it can't.

PZ (1:18:27): "We only fund a very, very small proportion of them." And she says, "Most of these kids have earned their own scholarship."

PI (1:18:38): Right, right.

PZ (1:18:39): They use other resources to go to school. They are beginning to be very resourceful. And they don't heavily rely on the Navajo Nation government all that much anymore," she says. So when you see -- when you see that many Navajo children in school, you know, that's very encouraging.

PI (1:19:03): Absolutely.

PZ (1:19:04): Encouraging for me. And just look at ASU. You were talking about some of the accomplishments -- look what happened last year. In the year 2008, May of 2008, we graduated a record number of American Indian students here. We graduated over 300 --

PI (1:19:26): Yeah, that's amazing.

PZ (1:19:30): -- Native American students. To be exact, I believe it was 305. And out of that 305 graduating class, something like 75% of them are Navajo people. And when you look at the 305 graduates, 21 of them were doctorate.

PI (1:19:51): That's very impressive.

PZ (1:19:54): 21 doctorate. That's how many degrees we gave out. And then 56 was people with Master's degrees.

PI (1:20:06): Right, right. It's very impressive.

PZ (1:20:09): So when you look at those numbers -- 300-some-odd students; 21 doctorate; 56 with Master's degrees -- they're all out there. And it looks like this year, 2009, it's going to be --

PI (1:20:26): More, yeah.

PZ (1:20:28): -- a repeat.

PI (1:20:29): You should -- yeah.

PZ (1:20:35): And that, for me, is the effect of the leadership of Chief Manuelito.

PI (1:20:39): Right, right.

PZ (1:20:43): And that's more than what money can buy.

PI (1:20:45): That's right. Absolutely.

PZ (1:20:46): And I guess that's why, for me, I agree. I agree that we have all this land, we have all these resources; yes, we have lots of problems on the Navajo Nation. People are talking about tribal government reform. [1:21:00] People are talking about the horror stories of education on the Navajo. There are a lot of problems.

But if we have all that space with its natural resources, and then if we can educate more and more Navajo -- what more can you ask for? What more can you ask for? That's all we need -- those educated Navajo students to go back someday.

PI (1:21:35): Right.

PZ (1:21:36): Someday they're going to all get together out here.

PI (1:21:38): Yes.

PZ (1:21:40): And they're going to say, hey, let's make a commitment to return. And let's develop the Navajo Nation this way. And they're going to all go back. The day that happens, we're going to see the real, real progress of the Navajo Nation that's meaningful. That comes from within, rather than having that movement come from the outside.

PI (1:22:01): Right. Imposed from the outside. Yeah.

PZ (1:22:05): That's genuine progress that Navajo people could have. And I guess you and I spent so much time in educating the Indian youth here at the Arizona State University because we see that's happening.

PI (1:22:20): Yes.

PZ (1:22:25): And every year we're getting closer and closer to that. For me, that's exciting. That's exciting.

PI (1:22:31): Yes, absolutely.

PZ (1:22:34): And I guess that's why I'm continuing to work here.

PI (1:22:37): I'm glad.

PZ (1:22:38): As long as I have energy.

PI (1:22:39): I'm glad you are.

PZ (1:22:40): I'm going to remain here and do those kinds of things, and I think we're beginning to see the light of a real progress for the Navajo Nation.

PI (1:22:50): Absolutely. I'm really pleased to hear you articulate this in this way. And you think about it as such an opposite from how Navajos were perceived and other native groups were perceived a hundred years ago, when they were talking about the vanishing Indian and the end of the trail and so forth and so on. And, you know, I've argued that not only are there more Navajos today than there were 100 years ago when they were taking those photographs, but probably there are more Navajos today than there were Indians a hundred years ago.

PZ (1:23:21): Mm-hmm.

PI (1:23:22): So it's a kind of scale and a kind of size and a kind of appropriate ambition and determination

that fuels the future. And I like that public service announcement a few years ago that Fort MacDowell put out. And they said, "Our future is burning bright." And I think that's right. And you see that in many different parts of Indian country. But I think nowhere is the fire brighter than it is within the Navajo Nation.

PZ (1:23:54): Good. Well, you know, Pete, my son picks me up.

PI (1:23:58): Yeah?

PZ (1:23:59): We share a ride, so --

PI (1:24:00): That's good.

PZ (1:24:03): I have to get back -- get back over to the office before four.

PI (1:24:04): Well, I think that --

PZ (1:24:06): Because he just works several blocks from here.

PI (1:24:10): Oh, that's great.

PZ (1:24:11): And he gets off at four and then he comes over and picks me up.

PI (1:24:13): Good. Well, think about when you'd like to do this --

PZ (1:24:14): Other one?

PI (1:24:16): -- extra little bit, yeah. You know, it doesn't have to be long, but I just think -- and I don't want it to be... I don't want to have anything

that you don't want to have in there, but I just know that that's the one dimension that there'll be an expectation that you'll speak to that in some way.

PZ (1:24:32): Exactly. Right.

PI (1:24:33): And you don't have to do so negatively or in a way that's inappropriate, but I think that that would be good.

PZ (1:24:39): I agree. I agree.

PI (1:24:40): So I think -- you can check with Janie, I guess -- look at your schedule and let me know when you'd like to do that.

PZ (1:24:43): OK. I agree. I agree. We can't -- it's something that we can't skip, but --

PI (1:24:50): No, I don't think so.

PZ (1:24:51): I have to say it, yeah.

PI (1:24:54): You covered lots of ground today. I thought it was very good.

PZ (1:24:55): Yeah.

PI (1:24:56): I'm very pleased with our conversation today, and then we'll --

PZ (1:24:58): OK.

PI (1:25:00): We can have one more...

PZ (1:25:01): Yeah.

PI (1:25:03): And I think that really will do it. I'm going to this Western History Association meeting -- you remember the one we had in Scottsdale a few years ago?

PZ (1:25:08): Oh, yeah.

PI (1:25:09): And this will be in Salt Lake this time. And I will leave a week from... let's see... a week from tomorrow. So if there's any chance we could do it prior to that, that would be nice; if we can't, then we'll just do it when I get back.

PZ (1:25:25): Yeah.

PI (1:25:25): So you just look at your calendar and if you can block out an hour or so somewhere on it, I'd be happy to meet with you.

PZ (1:25:32): So next week, like the twentieth, you'll be up there, huh?

PI (1:25:37): No, I won't leave until the twenty... I want to say the twenty-second.

PZ (1:25:39): The 22nd. OK.

PI (1:25:40): Yeah. So I think -- Monday is the 20th, isn't it? And Wednesday is the 22nd.

PZ (1:25:45): It has to be after that.

PI (1:25:48): OK. That's fine.

PZ (1:25:49): Yeah. Because the 20th is Navajo Nation Council meeting -- I'm going to be up there for one day -- and then the National Congress American Indian meeting is down here, so.

PI (1:25:57): Sure. OK. OK, well, then there we are. Well, then maybe you two can look at the calendar for the week that starts Monday the 27th; maybe we can do it that week sometime. You see. You know, it doesn't --

PZ (1:26:08): OK.

PI (1:26:09): We're almost there.

PZ (1:26:10): All right.

PI (1:26:11): And when we meet next time, what I'll do is -- where, you know, sort of putting some of these together if I have the... we really need, you know, the typescript from today's session. But I think it's covering lots of ground, and I think it's going to be a terrific book.

PZ (1:26:27): OK.

PI (1:26:28): And I have your approval to talk to UNM press --

PZ (1:26:29): OK.

PI (1:26:34): -- at that conference? Not to make any decision, but just to let them know where we are on this, if that's OK with you?

PZ (1:26:40): OK.

PI (1:26:41): OK? Good.

PZ (1:26:43): All right, OK.

PI (1:26:44): Good.

PZ (1:26:45): We'll see you, Peter.

PI (1:26:46): OK. Thanks again.

PZ (1:26:47): You take care of --

PI (1:26:48): Yeah.

PZ (1:26:48): You take care of yourself, my friend.

PI (1:26:49): I will. I will. You too.

PZ (1:26:50): Yep. Yep. I've got to call my son, and see (inaudible) --

PI (1:26:53): Yeah. Here we are.

PZ (1:26:55): Yeah.

PI (1:26:57): I hope I haven't kept you too long.

PZ (1:26:58): No, that's OK>

PI (1:26:59): Thank you for everything.

PZ (1:26:59): That's OK. It was good.

PI (1:27:00): OK. Good deal. Thank you.

PZ (1:27:03): Yup. Yup.

END OF INTERVIEW

P1: I just want to make sure that's turned off properly and all the rest.

F1: OK.

PI: Hoping that we didn’t do anything to...

F1: Great. It looks like you got it all there.

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