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## Win the lead! Television news philosophy and the life cycle of a social movement

Marie Curkan-Flanagan  
*University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

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WIN THE LEAD!: TELEVISION NEWS PHILOSOPHY  
AND THE LIFE CYCLE OF A  
SOCIAL MOVEMENT

by

Marie Curkan-Flanagan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

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Greenspun School of Communication  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
May 1996

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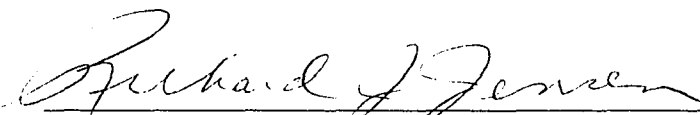
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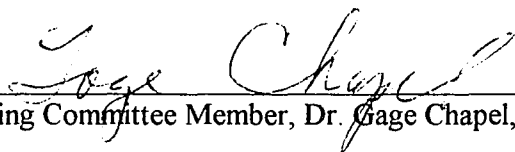
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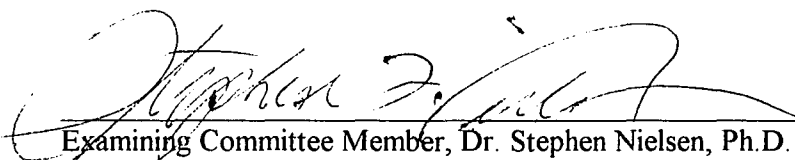
The Thesis of Marie Curkan-Flanagan for the degree of Master of Arts in Communications is approved.



Chairperson, Dr. Richard Jensen, Ph.D.



Examining Committee Member, Dr. Gage Chapel, Ph.D.



Examining Committee Member, Dr. Stephen Nielsen, Ph.D.



Graduate Faculty Representative, Dr. Hal Rothman, Ph.D.



Dean of the Graduate College, Ronald W. Smith, Ph.D.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate what effect the evolution of a social movement has on the depth of broadcast news coverage. By focusing on the American Indian take-over of Alcatraz Island 1969-71, this study examines whether a television news story has a life cycle of its own which contributes and/or detracts from the life cycle of a social movement. The Alcatraz occupation was selected because it was the first aggressive and prolonged act of Indian protest in the United States. The foundation for this thesis rests upon the idea that the "lead story" to a television newscast revolves around the philosophy "Win the Lead!". This premise is then balanced against Stewart, Smith and Denton's (1989) definition for the life cycle of a social movement which asserts that a social movement has a life cycle which consists of 5 stages: genesis, social unrest, mobilization, maintenance and termination.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Television occupies a large role in American society; no one is immune to its effects. Without question, "Television is the medium with the greatest potential for transmitting information and beliefs from one group to another"(Dominick,1994,p.512). Those of us who grew up during the 1960's can most certainly recall the vivid imagery of television news. In the 1960's and 1970's, television news covered protests and demonstrations. "With success, the demonstration grew, the coverage increased, and the Revolution spun on with frenzied momentum"(Small, 1970p.42) and the momentum included Black Power, student unrest, political upheaval and dissent against the Vietnam War. It was television news that gave Americans a view of the American soldier which excluded insight into their horror. It was television news which graphically showed Americans the horror of the murder of four college students at Kent State University. It was also television news which forced Americans to re-evaluate their relationships, conceptions and images of ethnic and minority groups, and it was television news which visually, for the first time, dramatized the plight of American Indians and their struggle to keep their culture alive and change the mythical image and squalid living conditions in which most were forced to live.

In the last 20 years, numerous diverse, and often contradictory, studies have been conducted regarding social movements; however, there is very little information regarding television news and its role in the life cycle of a social movement. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate what effect the evolution of a social movement has on the depth of broadcast news coverage. This study will also examine whether a

television news story has a life cycle of its own which contributes or detracts from the life cycle of a social movement. In a brief study such as this, it is impossible to include all of the social movements which characterized the 1960's. I have, therefore, selected one social movement: the take-over of Alcatraz Island in 1969 by Native Americans. During this time period the American Indian joined other groups such as Mexican Americans "...Blacks, women, and other disadvantaged groups in their attempt to establish unity and demand their share of the American Dream" (Hammerback, Jensen, 1980, p.166).

In 1969 noted Native American writer and sociologist, Adam Norwall, declared that "Alcatraz is the first progressive action taken by the Indians since the ghost dance of the 1880's..." (Crawford, 1970). Saroyan (1989) states "Politically, the time was ripe for what would become the first major nationwide protest by American Indians(p.12); Glassner (1995) asserts that "The Indian Movement was born" (p.a10) in San Francisco in 1969; and Sklansky (1989) declares

Indeed, the impact of Alcatraz as a "symbol of freedom" swept the nation in 1970: occupations or protests were held at BIA headquarters in seven other cities; Hundreds of Pomo and Pit River Indians reoccupied territories in Northern California; Chippewa Indians held a Coast Guard station in Wisconsin; Native Americans in Michigan claimed a lighthouse and land on Lake Superior; Indians climbed atop Mount Rushmore in South Dakota and claimed it as theirs; and a Native American group tried unsuccessfully to occupy Ellis Island in New York Harbor (p.50).

Historian Richard DeLuca (1983) maintains that the Indian movement to take over Alcatraz was significant because it was "one of the country's first aggressive and prolonged acts of Indian protest, and its example gave impetus to more militant demonstrations of 'Red Power', ..." (p.4).

This time period was also selected because it was at this precise moment in broadcast history that television news formats and broadcast philosophies changed dramatically and forever with the introduction of the "Eyewitness News" format .

## NEWS PHILOSOPHY: WIN THE LEAD!

In 1969, at about the time of the Indian occupation of Alcatraz, a revolutionary television news format was introduced to the public by WABC in New York City. "The concept, developed by news director Al Primo and station manager Ken McQueen, was based on their notion that news presentations should be 'humanized'. Anchors and reporters were to get more 'involved' in their stories and were to 'care' about what they were talking about" (Westin, 1982, p.210).

The format was called "Happy Talk" or "Eyewitness News." Until that time most newscasts were comprised of a single anchor and were formatted to a 30 minute show. Characteristics of Eyewitness News are: two anchors, a 60-minute time period and the stories are people oriented, that is to say stories are told from the viewer perspective. All of the stories are short, about 90 seconds in length and violent stories with drama take a higher priority in the show, more time is spent on features, and anchors spend more time on-camera interacting among themselves. The most important element, however, is the emphasis placed on the visual image.

The tremendous success of the Eyewitness News format in New York City caused virtually every local station in the country to adopt it. The reason for the acceptance of the format by broadcast management is quite simple; it made money! Klein (1971) states that in one year WABC's Eyewitness format increased its ratings 10%, and that translated into a \$1.2 million of additional station revenue.

Once they were discovered to have money-making potential, money was allocated to improve the quality of the presentations and hire top-notch people to run the operation.

News directors of local stations recognized they had a problem in filling hour-long

newscasts. When they were working in cities that did not generate a lot of 'conventional' news each day, directors redefined 'news': the content was to be expanded. It wasn't done all at once; there was not a consensus among the producers and broadcasters around the country. Slowly, and observing each other's products, learning what worked in one market and what did not, sharing experiences, they began to develop a form of presentation that suited the narrower areas served by individual stations. 'Local news' started to take on a texture of its own--one distinctively different from network programming (Westin, 1982, p.208).

The managers and creators of the Eyewitness News format managed to convince the viewer that news "had" to include the visual, as well as the entertaining.

Within a very short period of time, the Eyewitness News format gave birth to the "Action News" format. This formula placed even more emphasis on the pictures and was what some believe is simply a "pandering to audience appetites"(Martin, 1995, p3). In the Action News format there must be action in the first 12 seconds of the broadcast, and it doesn't matter what the action is. Lead stories became crime stories because they were visual and easy to get. However, at the time of its inception the news department which could use the format successfully often became the news leader in its market.

All of these changes led many critics to disapprove of the emphasis placed on what became known as "sensationalism." Even within the industry, many broadcast journalists took exception to the trend. Noted NBC news authority John Chancellor is quoted as saying these changes are a "painful trend", complaining that the format does not allow for "an accurate picture of the world around us"(Chancellor, 1993, p.38).

Ultimately, the news decisions which created the "Eyewitness News" format are the same decisions which drive newscasts today. Fundamentally, those decision are based on the following concepts; every television operation is different with its own history, geography and economics. These factors contribute to what the viewer expects from his/her station. Once television management knows what the viewers want, it's up to the news department to keep the viewer informed. Some researchers believe this is also the

agenda-setting function of television. According to McCombs & Shaw (1972), the issues people talk about, think about and worry about are shaped and directed by what the news media elect to cover. Simply put, television does not tell us what to think, it tells us what to think about. However, Av Westin (1982), a broadcast professional, believes it is the viewing public who drive a television newscast. He asserts, "The 'lead' story is the most important story of the day. It is the news that professional journalists believe must be told first and, usually, at greater length" (p.58) because it is what people are talking about. Sometimes the "lead is not a single story, but a combination of related items that together are the most important element of the day" (p.58). Another way of looking at this process is through the idea of "critical mass". Aburdene and Naisbitt (1992) describe critical mass as the notion which originated in physics, and is "...the [minimum] amount of radioactive material necessary to produce a nuclear reaction"(p.xx). According to the authors social change happens when critical mass occurs. "In his landmark book The Diffusion of Innovations, Everett Rogers demonstrated that when 13 percent of a population accept a new idea it is only a matter of time before at least 84 percent accept the idea with time as the unknown" (Aburdene and Naisbitt, 1992, xxi). The same theory applies to broadcast news. "Critical mass is like a landslide; it is when a trend becomes a megatrend; it is the point when one accepted social paradigm no longer makes sense and it is replaced by another" (Aburdene and Naisbitt, 1992p. xxi). Relating the idea to broadcast news it is when a story has become so dominant in the viewer consciousness that the broadcast outlet simply cannot ignore it.

Related to the agenda-setting function theory is the idea of a gatekeeper, the decision maker who selects a certain story to put on the nightly newscast. Broadcast researchers believe gatekeepers hold the power to determine the public agenda. Broadcasters, however, argue that the purpose and function of a television station is to inform, entertain, and make money. Broadcasters in local television markets also argue

that a television station must also serve its unique community reflecting that community's political, ethnic and racial diversity.<sup>1</sup>

While there is no magic formula, without question, news identity is the economic foundation on which the entire network or local station is built, and as with Westin (1982), the lead story of any newscast is the foundation of that individual newsroom's identity. A lead story is selected by design to hold the viewer's interest, thereby increasing the viewer base and the station profits. Therefore, the basic news philosophy in virtually all television newsrooms across the country is, "Win the lead"! Simply put, does the newscast start with a bang or with a whimper? Will the viewer tune in or tune out? Again, the lead story of any newscast is designed to attract and hold the viewers' interest.

Television newsrooms are a madhouse in which adrenaline-junkies squabble and scream to meet remorseless deadlines...all of these individuals are bound to, and use, the same basic philosophy. That philosophy revolves around the video generated by the entire operation. Many researchers Dominick, Wurtzel, and Lometti (1975), Carroll (1989), Atwater (1984), Turow (1983), Roberts and Dickson (1984), have analyzed television news content but none have addressed the "Win the Lead" concept, a concept which drives every working broadcast professional. "Win the lead" simply refers to the positioning of a story in the broadcast. It denotes the significance the operation attributes to the individual story. Those stories which appear early in the broadcast and are longer are deemed more important than those which are presented later and are shorter. Fiske (1987) also investigates television news and concludes that negative events are more rhetorically powerful and compelling than positive events because they contain dramatic conflict. If the goal of a newscast is to inform, entertain and increase profit then the dramatic element in news adds to the immediacy and instantaneity of a story. What previous research has failed to show however is that when a story is in its "breaking" stages then it is the viewer who will determine his/her need to know and who will drive



the information into the broadcast and it is the responsibility of the individual news department to fulfill that need.

In a television newsroom, according to Lindekugel (1994), there are basically three types of news stories. These stories are called spot news, general news and soft news. Lindekugel (1994) explains that spot news is referred to as "hard news" and "breaking news." "General" news is usually scheduled events such as press conferences, government meetings, business information or product promotion and finally, there is the feature which is entertainment or human-interest related. This type of story is also called "soft news".

Photographers in all markets shoot all types of news; however, photographers in large markets typically shoot more spot news, and those smaller and medium-size markets are likely to shoot more general news and features. The reason for this is that there are simply more spot-news type events happening in large cities (p.28).

This study proposes to separate the concept of "breaking news" from "hard" and "spot" news. This study also proposes that there are four types of television news stories and these stories follow a cycle. They are the "breaking", "hard/spot", "general" and "feature" stories. A news story flows through these cycles changing as its degree of importance changes in terms of competitiveness and newsworthiness. The goal being, "win the lead!"

Every newscast will include the mandatory news that every network or local station in that market will report. These are "spot" /"hard" stories. Spot or hard stories are the fires, homicides and, most often other, police driven stories. They are "fast paced, exciting, and adrenaline producing"(Lindekugel, 1994, p.29). Spot/ hard stories differ from "breaking stories" because each news room will decide for itself whether the fire, the homicide or the hit and run accident will lead the newscast. Often, if a newsroom reporter has prepared an investigative report, it will push a spot story out of a lead to make room for a station "franchise", that element which clearly belongs to one station rather than another. It is simply a question of "choice". Again, the object is to "Win the lead!"

"Breaking" stories differ in that they are the unusual spot stories such as plane crashes, earthquakes and multiple alarm fires. Every newscast in the market will lead its show with the same story. Here there is no "choice", it simply "is." If the local story is big enough, it could well end up on the national networks as well. A good recent example of such a story would be the bombing, in April of 1995, of the federal building in Oklahoma City. The Oklahoma City bombing was of such magnitude that it was the "lead story" (for more than a week) not only on every American newscast but it led the newscast in every news broadcasting nation around the world. It is also important to remember, however, that because a story is a "Breaking" story in a local market that doesn't mean it will always be the lead story at the national level. The networks, like the local stations, weigh the story against all of the other "Breaking" stories which may have occurred during the day. The networks make their decisions, however, not on a single market but on events which have transpired around the world. Wolfsfeld (1991) explains this issue as "relative news value"(p.11). The author states

The potential news value of any event is constantly being compared to other news items in order to determine its relative importance.  
...The greater the relative news value of a conflict, the more critical it is to cover the story.(p.11)

Very often a story which began its life in a local market as a "Breaking" story, ends up not as the lead story at the network level but because of its news value ends up somewhere within the context of the newscast itself.

"Breaking" stories are critical to a news operation because they can force new viewers into the newscast. Forcing viewers into a newscast means that the story is so big, the average viewer will not want to miss any new information about it. Even the person who never watches a newscast will more than likely want information about that particular story. "Winning the big story" means recognizing that an event has occurred and fulfilling the viewer expectations of the "breaking, event driven" occurrence. The goal is to design a

newscast that will capture and hold the attention of the largest number of people. Hence, it is the viewer who drives the content of that particular broadcast.

The television station news department which dominates a market in news coverage usually dominates in audience and ratings, therefore, it dominates in the rate it can charge its advertisers for commercials aired. This is the primary reason for the competition element within various markets and for the basic news philosophy, "Win the lead!" Having the story in your newscast, however, does not mean the station has won the lead.

Since television is primarily a visual medium, photographers are the key to a newscast. The pictures in news stories are the compelling element through which the audience can relate. As O'Reilly and Splaine (1987) put it "...events without pictures will probably not be reported because without pictures television merely turns into radio"(p.24). News stories must allow the audience to see with their own eyes the people affected. Audiences are more interested in people with whom they can identify than they are with public officials. There are those, however, who argue that a reliance on video is "trivializing the news when we make something that doesn't mean anything seem important" ( Weinstein, 1992, p. 6). Unfortunately, pictures tell stories! For example, the 1990 plane crash in Detroit confirmed the ABC affiliates' dominate position in the market and in news not because they covered the story first but because they were the first on the air with the video.

Detroit: Monday's airport tragedy illustrated three points about television news in Detroit: WXYZ/Ch.7 (ABC) deserves its reputation as a breaking news juggernaut; WJBK/Ch.2 (CBS), despite its poor ratings, can match WXYZ's aggressiveness; and WDIV/Ch.4 (NBC)---which blew the coverage of Flight 255 several years ago---still hasn't learned how to cover a breaking tragedy. WJBK was first on the air at 2:01p.m (EST) with a bulletin about the 1:45p.m. collision, but WXYZ was the first with video some 16 minutes later (Kiska, 1990).

The bottom line to the success of a newscast is simply, if virtually everyone is talking about a story, the news must reflect it. In a telephone interview with Al Primo he elaborated on a philosophy he helped to create by declaring that "One of the things you try to do is structure your entire newscast in such a way that you have the credibility, with the audience, that whatever you decide to give them as the lead story they believe in their heart to be the most important story and are more trustworthy to you. Now most of the time 'that is' the lead story that everybody has." Primo also maintained that, "...you have to have your finger on the pulse of the community that you serve and you have to know that this story is going to mean more to them almost more than anything else they are interested in".<sup>2</sup>

Once a viewer believes a station is always the first with a breaking story and that the anchors in the newscast are always the most knowledgeable about the event, the viewer will come back even when there isn't a breaking story. In essence, the viewer has identified himself/herself with the station. Kenneth Burke (1970) believes that the degree to which persuadees feel that they are being spoken to in their "own language" is critical to creating a sense of identification. Identification is what builds viewer loyalty. Naisbitt (1984) provides additional insight into this fundamental news philosophy. Although he is speaking about newspapers the concept readily applies to television news. "A person can keep only so many problems and concerns in his or her head or heart at any one time. If new problems or concerns are introduced, some existing ones are given up. All of this is reflected in the collective news hole that becomes a mechanical representation of society sorting out its priorities (xxv)".

A news story goes through a series of changes and those changes are based on the premise "Win the Lead." When a story is in its "breaking" stage there will be fierce competition among the networks or within the market to make sure it leads the newscast. As a story unfolds and as each new development to a story is uncovered, a story will move into the "spot" or "hard" category. The spot or hard story could well lead a

newscast, but each operation will decide for itself (depending on what they may have uncovered during the day) whether the story will lead the show. When a story enters the "general" assignments category it has a very small chance to get on the air because of the number of stories which fall into this category.

The last cycle of news story is the feature. There is very little chance that a story which began as a breaking story will end up a feature unless it has some sort of emotional, warm value to it, and if it does, it would normally either close the newscast or close the end of the first segment of a newscast. It will never lead the newscast.

Some stories never go through the full cycle, they begin as general news or features then die. Other stories begin as hard/spot news then transition into general news then die. Often a story begins its news day at 9 a.m. with the producers and reporters thinking it's the lead, but as the day progresses the story loses its importance and sometimes doesn't even make air. Whatever stage a story is in, the primary premise of every newscast is always, "Win the Lead!". Simply put, "What is everybody talking about today." This is the question which must always be asked, answered and fulfilled. Marvin Kalb, professor of press and public policy at Harvard and 30 year veteran of NBC and CBS, takes the philosophy one step farther by explaining most succinctly " Pictures push some stories onto the air because they look good, and the lack of pictures causes other stories to be dropped, shortened, or run later in the show because they are graphically weak" (Bunce, 1995, p.10).

Television news assignment editors, producers, reporters and managers are always looking for the most visual, most dramatic event in the day to fulfill this basic news philosophy. As a result, every story in virtually every newsroom in the country goes through the same evolutionary process.

What follows is an examination of the differences between network and local broadcast news, particularly in the divergent manner in which the "Win the Lead" philosophy is applied to content. The primary difference between a local station and a

network is simply networks have and make more money. They spend more on production capabilities and personnel, and they have more air time. Be it a local station or the network, the overall philosophy stays the same. What they each have in common is that they are regarded by their owners as profit centers. At the local level, Cornelius(1985) asserts "...don't let anybody ever tell you that stations air local news broadcast out of the goodness of their hearts. News makes money. Plenty of it"(p.60). Cornelius(1985) goes on to explain,

Just to give you an idea of how profitable big-time local TV is: a typical station in the top 10 markets sells \$35-million worth of commercial time every year and has expenses of \$24.5 million, for a pre-tax profit of \$10.5 million, or 30 per cent. That's a return that most businessmen in this country would kill for. Even in the smallest markets, the margin is around eight percent and that's not chopped liver (p.60).

News content is driven by station philosophy, and in examining the overall television station philosophy, one must first look to the station owner and general manager. To begin with, station managers believe the purpose and function of a television station is to inform, entertain and make money. Many "news" managers in those very same television stations often divorce the functions of a newsroom from those of the overall television station believing that the function of a newsroom is simply to inform. If, however, the fundamental station philosophy is to inform, entertain and make money, the only vehicle to accomplish those ends is in the newroom. Virtually every production outside of a newscast, including the documentary, special, live telecast, town hall meeting, etc. is produced for broadcast by the news department. Seldom is anything produced or generated by another department and, most local stations never produce anything other than what the news department is able to generate. The smaller the market, the less flexibility there is to produce anything but a local newscast. Therefore, if the only local product a local station is only able to generate is the news, it stands to reason that the newscast becomes the profit center of the local operation.<sup>3</sup> Profits are what drive

television stations, and television stations drive the news; therefore, the purpose of the news program is to attract the largest number of the "right kind" of viewers for revenues which are derived from the sale of advertisements broadcast in, and adjacent to, the newscast. The ratings, or "right kind" of viewer, depends on the audience make-up or demographic. Demographics are simply whether the viewer is male or female and falls between the ages of 18-25, 25-48. The reason for targeting an audience lies in the fact that a commercial advertiser will want to attract a specific type of viewer in order to sell a product. The number one rated station in a market, or the "best" station, is synonymous with the station with the highest ratings. Wulfemeyer(1982), however, points out "ratings are more of a popularity contest...than a real measure of quality." It could then be argued that the popularity aspect of a newscast depends on how entertaining the program is and how attractive the anchors are rather than on the appeal of content material contained in the newscast itself. The single element which distinguishes one newscast from another, is whether the audience can be convinced a newsroom has done a better job in covering the day's events. Again, did the station, "Win the lead". It is important to note here that competition is what drives a newsroom staff and it is demographics and economics considerations which drive top level news and station managers. Ehrlich (1993) astutely notes the ...limitations of defining mass media competition strictly in economic terms..."(p.60). While conducting his investigation of local newsrooms the author observed,

It soon became clear that the producer and others in the newsroom consistently measured their work against that of the three other television news operations in the market. The most obvious manifestation of this was the presence of a bank of four television monitors in the newsroom, each tuned to a different station. Once, giving an impromptu tour of the newsroom to a group of visitors, a reporter pointed to the monitors and said: "we monitor the opposition. We don't want them to have anything we don't." And indeed, during newscasts or during "Newsbreaks" when upcoming newscasts were being promoted, the producer or another newsroom staffer would routinely position him-or herself in front of the monitors,

quickly turning up the volume of each in turn to make sure the station was not getting "scooped," and more often than not making derogatory remarks about the other stations' anchor teams and what stories they were airing ("Stale," the producer would mutter, or: "You can't air that, partner!") (p.68).

Ehrlich concludes, it is "competition" and the premium on being "number one" or finishing first with a story which drive a newsroom staff (p.59).

Local newscasts are truly local in scope, "with comparatively little time devoted to stories that take place outside a 50-mile radius"(Wulfemeyer, 1992, p.486) of the television station. While the networks make decision affecting overall social groups and geographic areas, the local station serves a much smaller area with a specific audience. However, despite the size of the network or of the local station, each is driven by a fundamental philosophy which is to increase profits.

In a television newsroom the basic philosophy and foundation for the persuasive message is tied to "winning the lead". Winning the lead is the central driving force behind every newsroom decision.

As previously stated, a newscast's identity is built around its lead story. "The lead, or first story, in a television newscast has special significance. Unlike a newspaper editor who can put several lead stories on the front page, broadcast journalists must decide on one story that transcends the others in importance" (Foote and Steele, 1986, p. 19). It is the most important news story of the day. The television station which can consistently "Win the Lead", produce the best mix of stories, have the best anchor talent and can be managed most cost efficiently will certainly be the dominant station in a market or the nation. To say this more succinctly, the number one station determines what it will charge for a 30 second spot. The number two station rate is lower, and the number three station is lower still. Hence, winning the lead means winning higher profits.

Television newscasts also have constraints, and those constraints must be taken into account before there is any critical assessment of news content. The typical newscast is only thirty minutes long and must include about 12 minutes of commercials.



Commercials are an essential element because news is a business, and to stay on the air, a newscast must make money. The local newscast also has the obligatory weather and sports segments which take up about another 7 minutes of the show. The result is about 11 minutes of news. "As a result, only a minute or two can be devoted to all but the most significant breaking stories, and the diversity of events in a typical news day produces an amalgam of stories (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991,p.247)". In 1956, Stanley Kelley, a public relations specialist, wrote that "nearly half the content of the nation's better newspapers comes from publicity releases"(p.204). As our society moved into an electronic age, those same press releases went to television newsrooms and became part of the general assignment mix. Even a small television newsroom in a small market can have as many as 50-75 press releases in its daily file. In 1993 Berkowitz wrote that in television newsrooms the assignment editor and selected producers screened news releases and other mail the day before a newscast. "Selection required approximately 10 to 30 seconds per item and was guided by a mix of professional, business, and entertainment norms"(p.49). The author concludes that "only about 25% of the items passed an initial screening" which was then subject to yet another screening at the morning story conference which included any new story items and the morning's newspaper content.(p.49) The availability of this massive amount of information forces newsroom assignment editors and producers to pick and choose those stories with the highest impact value and which will "appeal" to the largest number of people. The crux of the decision making process and of the persuasive messages sent to the viewer is "appeal" rather than information to the largest number of people. Again, the decisions are based to increase the viewer base. Himmelstein (1994) explains that news content is dictated by circumstances:

...a decline of "enterprise journalism", which is time-consuming and expensive requiring extensive backgrounding of stories and cross-checking of sources, and an increased reliance on the packaged press release, news conference, public speech and "photo-opportunity"--routinely covered stories, often of questionable news

value, whose principal value to the news organizations their low cost and easy availability (p.247-48).

Himmelstein's fundamental arguments are correct, however, content decisions are not made randomly. Just as they did in 1970, television stations conduct research. The research can take the form of a very expensive telephone survey or focus group study. Research can also be as simple and inexpensive as simply having the station's public affairs department set up a meeting within a community to listen to the input from various community leaders and viewers. Additionally, as they did in 1970 virtually every television station general manager in the country today requires senior station managers to belong to and actively participate in community organizations such as the NAACP, PTA or Girl Scouts of America. As a result, "Journalists are exposed to the same communities, schools, universities, graduate schools, popular culture--and media--that socialize other Americans into the dominant belief system" (Parenti, 1986, p.37). The bottom line is simply find out what people are talking about and what they are interested in. Through its research television management determines what the audience in a market wants, and it is up to the news department to keep the viewer informed.

Another constraint of television news "...is the visual nature of the medium. With so many stories to choose from and so little time to tell them, stories with a strong visual dimension tend to be favored. The highly visual story is both easier to tell and more in keeping with the entertainment imperative of the news"(Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991,p.248). Fiske (1987) also investigates television news and concludes that negative events are more rhetorically powerful and compelling than positive events because they contain dramatic conflict. If the goal of a newscast is to inform, entertain and increase profit, then the dramatic element in news adds to the immediacy and instantaneity of a story.

...there seems to be little judgment about the importance of one story over another as long as the pictures are good. A spectacular one-alarm fire with a lot of flame may get more air time than a smoldering lumberyard blaze which, though less dramatic, could mean the loss of a dozen jobs. Air time will be spent on fires and

crashes half a world away because of their picture value, Left out, as a result, will be the local school board's debate over library budgets because pictures are nonexistent and because it takes too much time to dig out the facts and explain the more intricate maneuvering (Westin, 1982, p. 208-209).

Regardless, however, of the type of story and the constraints placed upon getting that story on the air, and regardless of the size of the broadcast news operation, the bottom line in every news decision is based on whether it can and will convince the audience to watch the product.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on the media is vast, and the literature on social movement is also vast. However, when compared with other issues which have been studied, the inner workings or philosophy of journalism has been relatively neglected by researchers in the field of social movement. Furthermore, there are very few examples of how, specifically, broadcast journalism may or may not effect a social movement. In attempting to critically examine the role of journalism in social movements one distinct pattern emerges. The vast majority of research in communication is much more focused on the concept of the overall "media" rather than specifically on broadcast or broadcast journalism. Also, there is considerably more research in disciplines outside communication studies regarding social movements and the media. In investigating the effects of the media on social protest Wolfsfeld, (1991) explains that there are two reasons for this potential lack of attention:

The first is related to a more general reluctance of communication scholars to deal with macro-social processes (McLeod and Blumler, 1987). Those who wish to study the role of the mass media in political conflict must grapple with the theoretical and methodological problems associated with looking at the interaction of groups and institutions. The vast majority of research in communication is much more focused on the individual level of analysis.

A second set of problems is much more specific to the topic and centers on the thorny issue of causality: How can one possibly isolate the effects of the mass media from the many other factors which have an influence on political conflict? How can one establish for certain whether it is violence which attracts media coverage or the presence of the media which instigates the violence? How can one develop and test a general theory about the role of the mass media when there are so many very different types of political conflict? (p. 1)

It is important to note, however, there is a consensus among researchers that the media and social movements are an interacting system.

In 1969 Gerzon set the tone for social protest and media research by proclaiming that "Because media experience has been a greater part of this generation's childhood than any before, young people had to see social change not just in terms of history books but in terms of media imagery" (p.43). In The Whole World is Watching, Gitlin (1980) further explained the impact of the media on social protest by explaining how activists of the 1960's influenced media coverage and how the media shaped the course of the social movement, particularly the process by which the media converted leaders into celebrities and uprooted them from accountability.

By 1991 Wolfsfeld resolved that

The role of the mass media in political protests is determined by the interaction between the antagonists (e.g., protest group (s) and the political authorities) and the mass media. The research question can best be formulated by asking: 'Which political actors interact with which type of media coverage to produce what types of outcomes?' (p.2)

Investigating social movement characteristics and its effect on the media, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) contend that "Movements are generally much more dependent on media than the reverse..."(p.116).

Movement-media communication is like a conversation between a monolingual and a bilingual speaker. The media speak mainstreamese, and movements are pushed to adopt this language to be heard since journalists are prone to misunderstand or never hear the alternate language and its underlying ideas (p.119).

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) conclude that social movements need the media for three reasons: Mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement.

Regarding mobilization, most movements must reach their constituency through some form of public discourse. Public discourse is carried out in various forums, including the movement's own publications and meetings. But media discourse remains indispensable for most movements because most of the people they wish to reach are part of the mass media gallery, while many are missed by movement-oriented outlets. Beyond needing the media to convey a message to their constituency, movements need media for validation. When demonstrators chant,

"The whole world is watching", it means that they matter, they are making history. The media spotlight validates the fact that the movement is an important player. Receiving standing in the media is often a necessary condition before targets of influence will grant a movement recognition and deal with its claims and demands. Conversely a demonstration with no media coverage at all is a nonevent, unlikely to have any positive influence either on mobilizing followers or influencing the target. No News is bad news. Finally movements need the media to broaden the scope of conflict (p.116).

In considering how the media cover protests, Hallin (1986) asserts the primary idea to consider is the issue involved. The author describes three concentric circles which outlines how the media approach political issues. The inner circle, the sphere of consensus is that aspect which is not under dispute. The circle of legitimate controversy, represents the debate and solutions proposed. The third and final sphere is the outer circle or the sphere of deviance which is outside institutional recognition or definition. Protests which fall outside the first two circles will be discounted or ignored. The legitimate controversy sphere will be the focal point on which the media will judge the viability of the protest. Hallin (1986) concludes that images projected by media of protesters outside this sphere will be more negative than demonstrations dealing with less controversial positions.

In what could be considered a closely related study to this one, Strodthoff, Hawkins and Schoenfeld (1985) argue that mass media organizations process information in three phases relevant to the evolution of a social cause. The three basic adaptive phases are termed: disambiguation, legitimation and routinization (p.134).

The disambiguation is a process whereby the basic doctrinal tenets of an emerging social cause themselves become defined and distinguished from each other and are first manifest in the content of mass communication channels (p.134).

According to the authors disambiguation should be predominant during the earliest phases of the social movement. "Legitimation is a process by which those who regulate the content for a given channel or media organization recognize various concerns pertinent to a social cause as valid topics for coverage by their particular channels" (Strodthoff,

Hawkins , Schoenfeld, 1985, p.134). Finally, "Routinization is a process whereby content relative to the movement is incorporated into the channel's operations on a fixed basis, such as through regular space, time, or personnel allocation"(p.135). As stated, these could be regarded as related studies with implication to the one under consideration, however, these essays are limited in that they fail to make a clear distinction between overall media and broadcasting.

In attempting to narrow the research and the perspective from the overall media to broadcasting there again is a significant emerging pattern. Unfortunately, the pattern excludes social protest. In the last decade recurring themes in broadcast research include: broadcast operations as profit centers, the new media, technology and finally, agenda setting. First, there is a substantial amount of literature on the economics and profitability issues in broadcasting. All of the research (Allen, C.1993; Carroll, R. L. 1989; Cornelius, L. 1985; Doyle, M.1992; Ehrlich, M.C.1993; McManus, J.1988; Slattery, K.L., Hakanen, E.A.1994; ) in this area share a consensus. A consensus which is best expressed by Weisman (1985) when he discusses the networks,

They are powerful duchies operating within multi-billion-dollar corporations. They employ more than 3000 people, some of whom make five times as much as the President of the United States. Their combined revenues--reportedly \$830 million in 1984--total more than the gross national product of some Third World nations. They exert a direct and profound influence on our Government's policies--and they are resented for it (p.7).

Second, there is a good deal of research surrounding the "new media" (Mayer, G. 1994; Diamond, E., McKay, M., Silverman, R. 1993; Cordell, A. 1991; Brown, J., Walsh, K., Bauman, K., 1990; Abt, V, Seesholtz, M. 1994 ) and its effects on viewers. There is also a good deal of literature regarding technology and its ever changing effects on broadcasting. However, by far the largest amount of research, as it pertains to broadcast, lies in the area of agenda setting.

Agenda setting is best explained by Lasorsa, and Reese (1990) "The national news media in the United States purport to work under the premise that within a news story they present an objective account of news events, giving fair treatment to those with differing positions"(p.60). The authors add, "Audience members, however, cannot judge sources they do not hear. Thus, in addition to choice of stories, news media wield enormous gatekeeping responsibility in their selection of sources, which largely determines the way stories are framed "(p.60). Carter, R., Stamm, K., Keintz-Knowles, K. 1992; Entman, 1989; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hoynes & Croteau, 1989; Kellner, 1990; Soley, 1989; Yagade & Dozier, 1990 all agree that agenda setting is the interdependence between television news and the political and economic systems. This interdependence produces a communication system which does not dispute conventional thinking. Simply put, who controls the news. On a recent Phil Donahue Show (1995) Donna Edwards a reform advocate and attorney for the Center for a New Democracy gives a much bleaker explanation:

...we get all of our information,, news information, from about 29 sources, which is not-an awful lot. On top of that, because corporations own these media outlets, there is control over content. There is control over advertising. There's control over the kind of information and analysis we get (transcript #4373).

In an insightful study of "agenda-building" Berowitz (1987) concludes "The outcome of the agenda-building process should not be viewed, however, within the framework of conspiracy and social control. Instead, the focus should be directed toward examining the relationships between journalists and news sources, as well as examining the news gathering process of journalists" (p.513).

Compounding the afore-mentioned issues is the issue of broadcast strategy. For example, Smith (1977) states the television news industry is laden with strategies aimed at manipulation. Manipulation "...from the selection of words to the tone of voice" which most individuals would call "informative instead of persuasive"(p.147) . Without questions



all of this material is of merit but none of it, specifically, addresses the primary tenet of this study.

Regarding this essay's goal to further an understanding of the ways television news affects social movements and how and why social movements receive television coverage on some occasions and not in others the research had to again be narrowed within the realm of communication studies to include only broadcast news. The research also had to be expanded to include disciplines outside that of communication studies. Unfortunately, this investigation found few examples of research in the area of television news and social protest, and much of the research found deals with a quantitative analysis of a single news story or event.

In 1989 Lehman-Wilzig investigated a 52-day national television strike in Israel to determine to what extent television influenced public protest and concluded:

Indeed, an indication of how little the whole question of mass media/ political conflict has been researched is the fact that from its inception Journalism Quarterly, the most senior communications journal in the field, has published a mere seven articles and/ or research notes, over a period of 65 years, on the connection between the mass media and demonstrations, riots, etc., in all of the subject's manifestations. (p.30)

Extending Lehman-Wilzig's research of Journalism Quarterly to include that time period from 1990 to 1995 this study found no additional material. This is not to say that no one has looked into social movement and its interrelation to television news. For example, Molotch (1979) states "A social movement must create a societal context in which it can survive, prosper and ultimately triumph. One important resource in providing for this fertile context is the mass media and, in particular, the print and broadcast news"(p. 71). Wolfsfeld (1984) states "Protests belong to that special class of events known as news. This can be attributed to the fact that they very often combine many of the major criteria considered necessary conditions for such events: political ramifications, drama (especially when violent), human interest, and novelty"(p.550). Adding, "A powerful protest group is

one that has achieved both a sufficient amount of importance (or notoriety) to demand attention, and the ability to dictate the quality and quantity of information given to the press"(p.551). Wittebols (1993) asserts,

Beyond voting or public opinions polls, grassroots perspectives generally are ignored or discounted. Social protest, person-in-the-street interviews and eyewitness sound bites are virtually the only way ordinary citizens are heard in the news (p.135).

In another study Wittebols (1993) states, "As the virtual sole source of news for most people, television news plays a large role in conveying the issues and the viability of issues which are the focus of protests" (p.159). Gitlin, (1980) concludes that coverage of protests by television news has become a crucial element in how those movements survive, spread or achieve their goals. Hahn and Gonchar (1971) also examine social movement in its relation to television news and conclude that, "Electronic media, predisposed to drama, cover action-oriented movements while ignoring philosophical ones.(p.48-49) The authors continue, "... the media distorts speeches by focusing on the sloganeering which evokes affective rather than cognitive audience response"(p.48-49).

Although all these studies have analyzed the determinants of activism within the context of broadcast news, what they all have in common is that they underscore the importance of a basic broadcast news philosophy and its role in relation to the social movement. In an exhaustive investigation this study could find no research which has systematically compared the evolution of a social movement to the evolution of a television news story. What this study will attempt to do is examine the factors that predict not only what gets covered in a social movement but also how and why.

## METHODOLOGY

In researching and developing this thesis two basic assumptions are made. First that television newscasting represents an inherently rhetorical media form that contains elements and characteristics of persuasion which rely on specific strategies for its appeal. Second, there no longer exists for the rhetorical critic a need to justify selecting television news over more traditional forms of public address for examination. In his essay, "Rhetorical Criticism as Argument," Wayne Brockriede (1974) proposes that the critic will produce a better and stronger criticism through "explanation" rather than mere description or classification. While this essay must begin with description and classification, the conclusions of the thesis itself is grounded in explanation. Brockriede (1974) maintains that, "Once a critic accepts a category system categorically, no matter whose, and once he makes an 'a priori' decision to apply it compulsively when analyzing a rhetorical experience, he is engaging merely in a form of self-fulfilling prophecy" (p. 103). Brockriede also states:

...criticism by explanation...requires a comparison between the experience under scrutiny and a more general concept or category system.... The critic says, in effect, that a general idea about rhetoric can illuminate a concrete rhetorical experience he is studying. He has a battery of searchlights available from which he chooses the ones that can help him light up the rhetorical experience (p.104).

Brockriede also asserts that "...useful rhetorical criticism, whatever else it may be, must function as an argument"(p. 165). It is through this inductive approach that the occupation of Alcatraz as a social movement will be investigated. By first examining the occupation of Alcatraz through a historical perspective a foundation will be established. Once the foundation for this study is determined a content analysis, that is examining what the

media chose to report about the occupation of Alcatraz, will establish a relationship between fact and fiction. Finally, reported facts will be placed within the context of social movement theory and argued, analyzed, and explained within the context of this thesis.

To begin with, if this thesis is to examine the effect the evolution of a social movement has on the depth of broadcast news coverage the first point to be addressed is what is a social movement. Griffin's (1952) seminal article defines a social movement as containing these elements: first, a social movement is something that has taken place in the past; second, movements are linear "men have become dissatisfied with some aspect of their environment, they desire change-social, economic, political, religious, intellectual, or otherwise--and desiring change, they make efforts to alter their environment; eventually their efforts result in some degree of success or failure"(p.184). Numerous critics have all contributed to the diverse body of information defining a social movement; Andrews, 1973; Wilson, 1973; Wilkinson, 1976; Cathcart, 1978; Stewart, 1980; and, Sillars (1980) are but a few.

Social movements have a linear life cycle. That is to say they have a beginning, middle and end. Griffin said in 1952 that he found a movement to have "its inception, its development, and its consummation"(p.185). Bowers, Ochs and Jensen (1993) describe a social movements evolutionary cycle as; petition and promulgation, solidification, nonviolent resistance, escalation/confrontation and Gandhi and guerrilla (p.44). In the same tradition Stewart, Smith and Denton(1989) investigate the life cycle of a social movement and root their theory in Mark Knapp's (1984) model stages within interpersonal relationships. According to Knapp, the process includes two primary stages, that of coming together and coming apart. The coming together stage includes the process of initiating, experimenting, intensifying, integrating and bonding. The coming apart stage includes differentiating, circumscribing, stagnating, avoiding and terminating.

The focus of this thesis will therefore center on the theories found in Stewart, Smith and Denton's (1989) comprehensive book Persuasion and Social Movements. By

their definition, a social movement must have: First, organization; second, not be part of any institution which could determine change; third, it must be large in scope encompassing a significant geographical area, time and number of people; fourth, "a social movement proposes or opposes a program for change in societal norms, values, or both (p.9)"; fifth, the rhetoric used by the leaders and members of the movement must be moral in tone. Using this definition the Indian take-over of Alcatraz Island was in fact a social movement. The authors further explain that the life cycle of a social movement has five stages: genesis, social unrest, enthusiastic mobilization, maintenance and termination. It is on this final fundamental theory that this thesis will evolve and be based.

Since there is no single historical account existing of all of the news events regarding the American Indian occupation of Alcatraz, this study will attempt to merge both personal and reported accounts regarding the events. Because as Kraft (1969) once wrote

To a very large extent, the gathering of news is a process of playing off adversaries to squeeze out information. Inevitably, the process is messy. No single reporter or paper or broadcasting network can be said to have all the news. All the news is what emerges from the vast range of papers, radio stations, TV networks, magazines and books that are constantly put out in this country. Under this system, the truth is not so much arrived at as surrounded(p.5).

This study will attempt to surround all of the information available regarding the Indian occupation of Alcatraz. To that end this study is divided into 4 chapters and 3 appendixes. Chapter 2 of this thesis begins by offering a historical overview of the occupation, the people, politics and the motives which created the social movement. Chapter 3 will specifically examine and discuss what the lead story was on a television newscast the day of a reported "breaking" or "spot/hard" event on Alcatraz. Taking this first point into consideration, the day, the event, the times, and differences, between what the newspapers reported and what was covered by the television newscast

will be investigated. By using the established definition for "breaking" and "hard/spot" news, a distinction will be made between what actually occurred vis-à-vis Alcatraz and what the network news chose to lead the newscast with on that particular day. The event or stage of a news story will then be juxtaposed against its stage in the social movement and one will be evaluated for its impact against the other. The investigation will be restricted to what came out of the television tube and concerned only with the "Win the Lead" motivation which is at the heart of this thesis. Chapter 4 will conclude with an evaluation and commentary on the effectiveness and potential for the "Win the Lead" philosophy and its implication for social movement theory with some suggestions and conclusions given solely by this author.

Because this study is so heavily reliant on data, and because there is so much data (which slows the pace of the study), 3 different sets of appendixes had to be created. Appendix 1 contains the primary data for analysis. Inasmuch as the American press serve as reporter for the facts presented to the American public, the data consists of a consolidated chronology of the reported facts and opinions of noted newspapers. For this analysis newspapers of national reputation such as the Los Angeles Times, New York Times and Washington Post will be utilized for their general significance and excellence. In Appendix 2 a distinction is made between the national and the local press. The San Francisco Chronicle and the San Francisco Examiner will be used specifically because of their proximity to Alcatraz Island and its reporters' ability to cover the Alcatraz occupation on a daily basis. In preparing the data for the newspaper analysis the Indexes were used wherever possible. Since no Index is available for the Las Angeles Times for the years 1969, 1970 and 1971 the research entailed going through all of the newspapers individually. As it pertains to the New York Times, the chronology was put together using the Times Index for 1969, 1970, and 1971. The Washington Post Index collection began with the year 1971, therefore all of the newspapers between November 1, 1969 and December 31, 1970 had to be research individually as well.

Regardless of the Index availability, every newspaper story was pulled, read and analyzed. The date, page and column numbers in which the story appears are included in each and every entry. Also included is the headline and a brief edited and rewritten version of the body of the story taking special care not to leave out any information which could affect the placement of that story within broadcast context. This strategy is used simply to "identify" potential information and not to implicate or impose "print" characteristics on a visual medium.

After the initial newspaper chronology, Appendix 3 will contain a broadcast news chronology. Since its inception in the fall of 1968, the Vanderbilt Television News Archives in Nashville, Tennessee has made video-tape copies of each weekday network evening news program. To insure that the present study provides more than a cursory examination of the Occupation of Alcatraz by American Indians, the physical visual examination at the archives consisted of a complete and detailed investigation of every single story aired. The stories were located by using the Archive Index for each of the three networks. (A videotape of those stories will accompany this thesis.) As with the newspapers, the dates examined were restricted to everything occurring between November 1, 1969 to June 31, 1971. Using actual television logs from scripts and videotape, each newscast containing information about Alcatraz was viewed, tracked and dubbed in Nashville.

The following information was logged: (a) broadcasting outlet or station airing the story, (b) air date, (c) story placement...within the newscast, (d) length of story aired, that is the amount of air time given the story due to the fact that the amount of air time given to stories has an impact on its perceived credibility and (e) tape contents and type of visuals used in the story. Noting, for example, if the story was either a "voice-over" or anchor "read" or a "package". "It is generally agreed that voice-over film (film with a narrator's voice accompanying the visual message is less stark, less 'real' and less 'on the spot' than non-voice over newscast, the latter being greatly similar to the cinema verite

technique used in documentaries and in some movies ( Frank, 1973,p.43). Since in 1969, 1970 and 1971 there were only three network news operations broadcasting on a daily basis, only the logs for ABC, CBS, and NBC are being used.

An attempt was also made to determine what newsreports and film were available at the local television stations in San Francisco. By using the 1993 Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook a list of all the television stations currently operating in San Francisco was compiled. Of the 10 stations in operation only 5 were on-the-air in 1969. Telephone calls were placed to each of those stations. KQED, the PBS station and KOFY, the independent did not air a newscast in 1969. When speaking with representatives of the three remaining network affiliates it was determined that KPIX the CBS affiliate, and KGO the ABC affiliate did not keep any copies of their scripts. KPIX indicated that their 1969-1971 local newsfilm was housed at San Francisco State University and could be viewed at the library. However, in spite of the film availability, without scripts it would be impossible to determine whether a story was run as the lead story in the newscast. Only KRON the NBC affiliate had both scripts and film available, however, it was not available to the general public. .

Once all the available data is collected and evaluated the occupation of Alcatraz Island by American Indians, or the social movement, will in effect become the evidence for this thesis.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE TAKING OF ALCATRAZ

In the 1960's, minority groups no longer accepted white-middle class stories about their lifestyles and culture. "Rather than allow minorities to maintain pride in their culture and lives, whites tried to make the uniqueness negative. Minorities saw the white media, literature, histories and studies by social scientists as generally showing their lifestyle to be inferior to that of middle-class whites. These institutions often stereotyped and degraded minorities, thus upholding the myth of white superiority" (Jensen, "n.d.", p.4). In Alcatraz Is Not an Island, Peter Blue Cloud (1972) asserts that the 1969 "Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island was the attempt of our people to awaken a nation asleep"(p.11).

Jensen ( "n.d." ) also investigates American Indian Rhetoric in the 1960's and 1970's and maintains there was "a significant change in the rhetoric of American Indians, particularly among young activists. The young agitators called for a reassertion of Indian rights, a rejection of assimilation, a return to the values which existed before the arrival of whites, and confrontation with the white power structure"(p.9). Adam Fortunate Eagle (1992) recounts the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 as an event which actually began five years earlier in 1964.

The handful of Bay Area Sioux, born on a reservation in South Dakota, had chartered a boat, landed on Alcatraz on the blustery Sunday morning of March 8, 1964, and driven claim stakes into the ground under the Sioux Treaty of 1868. The biggest stories ran in the Examiner and the Oakland Tribune. They publicized not just the "invasion" but also its underlying goals, which were to test the validity of the 1868 treaty and remind people of the more than 600 treaties which had been broken and other injustices which were still being committed against Native Americans by the federal government (Eagle, 1992,p.14).

The treaty of 1868 permitted Indians to stake claims on unused government land. However, when Congress ~~repealed~~ <sup>revoked</sup> the treaty in 1934, it made special exception of the Sioux. When Alcatraz Island was occupied in 1964 it was 5 Sioux who claimed a stake under that exemption. Twenty people took part in the landing in 1964: the 5 Sioux, their attorney and numerous reporters and photographers who went along to document the event. Once on the island, the leader and spokesman for the group, Allen Cottier, addressed the media;

He was wearing his war bonnet, and with the eagle feathers blowing in the wind he looked quite magnificent, as befit a descendant of the famous warrior-chief Crazy Horse. Allen stated that the action was entirely peaceful and in accordance with Sioux treaty rights, and he proclaimed Alcatraz to be surplus land under the Treaty of 1868. He said the Sioux were offering just compensation for Alcatraz, the same 47 cents per acre the federal government had just offered the California Indian tribes for lands illegally taken from them since the Gold Rush (Eagle, 1992,p.16).

A couple of hours into the occupation, the acting warden arrived on the island. He "...began shouting that we were all trespassing and violating the law" (Eagle, 1972, p.17). The press retreated. When it appeared that people could be hurt, the small group left the island just ahead of federal agents.

Exactly four hours after the landing the U.S. Government forced the Sioux to leave under threat of arrest and prosecution. But important things managed to get said, and the reporters listened. As a result of the media's interest, the protest of Indian people in the Bay Area got much more public attention than they could have garnered with yet another protest meeting (Eagle, 1992,p.17).

Eagle (1992) also states that "After the brief Sioux invasion, we kept thinking about Alcatraz, and the ball began rolling in the direction of the much bigger and longer-lasting Indian occupation of 1969" (p.18).

According to DeLuca (1983), following the Sioux claims of 1964 meetings were held between members of the Indian Community and members of the newly formed

President's Commission on Alcatraz. Proposals were offered on what to do about Alcatraz Island. Suggestions ranged from the construction of a monument dedicated to the United Nations to the construction of an Indian cultural center and university. Later that spring, however, an opinion was handed down stating that the Indians had no claim to Alcatraz and the federal government could do with Alcatraz whatever it wished. In 1965 legislation was introduced in Congress which would have shifted control of the Island to the National Park Service, however, that resolution was never acted upon.

In 1968 the federal government tried to offer the Island to the State of California and the City of San Francisco. The state refused, but the City accepted the offer and for eighteen months the city listened to proposals from various business and community leaders .

More than five hundred proposals were submitted for the infamous prison island, and they ran the gamut from religious and patriotic monuments to gambling casinos and museum-like tourist attractions. One commercial venture, however, was singled out by the city for approval. Sponsored by Texas businessman Lamar Hunt, the plan consisted of three elements: retaining the prison cellblock as a tourist attraction; constructing shops and restaurants along the north side of the island that would be an historically accurate reproduction of San Francisco, 1890's.

In late September of 1969, the board of supervisors gave Hunt's proposal their stamp of approval. That action incensed our local Native American community, especially those involved with the Bay Area United Native American Council and others associated with the American Indian Center. Both of those agencies had helped to sponsor the failed occupation of the island in 1964 and believed Alcatraz still had great symbolic value. Almost immediately, planning got underway to launch another occupation. The targeted date was the summer of 1970.(Mankiller, 1993, p.190)

However, the new proposals for Alcatraz came at a time very different than those introduced first in 1964. In a short five year period, San Francisco had become the center of both social and cultural upheaval. "A seemingly endless tide of demonstrations, sit-ins, urban riots and political assassinations had produced nation-wide civil rights, ecology and women's liberation movements and, strongest of all, raging opposition to the United States involvement in the war in Vietnam" (DeLuca, 1983,p.11). "Amid the social unrest of the late sixties, the problems of the American Indian population were becoming a cause of national concern" (DeLuca, 1983.p.11). The war on poverty legislation sponsored by President Johnson was expanded to include the Indian communities, and other land claims "...similar to those in California were being filed by tribes in Florida, Oklahoma, New Mexico..." (DeLuca, 1983,p. 11). The "new awareness of the Indians' plight crossed over from courtrooms and legislative chambers into the popular culture and, as well, passed from an older to a younger generation of Indian activist" (DeLuca, 1983, p.12).

It was in this climate of rebirth and awareness that five years after the Sioux occupation, that plans for the 1970 occupation were aborted when a

...four-alarm fire on the night of October 28 destroyed the American Indian center building in the Mission district. The center had, for the past 11 years provided employment, health care and legal assistance to the thousands of Indians relocated from federal reservations to urban areas like San Francisco and Oakland. The fire catalyzed the Indians desire for action. Instead of waiting six months for the planned summer occupation, a group of college-aged Indians active in the center called for a brief "symbolic occupation" simply sailing around the island twice a few weeks before Thanksgiving. On the afternoon of Sunday, November 9 a band of 50 Indians and a few reporters boarded a chartered clipper ship for the trip from San Francisco to Alcatraz. Among the Indians was a young Mohawk, 27-year old Richard Oakes....Oakes and a few other Indians decided that a symbolic gesture wasn't strong enough to express their frustration over broken treaties and other abuses suffered by generations of American Indians. On the spur of the moment, Oakes and four other Indians jumped ship and swam to the island where their advance was stopped by the caretaker's watchdog. Several hours later, federal marshals arrived by Coast Guard cutter and ordered the landing party to leave the island. The Indians obeyed, but that night, Oakes and 14 others...returned.(Saroyan, 1989,p. 12).

The next day the group surrendered to GSA regional director Hannon. Oakes, "...left Alcatraz on November 10 and traveled to Southern California, where he gave a speech to a large gathering of Indian students at the University of California at Los Angeles. There he marshaled supporters to join with Indians from the Bay Area to launch a sustained occupation of the Prison Island" ( Saroyan, 1989, p.12). In the early hours of November 20,1969, Richard Oakes and a group of 90 Native Americans from the Navajo, Sioux, Winnebago, Blackfeet, Apache, Cheyenne and Iroquois, in all 20 tribes, boarded two fishing boats in Sausalito. They crossed a five mile strip of San Francisco Bay and arrived on Alcatraz Island. Their goal was self-determination. "We must forever survive as Indians. From this day on we will refuse to be herded like cattle or treated like wild beasts by a bureaucratic government. We will plan our own futures and educate our own children. Past lies must be abolished once and for all" (Cloud, 1972, p.21). Most of the members of the group were college students, "several married couples, and some half-dozen children aged two through six" (DeLuca,1983.p.2). They called themselves Indians of All Tribes. "Using two pleasure boats, the Indians ferried themselves and their supplies through the dark to the landing dock on the east side of the island" (DeLucca, 1983, p.2).

When they arrived on "The Rock", they were met by its sole occupant--caretaker Glenn Dodson, part Indian. He said the Indians yelled, "Mayday"! The Indians have landed!". Dodson directed them to the vacant warden's mansion, which became the Indians' occupation headquarters. The tribes proclaimed their ownership of Alcatraz Island as 'free Indian land' by ancestral 'right of discovery'. They painted in bold red letters across the prison's cement wall, 'You are now on Indian land', and on the water tower, "Peace and Freedom Welcome," and hung a huge portrait of Apache legend Geronimo in the warden's house (Indian Thanksgiving, 1989).

The day after the invasion Oakes, the leader of the group, and an attorney representing the group telephoned a list of demands to the Department of the Interior. "Among them was the expectation that the federal government return Alcatraz to the Indians within two weeks and thereafter, provide funds for a major university and cultural

center on the island"(DeLuca, 1983, p.14). The "moccasin telegraph" by which information "circulated throughout Native America carried the news of a cultural and political rebirth to the reservations and other cities. Delegations of tribal people arrived on pilgrimages"(Sklansky, 1989,p.34).

The Indian demands were non-negotiable. "After years of decrying without response the abuses of white society, Native Americans found the key to recognition on the twelve windswept acres of Alcatraz. The images of proud, bold tribal men and women claiming this island prison as their own suddenly made Native Americans come alive from the dry pages of history, and made their cultural aspirations seem real"(Sklansky, 1989, p.35). From the beginning the government "response was restrained, and this strategy of wait-and-see inaction defused the potentially explosive confrontation"(DeLuca, 1983,p.14).Officials visited the island often and repeated their "concern about the health and safety hazards posed by the prison's crumbling structures, inadequate sanitation, and lack of heat"(DeLuca, 1983, p.14). The government, however, would not concede to any demands and refused to discuss any grievances until the Indians were off the Island.

What the public was exposed to for the first time were three different sets of images and realities regarding the American Indian. First,

There was the familiar image of the American Indian of old, dramatically reasserting itself in a modern environment: here was the chieftain in feathered headdress addressing reporters, the teepee on the prison grounds. This was the symbol of cultural revival and isolationism, the rejection of illusory progress on the mainland in favor of peace on the centuries-old island. Second, there Thanksgiving on Alcatraz was the dominant image here, Native American seen celebrating the pilgrim holiday with food brought from the mainland, as well as appearing on the Merv Griffin Show and sitting beside federal officials who wore coats and ties. The message concerned the treatment of native Americans as proper American citizens, rather than a resignation of their citizenship. Alcatraz was not an island, but a bridge to greater understanding and sensitivity. Third, there was the prison itself as an image of total rebellion, the inmates running the institution (Sklansky, 1989, p.36).

The public was sympathetic to the Indian cause, "San Franciscans sent food, medical supplies, and other assistance; tourists ferried to the island to give words of encouragement; and enthusiastic Indians from reservations and other urban areas came to live there temporarily or permanently (Josephy, 1971, p.186). Public sympathy also tempered any federal thoughts of taking more forceful action" (DeLuca, 1983, p.16). DeLuca(1983) maintains the situation was in the news, but at a stalemate (p.16). A pan-tribal conference was planned for December 23. It was hoped that the conference would bring Indians from across the country together to unite around the issue of Alcatraz. In an effort to gain more attention and keep up the maintenance and their visibility in the media, "On December 22, the eve of the conference, the Indians started their own radio program, Radio Free Alcatraz, which was on the air daily on Berkeley radio station KPFA-FM, in Los Angeles on KPFX, and in New York City on WBAI, thus reaching out to an estimated 100,000 listeners.(DeLuca, 1983, p.16). The Indians of All Tribes hoped the national broadcast would bring a large turnout for the conference. Unfortunately, the conference was a public failure, only 100 people from various groups participated discussing new ideas and re-hashing old ones.

Meanwhile, the Indians, on Alcatraz had established an organizational structure soon after the occupation began, but problems of leadership and behavior persisted. Factions had already began to form among the seven member elected council, some of whom were resentful of councilman Richard Oakes, who had captured a disproportionate amount of media attention. As the occupation wore on, boredom also increased, and as one result, the island's security force (called the Bureau of Caucasian affairs) become more vocal and militant. Pointless vandalism began, reporters were occasionally harassed, and the proclaimed ban on liquor and drugs was openly violated (DeLuca, 1983,p.16).

At the beginning of January 1970, Richard Oakes' 12-year-old daughter fell though a stairwell in one of the Island's buildings and was killed. The group's most visible leader, Richard Oakes, left Alcatraz.

The stalemate with the federal government continued. Negotiations with the government ended on March 31, 1970 when the government made its best offer. Robert Robertson, part of the vice-president's White House staff, suggested that a park was the best use for the Island and wanted a committee, "composed of Indians chosen by the Secretary of the Interior from lists supplied by Indian groups across the country be formed to work with the department in developing a master plan for Alcatraz that would "maximize the Indianness of the island in the context of a park"(DeLuca, 1983.p.17). Robertson also offered the possibility of another location other than Alcatraz for an Indian University. In his retrospective eulogizing Democratic California Congressman Philip Burton, Jacobs (1995), a reporter with the San Francisco Chronicle, explains that Burton and then President Nixon disagreed about the Indian situation. Burton is quoted as having heard President Nixon order Walter Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, to "Get those goddam Indians off Alcatraz"(p.M10).

Hickel's ingenious solution to getting the Indians off the Island was to make Alcatraz part of the national recreation area. The Indians continued to hold "firm to their demand for nothing less than complete control of Alcatraz and their university"(DeLuca, 1983,p.17). DeLuca(1983) suggests that life on Alcatraz was deteriorating. "A physicians' inspection in February revealed that, while the Indians appeared healthy, hygiene on the island was extremely poor "(p.18).

The Indians planned a Liberation Day protest to take place on May 31. However on May 27 the government formally announced that Alcatraz Island would be a central element in the golden Gate National Recreation Area. The rally went on as scheduled, "Hundreds of Indians swarmed onto this old prison site today in a bold challenge to the Federal Government's plan to convert it into a national park. 'We are not defying the Government' a spokesman for the Indians said, 'we are just declaring our rights.' It was warm and sunny today and the Indians appeared in a festive mood. But they were strong



in reaffirming their position that they would not vacate the island" (Caldwell, 1970).

For the Indians of All Tribes the situation went from bad to worse. On June 1 at

11:05p.m. the Coast Guard reported seeing a fire on Alcatraz;

The dispute between the Indians encamped on Alcatraz and the Federal Government intensified today after a series of fires destroyed a number of the old prison buildings on the Island last night...Joseph Morris, a Blackfoot Indian living on Alcatraz, angrily branded as 'damned lies' reports that the Indians had set the fires....According to the United States General Services Administration the fires began about 10:30P.M. and continued until about 4 A.M. About 8 A.M., the agency reported, a second blaze started. It destroyed the lighthouse.... The fire this morning prompted Thomas E. Hannon, regional director of the agency, to look with suspicion on the Indians. 'They say that someone from the outside started the fires last night,' he said. 'Well, my question is who started the fire this morning?'....Mr. Hannon called the fires 'just one more factor' in what he described as the mounting problems of Alcatraz since the Indian take-over. He also mentioned filth, vandalism, infighting and disease (Caldwell, 1970).

"What had begun as a symbol of Native American reconstruction had become muddled by conflicting images of self-destruction" (Sklansky, 1989, p.52). Yet the standoff continued and in September there were rumors that the Indians would be forcibly removed. That never happened. In November of 1970, DeLuca (1983) states some ninety Indians on Alcatraz celebrated the occupation's one-year anniversary. Only three persons from the original landing party remained (p.19). The group held on! Nineteen months after it began, on June 11, 1971, the last fifteen Indians were removed from Alcatraz forcibly, without incident, by federal marshals.

In the end, as Streb (1974) states "The occupation of Alcatraz Island was a failure...yet the Alcatraz experience provided the Indian militants with a clear-cut diagram of the rhetorical deficiencies in the 'Red Power' movement"(p.12). The author adds that the "conclusion of the Alcatraz occupation marked the end of 'Red Power' adolescence" (p.12). On the other hand Sklansky (1989) also investigated the Alcatraz occupation and concludes that

After years of decrying without response the abuses of white society, Native American found the key to recognition on the twelve windswept acres of Alcatraz. The images of proud, bold tribal men and women claiming this island prison as their own suddenly made Native Americans come alive from the dry pages of history, and made their cultural aspirations seem real (p.35).

## CHAPTER 3

### DISCUSSION

The discussion portion of this study will be divided into three parts. The first portion will examine the 1964 invasion of Alcatraz and its impact and implication on social movement theory. The second portion of the discussion will develop this thesis on a theoretical basis. Theoretical, for two reasons. First, while the ruling broadcast philosophy of "Win the Lead!" was established in the late 1960's, it was not until the advent of new technologies in the 1970's and 1980's that it became possible for virtually every station in the country to compete for the "big story". In the 1970's, "The advent of portable video cameras and microwave news vehicles revolutionized television journalism... Electronic newsgathering (ENG) has enable broadcasters to process both picture and sound information quickly, enhancing the immediacy of the local television news" (Lacy, Atwater, Powers, 1988, p.925). In the 1980's satellite news gathering (SNG) allowed station to feed their videotape from virtually anywhere in the world within moments of the actual event. Yoakam and Cremer (1985) assert that the use of SNG has enabled local television markets to "...show how something that is happening far away impacts on the local community" (p.314). With this new technology, Lacy, Atwater and Powers (1988) explain that "Since the 1950's the three commercial networks have been the dominant purveyors of national and international news. But, as more local stations invest in SNG, some media analysts foresee an erosion of network dominance in this regard"(p.925) In their study of satellite news gathering and news department operation Cleland and Ostroff (1988) conclude that while in previous decades networks and their local affiliates worked together to make news stories available to the viewer, today SNG

organizations such as CONUS "are driving a wedge into the traditional network-affiliate relationship: national news stories are now available from more than one source"(p.946). Without question where local stations once worked closely with their networks to give and receive information, today that is not necessarily the case. In 1985 Broholm conducted a survey through the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA). The author surveyed 50 news directors in the nation's 50 largest markets and found that stations using satellite uplinks were more likely to travel outside the market to gather news. The quantitative analysis showed that 93% of the news directors agreed that "Using satellite for newsgathering gives a station a competitive edge over stations that don't"(p.26). Again, both at the local and at the network, the primary reason, driving every decision, is simply "Win the Lead!". All of the new technology simply enhances the competition factor. The second reason for the theoretical nature of this section of the discussion is that it was not possible to examine neither local news scripts nor newsfilm at the local level. The material either no longer existed or after repeated attempts to arrange to examine scripts they simply could not be made available.

As this thesis concerns itself with the evolution of a social movement in relation to the evolution of a broadcast news story, each stage of a social movement will be examined and juxtaposed to that of the life cycle of a news story. However, the focus of this study is the "Win the Lead" news philosophy, therefore, the discussion will center primarily on "Breaking" and "Hard/ Spot" news stories and their relation to social movements. The final portion of the discussion will examine this study's thesis using the news stories which were actually broadcast on the three national network news programs.

Stewart, Smith and Denton (1989) explain that, "If we are to comprehend the social movement as a unique collective action in which persuasion is pervasive, then we must be able to determine if the phenomenon under investigation is in fact a social movement" (p.4). Using definitions, which have been established earlier in this work, the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island, 1969-71 was a social movement. However, because

of its historical significance, and impact on the 1969-1971 occupation, it bears mentioning here that the 1964 four-hour take-over of Alcatraz Island was not a social movement. Yet, it could be argued that without the 1964 occupation of Alcatraz there might not have been a later occupation. Noted Native American writer and sociologist, Adam Nordwall, states that within the San Francisco Indian community "...the Alcatraz invasion had been discussed continuously ever since a group of Sioux landed briefly on the Rock in 1964..."(Crawford, 1970).

As it pertains to social movement theory, the 1964 occupation of Alcatraz was the pre-inception stage of the movement. A pre-inception stage is that period in which rhetors work to emphasize or create the sentiment essential for the birth of a movement. Jensen and Abeyta (1987) argue that every social movement has a pre-inception period in which every social group clarifies the choices of arguments and themes needed to create a movement. Jensen and Abeyta(1987) also explain that in order to achieve a national movement, rhetors in individual groups need to study, analyze and understand the psychology, history and demographics of their community before a movement can be created. Adam Fortunate Eagle (1992) asserts: "...after 1964 the idea of an Indian Alcatraz was never far from our thoughts, and for a lot of younger Indians it began to assume the aura of almost a Holy Grail" ( p.18). It is the opinion of this researcher that one cannot look at the occupation of Alcatraz Island by American Indians 1969-1971 without taking into consideration the impact of the earlier occupation.

Unfortunately, as it pertains to television news, no video or film records exist of the 1964 occupation, therefore, it was not possible to conduct an analysis and explore the broadcast news impact of the 1964 occupation on this work.

As previously stated every television newscast contains mandatory news that every network or local station in that market will report. Of the different types of stories available only "Breaking" or "Spot" /Hard" stories will ever be considered for the lead in a newscast. "Spot/ Hard" stories differ from "Breaking" stories because each news room

decides for itself which news stories will lead the newscast. "Breaking" stories on the other hand will always lead a local newscast and more often than not be included in a network newscast. If the story is "big" enough it will also lead the network newscast but, that "local" story will have to be evaluated against all of the major stories which have occurred internationally. According to Chuck Bark, news director for WALA-tv, in Mobile, in covering a "Breaking Story" "...you are reacting to events rather than planning a day or so in advance as you might on a daily news day" (Huff, 1995, p.1) This is yet another distinction which can be made about breaking news. And, it is a consideration which directly impacts the rest of the entire newscast.

Having examined and evaluated all of the print coverage, for content, of the occupation of Alcatraz only a handful of the over 261 reported and over 100 individual stories during that time period fit the established definition for a "Breaking Story".

They are:

1. The initial takeover, by 14 Indians, of the Island, 11/10/1969(Appendix 1,2);
2. The first day of the occupation by 80 Indians 11/21/69 (Appendix 1,2);
3. The fall, 1/6 death 1/8/70 and memorial service 1/12/1970 of 12 year Yvonne Oakes (Appendix 1,2,3);
4. The government turns down the Indian request 5/28/70 and will tear down Alcatraz in order to build a national park.(Appendix 1,2,4);
5. A fire destroys 5 buildings on the Island 6/2/1970 (Appendix 1,2,3);
6. The Federal Marshals retaking of the Island 6/11/1971 (Appendix 1,2,3).

It is worth mentioning again, and the data supports the idea that a "Breaking Story" will always have its roots, contain the best and most accurate information, in the media outlets in the city and state where the story originates. As an example, when Richard Oakes' 12 year old daughter fell, in the three story brick apartment building on Alcatraz, the fall occurred on Saturday January 3, 1969. The story was reported in the

San Francisco Examiner on Monday January 5 (Appendix 2). However, the story does not appear in any national newspapers other than the Los Angeles Times and that on January 6 (Appendix 1). In relation to broadcast news only CBS news mentions the story of her death on January 8 (Appendix 3). Without question, all of the best, and most timely information came first from the two San Francisco papers and the Los Angeles Times.

Continuing the investigation of the print media coverage of the occupation of Alcatraz there is also just a handful of stories which fit the "Hard/Spot" news category. They include:

1. The Coast Guard put a blockade around the Island 11/23/1969 (Appendix 1,2);
2. Navigational aids tampered with on Alcatraz 1/25/1970(Appendix 2);
3. Red paint splashed on building facing City after government announcement that all building on the Island would be demolished 5/28/1970(Appendix1,2);
4. No more water and electricity for the Indians 5/29/1970(Appendix 1,2);
5. Probe of theft of plumbing fixtures begins 6/5/1970 (Appendix 2);
6. Coast Guard cutter is threatened with firebomb by Indians 8/12/1970 (Appendix 2);
7. Gun shots fired and steel nuts fired from sling shots on Alcatraz narrowly missed injuring an 8 year old boy on tour boat. 3/22/1971(Appendix 2).

Using the newspaper data collected, what follows is a theoretical discussion of the established life cycle of a news story to the Stewart, Smith and Denton (1989) definition of the life cycle of a social movement.

### *Genesis/General News*

In the first stage, or genesis of a social movement, "The 'people' and established institutions are unaware of the problem or perceive it to be insignificant or of low priority . Other concerns dominate the attention of the people, their leaders and institutions, and the

mass media"( Stewart, Smith, Denton, 1989, p.22). By example there are several stories in both the San Francisco Chronicle and the San Francisco Examiner in the early part of November (See Appendix II) which discuss both City Hall and developer plans for Alcatraz. Yet no mention is made of the Indian community's plight regarding the loss of their cultural center.

As is characteristic of the genesis period and as it pertains to the take-over of Alcatraz, Indian leaders had tried to work with and within established institutions with little result. This is evidenced by the fact that in the 1960's few people knew the "...average per capita reservation income was \$1,000; the average unemployment rate among Indians was 40%; a 900% greater incidence of tuberculosis on the reservation; and a suicide rate twice that of non-reservation persons" (Hickey, 1973, pp.22-23). Also, outside of mythical cowboy and Indian film and television programs little attention was given the American Indian in the media and the press. Murphy (1979) investigated the role of the press regarding the American Indian and found "From the early years of the 20th Century through the 1960's little coverage of Indian affairs or events is found in white newspapers"(p.40). This evidence supports the genesis period argument that the Indian was virtually invisible in mainstream American society .

The genesis period is also that time which produces the movement's prophets who "produce essays, editorials, songs, poems, pamphlets, books and lectures designed to transform perceptions of the past, the present, and the future. They define and they visualize" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989,p.22). Following the 1964 occupation of Alcatraz:

Everywhere across the country Indians mocked Thanksgiving and Columbus Day holidays, harassed museums that they accused of desecrating their ancestral bones and exhibiting sacred regalia, closed public beaches and international bridges, demanded Indian Studies programs in schools and alcoholism clinics in cities,....  
...Born of the earlier Relocation era, urban Indian centers, often located in basements or community halls, offered a rallying spot for city activism. From makeshift headquarters Indians offered the support services that government failed



to provide in counseling, apartment hunting, legal assistance, and opportunities for companionship. New urban leaders felt nostalgia for the reservation life and sometimes idealized the Indian past, but they were also liberated from the reservation Indians' hesitation about offending the white man (Nabokov, 1991, pp.360-361).

"The prophet, however, often differs little from Bitzer's 'man alone in a boat and adrift at sea' who 'shouts for help although he knows his words will be unheard.' But the prophet persists...."(Stewart, Denton Smith, 1989, p.23).

By 1969 there was a new awareness of the problems facing Indians across the country. "Indian militancy was documented by such best-selling books as Sioux author Vine Deloria, Jr.'s Custer Died for your Sins (1969) and Stan Steiner's The New Indians (1968), and was reported in new Indian periodicals such as the Warpath, Americans Before Columbus, The Indian Historian, and Akwesasne Notes"(Nabokov, 1991, p.360). DeLuca (1989) explains that in 1969 N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa Indian and California professor of English, was awarded the Pulitzer prize in literature for his novel about an Indian trying to find a place in society. On Broadway two productions, the musical hit "Hair" promoted as America's first tribal love-rock musical, and Arthur Kopit's "Indians", were being staged, and in the movie theaters, Dustin Hoffman was starring in Little Big Man, a film which depicted the plight of the Indian with the opening of the west (p.12). All of this new awareness, however, did little to change the Indians social condition.

In order to move a social movement from the genesis stage to the next stage of social unrest, a triggering event is required. On October 28, 1969, a four-alarm fire destroyed the American Indian Center located at 3043-16 Street in San Francisco's Mission District

The fire had a galvanizing effect on everyone in the local Native American community. Time was of the essence. A statement had to be prepared. It would require action and not mere words. We could not sit around the ashes and weep. We had to pick ourselves up and go on. We could not

afford to wait for the next summer. The occupation of Alcatraz had to occur as soon as possible (Mankiller, 1993, p.190).

DeLucca( 1989) asserts, "For eleven years this center had provided employment, health care and legal assistance, and social programs"( p.12) for the Indian community. In an effort to publicize the problem and raise money for a new center, plans were made quickly for "an excursion around Alcatraz"(DeLuca, 1989, p.12). Again, while there are news stories concerning the disposition of Alcatraz there is virtually no mention anywhere regarding the Indian plan for a take-over of the Island nor about their plight regarding the loss and replacement of the Indian Center.

If the life cycle of a news story is compared to the life cycle of a social movement, then it holds true that during the genesis stage of a movement there will be virtually no television coverage of the story because no-one is talking about it. Also as Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) suggest, social movements are in competition with other news providers and "are only one source of news among many". Adding,

When reporters are given continuing assignments or beats, it is rare for them to be assigned to cover a social movement, and they are less likely to develop routine relationships with movement sources. Hence movements must not only compete with other potential newsmakers but are forced to start the race much further back on the track (p.117).

Using the occupation of Alcatraz, virtually no television coverage could have been provided because the movement was in the "general news" cycle of a story, the information getting to a newsroom by way of press releases or phone calls and, as is characteristic of any broadcast news operation, the story would have been "lost in the mix".

*Social Unrest/Hard/Spot news*

Movement members and sympathizers may begin to see the institutions as 'the' problem or as part of a conspiracy to maintain power and to defeat all legitimate and reasonable efforts to bring about urgently needed change"(Stewart, Smith, Denton, 1989, p.25) and "As growing numbers of people rise up and express their concern and frustration over the issue, the movement passes from the genesis to the social unrest stage"( Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.24) And so, as the social movement enters the more visible, social unrest stage, it ceases to be of general appeal and in the "general" news mix. When a story becomes important enough (to be considered a lead) it begins its life cycle in the "Spot/ Hard" news arena where it will receive coverage, but whether it leads a newscast is determined by other factors within the news operation or the market itself. Wolfsfeld, (1991) asserts that the dependence of a protest group on the media often hinges on the availability of alternative avenues of communication and influence"(p. 9).

The author adds

...weak protest groups are much more dependent on the news media than those with alternative resources. A wealthier, more established organization is not only in a better position to affect the media, it is also less likely to need the media (p.9).

While it is true that a wealthier, better organized group may be able to better affect the media, that well organized group would still have its information judged and evaluated . They, like the weaker less organized group, would still be subject to a "Win the Lead" philosophy.

Also, in the social unrest stage of a movement "The prophets turn into, or join, 'agitators'--literally ones who stir things up" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p24). This is evidenced by the fact that Richard Oakes, the leader of the Alcatraz occupation was touring California leading the drive for an Alcatraz occupation. The first attempt to take the Island was made on November 9, 1969 (Appendix 1, 2). Richard Oakes and several

Indian college students chartered a boat and accompanied by the media took-over the island. Without question this story is not only a "Hard/ Spot" story but it is a "Breaking story" by virtue of the fact that it is new information, it is visual and it certainly would have led a local newscast. Berkowitz (1988) describes the "Win the Lead" news philosophy somewhat differently by suggesting that major news stories are termed "what-a-story" because newswriters exclaimations when they find out about them (p.45). If as Berkowitz suggests newspeople respond to a news story in such a manner, then it stands to reason so will the viewer. The answer to the newsroom question of "What are people talking about today?" then becomes....Indians took over Alcatraz today...what a story! The story was new, however, only the Los Angeles Times carried the story to the national level giving some credence to the idea that at the overall national level the social movement was still in the genesis stage and at the broadcast level it was still in the "general" news mix.

In just a few hours the Indians were removed from Alcatraz where they later returned and spent the night. In the morning they were again removed by the Coast Guard (Appendix 1, 2). This continuation of a "Breaking" story would have put the removal of the Indians by the Coast Guard into the "Hard/Spot" news category. The story was no longer "Breaking" it had become, "on-going". This evolution process removes a story from immediate "lead" positioning and places it into consideration for a "possible" lead.

In examining the network newsscripts<sup>4</sup> for the first Indian take-over of Alcatraz three items are worth noting. First, November 9, 1969 is a Sunday and at that time the networks did not air week-end newscast, therefore, it is impossible to analyze the events against any broadcast. Second, in examining the scripts for the newscasts of Monday, November 10, 1969, the day the Indians were removed from the island, all three networks led with Veteran's Day demonstration plans for both supporting President Nixon's position on the Vietnam War and against it. The three newscast continue with disclosures of captured documents which allege annihilation attacks in Vietnam to coincide with antiwar

protests. In light of the significance of this information it is the opinion of this researcher that while at a local level the first take-over attempt was indeed a "Breaking" story, at the national level it was not. Third, in 1969 the technology did not exist which would have enabled the networks to instantly receive film to broadcast the Indian take-over.

Gaining confidence from these first attempts, Oakes came to believe that they might succeed in holding the island if their numbers were greater"(DeLuca, 1989,p.14). Richard Oakes had made the transition from prophet to agitator.

The social unrest stage of a social movement is also characterized by putting together a manifesto. Oakes, along with other leaders of the group who were part of the initial takeover, prepared a proclamation, The Proclamation: To the Great White Father and all his People. The document contained the group's ideology, describing the problem and offering a solution. Basically, the proclamation declared Alcatraz to be Indian Land and in an effort to be fair, the Indians were offering \$24 for the 16 acres of land (Appendix 1,2). As is typical of a manifesto, the proclamation contained a set of common devil terms setting up a "we", "they" philosophy. "We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brother up from their savage and unhappy state"(Cloud, 1972,p.40). In the short, three page document, the "we" are described as Native Americans and Indians. The word Indian is repeated 22 times and all of the references are used in a positive light using words such as honorable, civilized, healing and spiritual. The "they" are the Caucasians who are described as savage, responsible for destroying the environment, prejudiced and murderous.

Once an overall ideology is established and devil terms identified "An overarching principle or slogan unites the movement" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989,p.24) The term "Indians of All Tribes" would become the rallying cry for Indians throughout the country. No distinction between tribes or tribal affiliation was made. The group represented all Indians and they asked that other Indians join them in solidarity on Alcatraz Island.

Alcatraz was a hope and symbol for change. Change which the Indians of All Tribes demanded.

We are a proud people! We are Indians! We have observed and rejected much of what so-called civilization offers. We are Indians! We will preserve our traditions and ways of life by educating our children. We are Indians! We will join hands in a unity never before put into practice. We are Indians! Our Earth Mother awaits our voices. (Cloud, 1972, p.43).

### *Enthusiastic mobilization/ Breaking News*

As the social movement, "...abandon judicial and legislative chambers for the streets, marketplaces, and hallways. ...Mass meetings, marches, demonstrations, and symbolic actions replace sedate conventions and conferences. The highly visible movement makes news and captures media coverage"(Stewart, Smith, Denton, 1989, p.26). "An occupation force of more than 80 young American Indians landed on Alcatraz Island before dawn yesterday and proclaimed it 'free Indian Land' by right of discovery" (Findley, 1969,1:5). The story is covered not only by the local press (Appendix 2) but by the national press (Appendix 1) as well.

It is in this, the enthusiastic mobilization stage of the social movement, that broadcast news will virtually guarantee coverage. Because as Standish (1990) explains: "When a big event happens, people quickly turn to TV, they quickly scan the choices, and they start deciding within minutes who they believe is doing the best job of covering it"(p.28). Here lies the critical element of the "Win the Lead" philosophy because as Huff (1995) explains "...viewers want their information, and they want it right now. As evidenced by the on-going O.J. Simpson saga, much of a station's audience is willing to give up other programming for timely information on the big story"(p.2).

The "breaking" elements of the symbolic act become visual, and as the social movement becomes more militant, the immediacy and dramatic conflict are heightened. News management makes the decision that the story is competitive by virtue of the drama,

visual components and viewer interest, and the story leads the newscast. Again, in 1969 the technology prevented this story from getting on the air immediately. However, in analyzing the newscrips, all three networks lead the newscast with the Senate rejecting the nomination of Judge Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court; the only Presidential nominee ( at that time) to the Court to be turned down in this century. ABC continues with coverage of the Song My massacres in Vietnam, then with coverage of Apollo XII. NBC follows the Haynsworth vote with coverage of Lt. William Calley and accusations of the murder of 100 civilians at Tu Cung, and Apollo XII while CBS follows Haynsworth with Nixon agreeing to return Okinawa to Japan by 1972 and Apollo XII. Again, placed against the other news of the day, and balanced for its "news value" the occupation of Alcatraz does not enter into the mix at the network level in spite of the fact that it does indeed fit all of the criteria for both a "Breaking" and a "Hard/spot" news story. In an interesting sidebar, on June 1, 1970 NBC news conducts an interview with Richard Oakes who publicly admonishes the media for this particular oversight. He states "....sure we caught the attention of the public at large when we came on Alcatraz...they were looking at the moon at the time we were over here on Alcatraz. And now..they're looking at Cambodia. When the hell are they going to look at this country" (Appendix 3).

In the enthusiastic mobilization stage "The converted see the social movement as the only way to bring about urgently needed change, and they are imbued with the belief that the movement's time has come. Optimism is rampant!"(Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.26). As is typical of this highly visible stage of the movement, making news captures national attention. "On November 20, 1969, a landing party of seventy-eight Indians calling themselves Indians of All Tribes suddenly occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay electrifying Indians all over the United States and Canada and giving new inspiration to the cause of Indian freedom" (Josephy, 1970, p.186). News story after news story reported that an influx of Indians from as far away as Louisiana, New York, Oklahoma and Washington poured into San Francisco to join the occupation of Alcatraz

(Appendix 1,2). Important legitimizers "lend an air of excitement and inevitability to the cause" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.26). In her autobiography, Wilma Mankiller (1993) states all sorts of people visited Alcatraz. Among them

Anthony Quinn, Jane Fonda, Jonathan Winters, Ed Ames, and Merv Griffin. Candice Bergen brought her sleeping bag and spent a night on the floor of the clinic. There were boats loaded with politicians, reporters, photographers, and curiosity seekers running the Coast Guard blockades. Donations of food and clothing and offers of support came from churches and synagogues, women's organizations, labor unions, and the Black Panthers.(p.191-192).

From the onset of the occupation of the Island the Indians of All Tribes were accompanied by reporters and photographers and with each new symbolic act, the news coverage increased. In the early part of the take-over newsmen were always welcomed. A week into the occupation the San Francisco Examiner reported "Though the Indians invited newsmen to be 'pilgrims' at today's meal, they said they wanted no part of militants or hippies, nor of sightseers who might be tempted on the island" (11/27/69, p.12,4:2). And on November 30, 1969 the San Francisco Examiner reported, "Except for the press, only Indians are allowed on the island"(p.1:1)

Also in the enthusiastic mobilization stage, "The loss of a charismatic leader...may hasten the movement into the next stage because no one else is capable of maintaining mobilization or re-energizing the movement" (Stewart Denton, Smith, 1989, p.28).

Richard Oakes, meantime, was losing in a minor power struggle on the seven -member governing council. He was victimized by an old nemesis of Indian People that find identified leaders often embattled by rival jealousies and distrust. In the early days of the island occupation, the brawny Oakes emerged as the chief spokesman for the invaders. Recently, however, his influence has been waning, a casualty of the island factionalism. Part of that quarreling was over finances. Contributions to the Indian cause began pouring in to Alcatraz and the mainland center soon after the occupation. At least some of those contributions were addressed to Oakes himself, a fact that caused added friction (Findley, 1970.4:1).



After the death of his daughter the occupation's most visible leader, Richard Oakes, left Alcatraz splintering the group into moderates and radicals (Appendix 2). Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) state "The media's awarding of celebrity status sometimes leads movements to reject the idea of having any movement spokespersons"(p.124). Examining the available film (Appendix 3) this is certainly the case. Every story broadcast contains a sound bite from a different spokesperson including: Al Miller, LaNada Means, Richard Oakes, and John Trudell. In relation to the print media the list is considerably longer.

If movement leaders are inept at adapting and changing persuasive strategies and in judging how far to push for positive results and images, they may provoke institutional and public outrage and eventual suppression of the movement. At the very least, the movement may lose essential support from the public, the media, and sympathetic legitimizes within the establishment. (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.26).

The ever changing leadership and the often inept attempts to mobilize interest forced virtual alienation of many major support groups.

The council began making rules to restrict visitors in order to insure privacy of the occupants. The Bureau of Caucasian Affairs--by then being called, for short, "security"--was charged with enforcing those restrictions. And it did so with zeal. So much zeal, in fact, that incidents of shoving reporters and name calling began popping up. Reporters were not allowed on the island on certain days and friendly white boat owners who had volunteered their vessels to supply and transport the Indians were offended and even assaulted (Findley, 1970).

As early as January 10,1970, a mere 8 weeks into the occupation the Indians were placing restrictions on press coverage. "Stella Leach, a spokeswoman for the council, said all Indians will be invited to sit in on the meeting, but no members of the press will be allowed and only the council will act in negotiations" (San Francisco Chronicle, 1/10/70, 2:6). On April 1, 1970 (Appendix 2) Washington finally replies to the Indian demands for the establishment of an Indian-operated university and cultural center on the island. "The

reaction of the Indians cannot be reported because the press was not invited to the session" (Bruce, 1970, p. 6) On April 8, 1970

Television crews and newspapermen summoned for the Indian's open-air announcement on Alcatraz were charged \$10 a head to board two fishing boats at Fisherman's Wharf for the short round trip to the rock. "Charging for a press conference is a bad precedent' grumbled Aaron Edwards of KSFO as soon as he could get to the six Alcatraz Indian council members. "It's an outrageous gouge", he added. The council members brushed aside the protest, saying the \$10 charge was needed to offset the cost of the boats but that anyone who wanted a refund could have it. There were no takers (San Francisco Examiner) .

Neither the social movement nor society can sustain a harsh rhetoric for long. Fatigue and boredom inevitably set in. The maturing social movement needs new leadership and a less impassioned and strident rhetoric as it enters the maintenance stage" (Stewart Denton, Smith, 1989, p.28). The Indians were losing control and losing friends. The media in attempting to cover whatever was available relied on either what Federal officials were giving them or simply on their own enterprise. For example on January 23, 1970 the San Francisco Examiner reports that foghorns and the lighthouse have been tampered with on the Island. The story indicates that these acts of 'vandalism' could have caused a 'maritime casualty' the result of this disclosure is that "Alcatraz facilities will be inspected at least daily" by the Coast Guard"(p.3:5). This information leads to more restrictions being placed on the press by the Indians.

#### *Maintenance Stage/General News*

The Indians of All Tribes entered the maintenance stage of the cycle in a stalemate. With each new government offer for a settlement, the confrontation between the Indian group and institutions became more uncompromising. "With the main thrust of the government being to get the Indians off the Island and the Indians' determination to remain, the meetings ended in a deadlock"(Mohawk, 1972. p.51). "Social movements and

the media have insatiable appetites for 'rhetorical happenings', but few social movements have adequate leaders, members, energy and funds to satisfy wisely these appetites over long periods of time..."(Steward, Smith, Denton, 1989, p.9). Leaders in this stage of the life cycle of a social movement confront problems both inside and outside the movement. In-fighting among the Alcatraz leaders caused the government structure they had established to become unstable. At this stage, the movement needs a diplomat, not an agitator.

The agitator's harsh and uncompromising rhetoric of polarization and confrontation has created too many enemies within and outside of the movement and is unsuited for diplomatic and administrative roles. The agitator is a superb street fighter but a poor bureaucrat (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.29).

The Indians were uncompromising and the final best offer made by the government came in March of 1970, yet the group held on for another 12 months.

When a movement is in the maintenance stage, "...they become trapped in their own rhetoric. They do not talk with their opposition, having classified them as devils, and they avoid intermediaries, through the 'if you're not for me, you're against me' syndrome. Reduced to internal communication, the movement accomplishes little" (Hahn & Gonchar, 1971,p 32).

Also, in the maintenance stage "...the cause has become the true believer's reason for being. The persuasive goal is to raise the consciousness level of the people so that the majority will adopt and pressure the establishment to adopt the movement's highly simplified 'if-only' images of social processes, problems and solution" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989.p.27).

The Indians recognized early in the movement that broadcast news was the key to achieving their overall ends "...the incredible publicity generated by the occupation served all of us well by dramatizing the injustices that the modern Native Americans have endured

at the hands of white America"(Mankiller, 1993, p.192). Throughout the initial stage of the take-over of Alcatraz, other radical protests sprang up across the country, all under the banner United Indians of All Tribes. On March 8,1970 Indians in Seattle took over Fort Lawton to press their right for surplus land (Appendix 1,2). Also, in March of 1970 Indians staged protests in Chicago, Alameda, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles and Albuquerque all protesting the Bureau of Indian Affairs policies which Indians claimed discriminated against the Indian. As the maintenance cycle wore down on Alcatraz, the media, which was a key element in publicizing the situation, was harassed and became less supportive( Appendix 1,2).

Stewart, Smith and Denton (1989) assert that during the maintenance stage the movement returns to more quiet times as "the media and the public turn to other, more pressing concerns" (p.28). And, "Both membership and commitment decline", "leaders become more distant", devoting their time to "fund raising" , "recruitment and decision making" (p.29). The authors add, during maintenance "Lack of visibility is a major preoccupation. The movement is rarely newsworthy..."(p.29). Gans (1979) states that lack of coverage, or an anticipated lack of coverage, can lead to the staging of media events. Wolfsfeld, (1991) describes staging as events which occur "...when groups decide to carry out collective behavior with the explicit purpose of attracting media attention"(p.13). This certainly was the case on Alcatraz. Event after event such as fund raisers, rallies, ceremonial exhibition and concerts were scheduled (Appendix 2). And although the stories are covered by the print media there is no national television coverage. The Indians on Alcatraz failed to maintain conditions necessary for the perpetuation of a confrontive atmosphere and they had to resort to more dramatic measures. An escalation of tactics had to be created to "maintain attention"(Wittebols, 1993, p.163). By example in The Whole World is Watching, Gitlin (1980) explains that in the 1960's Students for a Democratic Society had to constantly escalate their tactics protesting the Vietnam war in order to gain television coverage:

Where a picket line might have been news in 1965, it took tear gas and bloodied heads to make headlines in 1968. If the last demonstration was counted at 100,000, the next would have to number 200,000; otherwise it would be downplayed or framed as a sign of the movement's waning. The most outrageous, most discordant, most 'colorful' symbols were the surest to be broadcast--'Viet Cong' flags, burning draft cards and (later) flags and (still later) ROTC buildings (p.182).

The circumstances for the Indians on Alcatraz seem to parallel Gitlin's description because as Streb (1993) explains:

Faced with a public that no longer seemed concerned and a press that had tired of the Alcatraz issue, the islanders were forced to choose between oblivion and ostentation. The government's refusal to physically confront the demonstrators inevitably led to an Indian escalation. Eventually, the Indians began to use threatened disruption and token violence in hopes of provoking a newsworthy confrontation (p.10).

In relation to television news philosophy the maintenance stage of a movement puts the story back into the "general" news category, forcing the leaders of the social movement to look for bigger and more compelling ways in which to attract television news coverage. The goal being to move the news story from its "general" news category back into the guaranteed "Breaking" stage or the "Spot/Hard" news stage. This is evidenced by the series of Indian attempts to gain coverage. Each subsequent reported action to gain coverage became more aggressive: First, navigational aids around the island were tampered with (1/25/70, App. 1,2); Second, the splashing of red paint on prison walls in protest to government action (5/28/70, App 1, 2.); Third, the fire which destroyed 5 buildings on the Island (6/2/70, App. 1,2,3.), Fourth, the Coast Guard cutter threatened with firebombing (8/12/70, App. 2) and finally the gun shots fired and steel nuts being slung at tour boats (3/22/71, App. 2). Wattenbols (1993) states "The tactics of protest and the image of protesters conveyed by the news are mediating factors in how the public

perceives the protests and the issues involved". As the research indicates, the initial acts of violence were covered by both the local and national press and finally with the fires and destruction of 5 buildings on Alcatraz, television. The later actions were covered only by the local press.

"A few violent acts may doom years of protest, even if the acts are by a fanatical, splinter group. The public and institutions do not make fine distinctions: an act in the name of the social movement is an act by the movement" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.26). Streb (1993) explains that before the June 2 fire which destroyed 5 buildings on the island

...the invaders had been viewed as harmless, 'non-serious' demonstrators. Since the burning destroyed nothing of real importance and threatened no one but the demonstrators themselves, the Indians continued to appear harmless and the government was unable to justify eviction. The fact that the Indians had seemingly destroyed their own 'possessions' for the sake of publicity....made the demonstration seem even less serious than before (p.10).

Streb (1993) concludes "Saul Alinsky once warned that 'A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag'. Ultimately, 'drag' led to the Indians' demise. Not only had the public become wary of the Alcatraz demonstration, but the Indians themselves began to lose hope as well as interest." (p.11). This is evidenced by the fact that between September of 1970 to March of 1971 there are nothing but a handful of token stories covered by the national press(Appendix 1) and between November of 1970 and March of 1971 there is absolutely no local press coverage of the occupation (Appendix 2). In relation to network television coverage, the last story before the final removal of the Indians in June 1971 to be broadcast was the June 2, 1970 fire on the Island. And so, as the visibility of the movement declined so too the interest in the movement itself.

*Termination Stage/ Feature*

By the middle of 1970 there was very little coverage afforded the Indians of Alcatraz. Peter Blue Cloud (1972) explains that "There was also very little coverage of other Indian moves underway across the country. It seemed as if a lid had been placed upon Indian news to allow the public time to forget about us.( p.71). While at face value this may have been the case for the Indians on Alcatraz the research indicates that the television networks were covering issues regarding the American Indians. Again, however, the decisions regarding coverage were made based on "news value" and "Win the Lead" philosophies. For example, on July 8, 1970 all three networks devote time to President Nixon's plan to relieve the plight of the American Indian. On August 8, 1970 NBC covers an American Indian festival in Gallup, New Mexico where young American Indians activists protest the image of the American Indian the Inter-Tribal gathering promotes. On September 9, 1970 NBC devotes 2 minutes to a story regarding Indian fishing rights in Washington state. However, the story involves shots being fired at police officers and protesters being tear-gassed and arrested. On November 26, 1970 ABC give extensive coverage to Massachusetts Bay Indian attempts to take over Plymouth Rock as part of an anti-Thanksgiving celebration. Attempting to mainstream the American Indian into the American Society CBS covers the return of 2 Indian GI's from Vietnam by celebrating the return of the "Warrior" in Apache, Oklahoma. On May 24, 1971 NBC and CBS both provide a lengthy story ( 3:10 and 3:30 seconds respectively) about the New Mexico Pueblo Indians concerns regarding the construction of 5 new power plants and their affects on the environment.

Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) explain that a social problem's rise and fall from the public agenda is not as dependent on an objective worsening or amelioration of the problem than on a critical mass coming to see the problem as such. The authors further explain that competition among the varied range of social problems determine how each

individual problem is treated. It would seem that it was the Indians on Alcatraz who had been forgotten by society and the networks, not the American Indian.

"The extravagant hopes that have energized the movement begin to fade and with them the enthusiasm of the movement" (Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.28). "The social movement ceases to be a social movement during the termination stage"(Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.30). By November 1970, on the anniversary of the take-over, only 3 of the original members of the group remained on the island, and by June 1971, 19 months after it began, only 15 people continued the occupation.

In relation to broadcast news an occasional feature may be produced, but for all practical purposes the viewer becomes less enthusiastic, so does news management, and the story dies. It is important to note here that NBC did in fact do a "Feature" story on November 20, 1970. This point will be discussed later in this study. When the movement is in the termination stage it ceases to exist and so too the story.

"Ultimately, all social movements come to an end and experience some degree of frustration, but this does not mean that social movements have no influence or that their causes die with them"(Stewart, Denton, Smith, 1989, p.33) This certainly was the case with the taking of Alcatraz because nineteen months after it was over, in February 1973, many of the leaders of the Alcatraz occupation staged another major protest, the take-over of Wounded Knee.

The final portion of this discussion examines what broadcast news stories were actually put on-the-air regarding the occupation of Alcatraz. Of the 7 stories identified as "Breaking" stories all were broadcast but, they were not broadcast in a timely manner, that is to say, on the actual day of the event. This element is being attributed to the lack of satellite technology. Of the 7 stories identified as "Hard/Spot" stories all but one did not air.

The only "Hard/Spot" story which was in fact broadcast deals with the water and electricity being cut off to the Island by the government. The event occurs on May 29,



1970 but the story does not air on NBC until June 1, 1970. This information, however, becomes incorporated into the "Breaking" story which occurred the day before, therefore, the news value of this "Hard/Spot" story must be measured against the "Breaking" story and not measured on its own "news value". Both of these stories are discussed later in this study.

Beginning with the first two identified "Breaking" stories; the initial takeover by 14 Indians on November 10, 1969 and the first day of the occupation November 21, 1969. These two stories did not air on the day of the event. As mentioned these stories had to be evaluated by the network for their "news value". When compared with the other national stories which did air on these dates and adding the lack of film (videotape was not yet in use for news coverage) and satellite technology, the decision "not to air" seems to be sound. Wolfsfeld (1991) states "Influence in the news media depends on the antagonist level of relative newsworthiness at the time of the transaction" (p.23). At the time of these two "transactions," to the networks, the level of newsworthiness was minuscule at best. However, 3 weeks into the occupation the story had reached "critical mass" because virtually all the news services (wires), major newspapers (Appendix 1) and national magazines; such as Time, Newsweek and Look had all covered the story. In other words, people were talking about the Indian occupation, therefore, the story could not be ignored. The fact of the matter is the television networks were the last to cover the event.

On December 18, 1969 ABC was the first network to recognize the significance or impact of the story (Appendix 3). The story was put into the newscast and ran at 5:22:20 p.m. not in the lead spot because the story is already over a month old but, important enough to be placed in the newscast. For CBS, the story reached "critical mass" on January 8, 1970 when Richard Oakes' daughter died (Appendix 3). CBS apparently waited for a "Breaking" event in order to report the overall story and they did so with Walter Cronkite doing a 10 second reader, no film was used. This story also aired in the later

portion of the newscast, 5:22:10 p.m.. CBS is the only network to report the girl's death. Either the other two other networks did not know about the story or they made the decision the story had no national "news value." NBC news, the last network to cover the Indian occupation, introduced the story January 12, 1970. For them the issue now was truly "critical mass" because not only had the story appeared universally in print but, the other two networks had already broadcast the information. The memorial service for Yvonne Oakes is the triggering event to move this story into the newscast (Appendix 3). Again, not in the lead spot, but important enough to be in the show itself. The story is broadcast at 5:21p.m, runs for 2:40 seconds with a reporter, Tom Brokaw, reporting from the island itself. Since NBC was the last to cover the occupation, management wanted to make sure they did it in a big way.

The next "Breaking" story to be covered is the Federal Government's plan to turn the Island into a park and its refusal to turn the Island over to the Indians. While the event actually occurred on May 28, 1970 NBC (Appendix 3) does not carry the story until June 1, 1970. The "Breaking" value of this story is also enhanced because on May 29 the government also turned off both the electricity and the water to the Island. Although both stories occurred 5 days earlier they together make the story dramatic and timely. The fact that it aired 5 days late is being attributed to the lack of technology. The story too is lengthy, 2:35 seconds, and it indicates the Indians will stay on the Island regardless of the government's plans.

The very next day June 2, 1970 ABC (Appendix 3) reports the story of the fire and destruction of the prison buildings. This too is a lengthy story. The story makes air quickly because the fires occurred during the night and early morning, therefore, it was possible for the network to contact their local affiliate in San Francisco and have film either sent by air or arrange to feed out of the San Francisco studios. The feed process, at the time was very expensive and required a large number of people to facilitate. In 1980 Gitlin wrote "On short notice from an assignment editor or a producer, a correspondent

may have to fly into a city he or she has never seen before, film a story, and fly out the next morning to edit a piece for broadcast that night"(p.99). The author explains in great detail how stories spread "horizontally" from news organizations and "vertically" within organizations (p.100). Without question Gitlin's description is an accurate one for its time, however, he as with many other researchers fail to explain and understand the basic philosophy which drives every newsroom, and that is simply "Win the Lead!" The visual and dramatic fire is the only story regarding Alcatraz which is broadcast in a timely manner, that is the day of the actual event.

The last "Breaking" story NBC and CBS cover is the final removal of the Indians from the Island (Appendix 3). The story airs on June 11, 1971 the actual day of the removal. At both networks the story contains no film and lasts about :10 seconds, the story is over.

One and only one story is broadcast which is not a "Breaking" or "Hard/Spot" story. The story runs on NBC on November 20, 1970 (Appendix 3). The social movement, as stated earlier is now in its maintenance stage. The alleged purpose of the story is to cover a news conference in which the Indians announce their plans for a free Indian University. However, the story deals more with the first anniversary of the occupation and living condition on the Island one year into the occupation. The story is a "Feature" and for all intent and purposes announces to the public, although not directly, that the end is near. The story is again long, 2:35 seconds and shows the Island falling apart. The reporter's script reads "The buildings are burning down one by one, the lighthouse is broken and garbage is pilling up" (Bourgholzer, 1970, ). The film shows the Indians stacking-up garbage cans as an anti- helicopter defense tool. The reporter discusses the Indian unwillingness to allow neither the Coast Guard nor Government officials on the Island. It is here that Thomas Hannon, GSA Regional Director, announces publicly the government's position. "...I don't think there is any doubt in anyone's mind that if the Federal government felt as though they should come off they would come off, and pretty

fast!" ( Bourgholzer, 1970). It is the opinion of this researcher that the change in the behavior of the media was very dramatic. This single story, on a national level, brought this social movement to a close in the mind of the viewer and the public at large and placed the Indians in a position of having to escalate their tactics in order to gain media attention. It is here that television dramatically shows its power to influence a social movement. While movement leaders were continuously trying to persuade the public and the government to meet their demands, the government was using the same medium to also influence the same audience. Federal representatives were influencing the audience by declaring their position as right and publicly stating they had the power to achieve their ends. Furthermore, the government had been patient and flexible in doing so (Appendix 1,2,3).

At this point Peter Blue Cloud (1972) explains "By the end of November of 1970 the media had all but forgotten us by now. An occasional incident would be reported, and we noticed that these reports were often built-up to make the Indian look bad"(p.71). The data clearly indicates that the media was reporting what they saw and what was going on, although it did in fact make the occupation force "look bad". Following the November NBC News broadcast, and as explained earlier, the data affirms there is virtually no press coverage given the Indians of Alcatraz with the exception of the reported acts of violence and vandalism. In relation to television news no coverage is given the Alcatraz Indians again until Federal Marshalls remove them from the Island. For news broadcasters Wolfsfeld (1991) states it most succinctly, "the relationship between the mass media and antagonists changes over time. Those competing for public attention must continually prove themselves worthy: all news stories are doomed to end" (p.53). It appears that after the November 1970 "Feature" the Alcatraz Indians were no longer "worthy" of coverage and on June 11, 1971 this social movement came to an end, and so too the story.

## CHAPTER 4

### IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION

This study collected every story written and published in the two local San Francisco and three national newspapers, as well as every magazine article printed regarding the Indian occupation of Alcatraz 1969-1971. It also collected and analyzed every television news story broadcast about American Indians on the three national networks for the same time period. This study also examined numerous academic publications and the only four publications written by American Indians regarding the occupation of Alcatraz.

In examining the material collected it is fair to say that the Indian occupation of Alcatraz was the first successful Indian protest of this century. The occupation was successful particularly because it was the first Indian protest to use and manipulate publicity and the media. Although the media in general was manipulated it was television news specifically which communicated to the general public, the Indian objective for self-determination. It is also possible to make several statements regarding the occupation's effectiveness and impact on both the Indian and the non-Indian American society.

It can be said that first, the occupation of Alcatraz Island by American Indians was indeed a social movement. The Alcatraz occupation was a social movement because it occurred in the past, more precisely 1969 to 1971. The movement itself had organization, that is to say it had its visible leaders, an economic structure to raise money and pay their bills and media representative to create awareness. Also, the occupation was not part of any institution which could determine change. The Alcatraz occupation was large in scope with as many as, (at one time) 1000 people occupying the Island. It was also geographically large in scope, with many other protests springing-up around the country

all in the name of Indians of All Tribes. Also, many of the Island's leaders traveled throughout the country trying to raise support for their cause. Furthermore, the Alcatraz occupation proposed to change the way in which white America and society as a whole regarded the American Indian. Finally, not only was the Indian occupation of Alcatraz a social movement, it was also a social movement with a measurable and discernible life cycle.

Second, from the historical perspective, the information regarding the occupation of the Island is varied and often one-sided. Many authors point out, for the most part, that the protesters were serious and sincere in their dissent. However, much of the Indian literature produced fails to clearly point out some major points. For example; by November of 1970, only 3 original members and none of the leaders of the movement remained on the island. Furthermore, it was the movements leaders who wanted to produce a significant change in Native American conditions. In addition although John Trudell, La Nada Means, Earl Livermore and others emerged as leaders none could replace Richard Oakes' charismatic discourse nor personality. It is important to note here that none of these leaders were on the island, on a regular basis, the last 6 months of the occupation. Also, the ability to maintain support within the Indian Community itself was a main reason for the non-realization of their stated goals. Although the incidents don't appear in any Indian literature, it is also important to note from the historical perspective, there were indeed crimes committed on the island. Finally, in 1969 Federal officials claimed that none of the decisions regarding Alcatraz were made by then President Richard Nixon. In 1995, twenty-five years later, Congressman Philip Burton's memoirs clearly state otherwise.

In relation to broadcast journalism this study attempts to critically examine the role of a "Win the Lead" philosophy and apply that theory to rhetorical criticism theories of a social movement. To begin with there is no question that television makes money and that top level station management make decisions based on demographics and revenue

conditions. Nevertheless, every television news operation is different with its own history, geography, community and economics. However, the central driving philosophy behind every newsroom decision and one every television news operation shares is "Win the Lead". "Win the lead!", is the idea that the "lead" story is the most important story of the day and the foundation for the rest of the newscast. This study proposes that there are four types of television news stories; the "breaking", "hard/spot", "general" and "feature" story. Only the "Breaking" story will ever push information into the "lead" slot in a newscast. Mid-level managers, producers, reporters, photographers, editors, and virtually everyone in the newsroom consistently use this philosophy to measure their work first, against the other stations in their market then against what the networks are broadcasting regarding a local story. Furthermore, particularly as it applies to the "Breaking" story, decisions the above mentioned individuals make are made without overt consideration to upper management, the advertiser or the viewer. Simply put, the central driving force and the foundation for every newscast decision is tied to "winning the lead" and "winning the lead" is a measure of how well or how poorly the people in the newsroom handled their individual jobs for that individual day.

In taking this philosophy and applying it to the life cycle of a social movement it is fair to say that in the first stage or genesis stage, virtually no television coverage will ever be broadcast because the information is of a "general" nature. As a "general" news story the information must compete with numerous other stories for broadcast time. It is only in the social unrest and enthusiastic mobilization stages of a social movement that television news will broadcast a story due to the fact that the information is either "Breaking" or "Hard/Spot" news. "Breaking" stories always receive coverage because viewers want the information and the symbolic act has become visual and dramatic. Also, in this category the story enables the broadcast news operation to "win the lead!", and "winning the lead" is what drives every newsroom.

The maintenance stage is the most critical time for a social movement. As far as television newsrooms are concerned the movement is in the "general" news category and of little interest. For the movement leaders visibility is a preoccupation and often movement leaders are forced to look for more dramatic and compelling ways in which to attract television news coverage. The goal for the movement leaders is to move the story out of the "general" news category and into "Breaking" or "Hard/Spot" news. Unfortunately, often the tactics used by protesters mediate how the public perceive not only the protesters but the protest itself. It is the type of television news coverage that social movements receive during the maintenance stage which can doom the movement and drive it into the termination stage. And, in the termination stage of a social movement nothing more than an occasional "Feature" is produced or aired. News management, news staff and the public become less enthusiastic and the story dies and so too the movement itself.

The ability to generalize the findings of this study is somewhat limited by the idiosyncratic nature of a television newscast as compared to well established social movement theory and the inability to obtain any local scripts. Also limiting was the fact that in the 1980's massive technological advancements, such as satellite dishes and ENG changed the broadcast industry dramatically. Although not available in 1969 these technological changes give more strengths to the tenet of this study. However, what this study has shown is that social movements do have a life cycle which moves forward and is tied to the type of exposure they receive from the media, in particular, broadcast news. Also, a television news story has a life cycle of its own which can contribute or detract to the life cycle of a social movement, and that the movement's evolution does effect the depth of broadcast news coverage.

In order to further strengthen this study it is critical to examine other movements particularly movements which are more contemporary. The next step would be an analysis of social movements broadcast by stations in a variety of locations and sizes of



television markets. Also, since today most local newscasts are viewed as profit centers, an interesting sidebar to this study would be an exploration of the influence of broadcast deregulation on the content of current local newscasts and its effect on social movements.

In conclusion, Westin (1982) explains "Television news programs come into our home and catch us where we are most vulnerable: in our living rooms, our bedrooms, maybe even our bathrooms. It is only common sense to understand what it does and how it does it"(p. 17). As the "information highway" expands into the next century the study of broadcast journalism must begin to change and be accompanied by the study of rhetoric and rhetorical criticism. Broadcast education's attempt to foster different technical and newsroom skills have generated a breed of communicators who consistently lack the ability to understand the power of rhetoric to create and shape viewer perception. In order for future broadcast managers and editorial decision makers to understand what and how something is being said or delivered they must have prior knowledge and skills to understand social discourse.

## NOTES

1. From experience, I can verify that a very successful newscast in Minneapolis would be a dismal failure in Oklahoma City. For almost 5 years I worked as the news assignments manager, then the assistant news director for KARE television in Minneapolis. The Minneapolis community was predominantly made up of first and second generation Europeans. The population breakdown included 54% German, and 34% Norwegian and Swedish people. The rest of the population was made up of Polish, Vietnamese, Afro-Americans and American Indians. This information played a central role when making decisions about what to cover and when to cover it. For example, In October, Octoberfest Festivals received very high play. As a matter-of-fact in 1984 we sent a crew of 4 people to Germany to run a comparison between "old world" and "new country" customs. In Oklahoma City, however, where I worked as news director for almost 6 years, there were very few people who could relate to their European roots, therefore, we rarely covered any stories with an ethnic orientation. However, due to the large concentration of American Indians in Oklahoma, Red Earth, the largest annual convention of American Indians in the United States, not only received extensive news coverage, but we invariable always produced a "special" 30 minute program which aired during Prime Time on the opening day of the convention. Therefore, successful news operations must always reflect their unique community.
2. Al Primo is now President and CEO of his own news consulting company, Primo Newservice Inc. based in Greenwich, Connecticut. I conducted a 40 minute telephone interview with him on January 5, 1996, 10am pacific time. The contents of the conversation are recorded and available on request.
3. In the medium sized Southwestern market in which I worked as news director for over 5 years, the 10pm newscast alone represented 35% of the overall annual station revenue.
4. The newscrips were analyzed using the Vanderbilt Television News Archive electronic web which can be contacted on the Internet <http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu/>
5. The Network News chronology was assembled by visiting the archives and first using the Television News Index and Abstracts for 1969, 1970 and 1971. Once the individual stories about Alcatraz were isolated, the scripts and logs were analyzed. The Indexes and videotapes are housed at Vanderbilt University Television News Archives in Nashville, Tennessee.

## APPENDIX I

### CHRONOLOGY OF NATIONAL PRINT COVERAGE INVOLVING THE INDIAN OCCUPATION OF ALCATRAZ

The controlling question in this study is: What specific verbal and visual information contained in a broadcast news story contribute to the evolution of a social movement. To address this question a series of strategies functioning as the framework for analysis have already been introduced. The second of these strategies is basically an examination and evaluation of the content of national newspaper stories as they pertain to the occupation of Alcatraz Island by American Indians.

This is a critical-qualitative collection of the stories contained in the three major national newspapers beginning in alphabetical order with the Los Angeles Times, listed first, followed by the New York Times and finishing up with the Washington Post. In each instance the stories are documented chronologically by date. At this junction the aim is simply to collect, record, document and organize the content of the information without analyzing or discussing it.

#### LAS ANGELES TIMES 11/1/1969-6/30/71

November 10, 1969, L.A. Times, 2:5.

Indians Offer \$24 in Beads for Alcatraz, a group of Indians proclaimed to the "Great White Father" that they were reclaiming Alcatraz Island for \$24 in glass beads and red cloth. Richard Oakes, a Mohawk said the offer followed "a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago.

November 11, 1969, L.A. Times, 3:5, 22:7.

Alcatraz Island Liberated by U.S. Task Force, Seven government task force officers reclaimed Alcatraz Island from 14 American Indians demonstrators.

November 21, 1969, L.A. Times, 27:1.

Alcatraz Falls Again to Indian Invaders, despite Coast Guard blockade, Alcatraz prison is occupied for the second time by American Indians. Thomas Hannon, regional director of the General Services Administration (GSA), visited the island attempting to talk the Indians into leaving the Island.

November 24, 1969, L.A. Times, 28:1.

Indian Group Retains Foothold on Alcatraz, Over 100 American Indians continued camping on Alcatraz Island while federal officials try to come up with a method for getting them off. The GSA asserts that the Indians have not been given a deadline to leave.

November 27, 1969, L.A. Times, Sec. I, 3:3.

Alcatraz Indians Invite Pilgrims, about 135 Indians prepare to celebrate Thanksgiving and are inviting "Pilgrims" but "hippies and militants" are not wanted. A GSA spokesperson says the Indians are trespassing.

November 28, 1969, L.A. Times, Sec I, 3:1.

This Time It's the Palefaces Who Bring Turkey to Indians, Thanksgiving is celebrated on the Island by more than 100 tribes.

November 29, 1969, L.A. Times, Sec II, 1:1.

Alcatraz Indians Invite Hickel to Island Powwow, Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel is invited to Alcatraz Island by Richard Oakes. Hickel is willing to talk but not on their terms which include a precondition that Alcatraz be turned into an Indian culture center. Oakes claims the Indians will stay on the Island forever. John Hart, U.S. Administration caretaker, said the Indians have set up their own security system and say who comes and who goes on the Island.

November 30, 1969, L.A. Times, A3:6.

Alcatraz Powwow Attracting Indians From all Over U.S. Dean Chavers, a North Carolina Lumbee and coordinator for the Indians on the island estimates that 400 Indians participated in a Saturday "powwow". Richard Oakes a 27 year old Mohawk leader called for a peaceful occupying force but restricted visits to the Island claiming that "more than a thousand" hippies have come to the American Indian Center in San Francisco to join the Indians, however only Indians and newsmen were welcomed.

January 6, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:5.

Girl Hurt but Indians Vow to Keep Alcatraz, Yvonne Oakes, the daughter of Richard Oakes, chief spokesman for 200 Indians on Alcatraz Island fractured her skull in a three-story falls down a stairwell.

January 9, 1970, L. A. Times, 3:1.

Indian Girl Hurt in Alcatraz Fall Dies, The 12-year old daughter of Richard Oakes dies on Thursday from injuries she suffered in a fall. Oakes said he, his wife and their four other children would not return to Alcatraz. "From 50 to 100 Indians are left on the Island.

January 25, 1970 L.A. Times, 2:6.

The State, Coast Guard spokesman says vital navigational aids have been tampered with on Indian occupied Alcatraz Island.

February 9, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:5.

John Hart, who had live on Alcatraz first as prison guard then as caretaker for 21 years left the island when his contract expired. Indians have unchallenged control. Earl Livermore, a spokesman for the Indians says "We're assuming we own the island now".

March 6, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:5.

Let Indians Have Alcatraz, Assembly Asks, The California Assembly vote 52 to 0 to let the Indians have the Island. Jane Fonda who had hoped to address the legislature arrived to late. The vote will not have effect on the Indians demands since the state doesn't own it.

March 9, 1970, L.A. Times, 7:1.

70 Seized as Indians Raid Fort at Seattle, 70 people were arrested when a band of 100 Indians joined by Jane Fonda attempted to take over Ft. Lawton in Seattle. The raid was patterned after the Alcatraz Island seizure in San Francisco Bay.

March 17, 1970, L.A. Times Sec I, 8:4.

Balky Boat Beaches Indian Raiding Party, 20 Indians aboard a 16 foot motorboat try to seize Ellis Island in New York. Engine trouble ended the attempt. Tina Robinson a spokesperson says the group is affiliated with the groups which have occupied Alcatraz Island since last years and which tried to claim Ft. Lawton.

April 8, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:5.

The State, Indians on Alcatraz have declined a government offer to turn the prison into a national park.

May 28, 1970, L.A. Times, 1:3, 24:1

Alcatraz to Be National Park Despite Objections by Indians, Thomas E. Hannon, regional administrator for the GSA which control Alcatraz said the title to the Island will be transferred to the U.S. Department of the Interior. He said the park is the keystone in a "Golden Gate National Recreation area" which will emphasize contributions of American Indians. The proposal was turned down by the Indians. John Trudell said that his people want an Indian cultural and educational center to use as they choose. Hannon said the government had met 30 times with the Indians and negotiations produced no agreement.

May 31, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:6.

The State, The government turns off electric power to Alcatraz Island. Indians celebrate Liberation Day on the occasion.

June 1, 1970, L.A. Times, 3:4.

Indians Vow Defiance of U.S., Will Retain Hold on Alcatraz, Indians issue a proclamation asserting their defiance of a new government plan for a national park. Dressed in full Indian costumes the Indians vow to stay on Alcatraz. Along with the announcement, the government cut off electricity and water deliveries to the Island.

June 3, 1970, L.A. Times, 3:4.

Fire Destroys Five Alcatraz Buildings; Indians Suspected, A fire destroyed five buildings on the Island. The 150 Indians on the Island refused to allow Coast Guard fire fighter or rescue vessels to land. "I presume the Indians started the fires themselves," said Richard Laws, assistant regional administrator for the GSA. The Indians refused to fight the fire and Joe Morris, a Blackfoot speaking for the "Indians of all tribes said they were just having "a little bonfire, cooking up a little dinner." Other Indians blamed the fires on intruders.

November 27, 1970, L.A. Times, 2:5.

The State, The Indians on Alcatraz celebrate Thanksgiving by fasting.

January 15, 1971, L.A. Times, 1:1.

Indians Given Permit for Use of Army Land, Indians who have seized surplus federal property win their first victory since the occupation of Alcatraz. The government issues a temporary permit allowing the use of a surplus army site near Davis California. Grace Thorpe daughter of Jim Thorpe says since the invasion of Alcatraz Indians have been planning sit-in demonstrations in Northern California aimed at possession of land.

June 12, 1971, L.A. Times, 1:3, 24:1.

U.S. Marshals Retake Alcatraz from Last of Indian Invaders, Twenty armed U.S. Marshals removed the remained 15 Indians on Alcatraz Island. A GSA spokesman says the decision was necessary because the Coast Guard had been prohibited from restoring inoperative navigational equipment and had been threatened with violence by the Islands inhabitants. U.S. Attorney John Browning described as the "straw that broke the camel's back" the reported theft of \$680 worth of copper cable from the Island. He also noted that in the past few months tourist and boaters passing Alcatraz had been the targets of small arms fire, arrows and sling-shot projectiles.

June 13, 1971, L.A. Times, 2:5.

The State, The Island reclaimed from the Indians will be turned into a wilderness national park. John Trudell, a spokesman for the Indians says there are no plans to re-take the Island.

June 14, 1971, L.A. Times, 1:1, 29:7.

U.S. Fortifies Alcatraz Against Threat of Indian Invasion, Government officials convert Alcatraz Island into a fortress to discourage any attempt by Indians to re-occupy the Island.

June 15, 1971, L.A. Times, 3:3.

Indians Band Seizes Abandoned Nike Missile Base in San Francisco Area. Three days after the government evicted the remaining Indians from Alcatraz Island, Alcatraz leaders occupy an abandoned missile base. John Trudell said "We haven't got the other piece of land now, and we needed a place to live, a place to go".

#### NEW YORK TIMES 11/1/1969-6/30/71

November 21, 1969, New York Times, 49:1.

American Indians occupy Alcatraz Island; reportedly plan to establish center for native American studies.

December 7, 1969, New York Times 140:3.

Indians complete 2nd week of occupation of Alcatraz Island; US Tells San Francisco island is no longer for sale because Interior Sec. Hickel wants more time to study possible uses.

December 7, 1969, New York Times, VI. p47.

Article by V Deloria Jr. on growing militancy of Indians and demand for control of own institutions; illus; call for 'Indian power' noted; Indians grievances against Sec Hickel, whose remarks have aroused fear that he is a 'terminationist' regarding Fed responsibilities discussed.

December 10, 1969, New York Times 37:3.

Indians post signs proclaiming Alcatraz island as Indian territory, occupy old prison stock it with food; illus; hold that old treaty with Sioux gives them right to any unused Fed land; Fed officials make no attempt to remove them; at least 1,000 believed now on island.

December 26, 1969, New York Times 15:1.

Indians on Alcatraz Island begin drafting plans for establishing center for native American Studies.

January 3, 1970, New York Times 24:6.

Letter on recent occupation of Alcatraz by Indians, notes their attitude and customs about land.

January 9, 1970, New York Times 14:1.

Daughter of Indian leader killed in fall on Alcatraz.

January 9, 1970, New York Times 20:1.

Dr. T.W. Matthew head of National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), says he will ask President Nixon for use of Alcatraz for his program of promoting black self-help; says he will also go to Indians to take primary leadership of Alcatraz: program also involves use of Ellis Island(NYC) under leadership of blacks.

February 22, 1970, New York Times 75:3.

Indians who recently occupied island continue plans for redeveloping island; residence requirements and problems facing tribes discussed.

March 1, 1970, New York Times 31:4.

Federal Government studying Indian proposal for \$299,424 grant for planning Indian university and cultural complex on Alcatraz; fund would go to corp called Indians of All Tribes governed by 7-member council to be elected by Indians; Indians say it would cost \$1.8 million to remove most of island's buildings and more to construct university and cultural complex, including library, archives and an ecology center; Indians spokesman for Alcatraz Indians says cost of continuing Alcatraz occupation is about \$3,000 a week.

March 8, 1970, New York Times VI,p.12.

Sioux Indian V. Deloria Jr. sees Indian occupation of Alcatraz protest against current conditions existing on reservations and in cities; hopes their plans for centers aimed at improving social problems.

April 2, 1970, New York Times 52:8.

Indians studying Interior Departments proposal to turn island into park with Indian qualities.

April 9, 1970, New York Times 38:1.

Reject Governments plan; insist Government consider their proposal for developing island that would include building of cultural, education and spiritual complex; says Government must make counterproposal by May 31 or they will draw up own ownership deed and seek private funds to develop island; park plan, as offered by National Council on Indian Opportunity, noted; Executive dir. R. Robertson says complex plan was neither good planning nor sound policy; notes problems facing such a plan.

May 28, 1970, New York Times 49:2.

Sec. Hickel offers plan to convert island into a national park; Indians on island since last November, view moves as rejection of their demands that island be redeveloped as an education and cultural complex.



June 1, 1970, New York Times 19:1.

Hundreds of Indians meet, approve resolution reaffirming their claim to island; change in Government's attitude since their takeover last November, and recent Government efforts apparently aimed at forcing them to leave island noted; GSA now in process of passing title to island to Interior Dept.

June 3, 1970, New York Times 70:7.

3 former prison buildings destroyed by series of fires, Indians blame whites, deny reports Indians started fires, GSA officials says reports reached his office that Indians planned to destroy lighthouse; says reports on fires will be turned over to US Atty's office.

August 16, 1970, New York Times 58:1.

Indians now occupying island for over 8 months, declare land off limits to Government personnel because of critical water shortage; Indians have lacked water since Government removed water barge nearly 2 months ago because it needed repairs; GSA and Indian spokesmen comment on situation; Representative Burton of California suggests Government sell land to Indians for \$24.

August 22, 1970, New York Times 23:1.

Indian spokesman L. Means denies Indians have weapons on island, news conference; says 1 arrow was recently shot at boats to keep them away from island; toy guns and bow and arrows are then tossed into water; Means charges Government is trying to give Indians a bad image; GSA regional administrator Hannon says agency has information that some 35 different types of weapons were brought onto island in May; says Government has no immediate plans to take action against Indians.

August 24, 1970, New York Times 32:1.

Ed sees Government's refusal to turn island over to Indians inconsistent with National Park Service approval of Negro group plans to develop Ellis Is, NYC.

September 4, 1970, New York Times 12:12.

Indians reject plan to get them 5-year lease on Alcatraz as proposed by Dr. T.W. Matthews, self-appointed mediator; Indian spokesman L. Means says Indians never agreed to work for settlement with Federal Government through him.

November 22, 1970 New York Times 22:38.

Indians begin 2nd year on Alcatraz; they describe plans for \$6-million Indian Center university to be called Thunderbird U, news conf; describe living conditions and some recent incidents; US GSA has said there is no legal way Government can convey island to Indians unless it is put up for auction.

November 27, 1970, New York Times 29:1.

Indians living on Alcatraz Island shun celebrating Thanksgiving Day because it is a white man's holiday.

June, 14, 1971 New York Times: 26:4

USCG restores island's light tower that was knocked out of service during Indian occupation.

June 15, 1971 New York Times: 47:1.

Indians ousted from Alcatraz take over abandoned Army Nike missile base near Richmond, Calif; Fed. officials say they lack criminal jurisdiction over base, which they did have over Alcatraz; other Indians take over abandoned Nike base on shores of Lake Michigan, Chicago.

June 20, 1971 New York Times: 38:1, and IV, 2:6.

Sioux Leader J. Trudell denounces Govt's action in removing Indians; says Indians were in midst of negotiations with Govt. and were informed they would not be removed as long as talks continued; admits Indians had taken copper because they had claimed Alcatraz and its resources were theirs.

#### WASHINGTON POST 11/1/69-6/30/71

November 28, 1969 Washington Post: A7:1.

Feast Given to Indians On Alcatraz, 135 young Indians who seized Alcatraz on November 27 feasted on Thanksgiving turkey dinners donated by a San Francisco restaurant. Richard Oakes said the guests included Indians from Oklahoma, Washington and other states.

December 5, 1969, Washington Post: B1:1, B12:5.

Indians Take Back an Island, The 'red man' has taken an island and will not give it back. They want the island for a pan-Indian cultural center pooling what may be left a heritage which may be dying. An account of the Sand Creek and Wounded Knee massacre follows. The author Nicholas von Hoffman draws an analogy between Vietnamese and Indian situation and asks if extermination is a government policy.

January 13, 1970, Washington Post: A4:7.

U.S. May Discuss Alcatraz Turnover, The federal government indicates it may be willing to turn over Alcatraz to the American Indians who wish to establish a cultural center on the Island. "The government proposed removing all women and children...leaving a token occupation force".

April 2, 1970, Washington Post A1:4, A7:7.

Indians Gain on 2 Fronts: Alaska and Alcatraz. At a two hour meeting with the Indians the government proposes to transform the Island into a park. The offer does not meet the Indians principal demand that the title be turned over to them.

April 19, 1970, Washington Post A12:1.

Indians Find Protests Bring Results, various Indians interviewed say they regret taking direct action but claim "you have to put on a side show...in order to get something done". The author William Greider asserts "...the ideas of public confrontation seems at odds with the accepted notion of how Indians behave the passive acceptance bred by history and the poverty of reservation life".

May 28, 1970, Washington Post A4:2.

Alcatraz to Be Made National Park, The government announces Alcatraz will become a national park and will have a theme focusing on the contributions made by American Indians.

June 7, 1970, Washington Post, A4:1

34 Indians Arrested for Trying to Reclaim Land in California. Indians trying to reclaim 5,000 square miles of land they say was taken from them during gold rush days. Charged with trespassing on Pacific Gas and Electric Company property. The group were members of the Pit River tribe and included the leaders of the Alcatraz occupation.

November 22, 1970, Washington Post A18:1.

Indians Collecting Toll, Indian leader Richard Oakes, who led the occupation of Alcatraz was arrested on armed robbery charges after collecting \$8 in tolls on the Stewart Point reservation in California.

November 27, 1970, Washington Post, A3:1.

Indians Protest Aboard Mayflower, recounts activities and Plymouth, Massachusetts Indians and state Indians on Alcatraz celebrate Thanksgiving by fasting.

December 14, 1970, Washington Post: A22:3.

The Indians on Alcatraz: Justice or Lunacy? Its no longer clear if the Indians stand on Alcatraz is a symbol of new red-power militancy or if they truly want the Island for a cultural center. Newsmen are no longer welcome, nor are tourists. Mrs. Robert Kennedy visited the Island December 5 and was met with distrust

March 28, 1971, Washington Post: F12.

New Life On Alcatraz. Interview with Grace Thorpe, daughter of Jim Thorpe.

June 12, 1971, Washington Post: A2.

U.S. Recaptures Alcatraz Island from 15 Indians. U.S. Attorney Robert Browning interview regarding the recapture of the Island and the arrest of three Indians on charges of stealing copper wire from Alcatraz buildings. He states the Indian removal was 'urgently necessary' due to the fact that the Coast Guard was kept from maintaining its light house and fog signals on the Island. In an interview Indian leader, John Trudell, states "I know the word had to come out of the White House" and added he was convinced the raid orders came from President Richard Nixon.

June 18, 1971, Washington Post:A26.

Alcatraz and Beyond.(Editorial) The occupation was doomed to failure. 'In a test of power and will with the federal government, the latter could not be beaten, with the only question being when and how, it would choose to win'.

## APPENDIX II

### CHRONOLOGY OF LOCAL NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE INDIAN OCCUPATION OF ALCATRAZ

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 11/1/ 1969-6/30/1971

November 3, 1969, p.4:6.

"Lesson That Alcatraz Could Have for Congress". Discussion regarding value of selling government property and offers legislative suggestions for transferring surplus Federal property without charge as an alternative. The author Michael Harris suggests that once the government "puts a price tag on property, it provides a spur for commercial development. If the Government wants Alcatraz or some other area held in trust by a local community, it shouldn't impose conditions that make it costly or even impossible for a community to carry out its trust".

November 7, 1969, p.4:6.

Alcatraz Hearing Lays a Pigeon Egg, 90 minute hearing by Board of Supervisors to answer thousands of cards and letters regarding what to do about Alcatraz. Suggestions range from construction of a statue of Buddha and a statue of St. Francis with a bridge and freeway running through and under him. Also suggested was a pigeon-feeding station.

November 10, 1969, p.1:1, 32:4.

14 Indians Invade, Claim Alcatraz, Island invaded and reclaimed by 14 young Indians who vow to stay until authorities recognize Indian rights. Richard Oakes, is identified as leader of the landing party. Seventy-five Indians had intended to land on the island in an armada but they failed to show up.

November 11, 1969, p.1:3, Pt. 2, p.26:1.

Invaders Say "We'll Be Back". Indians surrender after overnight invasion and occupation of Alcatraz Island. Richard Oakes elected president of the new Indian nation on Alcatraz.

November 18, 1969, p.2:7.

3 More Alcatraz Plans Presented. Board of Supervisors hold one hour hearing listened to descriptions of 3 new plans for Alcatraz; 1: a university of nations paid for by nations of the world. 2: building a pillar of light welcoming the world to San Francisco and 3. the development of a research center for marine sciences.

November 21, 1969, p. 1:5, 5:1

Invaders Claim Rock Is Theirs. 80 young American Indians landed on Alcatraz Island and proclaim it "free Indian Land". Feds give Indians until noon to get off.

November 22, 1969, p. 1:2, 18:1.

Indians Reinforced--I.S. Delays Action. Officials give Indians two weeks to get off Alcatraz. Meanwhile Indians are reinforced by another group of 40 Indians. Sympathizers supply boatloads of food and provisions despite Coast Guard blockade. Indians issue a proclamation demanding that Alcatraz be turned over to them in two weeks.

November 23, 1969, p. 1:1, 18:4, 19:1.

The Rock Blockaded--Indians Vow to Stay. Coast Guard maintains blockade of Alcatraz refusing to allow Indians in or out. News men were allowed to go ashore.

November 24, 1969, p. 1:2, 28:2.

Indian Invaders Still on Alcatraz. Government eased blockade of Alcatraz and Indians received needed supplies. Official deadline fails to bring about action.

November 25, 1969, p. 1:3, 20:7, p. 4:1.

Hickel Reply To Indians On Alcatraz. Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel says he is willing to meet with the Indians of Alcatraz but only if no prior conditions are attached to the meeting.

November 26, 1969, p. 4:5.

Indians Stand Fast, Await Hickel. Occupation of Alcatraz one week old and Indians will not budge until they meet with Secretary Walter Hickel.

November 27, 1969, p. 1:2, 28:7.

A Tribal Feast on Alcatraz. Thanksgiving dinner for 200 people donated by local restaurant on route to Alcatraz will not be stopped by Coast Guard. Government continues to assert the Indians are trespassing; life on the Island becomes organized.

November 28, 1969, p. 1:6, 30:5.

Alcatraz Gathering of Indian Tribes. More than 300 Indians celebrate a traditional Thanksgiving Dinner. Messages of support arrive from tribes all around the country. Richard Oakes asserts, "We have the support of all the Indian nations."

November 29, 1969, p. 2:6.

More Indians in Trek to Alcatraz. Despite government efforts there is no sign the Indians will leave. Rep. Senator George Murphy of California states the invasion will set a precedent. Richard Oakes says their demands still stand and stresses the pan-tribal effort of the occupation. "Adam Nordwall, president of the United Council of American Indians early organizer of the occupation, called the project a grand-scale attack on the whole system that has foisted injustice on the American Indians. Alcatraz has become a symbol". The Army Corps of Engineers pumps 150,000 gallons of fresh water into storage tanks.

November 30, 1969, p. 1:1, 13:1, 12:1.

Indians: The Rock Packing "Em In. The population on the Island has grown to more than 600 Indians with the arrival of men and women from Oklahoma, New Mexico, Alaska, New York and all over California. The Indians expect a population of over 1,000 before the weekend. Except for the press, only Indians are allowed on the Island. Non-Indian visitors, tourists and leftist militants were not permitted beyond the dock and returned to the mainland.

December 1, 1969, p. 1:5, 26:5.

The Increasing Indian Population on Alcatraz. Among new arrivals on the Island are Indians with carpentry, plumbing and electrical experience and an immediate survey was began to determine ways to set up a workable infrastructure.

December 2, 1969, p. 2:2.

Week of Decisions on Indians. The Indians holding the Island for 11 days may have won a significant victory. Thomas Hannon, regional administrator of the General Services Administration took U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole to the Island for a meeting with Indian leaders. Hannon also announced a meeting of a multi agency committee whose purpose is to come up with proposals for recognizing the demands for self-determination of Indians and a new program to aid urban Indians.

December 3, 1969, p. 6:1.

Indians meet with Federal representatives. Robert Pitts, regional administrator for the department of Housing and Urban Development chaired the meeting. Pitts asserts "There is a need for us to take another look at all our programs dealing with the Indians...we solicited from them the nature of their problems." Oakes said after the 90 minute meeting: "We're still going to stay on Alcatraz". In Sacramento, Governor Reagan said that California has a number of programs in place to help the Indians in the state.

December 4, 1969, p. 1:5, 30:7.

Alcatraz No Longer for Sale. U.S. General Services Administration Regional Administrator Thomas Hannon notifies city officials that Alcatraz is no longer for sale Interior Secretary Walter Hickel wants time to study possible uses for Alcatraz. Washington insists the decision has nothing to do with Indian occupation.

December 5, 1969, p. 2:1.

Officials to Meet Alcatraz Indians. The Regional Federal Council will meet with Indians to discuss their problems but will not discuss the issue of Alcatraz.

December 6, 1969, p. 3:4.

Call Goes Out to Nation's Indians. Alcatraz Indians plan to issue a call to every tribe across the country to meet with them on December 23. The meeting will be to organize a Confederation of American Indian Nations bringing about Indian unity across the country.

December 9, 1969, p.3:1.

The Indians Claim Alcatraz Victory. Richard Oakes asserts "I think we've won". He based his claim on the failure of Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel to meet an Indian deadline of last Friday to come to the Rock and surrender it to them.\*

December 10, 1969, p.5:5.

Regional Officials to Meet With Indians on Alcatraz. Four high level regional bureaucrats will meet with Indians on Alcatraz to discuss only the problems facing the American Indian. Regional directors of the Health, Education and Welfare, Labor, Housing and Urban Development and the Office of Economic Opportunity will travel to the Rock. Richard Oakes states Indians will talk after they get the "Rock".

December 11, 1969, p.4:7.

U.S. 'Crisis' Aides Talk to Indians. Despite Indian prodding, the regional officials shied away from any talk of the island. The two-hour meeting tried to arrive at possible new programs to help urban Indians. Neither GSA Regional Administrator Thomas Hannon nor Interior Department Regional Coordinator William Davoren attended the meeting. Hannon said that the Government's patience is not limitless.

December 12, 1969, p.12:1.

Burton's Plan on Alcatraz Indians. Rep. Phillip Burton urges Interior Secretary Walter Hickel to meet on Alcatraz Island with the Indians. Don Patterson, president of the American Indian Center in San Francisco denies reports that a take-over of the abandoned Old Mint was under consideration.

December 15, 1969, p.2:5.

Surprise Visitor on Alcatraz. Actor Anthony Quinn visits Alcatraz.

December 16, 1969, p.5:1.

Scholars Back an Indian Alcatraz. A dozen nationally prominent scholars in Indian affairs endorsed transfer of Alcatraz Island to Indian control.

December 18, 1969, p. 2:2.

Solid Indians' 27th Day on the Rock. Indians continue cleaning up the Federal prison on the 27th day of the occupation as support builds for them. The General Services Agency, Federal caretakers of the Island disconnect the only two telephone lines to the island.

December 19, 1969, p.B1:7.

Alcatraz Indians To Go on Radio. Radio Free Alcatraz will air in two days broadcasting from Alcatraz Island. The 15-minute daily live broadcast is produced over KPFA-FM on facilities donated by the Berkeley radio station. The broadcast is simulcast to KPFK in Los Angeles and WBAL in New York City.



December 24, 1969, p.2:2.

A Vital Indian Meeting on Confederation Plans. 100 delegates to the conference brave the weather to form a new all-Indian confederation. Earl Livermore has quit the job of director of the San Francisco Indian Center to become Coordinator of the Indians on Alcatraz, a paid position. In Washington, legislation directing President Nixon give Alcatraz to the Indians is introduced by Representative George Brown and 10 other congressmen.

December 25, 1969, p.6:1.

Hint of Alcatraz Break. White House press secretary Ron Ziegler denies that the Indian are offered a piece of Fort Miley as a substitute for Alcatraz. In the denial Ziegler told local Federal officials that Fort Miley was one of several surplus properties under consideration by presidential adviser Leonard Garment as alternatives for Indian Alcatraz. The Indians, through their attorney in Washington, have started putting a plan together to legally lay claims to the Rock.

December 26, 1969, p.7:6.

Alcatraz Feast. 200 Indians celebrate Christmas with 80 donated turkeys and a 12-foot Christmas tree.

January 4, 1970, p.A 20:2.

Alcatraz: Prisoners left the rock; now the Indians want it. Alcatraz a prison at first become a symbol of civil and racial right in the 60"s.

January 4, 1970, p.B9:1.

Indian Center Seeks Funds for New Home. Since the Indian Center burned down in late October the Indian Center has had financial difficulty. The center offers services to over 25,000 American Indians in the Bay area.

January 6, 1970, p.1:1, 16:3.

Child Badly Injured in Fall on Alcatraz. Yvonne Oakes the 12 year old daughter of Richard Oakes is unconscious and in serious condition after falling down a stairwell in Alcatraz prison. Thomas Hannon, regional administrator for the U.S. General Services says his concern since the occupation began was the safety of the people on the island, the condition of the building is a hazard to anyone and everyone. Two other people have been hurt on the island thus far. Although Oakes is considered the original leader of the occupation and was at one time called the 'president of Alcatraz' his status has diminished considerably in the last two weeks.

January 7, 1970, p.5:1.

A Crisis for Indians: Alcatraz Dissension Grows. A serious problem in leadership has arisen on the Island. The cause of the problem, booze, boredom and bickering. Support for the occupation has fallen off because of poor communication and mistakes in public relations.

January 8, 1970, p.4:1.

**Federal Officials Hope to Reach Indian Leaders.** Federal regional officials begin to contact a core of Indian leaders in the Bay Area to begin talk about new programs to help the Indians. In another development Richard Oakes the former Chief spokesman for the Alcatraz Indians, says he will resume his studies at San Francisco State College.

January 8, 1970,p.4:1.

**Factionalism and Feuds: The Indians on Alcatraz.** Because of government indecision any new developments on Alcatraz have been slow in coming.

January 9, 1970, p.3:1.

**New Power Over Indian Alcatraz.** Federal authority to deal with the Indian occupation went from the General Services Administration to the National Council on Indian Opportunity. the move means that the Government means to begin serious negotiations on whether to remove the Indians on Alcatraz or grant their demands.

January 9, 1970,p.3:7.

**Girl Dies After Fall on Alcatraz.** Twelve-year old daughter of Richard Oakes, Yvonne Oakes died after a fall while on Alcatraz.

January 10, 1970, p.2:6.

**Rock Indians to Incorporate.** The Indians on Alcatraz announce they are forming into a legal corporation and will begin formal negotiations with Federal officials. Earl Livermore, All-Indian Alcatraz Coordinator said Robert Robertson, Ex. Director of the National council on Indian Opportunity will arrive in San Francisco today. Stella Leach, a spokeswomen for the Indian council said all Indians will be invited to sit in on the meeting, but no member of the press will be allowed and only the council will act in negotiations.

January 13, 1970, p.2:4.

**U.S. and Indians--Talks Break Up.** After two days of talks neither side reported any substantial progress in resolving the seven week stalemate over the Indian occupation of the Island.

January 16, 1970, p.2:1.

**Indian walkout At Federal Talks.** A group of Indians walked out on the meeting with Federal officials and complained that all the officials were doing was talking, and to all the wrong people. Indians claim they came to the meeting to talk about impoverished Indians--not to talk about the Island. The only result was the Indians formed a three member committee to choose a new group to meet with the authorities. Meanwhile 15 Indians from AIM/ American Indian Movement, headed by Dennis Banks arrived on the Island.

January 25, 1970, p.25:6.

Vandalism at Alcatraz. Navigational aids are tampered with on Alcatraz according to the Coast Guard. None of the Indians on the Island could be reached for comment. A Coast Guard spokesman says if the lights had gone out it could have caused a ship to hit shoreline rocks a mile off the city's waterfront. He added a daily rather than weekly inspection of the Island is now being called for.

January 29, 1970, p.5:1.

Memorial Fund at S.F. State For Indian Girl. Students at San Francisco State College has begun for an Yvonne Oakes Memorial Fund to raise money for native American studies at the college in memory of the Indian girl killed on Alcatraz Island.

January 31, 1970, p.5:1.

Alcatraz Indians Aim for the Top. Indians on Alcatraz send out scouts to seek out funds to finance their new cultural-educational center. On the mainland organizers are putting together proposals for grants from the country's largest foundations.

February 11, 1970, p.6:1.

Indians Ask Alcatraz Action. Representative of 13 Bay Area Indian organizations ask the Federal Government to 'face the Alcatraz issue'. The group claims to represent 40,000 Indians from over 78 different tribes throughout Alaska, Canada and the U.S.

February 12, 1970, p.4:2.

Alcatraz Indians Aided. The United Auto Workers Union donates \$2700. to Indians and agree to send two plumbers and two electricians to help make repairs.

February 20, 1970, p.10:1.

Unruh's Alcatraz Plan. Democratic leader of the Assembly and gubernatorial candidate, Jess Unruh, introduced a joint resolution which would urge President Nixon and Congress to authorize giving Alcatraz to the Indians

February 25, 1970, p.3:1.

"Alcatraz Indians Offer New Proposal to U.S." Indians hand Federal officials a \$300,000 proposal for an 'all Indian University and cultural complex. John Trudell, 24, a Sioux college student, said 'We want to have our own Indian University because we need to develop things from our own culture that are being lost, like our language'. He added the Indians will continue to hold Alcatraz whether or not the grant is given.

March 6, 1970, p.8:1.

"Jane and Indians Arrive Late but Get Their Way" Actress Jane Fonda and nine Alcatraz Indians arrived too late to testify on behalf of Assembly Democratic leader Jess Unruh's resolution asking the Federal government to give Alcatraz to the Indians. The Assembly Rules Committee passed the measure 52-0 before the Democratic leader could speak and before Fonda and the Indians could testify.

March 9, 1970, p.9:5.

"Alcatraz for the Seattle Invasion". Alcatraz Indians voted their support for the Indian invasion of Fort Lawton in Seattle yesterday.

March 17, 1970, p.7:4.

"Ellis Island Guarded--Indians About". Indians, led by Frank Growling Bear, announced at a press conference they were going to seize Ellis Island, in New York Harbor. At the same time the Coast Guard invoked the Espionage Act and set up a 24 hour security patrol around the island. The Indians said like the Alcatraz Indians Ellis Island had been declared surplus land.

March 24, 1970, p.2:2.

"Bay Indians Arrested at Sit-In". Twelve Indians including Richard Oakes, leader of the Alcatraz takeover were arrested after a sit-in at the Alameda office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The demonstration was one of 5 held by the Native American Committee throughout the United States. The protest was against what the Indians termed 'racial discrimination'.

April 1, 1970, p.6:1.

"Indianized' Alcatraz Park". The government responds to the Indian demands by proposing a park. A park with 'maximal Indian qualities'. Spokesman, Robert Robertson, said: 'We want to work with Indian people in determining how we can maximize Indianness of the island in the context of a park.' The press was not invited to the session. According to Robertson the park proposal was based on a study ordered by Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel last October 27 before the invasion, and he handed copies of the report dated November 25 to the press.

April 8, 1970, p.2:1.

"Indians Reject Park Plan". The Indians on Alcatraz reject the Government offer for transforming the Island into a park. In the process of getting publicity however, about 30 television and newspaper crews were charged \$10 a head for the trip across the bay. Spokesman for the Indians, John Trudell, said that a meeting would be held on May 31 to seek non-government fund for carrying out the Indians plans for a cultural center.

May 28, 1970, p.1:1.

"Alcatraz to Be Converted Into National Park". The U.S. Department of the Interior announced it intends to demolish the Federal prison on Alcatraz and go ahead with a national park. The planned Alcatraz park will give emphasis to the contributions of American Indians. The Alcatraz Indians are invited to provide a committee of their own to work with the Interior Department in making final plans for the park. Meanwhile the Indians plan a pow-wow for this Sunday. One thousand invitations have gone out to Indian leaders and sympathizers all over the country. The plan is to write their own deed to Alcatraz.

May 29, 1970, p.2:7.

"U.S. Maneuver: Alcatraz Siege--No More Water for the Indians". The GSA, caretaker of the island removed a water barge and has no plans to return it. In addition the Coast Guard will dismantle the Alcatraz lighthouse in favor of newer floating navigation aids. When that happens there no longer will be a need for electric power on the island. Bob Bradley, spokesman for the Indians said "Our answer to the park plan is 'no'. We plan to stay". Feds say they have no plans to evict the Indians.

May 30, 1970, p.4:7.

"Alcatraz Indians Appeal for Water". Spokesman, Bob Bradley, made an appeal for help. 'Bring us water in any amount'. Thomas Hannon, GSA administrator said his men left the Indians 70,000 gallons, enough for several weeks. Bradley said the amount is closer to 4000 gallons.

June 1, 1970, p.1:2.

"Indians to Fight the Alcatraz Park". By noon about 300 people showed up for a pow wow on Alcatraz where Indians unveiled a deed which said 'from this day forward we shall exercise dominion, and all rights of use and possession, over Alcatraz Island...'. Indians also warned that other seizures of Federal land would begin to fulfill a prophecy made Chief Eagle Feathers, a Sioux medicine man. Richard Oakes and Stella Hach also warned of potential violence if the government tried to turn Alcatraz into a park.

June 2, 1970, p.1:1.

"Alcatraz Is Burning" A spectacular blaze involving 5 building lit the Bay sky last night. Four Coast Guard rescue craft cruised off the island at 1:30am to evacuate the Indians occupying the rock. GSA administrator said he interpreted the Indians refusal to be taken off the island as meaning no one was in jeopardy from the blaze..

June 2, 1970, p.3:1.

"The U.S. Plans for Remaking Alcatraz". The Interior Department announced its intention to make the island the first piece in the massive planned Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The project is estimated to cost from \$1.3 million to \$3 million, and would take about a year to complete. The plans for Alcatraz call for maintaining portions of the island's early history while ripping down portions of recent prison day reminders.

June 3, 1970, p.1:1.

"Indian Deny They Set Alcatraz Fire". The fire began at 10pm and raged until 5 a.m. Monday destroying 4 buildings on the Island. The buildings affected were the warden's home, the infirmary and two small buildings at the base of the lighthouse. The GSA, blamed the fire on the Indians. John Trudell, one of seven members of the tribal council, said that the fire was started by provocateurs. Denying he had heard rumors last Sunday, during a large gathering that Indian dissidents might 'rip off' the warden's two-story house. Trudell added that since the occupation began a number of 'intruders' have been apprehended prowling the cell blocks. Adding with no water pumping system now on the island, neither the Indians nor anyone else could have saved the buildings.

June 4, 1970, p.14:1.

"A Lull In Alcatraz War". Government officials appear to be playing a wait and wait game in the wake of the fire that destroyed four historic buildings and gutted the lighthouse on Alcatraz. GSA officials claim they have received numerous telephone calls from 'outraged citizens'. The fire damage is estimated in excess of \$100,000.

June 8, 1970, P.1:3.

"U.S. Blakout of Alcatraz Lighthouse" Local residents are becoming aware that one of the city's landmarks has disappeared from San Francisco Bay. The extinction of the Alcatraz lighthouse, however, was not caused by the fire on the Island but by Federal Government orders. The extinction brought 116 years of maritime navigational security to a halt. Yahtsmen and seafarers claim 'There is no comparison between a couple of pee-wee flashing buoys at the water line of Alcatraz and the powerful lighthouse' adding, 'they are not enough to insure safe navigation. The Alcatraz Indians announced today that they felt the blackout had intruded into their crusade. As one spokesmen put it: 'Indians are being blamed for extinguishing the light ...when in fact it was a bureaucratic tour de force...'. Indians also claimed the light would be turned back on tonight at 9pm and they would do it themselves.

June 8,1970, p.5:1.

"Indians Offering Tours of Alcatraz". Running low on money, water and supplies the Alcatraz Indians will begin giving public tours of the Island today. The first tour will begin at 10am and run to 1p.m. at a price of \$5 a head which includes passage on the Indians fishing boat. Spokesmen for the GSA warned that no boats have been officially authorized to land at the federally owned island and that the Justice Department may be asked to halt the tours.

June 9, 1970, p.1:4.

"U.S. Vetoes Those Tours of Alcatraz". The Federal government succeeded in sinking Indians' sightseeing tours to Alcatraz yesterday. When the first of the twice-daily tours left the Wharf it barely got away from the pier before it was turned back by a radio message from the Coast Guard.

June 9,1970.p.1:1.

"Alcatraz Glows Again". The Alcatraz Indians turned on the light in the lighthouse last night.

June 10,1970, p.1:6.

"U.S. Says It's in Dark About Alcatraz Light". The Alcatraz Indians on Monday night got the light going with a gasoline-operated generator, restoring to the Bay the light that has shone for 126 years. In Washington, an assistant White House press secretary said the administration had 'nothing to do' with the order cutting the power off'. Tim Elbourne, the spokesman, said shutting off the power was 'basically the suggestion of the Coast Guard'. The Coast Guard here yesterday issued an official warning to navigators that the Alcatraz Light is no longer an official mariners' aid.

June 11, 1970, p.1:1.

"U.S. Hangs Tough on Alcatraz Light". The Coast Guard declined to alter its course in denying electrical power to the Alcatraz lighthouse. Spokesmen said the decision to cut power to the lighthouse was made by Coast Guard headquarters in Washington D.C., and issued as an order on May 28. Any changes to the order would have to come from Washington. The Chronicle learned that the decision to cut power was made after several meetings involving GSA Administrators and Coast Guard officials in Washington in an effort to clear the way for construction of a park which is to begin in April. There are indications that the Coast Guard blackout was merely a temporary step to pressure the Indians off the Island due to the fact that the GSA removed its two caretakers from the island May 28.

June 27, 1970, p.2:4.

"New Threat to Alcatraz Indians". About 89 Alcatraz Indians were left stranded by an insurance company's refusal to cover the Indian ferry service. Cliff Anfinson, skipper of the Indian leased fishing boat was notified by the Hartford Insurance Group that his coverage did not extend to ferrying passengers to the prison island. 'After this, there just won't be any boats', said LaNada Means Indian spokesman, as the boat prepared to make its final run. Indian attorney Jelinek threatened to seek a Federal restraining order against the insurance company, however, Leland C. Shay of Mitchell & Company seemed unimpressed.

June 30, 1970, p.5:3.

"Duskin Won't OK Alcatraz Park". Alvin Duskin, the socially aware knitwar maker whose voice spike Lamar Hunt's space museum plan for Alcatraz said 'It's difficult to believe the people in the Department of the Interior are that stupid or, he amended, that hypocritical'. To Duskin, the park proposal is an elaborate and expensive substitute for an eviction order.

July 6, 1970, p.5:1.

"A Tribal Gathering at Aquatic Park". An estimated 1000 American Indians representing 40 tribes gathered in Aquatic Park yesterday for a rally in support of Indian movements across the country and to show solidarity with the non-Indian community. John Trudell, one of the leaders of the Alcatraz Island occupation said the Indians 'were not buying the talk that America has an Indian problem.' The problem, he said, is a 'White-oriented society geared to meet white needs.'

July 7, 1970, p.20:1.

"Alcatraz Light Is Still Out". The Alcatraz Island Lighthouse light was missing again for a second straight night. The Indians reported that one of the generators used to supply power on the island had gone out the night before.

July 8, 1970, p.1:2.

"The Alcatraz Light Is Back on Again". Last night at 10:40pm the historic Alcatraz beacon light was restored. The light went black Sunday when its two 500-watt bulbs burned out. Since then, Indian electricians, aided by sympathetic non-Indians, searched San Francisco for replacement globes. They found them last night in a theater electric supply firm.

July 14, 1970, p.8:3.

"Board Vote On Alcatraz Light Fails". By one vote, the Board of Supervisors failed to ask the Coast Guard to relight officially and permanently, the historic lighthouse on Alcatraz. The passage was blocked by Supervisor John Barbagelata.

July 23, 1970, p.3:6.

"A Birth on Alcatraz". A seven-pound baby boy was born in the unheated former prison guards quarters this week. The boy named Wovoka is the son of Indian spokesman John Trudell and his wife Lou.

July 8, 1970, p.1:4, 18:5.

"Alcatraz Light to Shine Again". Bowing to public pressure the Coast Guard decided to restore service to the lighthouse and foghorns on Alcatraz Island. Word of the decision was announced by San Francisco's Congressional team of Representatives, William Maillard and Phillip Burton. Burton, quarterbacked the drive in Washington to get the switch turned back on and his Republican colleague, Maillard, enlisted the sympathy of the White house, a source said. The cutoff was part of the Federal campaign to drive the Indians off the island by denying necessities such as power and water. The campaign, however, boomeranged when it triggered a flood of complaints from seven waterfront and maritime unions.

July 8, 1970, p.4:4.

"Alcatraz Indians' Lighthouse Stand". The Indians on Alcatraz Island announced that they will fight any attempts by the Government to restore power to the Alcatraz lighthouse until the Government agrees to restore water and other electrical services. Spokesman for the Indians, John Trudell, says the light will continue to be operated by a gasoline powered generator which the Indians have used to keep the beacon alive since after the power was cut on May 29.

August 11, 1970, p.2:6.

"U.S. Firm On Alcatraz Light Issue". Thomas Hannon, regional administrator for the General Services Administration says the Federal government will make no concessions to the Indians on Alcatraz in restoring power to the lighthouse and foghorns. Meanwhile, an investigation has begun into the shooting of an arrow from Alcatraz Island into the side of a passenger laden tour boat. Hannon agreed that the Indian demands and the governments refusal to accede to them appeared to be moving both groups toward a showdown.



August 12, 1970, p.3:1.

"Coast Guard Peril at Alcatraz Told". A Coast Guard boat was threatened with fire bombing last week when it tried to put a work party ashore. Hannon, GSA director, says the event came the day after leaking word that an arrow was shot from the island at a crowded tour boat. Hannon added that there were 6 men aboard the boat when they arrived at the Alcatraz pier. About 15 Indians assembled on the dock, "...filled bottles with liquid from nearby steel drums and inserted rags into the necks and warned that any attempt to land would be met with filled Molotov cocktails". Indian spokesman, John Trudell, allowed that they did shoot the arrow saying "We're just trying to get our point across....the tour boats have not been respecting our 200-yard limit--they've been coming within 20 or 30 yards."

August 8, 1970, p.5:6.

"Another Tardy Report of an Alcatraz Incident". The Government released a report of another incident between the Coast Guard and the Indians. According to Thomas Hannon, GSA director, a week ago a Coast Guard boat was off the island turning on the foghorn when smoke was smelled and yells were heard from the island. The crew thought the yells were cries of assistance and the boat moved the vessel to within 50 yards to investigate. A flaming object was thrown at them when they were asking "What's the problem". The object missed the boat. Because of the fog and darkness the coast Guard crew was not able to see whether the object was a Molotov cocktail or not but the crew did see a man on the pier with a pistol in his hand. The Indians said Hannon's latest report--coming nearly a week after the incident lent credence to their fears that the GSA director is orchestrating a carefully planned propaganda campaign against them.

September 3, 1970, p.2:5.

"No Plan to Oust Indians On Alcatraz". The GSA responding to published reports about a planned Navy-Coast Guard move against the Indians, issued a qualified statement yesterday. Naval spokesman refused to comment while the GSA says "there is no present intention to remove the Indians from the island by force". LaNada Means, spokesman for the Indians, says they "will not resist violently..." Meanwhile, Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, president of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO) met with Indians leaders on the island and said the dispute "could very well be resolved before this weekend is over." Matthew's organization occupied Ellis Island in New York July 20 and won an agreement from the government allowing NEGRO to convert the island into a rehabilitation center for ex-alcoholics and dope addicts.

September 4, 1970, p.4:3.

"Black Plan for Alcatraz is Rejected" The Indians have rejected an attempt by a black, self-help group to mediate their dispute with the Federal Government. The black organization suggested the Indians drop their insistence on permanent title to the island and accept a five-year lease. At the same time, they would be awarded a government contract of between \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year to operate the lighthouse. The Indians feel, however, they have negotiated as much as they can and can go no further.

September 28, 1970, p.4:1.

"Alcatraz Light Out". The Alcatraz Island lighthouse beacon was out again last night.

November 5, 1970, p.14:1.

"Indians Holding the Fort". An Alcatraz-style stand-off between Indians and the Federal government appeared developing here yesterday when about 40 Indians completed their second day of occupying an abandoned Army communications center. The Indians, many of them veterans of the Alcatraz episode broke through a chain linked fence and set up camp on the 640 acre site next to the UC Davis Campus.

November 8, 1970, p.11:1.

"A Year Later, What Next for Indians on Alcatraz". Retrospective.

November 8, 1970, p.11:2.

"Festival Here on Seizure Anniversary". Indians of all tribes will hold a festival here next Sunday to commemorate the first anniversary of the Alcatraz occupation. And on the following weekend, they'll have a big pow wow for Indians only.

November 16, 1970, p.2:6.

"The Invasion of Alcatraz A Celebration". More than 1000 people gathered in the glen of Pine Lake Park yesterday to help American Indians celebrate the first anniversary of the take-over of Alcatraz.

November 16, 1970, p.2:5.

"A Bay Area Symposium for Indians". Indians from 30 different organization representing 31,000 Indians in the Bay Area will hold an all-day meeting on Saturday. The purpose of the meeting is to explore every program that will serve to elevate the Indian people.

November 17, 1970, p.3:1.

"Indians Reclaim Piers". American Indians reclaimed the San Francisco waterfront yesterday.

November 20, 1970, p.2:1.

"Indians First Year on Rock". Retrospective

November 21, 1970, p.4:1.

"The Indians Unveil Plan for Alcatraz". The Indians on Alcatraz celebrated their first anniversary yesterday by unveiling their plans for development of the island. Those plans call for construction of a \$5 or 6 million cultural complex and a free Indian University called Thunderbird U. At a news conference, the Indians unveiled an architect's model of the proposed development by the San Francisco firm of Donald MacDonald.

November 22, 1970, p.21:1.

"Indians Seek Solidarity to Give Them Political Muscle". Local Indians are consolidating their political strength to barter votes for benefits as part of the 1972 election campaign. The Indians are particularly interested in reports that Interior Secretary Walter Hickel is leaving the Nixon Cabinet. "We want to create unity and cooperation" said John Trudell, a leader of the Indian occupiers of Alcatraz Island and a delegate to the meeting.

March 15, 1971, p.5:1.

"Indians' Bleak Winter". It's almost the end of the second winter of Indian Alcatraz and it has been a difficult winter. The gasoline generator died more than a month ago,, and already one of four small wood cottages on the island has been torn down and burned for firewood. The fishing boat which brought water and supplies to the island has been laid up for repairs for almost a month and its maintenance has virtually bankrupted the two or three dozen Indians holding out on the "Rock". Many of the people who were among the party of 80 in the first landing in November o1969 have left. Some will be back with spring or with vacations from school and jobs. Others are discouraged and bitter and may never return. There are no more government caretakers and even the tourists no longer crowd the rail of the passing boats as they one did.

March 22, 1971, p.1:1, 24:4.

"An Alcatraz Barrage Hits a Tour Boat". A tour boat carrying about 300 sightseers was by a volley of steel nuts fired from sling shots on Alcatraz island yesterday. Several of the three-quarter-inch to five eighth-inch steel nuts missed the boat, but at least six struck. One narrowly hitting missed an 8 year old boy in the head. The incident was apparently part of a war being waged by the Indians and the harbor Tours which ply the water nearby Alcatraz for the benefit of tourists. The Indians have complained the wake from the big boats causes their small supply boat to rock against the side of the Alcatraz dock and damages it.

March 26, 1971, p.2:5.

"Indians Claim Alcatraz Waters, Warn Tourists". The Alcatraz Indians warned tour boats to stay away. "We now claim sovereignty on all waters extending 250 yards beyond the shores of Alcatraz." said spokesman John Trudell. Adding, "But fromt his day forward we will no longer tolerate this type of exploitation of our peoples on Alcatraz."

April 28, 1971.p.6:7.

"Indians Not Guilty in Treasure Island Invasion". The accidental Indian invasion of Treasure Island was resolved when a United States magistrate found five off-course Alcatraz Indians not guilty of trespassing on the Naval base. However, one of the man arrested was found guilty of carrying a concealed weapon, a five inch hunting knife and put on a 30 probation.

June 12, 1971, p.1:4.

"Alcatraz is Recaptured by Armed U.S. Marshals". No one is arrested as Indians leave Island without a struggle.

June 12, 1971, p.2:1.

"Alcatraz Occupation". Retrospective

June 12, 1971, p.2:2.

"Angry Indians' Promise--We're Going Back".

June 12, 1971, p.2:3.

"Indians Charge Double-Talk". The United States was accused of double-talk yesterday by one of the Indians hauled off Alcatraz island by the raiding party of armed marshals. John Trudell said he and four other Alcatraz Indians had been in negotiations with U.S. Attorney James Browning and other Federal officials since April 13 in the hope some settlement of the dispute might be reached. "The first guarantee they made when the negotiations started was that nobody on the island would be arrested or taken off the island," Trudell said. Browning said no such promise had ever been made but did say he had talked with Trudell.

June 13, 1971, p.10:4.

"Jailed Alcatraz Indian theft Suspects Freed". Three Indians accused of stealing copper pipe on Alcatraz found themselves waiting for hours in City prison for release. Supporters of the three were miffed because they had raised the \$1000 bail but were told that city jailers could not release federal prisoners except to a U.S. Marshal or deputy. No marshals were to be found.

June 13, 1971, p.1:2, 11:1.

"U.S. May Soon Declare Alcatraz in Parks Area".

June 14, 1971, p. 1:1., 14:2.

"The Dream Is Over". The Federal Government yesterday allowed the first look at the remains of the dream to liberate Alcatraz island. More than 20 newsmen found an unrelieved vista of squalor, filth, systematic pilfering and mindless destruction.

June 15, 1971, p.1:3, 20:1.

"A New Indian Invasion"...A band of 50 Indians occupied an abandoned Nike missile base in the hills east of El Cerrito yesterday in retaliation for Friday's Government seizure of Alcatraz Island.

June 16, 1971, p.2:1.

"Nike Indians Reinforced". More Indians moved into the Nike missile base yesterday as a hair-splitting bureaucratic struggle was joined between the United States Army and local officials.

June 18, 1971, p. 1:3., 28:5.

"Dawn Raid on Indians". Seventy-five Indians many of whom were veterans of Alcatraz, were removed from the Nike missile site in an early morning raid. The raid went so smoothly that only 16 Indians were detained.

June 18, 1971, p. 2:1.

"The Indians Keep Moving, Smiling. "Sure I knew it was coming" said the Indian medic, Stella Leach. "But we just couldn't believe it...we just couldn't believe there were that many soldiers and that many cops for a few pregnant Indian women and a few of our boys". The 75 Indians were evicted from the Nike site by a force of some 110 police and sheriff's deputies while 172 Presidio troops stood by. She laughed when asked what the Indians are going to try next. "We're just starting, baby, just starting" the veteran of the Indians Alcatraz Island invasion promised.

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November 7, 1969, p. 19: 1.

"Buddha-and-Pigeons Program for Alcatraz" Only 14 persons show up at a City Hall meeting to consider new proposals for development of Alcatraz. Professional developer's interest has evaporated and proposals presented ranged from erecting a huge statue of Buddha to embarrass China to creating a sanctuary for pigeons. George Weber, regional director of the Interior Departments Bureau of Outdoor Recreation told the committee his office was beginning a survey ordered by Secretary Hickel to look at Alcatraz as a possible site for a federal park.

November 10, 1969, 1:1, 14:1.

"14 Indians Lose Battle of Alcatraz" Fourteen Indians left Alcatraz this afternoon after staking out their claim to the island. A Coast Guard cutter took seven GSA authorities headed by Thomas Hannon, and a band of newsmen to the island in search of the Indians who landed on the island yesterday. The Indians were led by Mohawk Richard Oakes, the first to dive from a charter ship and swim to the island. The Indians want Alcatraz because the Mission District Indian Center burned last month and the Indians need, even if they can't get Alcatraz a new center, to call attention to their plight.

November 18, 1969, 3:7.

"3 More Ideas for Alcatraz". Three new proposals for Alcatraz were submitted to City Hall today. One submission, a poem, asked for a pillar of light. The second proposals was for a marine research center and the third called for the establishment of a University of Nations, with all member nations of the United Nations invited to participate.

November 20, 1969, 1:3, 16:3, 17:1.

"Indians Back On Alcatraz, For 2 Days" About 90 Indians returned to Alcatraz in the pre-dawn hours this morning. Officials for the GSA paid them a visit, talked then retreated.

November 21, 1969, 3:1.

"Indians Challenge Hickel To Alcatraz Conference" Indians challenged Interior Secretary Hickel today to personally meet with them. Richard Oakes who appeared with attorney Corbin Houchins brought a copy of a declaration proclaiming the Island to belong to the Indians. Oakes aid his people were claiming title to Alcatraz under a treaty which permitted Indians to have any federal land that was unoccupied. Ed Castillo of Riverside, a teacher of native American history at UCLA, said that the Indian proposals for development of the island have been forwarded through channels to President Nixon.

November 22, 1969, 1:3

"Airlift to Alcatraz". Two young men in a balloon attempted to make an airlift to the beleaguered Indians on Alcatraz. The men brought with them 14 large sacks of food but due to heavy winds were unable to make their delivery.

November 22, 1969, 3:4.

"Alcatraz Indians Under CG Siege" The U.S. Coast Guard blockaded Alcatraz today as Interior Secretary Walter Hickel sought a parley with the Indians on the Island.

November 23, 1969, 1:1, 18:1.

"The Rock Blockaded--Indians Vow to Stay" The Coast Guard maintained a tight blockade of Alcatraz yesterday refusing to allow Indians to enter or leave.

November 24, 1969, 1:1, 8:1.

"U.S. to Remove Alcatraz Indians" The General Service Administration today said it would have to remove the Indians from the Island, a situation that has attracted the attention of President Nixon. The announcement came as Coast Guard officials in Washington said they have "called off our boats".

November 25, 1969, 1:1, 14:4.

"Alcatraz Indians Defy U.S." Indians occupying Alcatraz today threatened "a hell of a lot of trouble" if federal authorities try to remove them from the Rock. Indian spokesman Richard Oakes said "The Indian people are definitely going to stay here, Our conditions are beautiful.". Adding, Alcatraz is only the first step in the battle for justice for Indians. Alaska, he declared is next. With the Coast Guard blockade lifted more Indians and many supplies arrived at the dock.

November 26, 1969, 1:2, 8:4.

"Alcatraz Indian Peace Up to Hickel". :President Nixon has given the Interior Department the responsibility for negotiating an agreement with the Indians on Alcatraz. The Examiner learned from high authority today. The problem is brought to the President's attention daily, a White House spokesman said. and Secretary Hickel has been given the job of handling the situation for the Administration.

November 27, 1969, 1:1, 12:4.

"100 Tribes: Thanksgiving on Alcatraz" Indians from more than 100 tribes were expected at the Thanksgiving feast on the Island. Richard Oakes, spokesman for the group said "It will be our first Thanksgiving of a multi-tribal type", adding, ...we are here together in our common struggle. A Fisherman's Wharf restaurant had prepared enough food for about 200 people and this morning several cruisers delivered large quantities of food, bedding and clothing to the Island.

November 28, 1969, 1:4, 8:4.

"U.S. Hint to Indians--Get Off Alcatraz". The government is prepared to remove the Indians from Alcatraz if necessary, says Thomas Hannon Regional General Service Administrator. A spokesman for Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, told the Examiner that a government negotiating committee would be set up for talks. Meanwhile the State Department may already be involved indirectly. UN Delegate Shirley Temple Black drew a parallel between the world refugee problem and the nation's treatment of the Indians.

November 29, 1969, 1:6.

"Alcatraz Indians Get More Water". The Indians, led by Richard Oakes, have been asked to send a delegation to the U.S. Department of the Interior to negotiate. So far, the Indians have been firm in seeking a personal meeting, with Interior Secretary Hickel--on the Island. The invaders won a victory yesterday when the GSA began replenishing the island's water supply. One federal official opposed to the Indian plan is Sen. George Murphy, a member of the senate Indian Education Subcommittee. The California Republican was worried the occupation might set a precedent.

November 30, 1969, 1:1, 13:1.

"Indians: The Rock Packing' Em In" The population of Alcatraz grew to more than 600 yesterday and is expected to grow to 1000 before the weekend is over. The Indian Center in San Francisco has hired its own boats to accommodate the refugees. Except for the press, only Indians are allowed on the Island soon, however, even the reporters and photographers will be restricted. Indians don't have time to escort them around.

December 1, 1969, 6:1.

"Indians Blast EOC Bias". Bay Area Indians, opened a new front today with the charge the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council discriminates against their race. Earl Livermore, spokesman for the American Indian Center said only \$70,000 of the \$5.2 million appropriated for the War on Poverty here is earmarked for Indians, though they estimated 90 percent of the 6000 to 7000 San Francisco Indians are poverty stricken.

December 2, 1969, 4:4.

"New Demand for Decision on Alcatraz". Robert E. Gonzales, chairman of the Board of San Francisco Supervisors Committee on Alcatraz, in an address to the board wants to know what Interior Secretary Hickel intends to do about Alcatraz if he isn't going to give it to the Indians.

December 3, 1969, 1:3, 9:1.

"Alcatraz Not for Sale-U.S." Thomas Hannon Regional Administrator for the GSA announced that Alcatraz is no longer for sale to the City or anyone else. What plans the federal government may or may not have for the island were not described. After the meeting Hannon said regional heads of various government agencies concerned with Indian problems, had accepted an invitation to talk to Indian leaders. Richard Oakes, was chosen President of Alcatraz said "We opened lines of communication on a local level, but not on a federal level".



December 4, 1969, 3:1.

"More Indians Due to Occupy Alcatraz". While Indians prepared for another influx of tribesmen Richard Oakes, reemphasized plans to remain indefinitely. Another meeting was planned between Indian leaders and the GSA, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Supervisor Robert Gonzales is considering a suit against the Department of the Interior for withdrawing its offer to sell the island to the City.

December 6, 1969, 4:1.

Indians from as far away as Louisiana, New York and Washington poured into San Francisco today to join the occupation of Alcatraz. Tribes throughout the country were also chipping in to provide money and food for the Indians.

December 7, 1969, A13:1

"Oakes Has One Goal For Alcatraz: Unity"...profiles Oakes and family, also one on one interview.

December 8, 1969, 3:5.

"Indians Say Alioto Mistaken" Returning from a trip to Europe, Mayor Alioto said he believed the Indians wanted the island as a "means of negotiating" for jobs, housing and education. Adding, the Indians have "legitimate claims" to these rights. The Indians claim Alioto is badly mistaken.

December 10, 1969, 19:1.

"Indians Tell of Physical Neglect" Five federal officials meeting with the Indians on Alcatraz today heard a story of physical neglect toward Indians in relation to health care. The occupation of Alcatraz itself was not discussed by the members of the Federal Regional Council. A trouble shooting committee formed for possible use in urban crises,, it has no jurisdiction over Alcatraz.

December 11, 1969, 9:9.

"Indians Hear Old Mint Plan" William Murdock, president of the Central City Citizens Council, a group of prominent citizens, made the proposal for the Indians to take over the old abandoned mint at last night's meeting at the American Indian Center. Walter Knox, chairman of the council and half Cherokee Indian, supported the proposal. Murdock proposed to Earl Livermore, director of the center, that the Indians ask the government to convert the mint into a cultural, medical and child care center. Livermore responded enthusiastically to the proposal. Meanwhile the Shoshone Indian nation offered 100 warriors if necessary to bring about the surrender of the island.

December 11, 1969, 9:3.

"Indian Not Refused Care, Hospital Says". Dr. Frank Roller of the U.S. Public Health Hospital today denied that an Indian woman from Alcatraz was denied emergency care last week. The charge was made yesterday at a conference between federal officials and Indian leaders.

December 15, 1969, 1:1.

"Indians Told: Go, Then Talk" Federal officials, headed by U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole, told the Alcatraz Indians today that they won't talk as long as the Island is occupied. They invited Indian spokesman Richard Oakes to a special meeting, but Oakes did not immediately reply.

December 15, 1969, 12:1.

"Scholars Back Indian Demands" A group of prominent scholars in the field of Indian studies threw their support to Indian control of Alcatraz and other government surplus property.

December 17, 1969, 19:1.

"Churchmen Back Indians On Alcatraz". The Episcopal Diocese of California has joined the Indians in urging the federal government to turn Alcatraz over to the Indians.

December 18, 1969, 9:3.

"Alcatraz Phone Number Top Secret". The General Services Administration said today that the number of the government Centrex system telephone on the island has been changed, and that it will not be available to the public or the press.

December 19, 1969, 8:3.

"Alcatraz Indians Shun Plan" The Indians on Alcatraz took a dim view today of Sen. George Murphy's proposal that the Rock be made into a national park honoring all American Indians. Also, starting Monday a 15 Minute daily "Radio Free Alcatraz" program will be broadcast from Alcatraz via FM station KPFA.

December 22, 1969, 10:5.

"U.S. Indian Unity Meet On Alcatraz" Delegates began to arrive at Alcatraz today for a national conference. The purpose of the gathering is to form a new organization, the Confederation of American Indian Nations. Invitations were sent to 5000 individual tribes.

December 24, 1969, 3:6.

"Nixon Offer to Indians: Portion of Fort Miley". A federal spokesman says, Leonard Garment, President Nixon's adviser on the Alcatraz has been negotiating with Browning Pipestem, a Kiowa Indian and attorney in Washington, D.C. the objective being to give the Alcatraz Indians a piece of Fort Miley as a substitute for the former federal prison. The offer came as a surprise to Mayor Alioto's office, which checked with the GSA regional office. They hadn't heard about the offer either.

December 25, 1969, 9:1.

"Indians Demand U.S. Cash". Indians on Alcatraz won't accept title to the island unless federal funds are allocated for support of their proposed cultural enter, school and museum complex. The demands were made by Earl Livermore, a Blackfeet artist who emerged from a two-day conference as chief spokesman for the Alcatraz invaders.

December 26, 1969, 3:6.

"Indian Leaders Plan Step Two for Alcatraz". Acting on the assumption that the island will be given to them, Indians on Alcatraz began planning for the development of the islands facilities and to planning a curriculum for an Indian cultural and educational center.

December 31, 1969, 5:1.

"New Life on Alcatraz Celebrated Tonight". backgrounder.

January 1, 1971, 1:3, 14:4.

"Indian Girl Hurt in Fall at Alcatraz". Yvonne Oakes, 12 year old daughter of Richard Oakes, primary spokesman for the Indians on Alcatraz, was in critical condition today after a fall sustained in a fall on the island Saturday.

January 8, 1971, 1:1.

"Alcatraz Child Dies of Injuries". Yvonne Oakes, 12 year old daughter of the Alcatraz Indians' chief spokesman died last night at the U.S. Public Health Service hospital.

January 10, 1970, 4:1.

"Alcatraz Indians to Incorporate". Indian leaders announced that Robert Robertson, the executive director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity will arrive on the island for meeting tomorrow. Also announced were the plans to incorporate the Indians as Indians of All Tribes. Aubrey Grossman, attorney for the Indians, said the articles of the incorporation would be filled in Sacramento next week.

January 12, 1970, 3:1.

"Alcatraz Talks Make Little headway". Robert Robertson, executive director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, told reporters that discussions on Alcatraz centered on the health and safety aspects of living on the island and that he was "not able to tal with substance" on transferring title to the Indians. He proposed that all women and children leave the island, and that a token occupation of 5 men, paid for by the government remain. "Government double-talk" was the Indian response.

January 13, 1970, 6:4.

"Is Alcatraz Too Crowded". After a second meeting representative of the government said that "substantive talks about Alcatraz" could not begin until all women and children are off the island and "reduced to a sensible size". The Indians, however, voted unanimously to remain on Alcatraz.

January 23, 1970, 3:5.

"Alcatraz Vandalism Revealed". At least one foghorn, the lighthouse and the Coast Guard buildings have been vandalized. Coast Guard officials said the vandalism could have resulted in a "maritime casualty--a ship running aground or loss of life and property. From now on the Alcatraz facilities will be inspected at least daily, Admiral Bender said.

January 29, 1970, 3:1.

"Alcatraz Veteran Quits Caretaker Job". John Hart, caretaker of Alcatraz, since it was abandoned as a prison seven years ago, will leave the island officially at the end of next week.

March 2, 1970, 1:1, 12:1.

"Jane Fonda Visits Alcatraz Indians".

March 5, 1970, 15:1.

"Give Alcatraz to the Indians". A resolution asking the federal government to turn Alcatraz over to the Indians sped through the California assembly today. The resolution was authored by Jesse Unruh a candidate for governor.

March 9, 1970, 8:1.

"Jane Fonda, Alcatraz Indians in Seattle Raid". A band of Indians, including a major contingent from Alcatraz, was repelled at Fort Lawton yesterday.

April 10, 1970, 9:1.

"Girl Born to Alcatraz Leader". A baby girl was born this morning to Mrs. Anne Oakes, wife of Richard Oakes, who led the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island.

May 28, 1970, 1:6, 18:4.

"Indians Angered--Alcatraz War Paint Protest". Red paint splashed on the stucco mess hall facing the City reflected Indian anger after the Interior Dept's announcement that all buildings would be demolished. Alcatraz would be part of a Golden Gate recreational area. Joe Morris, a Blackfoot and mainland coordinator said the government "is trying to shove this park business down everybody's throat". Meanwhile the Coast Guard began replacing its automatic lighthouse with light and horn buoys, erasing the last reason custodian presence and the reason for sending over any more water supplies.

May 29, 1970, 6:1.

Indians on Alcatraz Vow to Stand Fast". The Indians on Alcatraz their electricity and water supplies cut off by the government--made it clear they won't leave the island.

May 30, 1970, 3:1.

"Bring Us Water, Say Indians on Alcatraz" Indians on Alcatraz prepared for tomorrow's influx of sympathizers attending the Indian Liberation Day meeting. The meeting is expected to attract 400, the largest group since its seizure last fall.

June 1, 1970, 12:1.

"Our Indian Land is Ours Again". Alcatraz is theirs, this sign was posted in a formal declaration penned on sheepskin yesterday. It was the Indian way of letting Secretary of Interior Hickel they had rejected his proposal to convert the island into a park. In the last few months, Indians have occupied or tried to occupy Fort Lawton; Seattle, Ellis Island; New York, Rattlesnake Island on Clear Lake, and Stanley Island on the St. Lawrence River. The GSA announced today that in a few weeks the Interior Department would take title to the 12 acre park so it could start demolishing the buildings.

June 2, 1970, 1:7.14:1.

"Fires Sweep Alcatraz". Five Landmarks Go--Indians Refuse Firemen, Boats Unable to Approach. "I presume the Indians started the fires themselves", said Dick Laws, assistant to Thomas E. Hannon, regional head of the GSA.

June 3, 1970, 22:1.

"Alcatraz Ouster Idiotic--U.S." I would take the U.S. government no more than 30 minutes to remove the Indians from Alcatraz, Thomas Hannon, regional director for the GSA said today. After yesterday's fire, a fire that destroyed the former warden's house, the doctor's cottage and the Coast Guard Station and damaged the historic light house--Hannon met with US. attorney James L. Browning Jr., U.S. Marshal George Tobin and Coast Guard officers to weigh an assortment of alternative. Hannon said, "We know now that the Indians have 35 guns on the island, a variety of shotguns and hand guns, all over the island. How do we know this" Well, for one thing, we have seen the shells." John Trudell, Indian spokesman, denied that the Indians had any guns, hidden or out in the open.

June 5, 1970, 1:5, 12:4.

"Alcatraz Copper Theft Probe" GSA Regional Administrator, Thomas Hannon says thefts of copper and brass piping and plumbing fixtures from prison buildings on Alcatraz are under investigation by government agents. The incidents were initially brought to the authorities by The Examiner after many cab drivers enlisted by Indian residents of Alcatraz to assist in transporting the metals to salvage dealers in San Francisco. Nine cabbies told of being asked to transport three and four hundred pound loads from the dock area to salvage buyers.

June 8, 1970, 1:1, 4:6.

"Tour Boat Turned Back: U.S. Gets Tough on Alcatraz". The White House curtails electricity to the Lighthouse. Indian spokesman John Trudell in a press conference said the light would be turned on at 9 p.m. today and the accidental fire that took place on June 1 had nothing to do with the extinguishing of the lighthouse beacon.

June 9, 1970, 1:1, 6:1.

"Editor's Beacon Aid Comes to Light". Relighting the navigation beacon on Alcatraz was instigated by Editor Scott Newhall of the San Francisco Chronicle rather than the Indians. "I got some of the stuff," adding, "rented the generator, I'm not fighting the Indians' fight but I think the navigational aid should be operating in the Bay."

June 10, 1970, 4:1.

"Alcatraz Light Isn't--Officially". The Coast Guard warned that the lighthouse beacon on Indian occupied Alcatraz is not an authorized navigational aid. The Indians restored the light, turned off on White House orders, at the instigation of Scott Newhall, editor of the San Francisco Chronicle and a yachtsman. The light was turned off May 28 when the Coast Guard, acting on orders from the White House, cut electricity service. At the same time, the federal water barge was removed from the island dock.

June 12, 1970, 1:1, 12:1.

"1st Alcatraz Indian Chief Badly Beaten". Richard Oakes--the Mohawk who led the Indian invasion of Alcatraz was in critical condition with severe head injuries and faced possible brain surgery today after a mysterious beating in a San Francisco bar.

June 22, 1970, 7:1.

"Alcatraz Indians Get Drama, Water." An acting troupe, performing at the Little Fox theater invited to perform "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" for the Indians on Alcatraz left after only one act. Fewer than two dozen adults showed up at the old recreation hall for the performance. While they were performing sculptor Benny Bufano, who taught art to Alcatraz prisoners in Al Capone's day, unloaded bread, pastry and 750 gallons of water in steel drums.

June 26, 1970, 8:2.

"Alcatraz Boat's Last Trip". The fishing boat that has been carrying supplies and Indians to and from the island made its last trip today after its insurance policy was canceled.

July 6, 1970, 4:1.

"Plight of Indians Laid to 'System'". A Rally for the Restoration of Indian Rights drew more than 1000 persons to Aquatic Park yesterday. Buffy Sainte-Marie drew a standing ovation with her rendition of "Now that the Buffalo's Gone". The popular singer flew to the City for the special appearance to promote support for Indians of All Tribes. John Trudell commented on the "Indian problem" in a fiery speech to the crowd.

July 8, 1970, 2:1.

"Nixon: Let Indians Do Their Own Thing". Deploring the plight of the American Indian, President Nixon told Congress today it is time "for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions,". Nixon asked Congress to permit to take over both control and operation from federal agencies "whenever the tribal council or comparable community governing group voted to do so".

July 22, 1970, 1:1, 20:1.

"1st Alcatraz Baby Born--To Indians". History has been made on Alcatraz Island--the birth of a baby. "Wovoka, a healthy boy was born Monday to Mrs. Lou Trudell, who with her husband, John joined the Indian occupation of the Rock 8 months ago.

August 5, 1970, 5:5.

"Alcatraz Light Soon". The Coast Guard today began the task of reestablishing navigational aids on Alcatraz, including the Alcatraz light. Congressmen Phillip Burton and William Mailliard reported they had urged restoration of the light and audio aides because their absence created hazardous navigation aides in the Bay.

August 11, 1970, 5:5.

"Alcatraz Arrow Edict--Indians May Face Eviction". Indians may face eviction because of the firing of an arrow into a chartered; passenger laden tour boat. Thomas Hannon, of the GSA, said that in addition to the arrow, stones were thrown at another cruise boat on Saturday. The arrow was the first shot fired in the cold war between the Alcatraz Indians and the government. So far the Coast Guard has failed in last week's attempt to turn on the light. The government cut off electricity to the island, and took the water barge away on May 29. A few days later the warden's house was burned to the ground and the adjacent lighthouse damaged. Now the Indians say the Coast Guard can turn the light back on only if the water barge is brought back to the island, full of water.

August 13, 1970, 10:1.

"Indians' Dynamo--Alcatraz Light Flashes Again". The off-again-on again Alcatraz light was on again today. Indian residents apparently turned it on again, using a generator.

August 14, 1970, 3:7.

"Alcatraz--Indians Vow They'll Fight". Alcatraz Indians threatened with removal by the government, made it clear they will fight. Trudell, spokesman for the Indians" said, "We don't want another Wounded Knee (where Indians were slaughtered by federal troops), My Lai or Kent State here, Mr. Hannon, but we will not back down when we're right". When asked about the recent incident in which an arrow struck a harbor tour boat. He said that the boats come in so close to Alcatraz that their wakes slam the Indians' boat against dock pilings. He said officials were asked many times to cease this practice, and when they didn't---"With one 42-cent arrow we stopped it."

August 15, 1970, 3:1.

"Oakes Raps Nixon Policy on Indians". Indian leader Richard Oakes says President Nixon's recent statement on Indian rights is no more than "one step toward dust."

September 2, 1970, 3:2.

"No Alcatraz Raid Planned, Says U.S.". Thomas Hannon, regional GSA director said the federal government has "no present intention" to remove the Alcatraz Island Indians by force". Hannon made his comments today in response to a published reported that the Navy had organized a plan to cooperate with the Coast Guard in an effort to retake the island.

September 4, 1970, 5:6.

"Why Indians Nixed Alcatraz Black Bid". LaNada Means, spokesman for the Indian Council on Alcatraz said there was nothing 'racial' or 'personal' involved in turning down the proposal by the head of National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO). Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a black neurosurgeon, had suggested, last Wednesday, that the Indians accept an agreement under which they would be given a 5 year lease on the Island \$50,000 to \$100,000 and a contract to provide lighthouse service. "How can we be assured that Dr. Matthew has any rapport with the President "And if he does, how can we trust him (Nixon)?" Mrs. Means asked.

September 29, 1970, 8:7.

"Alcatraz Light Out Despite Generator". The Alcatraz Island beacon, despite a recent gift of a 2 1/2 ton generator, is still out.

November 3, 1970, 1:1, 11:1

"Old Army Center Seized--Indian Invasion at Davis". A small band of Indians, including several veterans of the Alcatraz occupation, took over the old Army Communications Center, seven miles northwest of the University of California Campus here, at dawn today.

November 8, 1970, A11:1.

"A Year Later, What Next for Indians on Alcatraz". Backgrounder.

November 20, 1970, 3:1.

"Indian U on Alcatraz". Indians marked the first University of the occupation of Alcatraz today by announcing ambitious plans for a \$6 million "Thunderbird University" on the 12 acre island.

November 26, 1970, 17:1.

"Alcatraz Indians Fasting to Observe Thanksgiving". Indians on Alcatraz celebrated Thanksgiving by fasting. In addition, non-Indians were not allowed on the island. LaNada Means, one of the island leaders said "This Thanksgiving, Indians are celebrating a national day of mourning".



March 22, 1971, 7:1.

"Cruiser Fired on From Alcatraz". The FBI opened an investigation today into reports that boats were fired on yesterday from Alcatraz. The owner of a cruiser reported to the Coast Guard that someone on the island fired 'several shots' at his boat, and that he retrieved one bullet from the hull. In addition, early yesterday two boys were almost hurt when a large steel threaded nut cracked a window of a Harbor Tours boat 75 yards off "the Rock". Spokesmen for Harbor Tours said Indians on the island apparently had rigged a slingshot and were shooting at the boat loaded with 200 passengers. Indian spokesmen were not immediately available for comment.

March 25, 1971, 17:4.

"Slingshot Warning--Rock Indian Admits Attack". An Alcatraz Indian leader conceded today that the slingshot attack on the tour boat was launched from the island. And, said John Trudell, it was intended as a warning that the Indians not only claim "The Rock" itself but jurisdiction over the water extending 250 yards from its shores.

May 3, 1971, 18:1.

"Oakes Arrested in Lake Co." Alcatraz Invasion leader Richard Oakes was among 8 Indians arrested in an attempt to takeover an abandoned Army radio station in Middletown today.

June 11, 1971, 1:8.

"Alcatraz Indians Removed--U.S. Force In Swift Raid". The 14 month occupation of Alcatraz was ended today when the U.S. Marshalls and the Coast Guard in a swift secret raid removed the 15 Indians still living on the island.

June 12, 1971, 1:7, 4:1.

"Indians Talk of Retaking Alcatraz".

June 13, 1971, A1:4, A11:1.

"Alcatraz Action Tied To Park Plan". The government's retaking of Alcatraz was a prelude to the government announcement regarding a sprawling Golden Gateway National Recreation Area which will include the Rock, The Examiner learned yesterday. The evicted Indians meanwhile held a demonstration yesterday to dramatize their pledge to retake the island which they had held for 19 months.

June 13, 1971, A10:4.

"Jailed Alcatraz Indian Theft Suspects Freed". Three Indians accused of stealing copper pipe on Alcatraz were released on bail.

June 14, 1971, 1:5, 5:2.

"Indians Grab New U.S. Site". About 150 some of the 'rousted' from Alcatraz on Friday, occupied an abandoned Army NIKE station in Tilden Regional Park today.

June 14, 1971, 4:1.

"Ex-Alcatraz Indians--Now Have Nowhere to Go". Background on homeless Indian family.

June 15, 1971, 1:1, 8:1.

"Army in Wary Step To Oust Indians" The Army took a tentative step today to remove a growing band of Indians from an abandoned Nike missile site.

June 16, 1971, 6:1.

"Forbidden Zone About Alcatraz". The Coast Guard announced today it had established a 'security zone' around Alcatraz through which no vessel might sail without permission. Meanwhile Indians removed from the Island complained 'that pictures taken after they left did them an injustice'.

June 19, 1971, 1:1, 18:5.

"Surprise Raid Evicts East Bay Indians: 110 Cops Clear Old Nike Base"  
A raiding party of 110 police, backed by 170 soldiers, early today rounded up and ousted the Alcatraz Indians who occupied an abandoned East Bay Nike site on Monday.

### APPENDIX III

#### TELEVISION NETWORK COVERAGE OF ALCATRAZ OCCUPATION

11/19/69-11/30/71<sup>5</sup>

##### ABC

December 18, 1969, 6:22:20p.m. Package-Alcatraz Indians

Reporter not named, holding island for month....lead to show is Vietnam.

June 2, 1970, 6:22:20p.m., Package, Alcatraz Indians.

Bob Marshall reporter. San Francisco lighthouse burns Indians refuse help. John Trudell interview about water shortage. Lead to show Peru earthquake.

##### CBS

January 8, 1970, 6:22:10p.m. Reader only-Alcatraz Indians.

Richard Oakes daughter leader of Indians squatting on Alcatraz dies. Lead to show Mary Jo Kopechne Inquest.

June 11, 1971, 6:27:40 p.m., 10 second reader only, Alcatraz Island.

Federal officials recapture Alcatraz after 19 months, Lead to show President Nixon equal housing message. Alcatraz story used as show closer.

##### NBC

January 12, 1970, 6:21:00 p.m., 2:40 second package, Alcatraz Indians.

Tom Brokaw reporter. Last November a group of Indians occupied abandoned Alcatraz Island/ "We are here to stay". This story is a second segment lead. Lead to show Biafra Civil War, Second segment lead, Eugene McCarthy takes VietCong Delegation to Paris.

June 1, 1970, 6:24:40 p.m., Package, Alcatraz Indians(Oakes interview).

Jack Perkins reporter. Indians want Alcatraz, government wants to make it a national park. Island occupied for 6 months. Government cut power and water supply. Last story in show. Lead story to show is Supreme Court pardons death penalty.

June 9, 1970, 6:23:30 p.m. 10 sec reader, Alcatraz Indians.

White house cut power to Alcatraz Island lighthouse, Indians on Island using portable generator.

November 20, 1970 p.m., 6:19:20p.m., 2:30 second package, Alcatraz Indians.

1 year ago Indians took Alcatraz Island, falling apart, garbage piling up, John Trudell says Indians will bar Feds from the Island. Government spokesman, Thomas Harmon says he could get them off if he wanted to. Lead to show Read China to United Nations-Vietnam.

June 11, 1971 p.m., 5:54:50 p.m., 10 second reader, Alcatraz.

Coast Guard removes Indians from Alcatraz.

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