CHICKASAW: FORGING AHEAD WITH SELF-GOVERNANCE

See page 6
Editor’s Note: This is the third and final installment in a series of articles addressing the history of Self-Governance. Although this edition concludes the series, we recognize that the Self-Governance Demonstration Project is history in the making, and that there is no end to the historic significance of the process.

For the first time since Self-Governance began in Fiscal Year 1988, the BIA FY92 Budget Justification included a request for Self-Governance funding. The $3 million budget request was for Tribal expenses relative to planning, negotiations, project implementation and shortfalls. The Office of the Secretary requested $700,000 to continue the role of the Office of Self-Governance and its operations.

As we approach Fiscal Year 1994, however, there is still no significant change in the BIA structure. Self-Governance has reached a point at which reorganization and restructuring of the BIA, in response to Self-Governance, is inevitable.

As a demonstration project, Self-Governance was only authorized for five years in P.L. 100-472, Title III. Other Tribes have requested the opportunity to participate in Self-Governance. The original Tribes also felt more time was needed to test the concept, including forcing bureaucratic reorganization and restructuring within the BIA, prior to developing permanent legislation.

Reauthorization legislation with strong bipartisan support in the key committees unanimously passed in the first session of the 102nd Congress; The Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project Act was signed into law December 4, 1991, by President Bush. Public Law 102-184 extends the Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project for three years through Fiscal Year 1996, and increases the number of Tribes to 30 to improve both Tribal and geographic diversity. Extending and expanding the Project for three more years would allow the Project to generate better information over time for Congressional and Tribal review and assessment. As Self-Governance proves to be a successful alternative, the Tribes and Congress will develop permanent proposed legislation based on actual Tribal experiences rather than theories.

Public Law 102-184 was originally introduced by Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Daniel K. Inouye (D-HI), Vice Chairman and Chairman respectively, of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. A companion bill in the House of Representatives was introduced by Congressman George Miller (D-CA), Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Indian Affairs, and John Rhodes (R-AZ), Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Indian Affairs. The reauthorization legislation included the following elements:

- Required new (Third Tier) Tribes to complete a one-year planning period before they can negotiate a Compact and Annual Funding Agreement with the Interior Department;
- Authorized $700,000 to be appropriated for the ten Tribes’ planning and negotiation grants;
- Provided the project authority to administer all the programs and services of the Interior Department that are available to Indian Tribes;
- Waived the statute requiring Secretarial approval of attorney contracts for Self-Governance Tribes;
- Directed the Interior Department’s Office of Self-Governance to conduct a study of the effects of including certain BIA Education Programs in the Demonstration Project;
- Directed the Secretary of Health and Human Services to complete, within one year, a study on the feasibility of expanding Self-Governance to include the Indian Health Service; and,
- Authorized the Secretary of Health and Human Services to establish an Office of Self-Governance in the Indian Health Service.

The U.S. House of Representatives’ Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee, led by Chairman Sidney Yates, continued to support the Self-Governance Demonstration Project in Fiscal Year 1992. Congress increased appropriations by $2 million for Tribal Self-Governance planning, negotiations, implementation and shortfall expenses, as well as for the continuation of the Lummi Communication/Education initiative.

For the first time, in response to Tribal requests, Congress directed the Indian Health Service to initiate Self-Governance budget research and agency planning activities with the 17 Tribes with Compacts of Self-Governance. The FY92 Interior Appropriations Conference report by Congress included $500,000 to cover Tribal expenses relative to budget research and also directed IHS to develop evaluation and transfer model methodologies. Given the reluctance of the BIA in the initial planning years, IHS is being directed to initiate internal planning prior to consideration of Tribal planning grants.

The 17 Tribes met with IHS Director, Dr. Everett Rhodes, and his key staff on January 15-16, 1992, to outline the research tasks and budget information needed during the first year. Seven Tribal Self-Governance representatives from the five effected IHS geographic areas were chosen by the Tribes to provide direct consultation on IHS budget research and Self-Governance resource transfer models for the planning phase. The Cherokee Nation was selected to manage much of the research and planning from the Tribal perspective. The 17 Tribes have been allocated resources through the Cherokee grant, and all 17 Tribes are participating at

(continued on page 3)
WHERE EAGLES FLY

There is a place where hope still lives...it is where eagles fly. So goes the theme song accompanying the newly completed documentary, "Where Eagles Fly", which features the story of the Self-Governance Demonstration Project.

The half hour documentary opens with the following statement by Quinault Indian Nation President Joe DeLaCruz: “No right is more sacred to a nation, to a people, than the right to freely determine its social, economic, political and cultural future without external interference. The fullest expression of this right occurs when a nation freely governs itself.”

Then, following the presentation of pertinent historic information, the video delves into a series of interviews with key U.S. Senators and Congressmen, agency directors and Tribal officials...all of whom explain why the Self-Governance process does, indeed, offer new hope for a legitimate government-to-government relationship between participating Tribes and the United States.

As the video points out, “Self-Governance does not solve all problems.” The process does not create new fish or wildlife. It does not feed babies or establish good health. But it does provide an opportunity for participating Tribes to achieve new levels of freedom, to establish their own priorities and manage their own affairs.

In “Where Eagles Fly”, U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, points out that the Tribes have been in the business of Self-Governance far longer than the Federal government has. (Please see interview with Senator Inouye, this edition.) Vice Chairman of the Senate on the Indian Affairs Committee, Senator John McCain, states that the only way the United States can keep its commitment to the Indian Nations is through Tribal Self-Governance Process implementation. Congressman Sidney Yates says there is a sense of growing independence and confidence on the part of the Tribes, and Congressman Bill Richardson supports the concept of transferring more authority to the Tribes.

The documentary conveys former Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs Dr. Eddie Brown’s positive feelings about the process and Office of Self-Governance Director William Lavell’s assessment that the implementation of Self-Governance is history repeating itself. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbit speaks out in favor of the process, as do President Bush (“Great nations like great men must keep their word.”) and President Clinton (“...this relationship must be manifested through the promotion of true consultation and increased Tribal authority in the administration of Federal funds.”).

“Where eagles Fly” also features interviews with the Chairs and Self-Governance coordinators from four Self-Governance Tribes, and focuses on four “every day” Tribal members whose lives have been personally affected by the Demonstration.

Finally, the video concludes with the following statement by former U.S. Senator Daniel Evans, “I believe that Tribes, like other units of government, are accountable to their citizens and are fully capable of managing their own affairs to the benefits of the Indian citizen.”

The video is intended to provide factual information about the Self-Governance Demonstration Project through a cost-effective medium for group educational or individual viewing. This educational tool augments the “Sovereign Nation” newsletter and descriptive publication on Tribal Self-Governance.


appropriate stages of the IHS planning process to ensure area-specific budget details are developed in FY92.

The Self-Governance Demonstration Project continues to evolve as mutually supported by Congress, the Tribes, and the Administration. The BIA Fiscal Year 1993 Budget Justification included a request for $4.937 million for planning and negotiation grants, implementation and shortfall expenses; $150,000 to continue the Lummi Communication/Education Project; and $100,000 for a second-year independent Ananual Assessment.

The BIA Budget Justification has noted that in future negotiations, the Bureau is to develop a restructuring plan to address identified shortfalls. The Interior Department requested $682,000 in FY93 to continue the Office of Self-Governance. The Department of Health and Human Services requested funding for five Full Time Equivalent (FTE) employees for IHS Office of Self-Governance activities in FY93.

After 30 Tribes had negotiated Compacts of Self-Governance, the opportunity for other Tribes to participate was to be basically closed. Non-participating Tribes with an interest in pursuing the Self-Governance concept can begin preparations for participating when permanent legislation is considered in 1996.

Note: In the next few editions, Sovereign Nations will feature quotations from Self-Governance Tribes across the country regarding their feelings about the Bureau of Indian Affairs' reactions to the Self-Governance process. Has the Bureau been supportive of the Demonstration Project or not? The first response, from Joseph C. Rafal, Chairman of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, appears on page 8.

Statement of William Lavell, Director of the Office of Self-Governance in the Department of the Interior:

“I’m a very strong defender of Tribal sovereignty and Tribal governmental power. The U.S., when it needed to, made a whole series of deals with the Indians. We made a series of deals, we ought to live up to them. Tribal governments say they can govern their lands, let’s let them have the opportunity.”
# SELF-GOVERNANCE TRIBES

## FIRST TIER TRIBES

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<th>TRIBE</th>
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AN INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR INOYUE

Editor's Note: This month, the Q and A Forum features a brief, but substantive interview with U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Through the leadership of Sen. Inouye, the Indian Affairs Committee has become a most respected and effective voice for American Indian issues on Capital Hill. He has dedicated extensive time and energy working with Tribes to help establish a better government-to-government relationship between the U.S. and the Tribes, and, not surprisingly, has been a principal sponsor of the Self-Governance Demonstration Project from the outset.

Sovereign Nations: What, from your perspective, does the Self-Governance Demonstration Project represent?

Sen. Inouye: I think this is just a demonstration on the part of Indian Country to prove—if necessary—to the rest of America that for a long time they have been ready for Self-Governance...After all, they were in this business long before we came along.

SN: You have performed a highly integral role in the development of the project, Senator. How do you think it’s working so far?

Inouye: It’s working. I think it’s been very successful and I think it should be continued and expanded.

SN: Do you see it as an historic process?

Inouye: Oh, I think it’s an important step...an historical step...in the sense that, for many years, we’ve tried our best...and by ‘we’ I mean the United States government...to terminate them, (the Tribes) to exterminate them, to deceive them...and, finally, we’re coming forth and giving them the opportunity to demonstrate their real talent and their real energy...and so I’m certain many Tribes will participate.

SN: Do you anticipate much conflict between Tribes in the development of the process, or between Tribes and Congress or the Administration?

Inouye: You will always have conflict between Tribes. It began from the early stages of the (Self-Governance) bill itself, when the selection process had to be set forth. What Tribes would qualify? What regions? I’m not too concerned about this type of trouble between Tribes and the Federal government. As far as this Administration is concerned, I expect it to be helpful...as was the last Administration. And I project there will be similar helpfulness forthcomings from the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

SN: What kind of reaction have you seen to the process in Indian Country?

Inouye: From the Indian perspective this is no big thing, because they were governing themselves...they were full-fledged sovereigns...long before Europeans came to this continent. What they are doing now is what their forefathers did many years ago. The Self-Governance Demonstration Project long overdue.

SN: How would you summarize the progress of the process?

Inouye: It’s working. If it weren’t working, you’d hear from the Tribes, and if it weren’t working, the great numbers of Tribes that have applied for the process would not be present. That’s proof in the pudding, as they say.

SELF-GOVERNANCE

SQUAXIN ISLAND JOINS THE DEMONSTRATION RANKS

The latest Tribe to join the Self-Governance Demonstration Project is a small, but enthusiastic Tribe located on the southern edge of the Puget Sound in the State of Washington. The Tribe’s name is the same borne by the three-mile long island retained as its reservation—Squaxin Island.

The Squaxin Island Tribe, created by the signing of the Treaty of Medicine Creek in 1854, is an accumulation of six bands of Indians from six inlets on Puget Sound: the Sa-heh-wah-mish, Squawskin, S’Homamish, Stechchass, T’Peeksin and Squi-a-tl.

Because Squaxin Island is undeveloped and difficult for permanent settlement, the Tribe purchased property for a land base on the nearby mainland at Kamilche, about six miles south of Shelton, Washington. This is an area where one of the traditional bands lives and where many present Tribal members reside.

From here, this Tribe of about 400 members has made its presence well known to other Tribes and non-Indian communities in Washington. With its culture and its economy based on natural resources, including salmon, shellfish, deer and elk, the Squaxin Island Tribe has focused much of its energy on resource management and environmental protection. In fact, the Tribe has provided substantial leadership in these efforts at the local, state, national and international levels. In 1992 alone, for example, the Tribe’s fisheries enhancement program released more than five million healthy young salmon. The Tribe has consistently been active in state-of-the-art aquaculture, such as pen raising of salmon and oyster culturing. Also, as a party to the U.S. vs. Washington Federal court decision of 1974, the Squaxin Island Tribe is one of 20 Tribes that co-manage the salmon resource with the State of Washington. Squaxin Island has been integrally involved in such government-to-government processes as hunting agreements with the State, and agreements to protect salmon from timber harvest, pollution and overfishing.

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THE CHICKASAW NATION

FORGING AHEAD WITH SELF-GOVERNANCE

Chickasaw is a nation of proud people, rich in culture and history...a legacy of leadership. Even prehistoric legends reflect that the Chickasaw people have always bonded together and have been inspired by great spiritual strength. Following an oracular pole, carried by Chickasaw holy men, the Tribe once migrated east from the "land of the setting sun" to its homeland in the Tombigbee highlands of northeastern Mississippi. There the Tribe flourished to an estimated 4500 members with a highly structured society with responsive government, and a thriving cultural system. They were a spartan warrior people, characterized in colonial times as the "Terrors of the Mississippi Valley." Like so many other Indian Nations, Chickasaw witnessed the diminishment of their land over the next few centuries to a continuous flood of immigrants and constant Federal pressure. Chickasaw leaders shrewdly negotiated a peaceful policy with the U.S., which provided them the opportunity to negotiate for new settlement lands in Choctaw Country in what is now Oklahoma. The Chickasaw Tribe became the "Chickasaw District of the Choctaw Nation". In 1855, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty created the Chickasaw Nation separate from the Choctaws, following which the Tribe established a constitution providing for a governor, house of representatives, a senate, judicial system, educational system and Bill of Rights. Eventually, the Nation was fused with Oklahoma Territory to form the State of Oklahoma. The Tribe contributed significantly to the development of the state and, to this day, remains known as "The Unconquered and Unconquerable Chickasaw Nation."

Today, the Chickasaw Nation flourishes, 26,000 members strong, principally situated in 12 counties in south-central Oklahoma as a non-reservation Indian nation. The 12-county region of the state which comprises the Chickasaw sphere of influence is blessed with outstanding agricultural lands, and hundreds of miles of rivers and lakes.

The Tribe’s government is comprised of executive, legislative and judicial branches, with direct program services departments, including education, employment training, health services, human...

The Chickasaw Nation was awarded a Self-Government Planning Grant in early 1992. Since that time we have been focusing on organizational, budgeting, and legal considerations which would effect our planning activities in negotiating and implementing a tribal Self-Governance agreement.

The Chickasaw Nation’s plans are to redesign programs, activities, functions and services to reallocate funds according to Tribal priorities. Those priorities will be determined by the Chickasaw people. This in turn, will improve the effectiveness and long term financial stability of the Chickasaw Nation Tribal government.

Self determination economically, socially, politically, and culturally is the Tribe’s ultimate goal. The mission of Governor Anoatubby’s administration is to enhance the overall quality of life for Chickasaw citizens. We are confident that our efforts associated with the Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project will lay the foundations for opportunity and prosperity for Chickasaw generations to come. It is a very important period of change and growth in the history of our nation.

—The Chickasaw Nation

(continued on next page)

(continued from page 5) Squaxin Island

The Tribe’s accomplishments are also substantial in health services, education and economic development. The Tribe operates a health clinic and a drug and alcohol counseling program, as well as mental health counseling and family services programs and an active youth recreation program. The Tribe has just completed negotiations for a 35-bed alcohol treatment center in the nearby community of Elma, which will be available to serve all Native Americans, as well as non-Indians, as space is available. The Tribe also operates a pre-school, a vocational training program and a financial aid program for Tribal members to continue higher education. The Tribe also operates a trading post, a bingo operation, a large fireworks stand, a grocery store and the Harstene Oyster Company, which produces quality oysters and clams.

Little wonder that the Tribe opted to become part of the Self-Governance Demonstration Project.

The Squaxin Island Tribe pulls no punches in its effort to operate functional, independent government, and it is clear that Self-Governance is viewed as a significant step in this process, evidenced by the Tribe’s determination to be a sanctioned planning Tribe. The Tribe funded the planning/negotiation phases of its Self-Governance Demonstration process on its own and completed the process in a period of nine months.

"We look forward to the development of our Self-Governance program," says Tribal Chairman Dave Lopeman. "We are very capable of setting our priorities at the local level, providing top level services to our people, preserving our culture and protecting our resources for the generations to come."

Tribal Self-Governance Coordinator Mike Peters says the immediate effect of the process at the Tribe has been an “opening up of government to the Tribal community. It is a process that involves our Tribal members in the effort to determine what our priorities should be...as opposed to living with priorities someone else establishes for us. Everybody is very excited about this process here, and we all anticipate that it will continue to expand our opportunities through true self-determination.”
services and community assistance. There are also active business and Tribal development departments, as well as support services departments. As has been the case throughout its history, the Tribe’s government structure and operation is highly efficient, well organized and service-oriented toward its constituency. Officials of the Tribe strongly believe that participation in the Self-Governance Demonstration Project is a giant step forward in its ability to carry such programs and policies into the future.

The most fundamental element of success to the Chickasaws is a high energy level, directed tenaciously toward big future plans. This characteristic is strong in tradition. Centuries ago, trader James Adair described Chickasaws as exceedingly swift of foot: “In a long chase they will stretch away, through the rough wood, by bare track, for two or three hundred miles, in pursuit of the flying enemy, with continued speed, and eagerness of a staunch pack of blood hounds, till they shed blood.”

Today, this Chickasaw energy is geared toward success – in government, good health, cultural pursuit, education, and business and employment – and it is clear that the Tribe sees Self-Governance as a fundamental element in achieving this success.

The role of Self-Governance in the continued success of the Chickasaw Nation is evident in the words of Governor Anoatubby. “We have entered a period of enlightened cooperation and mutual assistance with the Federal government. Let us now grasp the opportunity of Self-Governance and mold the future direction of our great nation.”

The greatest benefit offered by the Chickasaw Nation is its vast pool of human resources, according to Governor Anoatubby. Sixty-six percent of the Tribe’s employees are Chickasaws. Business ventures currently owned and operated by the Tribe include the Chickasaw Motor Inn in Sulphur, Okla.; tobacco shops in Ada, Marlow, Thackerville, and Norman, Okla.; trading posts in Davis and Ada, gaming centers in Ada, and Thackerville, and Goldsby Central Business Services, an accounting firm, located in Ada.

The stated mission of the Chickasaw Nation is to enhance the overall quality of life for Chickasaw citizens. “Each elected Tribal official has a responsibility to uphold Tribal sovereignty as it is defined by the members of citizens of that Tribe,” said Governor Anoatubby. Speaking of Self-Governance and the Tribes, he says, “Within our unique governmental structures, we must continue to support one another in this great effort.”

Self determination -- economically, socially, politically and culturally -- is the Tribe’s ultimate goal. There is great confidence that efforts associated with the Self-Governance Demonstration Project will lay the foundations for opportunity and prosperity for the Chickasaw generations to come.

“We must have a Tribal government which lends itself to self-sufficiency,” says Governor Anoatubby.

In a column published in the July edition of the nationally distributed Chickasaw Times, Governor Anoatubby said Self-Governance Compacts “…basically and realistically place the full power of the government’s operations in the hands of the Tribe. This is truly Self-Governance, which indeed is an extension of self-determination.”

**SIX TRIBES SIGN IHS COMPACTS FOR FY 94**

Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Shalala delegated authority for the IHS to negotiate Compacts of Self-Governance on June 30, 1993, paving the way for six Tribes to sign Fiscal Year 1994 Compacts of Self-Governance and Annual Funding Agreements. The Tribal governments embarking into this new frontier include: Sac & Fox Nation, Hoopa Valley Tribe, Grand Traverse Tribe, Mille Lacs Tribe, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, and the Cherokee Nation. More Tribes are expected to negotiate in August for 1994 calendar year Compacts.

“The Indian Nations had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities…and the settled doctrine of the law of nations is that a weaker power does not surrender its independence--its right to Self-Government--by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection.”

United States Supreme Court
Worcester vs. Georgia, 1832
HOW IS BIA DOING?

Question: What is your opinion of the BIA’s approach to negotiation with Self-Governance Tribes?

Answer: The approach of the BIA to the Self-Governance negotiations has been predictable in that the BIA was founded and continues to operate as a Federal control factor over Indians. The laws that have established Self-Determination and Self-Governance weaken that control and attempt to pass that control over to Indian Tribes. It has been predictable that the Federal agency will fight this change in every way possible, and they have. The Federal agency on an official basis supports Self-Governance, but Federal agencies are made up of people and a large number of those people do not support Self-Governance. The BIA has not stopped the opposition to Self-Governance and by so doing is condoning the resistance of Federal employees within the system.

We have found that the BIA has not approached the negotiation table attempting to work out differences and make the project work, but have approached with a firm resolve to make it as difficult as possible for the project to succeed. The fact that the project is succeeding under these circumstances shows that Tribes have the expertise to make the project a success and that the project can make a change for improving conditions for Indian people. The BIA Central Office has been allowed to play a dictatorial role with total disregard for the law and at times even attempting to overrule the actions of the Assistant Secretary. We believe that the appointment of Ada Deer to the position of Assistant Secretary can make a major change in the implementation of Self-Governance and that the negotiation process can become much more positive.

Joseph C. Raphael, Tribal Chairman
Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians

Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project
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