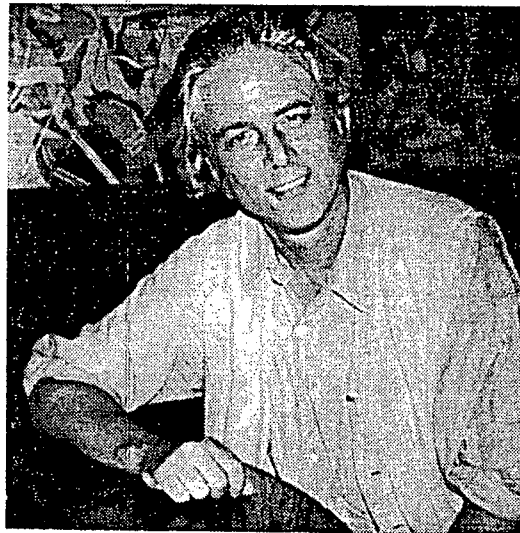


14th Annual Carol Burnett Fund for Responsible Journalism
Ethics Program at the University of Hawai'i - Manoa



10:30 a.m. Keynote Address
**Images That Injure:
Stereotypes in the Media**

By Paul Lester
Photojournalist and Associate Professor,
College of Communications,
California State University - Fullerton

Noon: Panel Discussion
with Hawaii journalists
Jade Moon - KGMB TV Dan Boylan - KHET TV
Andy Yamaguchi & Corey Lum - Honolulu Advertiser

Ethical Issues in Visual Journalism

Thursday, March 21, 1996
Campus Center Ballroom
Sponsored by the Department of Journalism
University of Hawai'i - Manoa

The Carol Burnett Fund for Responsible Journalism

The University of Hawai'i - Manoa Department of Journalism's long-standing emphasis on ethics and responsibility in journalism has been strengthened by a \$100,000 gift from actress Carol Burnett.

Income from the 1981 endowment is used "to support teaching and research designed to further high standards of ethics and professionalism in journalism, and for awards to outstanding students who have demonstrated a strong sense of journalistic responsibility and integrity."

The Department of Journalism established this special lecture series and ethics program, which brings prominent mainland journalists and ethicists to the campus to give a formal lecture and participate with students and the Hawaii journalism community to discuss, examine, and challenge important professional issues.

Paul Lester, the 1996 Burnett Speaker, joins a distinguished fellowship that includes Norman E. Isaacs, a former National News Council chairman; David Shaw, media critic for the Los Angeles Times; J. Edward Murray, and Richard Smyser, former presidents of the American Society of Newspaper Editors; Burton Benjamin, CBS-TV News; Elmer W. Lower, distinguished broadcaster and journalism educator; Eugene Patterson, chairman of the St. Petersburg Times; Howard Simons, Washington Post and curator of Harvard's Nieman Fellowships; Everette E. Dennis, Freedom Forum Center for Media Studies; Robert M. Steele, Poynter Institute for Media Studies; Joann Byrd, Washington Post ombudsman, and Deni Elliott, Mansfield Professor of Ethics and Public Affairs, University of Montana.

The Department of Journalism also sponsors both Hawaii and national student competitions for research papers in ethics. The national graduate and undergraduate winners are published annually in the respected Journal of Mass Media Ethics.

Keynote Speaker Paul Lester

Paul Lester served on the photo staff of the New Orleans Times-Picayune and has been a successful free-lance photojournalist with assignments throughout the U.S. and Northern Ireland. He is now an associate professor at California State University-Fullerton and the author of "Photojournalism, an Ethical Approach," "Visual Communication," "Desktop Computer Workbook" and the upcoming "Images That Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media."

Professor Lester's keynote presentation follows the theme of his latest book: "When the media engage in stereotyping, misleading representations about members from diverse cultural groups are confirmed because readers often do not have experiences with those from other cultures. Stereotypes are more often than not confirmed by mediated, rather than direct images."

Lester is also a leader in World Wide Web publishing and Internet conferencing. You can review many of his written works and photographs on: <http://www5.fullerton.edu/les/homeboy.html>

For further information on the Carol Burnett Fund Ethics Programs, contact:

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BURNETT ETHICS SPEECH

MARCH 21, 1996

HONOLULU, HAWAII

ALOHA

YES. IT'S TRUE. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO I BOASTED TO A HIGH SCHOOL FRIEND THAT I WOULD EVENTUALLY SET FOOT IN ALL FIFTY STATES. HAWAII WAS THE LAST ON MY LIST. BUT WHAT I'VE DISCOVERED IS THAT HAWAII ISN'T A STATE AT ALL—HAWAII IS ANOTHER PLANET. IT IS AN INDESCRIBABLE PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. I AM PARTICULARLY BLESSED TO HAVE MY DAUGHTER, ALLISON WITH ME TO WITNESS YOUR HONOR TO ME. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK EVERYONE WHO MADE MY APPEARANCE POSSIBLE INCLUDING LYLE WAGGONER, WHEREVER YOU ARE. AND BESIDES VISITING YOUR SENSUAL STATE FOR THE FIRST TIME, THIS IS THE FIRST KEYNOTE SPEECH I HAVE EVER MADE. I HAVE ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A KEYNOTE SPEAKER—AND NOW I DO—AND WHAT IT MEANS IS THAT I'M WONDERING IF YOU CAN HEAR ME IN THE BACK AND IF I'M GETTING A NICE LUNCH... BUT I DIGRESS.

ABOUT TEN YEARS AGO, WHILE A STUDENT AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY, I DECIDED ON MY PH.D. DISSERTATION TOPIC—THE ETHICS OF PHOTOJOURNALISM. THREE YEARS LATER I WAS FORTUNATE TO HAVE MY DISSERTATION PUBLISHED. IT WAS MY FIRST BOOK, *PHOTOJOURNALISM*

AN ETHICAL APPROACH. IN IT I LISTED THREE MAJOR ETHICAL CONCERNS FOR PHOTOJOURNALISTS—VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE, RIGHTS TO PRIVACY, AND PICTURE MANIPULATIONS. NOT INCLUDED AND NOT EVEN CONSIDERED BY MYSELF AT THE TIME WERE PICTORIAL STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA OF MEMBERS FROM DIVERSE CULTURAL GROUPS. IN AN ATTEMPT TO RECTIFY THIS OMISSION MY NEXT BOOK, *VISUAL COMMUNICATION IMAGES WITH MESSAGES* THAT WAS INTRODUCED LAST YEAR AND IS USED IN COLLEGE CLASSES ACROSS THE COUNTRY CONTAINS A CHAPTER CALLED "IMAGES THAT INJURE PICTORIAL STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA." BUT ONE CHAPTER WAS NOT ENOUGH TO TELL THE STORY OF PICTORIAL STEREOTYPING AND SO I AM HUMBLLED BY THE THOUGHTFULNESS AND GENEROSITY OF 45 CONTRIBUTORS IN WORDS AND PICTURES TO PRODUCE A BOOK, TO BE RELEASED TOMORROW BY THE PUBLISHER, WITH THE SAME TITLE AS THE CHAPTER.

BUT I HOPE YOU HAVEN'T ASSUMED THAT I'M HERE TO BASH THE MEDIA. THE MEDIA STEREOTYPE BECAUSE WE STEREOTYPE. SINCE OUR BRAINS NATURALLY CLASSIFY WHAT WE SEE, WE CAN'T HELP BUT NOTICE THE DIFFERENCES IN PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES BETWEEN ONE PERSON AND ANOTHER. BUT IT IS NOT NATURAL TO STEREOTYPE. AS WITH THE PRINTING TERM FROM WHICH THE WORD COMES, TO *STEREOTYPE* IS A SHORT-HAND WAY TO DESCRIBE A PERSON WITH COLLECTIVE, RATHER THAN UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS. HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT

STEREOTYPING LEADS TO SCAPEGOATING THAT LEADS TO
DISCRIMINATION THAT LEADS TO SEGREGATION THAT LEADS TO
PHYSICAL ABUSE THAT LEADS TO STATE-SPONSORED GENOCIDE.

BECAUSE VISUAL MESSAGES ARE PRODUCTS OF OUR SENSE OF SIGHT,
PICTURES ARE HIGHLY EMOTIONAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE LONG-LASTING
STAYING POWER WITHIN THE GRAYEST REGIONS OF OUR BRAIN. MEDIA
MESSAGES THAT STEREOTYPE INDIVIDUALS BY THEIR CONCENTRATIONS,
FREQUENCIES, AND OMISSIONS BECOME A PART OF OUR LONG-TERM
MEMORY. THE MEDIA TYPICALLY PORTRAY MEMBERS OF DIVERSE
CULTURAL GROUPS WITHIN SPECIFIC CONTENT CATEGORIES—USUALLY
CRIME, ENTERTAINMENT, AND SPORTS—AND ALMOST NEVER WITHIN
GENERAL INTEREST, BUSINESS, EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND RELIGIOUS
CONTENT CATEGORIES. AND WHEN WE ONLY SEE PICTURES OF
CRIMINALS, ENTERTAINERS, AND SPORTS HEROES, WE FORGET THAT THE
VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE—REGARDLESS OF THEIR PARTICULAR
CULTURAL HERITAGE—HAVE THE SAME HOPES AND FEARS AS YOU OR ME.

IN THE *IMAGES THAT INJURE* BOOK, THERE ARE ESSAYS CONCERNING THE
CULTURAL IMAGES OF NATIVE AMERICANS, AFRICANS, MEXICANS,
PACIFIC ISLANDERS, ARABS, ANGLOS, JEWISH PERSONS, WOMEN, MEN,
CHILDREN, OLDER ADULTS, THE PHYSICALLY DISABLED, BLIND PERSONS,
LARGE PERSONS, GAY AND LESBIAN PERSONS, TEACHERS, POLITICIANS,

LAWYERS, POLICE OFFICERS, RELIGIOUS FOLLOWERS, MEDIA PERSONNEL, AND MEDIA VICTIMS. CHANCES ARE, THE MENTAL IMAGE YOU HAVE OF A MEMBER OF ONE OF THOSE CULTURAL GROUPS IS ONE THAT IS MEDIATED—IT COMES FROM EITHER PRINT, TELEVISION, MOTION PICTURES, OR COMPUTERS.

MOST MEDIA EXPERTS COME UP WITH SEVERAL REASONS WHY THE MEDIA STEREOTYPE—ADVERTISERS THAT DEMAND QUICKLY INTERPRETED SHORTCUT PICTURES, LAZY OR HIGHLY PRESSURED REPORTERS THAT DON'T TAKE OR HAVE THE TIME TO EXPLORE ISSUES WITHIN THEIR MULTIFACETED AND COMPLEX CONTEXTS, FEW MEMBERS OF DIVERSE CULTURAL GROUPS WORKING AS PHOTOGRAPHERS, REPORTERS, EDITORS, OR PUBLISHERS IN AN ORGANIZATION, THE PRESUMED, CONDITIONED EXPECTATIONS OF READERS AND VIEWERS TO ONLY ACCEPT IMAGES OF DIVERSE MEMBERS WITHIN A LIMITED RANGE OF CONTENT CATEGORIES, AND REGRETTABLY, AND OFTEN DENIED, CULTURISM. *CULTURISM* IS A TERM I USE TO DESCRIBE THE BELIEF THAT ONE CULTURAL GROUP—WHETHER BASED ON ETHNICITY, ECONOMICS, EDUCATION, ETC.—IS SOMEHOW BETTER OR WORSE THAN SOME OTHER CULTURAL GROUP. CULTURISM MAY EXPLAIN WHY MAINSTREAM MEDIA ARE SLOW TO COVER HUMAN CATASTROPHES IN REMOTE SECTIONS OF THE WORLD SUCH AS IN RWANDA, SOMALIA, AND SOUTH-CENTRAL, LOS ANGELES.

BUT ONCE AGAIN I REMIND YOU—AND MYSELF—THAT WE SEE STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA BECAUSE WE STEREOTYPE IN OUR SOCIETY. AND YOU KNOW THIS IS TRUE. THERE ARE SIGNALS, WARNING SIGNS, AND OBVIOUS EXAMPLES EVERYWHERE WE TURN.

NEXT TIME YOU'RE IN A PUBLIC RESTROOM, NOTICE THE DISABLED PERSONS' STALL. HAVE YOU EVER SEEN SOMEONE IN A WHEELCHAIR USING THAT TOILET? SOMETHING IS WRONG.

NEXT TIME YOU'RE SITTING IN YOUR SEAT ON AN AIRPLANE, NOTICE THAT ALMOST ALWAYS THE FLIGHT ATTENDANTS ARE WOMEN WHILE THE VOICE WELCOMING YOU TO 35,000 FEET IS A MAN'S. SOMETHING IS WRONG.

NEXT TIME YOU'RE WATCHING A VIDEO MOVIE THAT FEATURES A CHILD AT HOME ALONE SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDING HIMSELF AGAINST TWO, LARGE BURGLARS, NOTICE HOW EASY IT ALL IS FOR THE BOY. SOMETHING IS WRONG.

AND THE NEXT TIME YOU'RE WATCHING A BASKETBALL GAME, NOTICE HOW OFTEN ALL THE PLAYERS ON THE COURT ARE AFRICAN AMERICAN WHILE ALL THE FANS IN THE STANDS ARE SCREAMING HAOLIES. SOMETHING IS WRONG.

IF YOU'RE NOT WILLING TO CHANGE WHAT YOU KNOW IS TRUE IN SOCIETY, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF THERE EVER BEING A CHANGE IN MEDIA IMAGES. THE MEDIA PROVIDE A MESSAGE AND THAT MESSAGE IS THAT THE MEDIA IS YOU AND ME.

SHOW FIRST SLIDE

THIS PICTURE IS ONE OF THE FIRST I EVER MADE AS A PHOTOJOURNALISM STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS. AND ALTHOUGH I NEVER SPOKE TO THIS MAN, NEVER LEARNED HIS NAME, AND ONLY SPENT 1/500TH OF A SECOND WITH HIM, HE HAS TAUGHT ME, OVER THE YEARS, MORE ABOUT MYSELF, ABOUT PHOTOGRAPHY, AND ABOUT PEOPLE THAN MANY EDUCATORS, FRIENDS, AND FAMILY MEMBERS I HAVE KNOWN MY ENTIRE LIFE. ONE LESSON IS—DON'T JUMP TO CONCLUSIONS. RESIST YOUR AUTOMATIC, BRAIN-COMMANDED CATEGORIES. WAIT. BE PATIENT. HAVE THE COURAGE TO TRUST. THERE MAY BE OTHER TINY MOMENTS TO SEE OF A PERSON'S LIFE THAT REVEAL LARGER TRUTHS. AND NOW I WANT TO SHOW A COLLECTION OF IMAGES THAT DO AND DO NOT STEREOTYPE. THE PICTURES AT THE END OF THE FOLLOWING PRESENTATION COME FROM A SECTION OF THE *IMAGES THAT INJURE* BOOK TITLED "IMAGES THAT HEAL."

SHOW SLIDE SHOW

SHOW MEMBERS OF DIVERSE CULTURAL GROUPS IN EVERYDAY LIFE
SITUATIONS. HAVE THE COURAGE TO EXPLORE IN WORDS AND PICTURES
THE UNDERLYING SOCIAL PROBLEMS AT THE HEART OF A VIOLENT ACT.
LEARN ALL YOU CAN ABOUT VISUAL LITERACY SO YOU CAN REALLY LOOK
AT THE IMAGES IN NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND ON YOUR LOCAL
TELEVISION NEWS SHOW. TAKE THE TIME TO STUDY THE SNAPSHOTS OF
YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY AND THE IMAGES PRINTED, BROADCAST, AND
DOWNLOADED AND QUESTION YOURSELF AND ALL WHO WILL LISTEN
ABOUT THE MEANING AND ETHICS OF THE IMAGES WE MAKE AND SEE.
FOR

EACH ONE OF US IS A MEDIUM FOR COMMUNICATION.

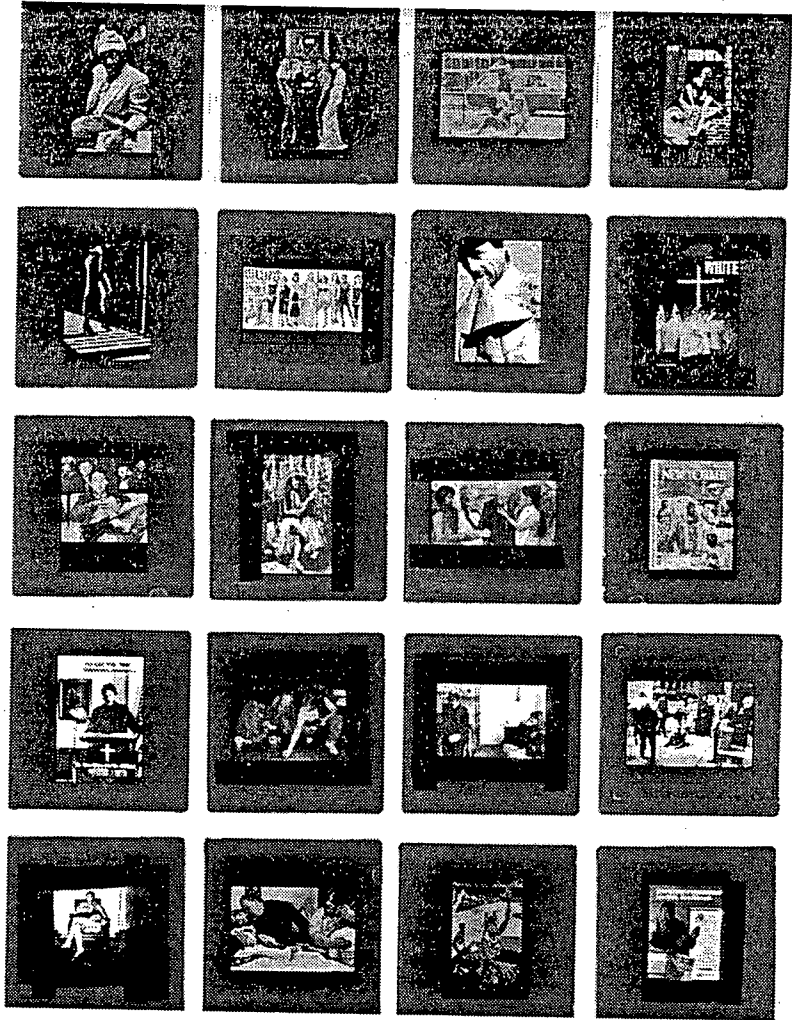
EACH ONE OF US IS A RIVER THAT FLOWS TO THE SEA.

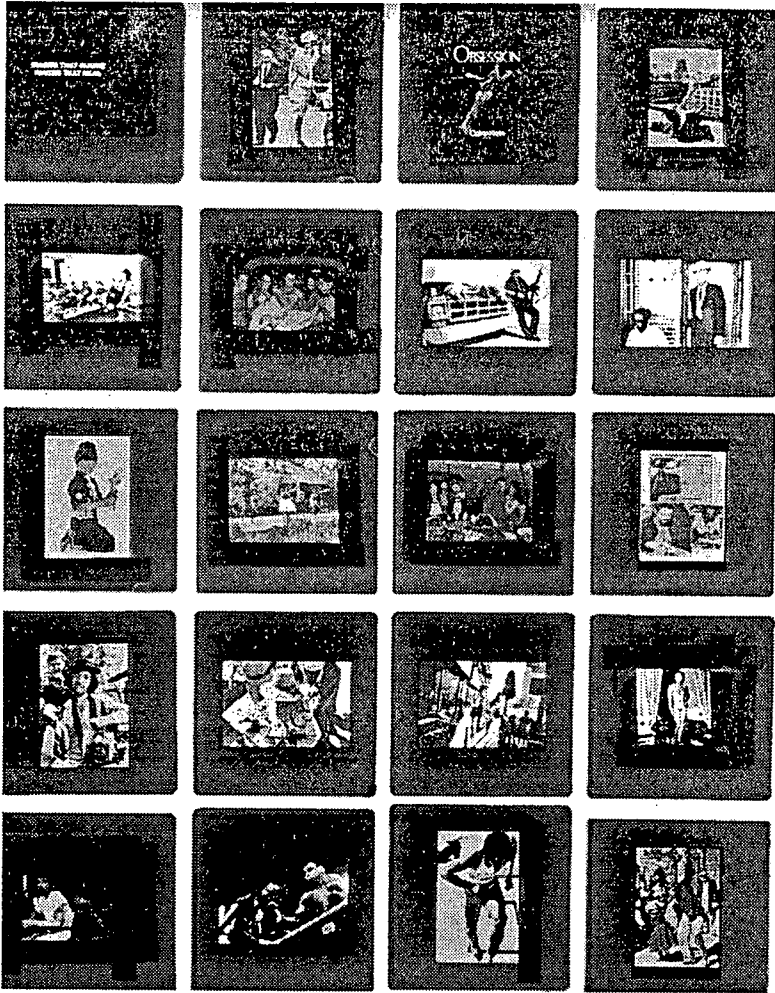
EACH ONE OF US IS AN INDIVIDUAL—

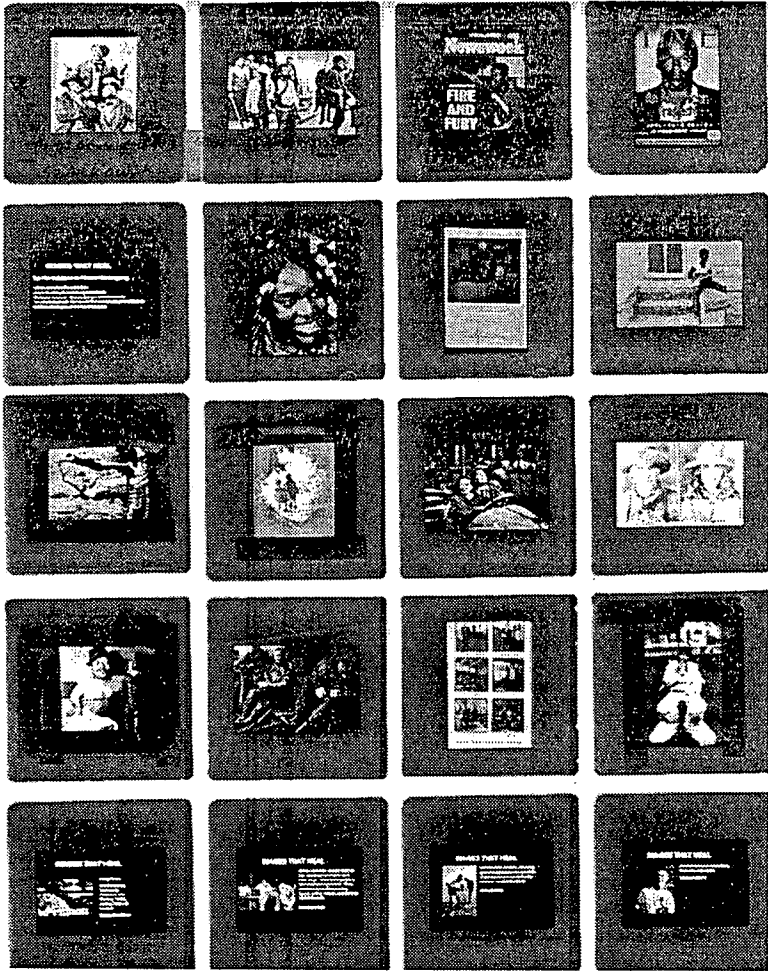
INDEPENDENT, UNIQUE, AND LINKED

TO ALL WHO HAVE BEEN AND ALL WHO WILL BE.

ALOHA.







The Inherent Power of the Native Press

Mark N. Trahant talk at the University of Hawaii

Carol Burnett Fund For Responsible Journalism Ethics Program

March 20, 1997

Good morning. I am deeply honored to be a part of this program today. I thank the University of Hawaii, the Carol Burnett Fund, Tom Brislin and the journalism school for this invitation. Let me also thank faculty member Catherine Van Horn, who in addition to Tom, sent me books and other invaluable materials. I am grateful. NDRA

My topic today is the inherent power of the native press. Some would argue that the very subject is a contradiction in terms: How could oral societies produce a powerful press? I suspect that the words "oral society" are a way of dismissing anything not printed on paper. Native cultures were never merely oral; there is instruction etched on rocks, animal parts, or told through stories about a particular piece of land. These writings are eternal with libraries that remain a part of the landscape.

The medium differs from culture to culture. Navajos chronicled their history on canyon petroglyphs. North Atlantic coastal people recorded accounts on large belts embroidered with pictographs, called wampum. "To make the wampum, they collected whelk shells, from which they

fashioned purple and white beads. Then they strung the beads on deer sinews to create a band of images," anthropologist Jack Weatherford wrote. "The major task of the wampum writer was to represent an event or abstract concept visually. Because each image required hours, or even days of work, the pictograph needed to be simple yet easily understood and remembered by the reader."

Simple, yet easily understood and remembered by the reader. This is a goal shared by writers in any culture — in any medium.

I am intrigued by the intersection of technology and culture. What new things change the way we tell stories about ourselves? What new things transform, more than change, deeply held traditions?

When I was a teenager, I was editor of my tribal newspaper, The Sho-Ban News in Fort Hall, Idaho. One of my favorite events was "general council," the annual meeting of the tribal community at a place called Buffalo Lodge. At general council, every member has a right to speak. Sometimes the lines would be long, while people patiently waited for their say. When they would get to the microphone, some people started the conversation this way:

"Thump. Thump. Whh. Whh. Whh. Chairman."

The technology of the microphone was new. But the conversation about the community, the discourse about the tribe's future, was ancient. This discourse occurred and occurs in general council meetings. Other communities used talking circles or other forums for the exchange of ideas. This is important to me because freedom of expression — community discourse — is not something granted by the United States Constitution; it is instead the source of the inherent power of the native press.

A second role of the press is, of course, news. What is new? This, too, is something that took place in native communities long before the invention of the printing press.

“We do know that there were messengers in all these tribal societies,” wrote Paul DeMain, managing editor of *News From Indian Country*. “They traveled from clan to clan, from tribe to tribe, letting people know about ceremonies, governmental negotiations, news from the battle-front, the birth of a baby, or directives of tribal leaders. Among the Ojibiwa, the messenger was called ‘Oshscabewis.’ And certainly it would hard not to notice the coming of the white man. I can almost see the messenger on the East Coast – they have discovered the ships coming in from the horizon of the sea, white men lost in search of someplace else. The messenger has a scoop and is dispatched to spread the word; running for countless miles, he shouts: ‘There goes the neighborhood. There goes the neighborhood.’ ”

Of course more than the neighborhood changed: The white man brought the English language, the technology of the printing press, and newspapers. It did not take long for Native Americans to explore this new medium, the printing press.

This history starts in Georgia with *The Cherokee Phoenix*. The editor, Elias Boudinot, said his newspaper’s mission was to promote “temperate discussions on matters of politics, religion, and so forth.” But neither the state of Georgia, nor the Cherokee government, considered the newspaper temperate.

Georgia had been trying oust the Cherokees for decades, and in the 1820s enacted laws designed to destroy Cherokee sovereignty — and the will of tribal members to resist “removal” to lands west of the Mississippi

River. Boudinot was attacked by the Georgia Guard, a state militia, for stories published in his newspaper. One colonel threatened the editor with a whipping if his muckraking did not stop. Boudinot replied: "In this free country, where the liberty of the press is solemnly guaranteed, is this the way to obtain satisfaction for an alleged injury committed in a newspaper? ... I complain of nothing of which a privileged white editor would not complain."

The state of Georgia passed a new law requiring all non-Cherokees to take an oath of allegiance to the state, or leave Cherokee Territory. Many Georgians believed that the Cherokee were not sophisticated. They decided it was white do-gooders who promoted Cherokee mischief. Many argued that Boudinot was only a front for a white man who was the true editor of *The Phoenix*. Boudinot dismissed this idea: "It has already been stated to the public that *The Phoenix* was under Cherokee influence. It has never been, nor was it ever intended to be, under the influence of any Missionary or White man."

Nonetheless Georgian authorities started a campaign to arrest non-Cherokees who refused to take the oath.

"This week we present to our readers but half a sheet," Boudinot wrote on Feb. 19, 1831. "One of our printers has left us; and we expect another (who is a white man) to quit us very soon, either to be dragged to the Georgia penitentiary for a term not less than four years."

"And our friends will please remember," the editor wrote, "we cannot invite another white printer to our assistance without subjecting him to the same punishment; and to have in our employ one who has taken the oath to support the laws of Georgia, which now suppress the

Cherokees, is utterly out of the question. Thus is liberty of the press guaranteed by the Constitution of Georgia."

On March 26, 1831, The Phoenix reported the arrest of several non-Indian missionaries by the Georgia Guard. One was Samuel Worcester, who in addition to helping Boudinot at the paper was also the Cherokee Nation's postmaster. On March 3, 1832, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cherokee cause in the landmark decision, Worcester v. Georgia. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote: "The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described in which the laws of Georgia can have no force and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves. ... the acts of Georgia are repugnant to the constitution, laws and treaties of the United States."

The Court reversed the Georgia courts and said state law did not apply in Cherokee territory.

"It is a glorious news," Boudinot wrote his brother Stand Watie, who was acting editor of the newspaper while Boudinot traveled across the country to raise money. "The laws of the State are declared by the highest judicial tribunal in the Country null and void. It is a great triumph on the part of the Cherokees so far as the question of their rights were concerned."

Boudinot predicted "a new era on the Indian question." But the court ruling only intensified the emotions of the Georgians. Both the state and the federal government increased pressure on the Cherokees to move West, and six months later, Boudinot was convinced that removal was inevitable, and that the Supreme Court ruling impotent. He was bitterly disappointed by the government's attitude, and he came to believe that the

Cherokees had no options left. This epiphany placed Boudinot in direct conflict with the leadership of the Cherokee government. It was clear that the very discussion about removal was illegal (and considered treasonous).

The Cherokee Constitution did not guarantee a free press. And tribal politicians argued that the editor, and the newspaper, were instruments of public policy. Chief Ross even called *The Phoenix* a "public press" and said it "should be cherished as an important vehicle in the diffusion of general information, and as a no less powerful auxiliary in asserting and supporting our political rights ...

"The press being the public property of the nation, it would ill become its character if such infringements upon the feelings of the people should be tolerated. In other respects, the liberty of the press should be as free as the breeze that glides upon the surface."

Freedom of the press ended when its messages conflicted with those from Cherokee leaders.

On Aug. 11, 1832, Boudinot resigned as editor. "Were I to continue as editor, I should feel myself in a most peculiar and delicate situation. I do not know whether I could, at the same time, satisfy my own views, and the views of the authorities of the nation. My situation would then be as embarrassing as it would be peculiar and delicate. I do conscientiously believe it to be the duty of every citizen to reflect upon the dangers with which we are surrounded; to view the darkness which seems to lie before our people — our prospects, and the evils with which we are threatened; to talk over all these matters, and, if possible, come to some definite and satisfactory conclusion." Boudinot believed in discourse, conversation in the printed columns that debated the merits of a policy, even one as

controversial as removal. He believed the tribal community would be stronger because of the conversation.

A few days after Boudinot's resignation, Chief Ross wrote to the national council that the Phoenix ought to be continued under the leadership of a new editor. He said the views of the tribe's leadership and the paper ought to be the same. Ross hired an editor he could trust, his brother-in-law, Elijah Hicks.

The story of the Phoenix raises important questions to native editors today. Does a native newspaper serve its community by printing discourse? Or, does it aid enemies by revealing a community's weakness? This debate is no more resolved now than when Boudinot resigned.

More than a century after Boudinot, a Northwest tribal leader made the case for discourse by publishing a newspaper that directly defied tribal policy.

The year was 1966. Washington state's Colville Tribe polled its members on the federal policy of termination. A "yes" vote meant ending the tribe's relationship with the United States and the liquidation of tribally-owned assets, distributed equally among members. The result was one-sided: More than two-thirds of the tribal membership voted for termination.

A year earlier, the Colville Business Council – following another poll of its members – rejected a Bureau of Indian Affairs' plan to build a \$14 million lumber mill on the reservation. The council reasoned that the reservation did not need the debt associated with the project or, for that matter, the prospect of new jobs that could be created.

The case was clear for termination, said tribal chairman Narcisse Nicholson, Jr., because "with only a relatively few exceptions, the tribal families of today are self-supporting."

And those exceptions? The chairman said: "Lack of employment, to the degree that it exists, is largely due to character faults which cannot be cured by paternalism."

The issue of termination, then, at least for the Colville Tribes, was all but decided. Nearly every group that mattered was on board. Even though he was personally opposed termination, Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Robert L. Bennett testified that he would "honor and carry out any decisions that are made by the people of the tribe, whether or not this may be in agreement or disagreement with what may happen to be particular policy of the Bureau."

The U.S. Senate had passed several Colville termination bills and the House was expected to follow. The solid pro-termination majority on the Colville Business Council was ready for a final resolution.

The state, the Congress, and the tribe had all decided that termination was the best course. The debate was over and the Colville people no longer wanted to be a sovereign government.

Someone, however, forgot to tell Lucy Covington. She challenged every word of the tribal council's actions. "We shall cover virtually the same ground traversed by the majority, but necessarily from a different view and with different conclusions," she told Commissioner Bennett at a Spokane tribal leaders conference.

She cited statistics that showed bleaker conditions on the reservation: Only 20% of the membership had high school diplomas, the on-reservation population was substantially below non-Indian neighbors

in health, housing and income. "The point was being made that these people would suffer immeasurably from termination," she said. Quoting from a congressional hearing record, Covington reminded tribal leaders that of the 676 males living on the reservation only 89 had full-time jobs. "The unemployment situation was shown up even worse by other studies," Covington said.

She said even the council's polls were bogus, citing misleading statements made a part of the question. "This may be significant: In 1964 a questionnaire sent out by the [c]ouncil, without indication as to the manner of termination, resulted in 56% of those replying being against termination."

Covington said the solution to the problems facing Colville members was to take advantage of more social programs, not less. But first, she said, "[s]omehow, the present fever and fervor for termination has to be quieted." To that end, Covington published *Our Heritage*, a tabloid newspaper, reminding tribal members what was at stake. The newspaper effectively made the case against termination and reported on recent lobbying efforts. She also profiled tribal candidates opposed to termination.

On May 8, 1971, Covington's side won. Nicholson was defeated as chairman and replaced by Mel Tonasket, who was only 30 years old. The council immediately rejected the policy of termination and asked for more federal assistance. Six months later the council closed Omak Lake to non-Indians and voted to take back the law enforcement powers that earlier governing bodies had ceded to the state of Washington. The new order claimed its power as a government. "We are a sovereignty within a sovereignty, and we must be allowed to rule ourselves," Chairman

Tonasket said. "The Colvilles are not trying to get even with anyone, but are fast trying to protect their rights as Indians."

Tonasket's point was exactly right: The Colville election ended, in the real world of reservation life, the federal policy of termination. This was a shift between eras: From now on, the new language emanating from tribal capitals would be that of sovereignty. The Colvilles, in a practical application, ended Washington's experiment with termination — and "freeing the Indians" from the BIA, land and tribal government.

Our Heritage, the newspaper, forcefully changed the minds of a community after an issue had already been decided. What's more, other long-time supporters of termination also reversed course. Sen. Henry M. Jackson, a Democrat from Washington, routinely sponsored termination bills in the Congress. Yet in 1972, Jackson introduced a repeal of House Concurrent Resolution 108 – the termination resolution of earlier generations – and instead supported the tribe's sovereign powers.

One person, Lucy Covington, changed the world. She stopped the national policy of termination — and as part of her fight, she tapped into the inherent power of the native press.

A few hundred miles north, another native leader discovered that same source of power. Alaska's native community was under a new threat in the early 1960s. The U.S. government had authorized "Project Chariot," a series of atomic tests in an isolated area of Alaska. The notion of isolation, however, was disputed by the nearly 1,000 Eskimos who called the area home. Moreover, the native community said more than 70,000 acres of land, animals, and water would be threatened by the atomic testing.

At a meeting in Barrow, native leaders formed a new group, Inupiat Paitot. A key element of the community's defensive strategy was the publication of a newspaper giving their community voice. As word spread across the state, other native communities asked to join the effort — and share the newspaper's vision. This new publication was not only a paper for Eskimos, but for readers who were Aleut, Athabascan, Tlingit or Inupit. The paper was called Tundra Times, the first statewide newspaper in Alaska.

An artist by the name of Howard Rock was selected as editor. The timing was perfect: a wealthy physician from New England, a descendent of Ralph Waldo Emerson, agreed to financially support the new initiative. Howard Rock admitted his ignorance about atomic energy — and newspapering.

"I didn't know anything about the AEC, either, but I read what I could and it didn't look good. There were attempts to lull us. We were wheedled with promises of acclaim from science and the peoples of the world if we would go along with 'Project Chariot.'" Well, we did not go for those enticements. We chose to remain in our home villages, come what might. The love for our homes, however humble, and the deep sense of heritage prevailed."

The first Tundra Times appeared on October 1, 1962. Its founding editorial said: "Natives of Alaska, the Tundra Times is your paper. It is here to express your ideas, your thoughts and opinions on issues that vitally affect you. With this humble beginning we hope, not for any distinction, but to serve with dedication the truthful presentation of native problems, issues and interests."

Rock published an independent search for the truth and because of that his newspaper transcended the rivalries present in Alaskan villages. North or South. On the coast or in the tundra, the Times represented the dreams of Alaska's native people.

The Atomic Energy Commission abandoned Project Chariot before it was ever started. The opposition of the native community — and the voice of Tundra Times — was already noticed by policymakers in Washington, D.C. This feat alone would be a remarkable legacy for a newspaper, but it was only the beginning.

The greed for native land increased after an oil discovery in 1968. The corporations, the state and the Congress wanted to find a new way to extinguish native title to lands so that development could proceed.

A reporter for the Tundra Times in Washington, D.C., put it this way: "Let's turn it around and look at the real situation. The natives are being forced to give up their land under the traditional American principle of manifest destiny and all they're asking is a fair shake. The clincher in all this gumbo is blanket termination."

But this negotiation was different, wrote Tom Richards, because it was too late to kill off the Indians before signing a treaty. "Somebody goofed."

"It was poetic justice. The country wept for its sins against Indian people, and up jumps a huge Indian land fight and Indians had the best chance of winning," Richards wrote. "Unfortunately, at the time, there were those who perpetuate the traditional means of resolving Indian issues. For example, I recall the comment of Rep. John Saylor, R-Penn., during hearings. ...(M)y staff, he said, has researched this country's land transactions with Indian tribes. We have found that we paid Indians an

average of 50 cents per acre and I suggest to pay Alaskan Natives more than that amount may be unfair to other tribes with whom we have already settled.”

Fair or not. The Alaska settlement was different. Instead of sovereign tribes in Alaska, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (or ANCSA) created regional native-owned corporations. Native people once claimed 375 million acres in the state – and with one stroke of the pen– was reduced to all but 44 million acres. The December 8, 1971, signing ceremony, Richards wrote, “was the last major land treaty between the U.S. government and the aboriginal inhabitants of this country.”

The settlement was hailed as a “new departure” because “Alaska Natives would have land, capital, corporations, and opportunities to enter the business world,” wrote Thomas Berger in “Village Journey: The report of the Alaska Native Review Corporation.”

“Congress wanted to bring the Alaska Natives into the mainstream of American Life. Senator Henry Jackson, the principal architect of ANCSA, and indeed, the other key figures in Congress opposed the extension of the Indian reservation system to Alaska. There was opposition, too, among Alaska Natives to the idea of reservations. Congress also rejected the possibility that tribal governments might be used to implement the settlement.”

The law granted nearly \$1 billion to the new 12 regional corporations — and Alaska Native leaders became corporate officers — charged with making a profit from their land and resources. Each Alaskan Native was given 100 shares in a regional corporation, as well as 100 shares in a village corporation.

The debate over the claims act was led, in part, by the publication of Tundra Times. Every week the 55,000 native people in Alaska had a say in their future.

Editor Howard Rock put it this way: "The land claim act was a defense action by Native people ... when the land they had been living on traditionally was endangered. The land claims fight became very emotional and very deep because the land is very beautiful and wonderful ... and then it was in danger of being taken away, tempers sprang up, including over at the Tundra Times. Of course I wrote editorials which were rather harsh at times, but we felt it was the necessary thing."

The Tundra Times was not satisfied with the final enactment. The newspaper questioned, for example, the potential loss of control by natives when the stock could be sold on the open market beginning in 1991. The Tundra Times won this battle in 1988, when the law was amended.

The newspaper left another legacy under its brilliant editor, Howard Rock. Recently I was in Alaska interviewing Native Alaskans who work in the news media. One by one, without prompting, I began to hear stories about Howard Rock. It did not seem to matter whether these journalists worked in print, TV or in radio — Howard Rock had personally taught them the mission of native journalism and had shown them the inherent power of the native press. Some were reporters at ~~the~~^{his} paper. Others ~~were~~ interns. A few were just readers. But they all learned — and joined Howard Rock's cause.

The Tundra Times has been on my mind this week as I have thought and read about the native newspapers of Hawaii. One of the ironic twists of the land claims in Alaska is that the Congress thought it was the end of

tribal sovereignty — but this was never enacted into law. The corporations, at least the Congress thought, ^{begin} ~~was~~ a new policy that would make community government unnecessary. As usual, the Congress neglected to make this clear to the native villages themselves. Village sovereignty, even after the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, remains viable and controversial. It is a story that will be continue to unfurl in the coming years.

Sovereignty, of course, remains an important issue here too. The extinguishment of any people's right to self-determination seems, at best, temporary. The issue keeps returning — even after it has all been decided.

Hawaiian newspapers in the 19th century had the same original sponsors as the Cherokee newspapers of the same era, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This New England-based group encouraged newspapers, and printing, as a way to support its mission activities. In Hawaii, however, the first generation of editors were Americans. It took almost three decades before editorial control ~~moved~~ ^{was} under native leadership. According to Esther Mookini, the first newspaper established by a native Hawaiian was Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, The Star of the Pacific. The editors were the future king, David Kalakaua, J.K. Kaunamano and G.W. Mila. The newspaper's cause was the promotion of Hawaiian language — interesting because by the 1890s, Native American tribal newspapers were almost entirely published in English.-

One important difference in the Cherokee newspapers and the newspapers of the same era here is that from the beginning, the Cherokees saw newspapers as a way to make their case before the American people. Elias Boudinot freely exchanged the Phoenix with other newspapers. He wrote letters to editors to help frame coverage of native issues. He read —

and challenged inaccurate reports. Moreover, Boudinot complained bitterly when Georgia officials tried to slow down delivery of the Phoenix through the mail. The Hawaiian native press, on the other hand, concentrated on informing native people; not the outside world. As one American editor wrote: "The news printed in English will be carried in the native language in order for Hawaiians to know what is thought in English."

It was important, as Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika said in 1861, that an independent newspaper would be defiant in its attitudes that Hawaiians would not be included in a newspaper. The newspaper sought "the wisdom of commoners ... to let light flow into the kingdom."

The publication of Hawaiian newspapers faded after the overthrow of the monarchy. Esther Mookini chronicles nine native-language newspapers in 1910; five in 1920; two in 1930 and by 1950 only religious publications survived.

Several newspapers began publishing for the Native Hawaiian community in the 1960s, '70s and '80s.

For example: The Hawaiian News, debuted on January 17, 1980, on the grounds of the Iolani Palace. The new Office of Hawaiian Affairs was coming into being. This was a time of reform: The Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act was a new model; the Maine tribes' land claims were nearly over — and, the paper reported, there was present an era of hope for Hawaiian natives.

Editor Tony Yardley reported the difficulties associated with the newspaper's birth. Indeed, nearly every issue featured a front page campaign for support and subscriptions. This was often echoed by letters. One said: "The Hawaiian News is a positive force that binds us together for the common good."

The newspaper also was independent. In the beginning, for example, it supported OHA's creation. Then issue by issue it stepped up the pressure for the agency to live up to its promise. "Talk Straight OHA," one editorial said. "Don't just sing and dance." The newspaper called for a new law that would make it illegal to sell off any federal lands — until native claims were settled.

One of the most important functions of a community newspaper, a native newspaper, is to report things that are missed by the mainstream press. The Hawaiian News did this well. There were stories about Native Hawaiians as role models, athletes, TV reporters and political leaders. Unfortunately, the early struggles of the Hawaiian News proved to be too much. The paper did not make it. But I will close by noting that editor Toni Yardley is back after 12 absent years. Once again, The Hawaiian News will give its readers a voice.

Does the native press always make a difference? Of course not. Newspapers, sometimes, help lead the discussion. When we offer a forum for the exchange of ideas, we occasionally touch a nerve that excites, educates or even overturns something that has already been decided. The inherent power of native newspapers — like sovereignty itself — comes from the people, the readers. ~~We~~ let the light flow into our kingdoms.

~~But we do~~

Thank you.