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2. Case File	Clarence Kelley to Leonard Garment.	2/8/74	
2a. Report	FBI report on the American Indian Movement (13pp.) CONFIDENTIAL Portions Exempted KR 1/11/82 KCH 2/1/82	1/30/74	A

FILE LOCATION Domestic Council
Norman Ross Files
Indian Affairs Subject File - American Indian Movement

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10/5/79

A CHARACTERIZATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

The Organization

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was incorporated in Minnesota in 1968, by Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, and Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt. As of January, 1973, AIM claimed 4,500 members in 67 chapters in the U.S. and two in Canada, with about half the chapters on reservations and the others in urban areas. At that time, the numbers were probably highly inflated; however, they may reflect the present membership.

During its early years, AIM maintained offices in Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Washington, D.C., with most activities directed by the National leadership. As the organization has grown, chapters have become more autonomous and have acted independently of the national leadership with increasing frequency. Most of the chapters have been incorporated in their home states.

Purpose

AIM's "causes" range from the establishment of Indian cultural projects to territorial claims related to various U.S.-Indian treaties. In general, AIM claims to favor a return to the traditional Indian way of life, with self-determination of the various tribes re-established.

Protests by AIM chapters have focused on such local issues as improved health care for Indians, protection of the environment, and all-Indian schools. Many "AIM actions" have been directed at tribal leadership which AIM considers too "establishment."

Leadership

The genesis of AIM is not entirely clear, but one Indian activist claims AIM was "cooked up in the Minnesota penitentiary." This may be a reference to the fact that

DECLASS. AUTH. 12355, SEC. 1.3
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MR 87-11, #76 DOJ Ltr. 1/12/87

By KR NARA, Date 1/14/88



Banks, Mitchell, and the Bellecourt brothers have served time in Minnesota on felony convictions since 1950, with Banks alone having 15 convictions. The felonies include armed robbery, assault and battery, and burglary.

Of the four founders of AIM, Banks and the Bellecourts remain among the top leadership, but others have been added. Mitchell was ousted some time back, reportedly for siphoning off AIM funds for his own use. During the past two years, Russell Means has become a major AIM figure, and Carter Camp became a national figure during the past year as a result of his appeal to younger, more militant members.

During the AIM national convention in Whiteoak, Oklahoma, July 30 to August 3, 1973, new officers were selected. Vernon Bellecourt was designated International Director, Dennis Banks was named National Director, Clyde Bellecourt and Russell Means were named to the Board of Directors, and Carter Camp was made the new National Chairman. Following his alleged shooting of Clyde Bellecourt on August 27, Camp was replaced by John Trudell. Bellecourt recovered from his wound.

The Bellecourt shooting took place during a leadership meeting in South Dakota following the Whiteoak convention. At the time, several AIM spokesmen indicated that AIM would "take care of" Camp. Since that time, public statements by the leadership have claimed that the attempted assassination was part of a government plot to destroy the organization.

Most of the national leaders can claim pure Indian ancestry. The Bellecourts and Banks are Chippewa; Means is an Oglala Sioux; Camp, however, is reportedly half Ponca and half Caucasian.

Funds

AIM has received funds from federal agencies, church groups, and various private individuals. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity have funded various AIM-influenced Indian



rehabilitation programs, as well as education and community projects. Religious organizations have contributed to AIM programs, special projects, and legal defense funds. Contributions from individuals increased during and following the occupation of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973, and are reported to include several large contributions from nationally-known figures in the entertainment world. Vernon Bellecourt reportedly secured pledges of financial contributions during his European visit in June, 1973.

Use of AIM funds has been largely unsupervised, and the use of AIM money for "organizing" activities has led to disputes among the leadership and criticism from the members. Leaders have been accused of self-aggrandizement in their fund-raising and speaking appearances, at the expense of the organization.

Activities

Although AIM, since its inception, has been involved in Indian demonstrations in most parts of the U.S., the organization first gained national publicity when it led the takeover of the Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building in November, 1972. AIM was among the participating organizations which journeyed to Washington as the "Trail of Broken Treaties," to protest and publicize various Indian grievances. When a dispute arose at BIA, AIM leaders quickly took charge and led the takeover, which resulted in massive damage to the building and fixtures, as well as the theft of truckloads of equipment and documents. AIM leaders helped negotiate the settlement which ended the disorder, and reportedly were the recipients of most of the \$66,000 given to the Indians to help them return to their homes.

Following the Washington, D.C., "action," AIM leaders took advantage of their new fame by appearing at numerous colleges and other meetings to "explain" the BIA action and to secure financial and other support for AIM. Many Indians strongly opposed the AIM activities, and the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council (OSTC) in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, banned Means and Banks from their reservation. It was this dispute



with tribal officials which led eventually to the takeover of Wounded Knee in February, 1973.

The occupation of the village lasted for 70 days, during which time two Indians were killed, one U.S. Marshal permanently injured and an FBI agent wounded. More than 500 persons are believed to have participated in the occupation, and some 108 Indians, including all of the AIM leadership, are under federal indictments as a result of their participation in the Wounded Knee action.

Since AIM ended its occupation of Wounded Knee on May 8, the organization has been beset by internal dissention. The issues of leadership and power, possible misuse of funds, centralization versus local autonomy, degree of militancy to be employed in future actions, and local self-interest all have contributed to the disagreements which culminated in the August 27 shooting of Bellecourt during a South Dakota AIM leadership meeting. Several of the national figure maintain a high visibility and apparently are in demand as speakers at varied functions. Presently AIM leaders are endeavoring to project a more peaceful image for the organization and both its local organizers and national figures; but there is evidence that many of the "hard-core" members still hope for more violent "AIM actions," and AIM rhetoric is frequently punctuated with threats. Despite the fact that AIM has apparently attracted many young militant Indians, the leaders have been unable to mount any concentrated effort on the part of the membership. Attempts to assemble the membership in one place have had little success, with only some 150-200 attending the national convention in Whiteoak, Oklahoma, in July, 1973. At the present time, the organization appears to be fragmenting, with many local chapters increasing their activities under the AIM name, but with little national leadership or cohesion.

Local AIM chapters have held small, generally peaceful demonstrations in several locations since Wounded Knee. The most notable local action came when a group of AIM supporters camped out on the lawn of the United Methodist Church headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa, for a week in June 1973, demanding financial support. Church leaders pledged \$85,000 to the National AIM organization and \$15,000



to the local chapter.

Local AIM units have often taken up the causes of Indians charged with violations of the law. Scheduling of two such trials prompted a call by Arizona and New Mexico AIM leaders for supporters to assemble at Fort Defiance, Arizona, in mid-September. AIM's propensity for violence, coupled with the Lupton, Arizona, shooting of a deputy sheriff and a threatened strike by Navajo police prompted precautions by local, state, and federal law enforcement officials. An Army Military Police Company was sent to the Fort Wingate supply depot near Gallup, New Mexico. AIM mustered fewer than 200 Indians, who on September 20, marched peacefully to the Gallup Federal Building and then dispersed.

Affiliations

While AIM-initiated activities have been confined mostly to the Midwest and Far West, AIM has joined with militant Indian groups in support of local grievances in other areas. During the past year, AIM leaders have appeared on the scene during protests by Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina; and in December 1972, two AIM functionaries visited the St. Regis-Akwesasne Mohawk Reservation in New York and Canada, where the radical organization "White Roots of Peace" has protested alleged misuse of tribal lands by the U.S. and Canadian governments. Other Indian militants, in turn, traveled to Wounded Knee from the Onondaga, Tuscarora, and St. Regis Reservations, in support of AIM.

On occasion, AIM has joined with Chicano groups for disruptive activities, but there is no evidence of any such close cooperation with black groups. AIM leaders met with leaders of militant Mexican-American groups in Nebraska in January, 1973, for the purpose of forming a coalition, and several Chicanos were involved in the disorders which followed the meetings. It is likely that a good number of AIM members are of mixed Indian and Mexican ancestry.

Two AIM leaders reportedly met with black nationalist Stokely Carmichael during the BIA occupation in Washington, D.C., in November, 1972, and promised a later meeting with

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Carmichael's people. There is no information that such a meeting occurred. Carmichael met with AIM leaders during the Wounded Knee occupation, but few blacks participated in that activity.

Many non-Indian leftist activist individuals and organizations have been attracted to the AIM activities, sometimes provoking hostility from the Indians. Representatives of the Students for a Democratic Society, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, Youth International Party, Revolutionary Union, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and many other such organizations have become involved in the more-publicized AIM activities. Black Communist Party functionary Angela Davis, radical attorney William Kunstler, Carmichael, and anti-military VVAW counsel Mark Lane are among those who visited, or tried to visit, Wounded Knee during the occupation. Lane later became an AIM attorney.

There were reports of disagreement between Indians and whites at Wounded Knee when white radicals attempted to assume a leadership role, and many whites departed the village. The only predominately white organization whose friendly overtures appeared to be welcome was the VVAW, probably because of the more practical nature of VVAW's help--in obtaining supplies and in providing military knowledge and experience.

Para-Military Posture

Much of the AIM rhetoric has been directed at the Indians' "white oppressors," and threats of violence have been made openly by most of the AIM spokesmen. AIM members across the country are known to possess a large number of firearms, and may have a substantial quantity of explosives as well. In December, 1972, intelligence sources indicated that an AIM goal was to have all members of caravans armed with a rifle and handgun. Since the occupation of Wounded Knee ended in May, 1973, there have been persistent rumors of weapons and explosives stored by AIM in the Southwest. AIM leaders have reportedly directed members to focus on National Guard armories and construction sites as sources of such supplies.

During some "AIM actions," AIM spokesmen have referred to a "security force" identified by red berets, and several

such berets were observed during the Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs occupation in November, 1972. This security force appears to have been an impromptu designation of the more hard-core members. During the past year, however, AIM leaders laid plans for the formation of a paramilitary organization, to be called "Native American Nationalists" (NAN). This group was conceived as an "elite group of warriors" trained to take direct offensive action against the "white oppressors."

Preliminary plans called for the selection of "young warriors" who had proved themselves dedicated to the objectives and tactics of AIM. The selected warriors then were to go through a testing period involving participation in AIM caravans and confrontations. The young Indians would be trained in the use of firearms and explosives and given a simultaneous political indoctrination at mobile training camps in various parts of the country, primarily located on Indian reservations. The first NAN trainees were to form the nucleus of an eventual paramilitary organization made up of five-man teams, to begin planned assaults on selected targets. Leaders projected a three-month period of organization and training before NAN would be ready for action.

There have been rumors that some AIM people have been trained in Canada, possibly by a Chippewa tribe (Banks and the Bellecourt brothers are Chippewas). Available intelligence does not indicate that these elaborate NAN plans were ever implemented. During the Whiteoak convention, however, an AIM sub-group emerged, calling themselves "Veterans of Wounded Knee." This group was described as the hard-core members who participated in the South Dakota disorder; they were identifiable at Fort Defiance by distinctive armbands. It was this group which formed the powerbase to elect Camp National Chairman.

Foreign Contacts

AIM has not gone unnoticed outside the U.S. Two AIM officials, Clarence "Sid" Mills and Eddie Benton, traveled to the People's Republic of China as members of International Black Workers Congress delegations in 1971 and 1972. Mills



visited Wounded Knee and reportedly conveyed an invitation to AIM leaders to visit China when the Wounded Knee activities were over.

In 1972, a self-described member of the Communist Party-USA contacted AIM leaders, offering to secure financing for a trip to Russia. It was agreed that eight would make the trip, probably going in pairs, beginning in December, 1972.

One source reported that AIM leaders had been in correspondence with the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and had been invited by the IRA to travel to Munich, Moscow, and Red China. There were reports of IRA members from Canada visiting Wounded Knee during the occupation.

Intelligence indicates that the Red Chinese have offered support in any form requested, to AIM-affiliate Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson of the New York Mohawk Reservation, in his dispute with the U.S. and Canadian governments.

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In June, 1973, Vernon Bellecourt visited western Europe on behalf of AIM, and reportedly secured pledges of support from various communist organizations.

On the Road To Wounded Knee

"I had a vision . . . and now it has happened."

By Steve Nickeson

They stayed for 70 days in a collection of concentric circles to shoot and talk at each other. "They" being from the inside out the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, the American Indian Movement, the U. S. Department of Justice, Oglala Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson, the press and finally the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation. That is not to mention all the other characters who meandered in and out: churchmen, the Red Cross, solidarity folks, coalition seekers, and the curious who just wanted to say they had attended a colonial insurrection.

If there were a rating chart for that particular brand of revolt, Wounded Knee would get its share of decent marks. It might fall down a little on epic magnitude—it was no Algeria. But all the other signs and motives were there on Pine Ridge: a puny out-flowing economy, meager access to power of any sort, a factional government shepherded by an absentee bureaucracy, a few tid-bits of tradition, urban-rural antagonisms, racial hostility, demeaned identities, and that kind of collective personal estrangement that is so fond of millinarian politics.

Toward the end, the insurgents did the ghost dance which the 19th Century Paiute prophet, Wovoka, said had magic to make the faithful impervious to bullets, restore the earth to the Indians and bring back the buffalo. Some had come to Wounded Knee to look for that magic, the kind they thought the Oglala Sioux once had but lost when colonized. It once was religious magic because religion led them. Now they lived in a nation where politics holds dominion; thus the tactics would change accordingly.

The ghost dance was done once before at Wounded Knee in 1890 to give the faithful enough courage to resist once more. They did not live long enough to see that their religion never worked. Eighty-three years later, though massacre was averted, it could not raise a political miracle either—just a prosaic agreement. But while they were at it, the insurgents—on their own with no Justice Department talks—went one step further

toward the prophet's words. If all the earth could not be restored them, the insurgents would be content with a part. They declared the Independent Oglala Nation and seceded from the Union. No one paid it any mind—secession is a little improbable. But it was a detail of large importance to some at Wounded Knee. Because, for all the reasonable and probable stops along the way, to them the Independent Oglala Nation was the only place the road could go.

There were two ways into Wounded Knee, both thought to lead toward the eventual liberation of Pine Ridge. One was slow and old and tedious. It was the standard colonial road. The new route was ridden by AIM for fast thrills and freedom. Both have to be looked at to appreciate the destination.

Route One: From a Vacuum to IRA

"And those goddamned feds don't belong here either."

Dick Wilson said that in epilogue to an AIM denunciation about a month into the insurrection. It was a time when the Justice Department was ignoring Wilson, the elected Oglala chairman, and people said that was chafing him a little. It was his fight to begin with but now he was the third wheel and all he could do was squeak.

Wilson had a point. At its beginning Wounded Knee could have gotten along quite well without the white man. Though whites were a part of the faceless, historical reason behind it all, the origin, climate and specifics were local and Indian—the control of the Pine Ridge tribal government. At the center was the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), which wanted Wilson bumped from power. The structure of the tribal council fueled by Wilson's philosophies, allowed them no recourse but confrontation. For publicity and protection OSCRO called for AIM and for the same reasons Wilson

sent for the "feds." As a result the two principles—OSCRO and Wilson—were overwhelmed by their allies. And the origins were swallowed up in the manufacturing of a nationally symbolic fight in which the presence of white action and attitude became paramount.

Although he has made alliances of convenience, Wilson, in a strict definition is no "apple"—red on the outside, white inside. If his word and his reputation are good, Wilson wants Indian self-determination as much as anyone. He wants his Indian government to be just as strong and autonomous as a white man's state government. He never saw a state government directed by the BIA. But what put Wilson under other Oglala guns were his means and ulterior intentions in resurrecting his colony.

The Sioux nation, particularly its subdivision the Teton Sioux Tribes, learned the rudiments of being a good, passive and pliant colony when the U. S. Army wiped out the tribes' old ways of governing and settled them onto reservations. The *Tiospa* (tee-o-shpa), the traditional Sioux clan form of rule was splintered and strewn out over a couple of states. The clan leaders were always exiled far out of reach from their people. And for nearly half a century the tribes lived with a hole where internal authority used to be. The vacuum was only partially filled with the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) which was passed in 1934. It gave tribes the authority—if they wanted it or could not fight it—to form elected tribal councils. About half the tribes in the U.S. did so.

The IRA was a product of the New Deal and a reservation reform movement that was strong in the 1920s. It was generally regarded as a good-hearted offering and within 14 years there were three bills pending in the Senate for repeal. The plan was to replace IRA with a reservation termination program such as the one started in the early part of the century with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. These laws which bear a certain resemblance to the Alaskan Native Claims Act of 1972 (see RRR, Vol. 2, No. 21), were in turn headed off by the reform movement and the IRA. Thus, by 1948, federal Indian policy was a rolling conglomeration picking any program that seemed to stick. As it moved into the 1950s, IRA was still in force, but so was termination and about six other separate categories of tribal-federal relationships.

When the press pilgrimaged to Pine Ridge last winter, it reported that it found a 37-year-old government there that really was not worth writing home about. It is a mixture of the white man's government and the white man's idea of what an Indian government used to be. It operates on a no-party system with no checks and balances. The tribal police and the courts are agents of the council as are any other branches the council decides to form. It has no provisions for initiative or referendum.

The Oglala Sioux formed the Pine Ridge Council in 1966 amidst dissension and bad blood that never went away and became the first fact of its governmental life. On the reservations the opposition to the tribal councils institutionalized itself into alternative governments called

treaty councils. But that idea was never bought on Pine Ridge. Thus, when it came to government, it was the tribal council or nothing and nothing usually had the upper hand.

The Oglalas never have been wild about their council. There has yet to be a tribal election that could excite even 30 per cent of the tribe into casting a vote. It was generally controlled by the mixed-bloods, who live in and around the town of Pine Ridge, and who constitute the majority of the Oglala tribe. But the bitterness that surrounds the council does not end with mixed-blood/full-blood bickering. It contains, as well, ancient elements of the admitted Indian traits of never forgetting an inter-family feud, and always building a grudge like a monument. These resentments run from common jealousy, to whose family once scouted for the U. S. Cavalry way back when, and whose family fought it.

Not all reservations fit the mold of Pine Ridge. The Spanish *Conquistadores* got a long jump on the IRA and began instituting alien forms of government among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico late in the 1500s. In the centuries since, Pueblo tradition and religion have seeped into those forms and they grew stable and effective—so much so that only three of the 19 Pueblos voted to incorporate under the IRA.

A similar picture can be found in one of the plains tribes, the Northern Arapaho, who were usually allies, but rarely close friends, of the Sioux. When the Arapahos were placed on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming sometime around 1880, their clans remained intact and their two principal leaders, Sharp Nose and Black Coal, stayed with them. One resident of Wind River recently commented that the Arapahos had usually been able "to go their own merry way and to let the rest of the world go to hell." It is an ability born mainly from internal cohesion and a reliable structure of their own. The Arapahos are said to be a tribe in which the "old men still pretty much have their say."

Old men do not have much say-so on Pine Ridge. In fact, someone said the old women might have an edge on them because when the clan leaders were separated out by the Army, the old women tried to fill that void and there was a partial exchange of roles. Even the Wounded Knee settlement provision to have the traditional Teton Sioux headmen and chiefs help reform the Pine Ridge situation was somewhat hollow. The insurgents and their Sioux supporters on the outside could never agree on whom to list for those honors, or even how many there were. Finally it began to appear as if many old men held the job through recent self-appointment. But one thing was agreed on: For the past 16 months the Oglalas have had but one man whose word came close to law—Dick Wilson—and he's only in his mid-30s.

Wilson is a mixed-blood and harkens back to no prophet. He came to power in April, 1972, by defeating the incumbent, Gerald One Feather, who was one of a few young Pine Ridgers attempting to revive tribal tradition. From the beginning of his term, Wilson was sprinting toward his goals of tribal self-determination with the style of an un-

trained, but talented, modern politician. His inaugural address was strong with political sophistication and concrete plans. He wanted the Oglalas to be unified under a powerful council. But there was sparse potential authority emanating up from the tribe to support him. Thus, when he would find a small source of power somewhere on Pine Ridge, Wilson immediately would force it into the purview of the council.

Tactics like that gained Wilson his "strong chairman" reputation among friends and neutrals, both on and off Pine Ridge. But his enemies saw him as a plumber turned tyrant, and worse, a corrupt one who should be impeached. Behind the gambit were three tribal councilmen and their supporters. One of the three was instrumental in organizing OSCRO. They charged him with rigged elections, nepotism, financial shenanigans, and said he was violating the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, which makes the U. S. Constitution and Bill of Rights incumbent on tribal government. But impeachment failed and Wilson survived just in time to take on Russell Means and assorted allies in a test to show just how far he had to go in the race toward his goals for tribal government. Alongside the power demonstrated by the Justice Department during the insurrection, it looked as if Wilson had not yet learned to walk, let alone run.

What galled Wilson the most was that no one took the Pine Ridge Sioux Tribal Constitution as seriously as he did. Especially the paragraph that states that the council has the power and responsibility to be the prime negotiating body for the tribe. But here was Wounded Knee and everybody—except Wilson and the council—were negotiating: old men, William Kunstler, the National Council of Churches, the Justice Department, even Ralph David Abernathy volunteered. Another irritant was AIM's insistence on returning to the treaty the Sioux signed with the federal government in 1868.

To Wilson that was a waste of time because all the important aspects of the treaty were incorporated into the Pine Ridge Constitution. He said the tribe could live up to the constitution and make it work, if left alone, and if the federal government would cooperate. But so far, Wilson said, Washington had not shown any more respect for the 1936 Constitution than it did for the 1868 treaty. It began to appear to Wilson and to many in the tribe, that if the federal government could eradicate the sovereignty of traditional Sioux government, it could do the same for its replacement. The IRA concept, whether or not it was viable in the first place, took a beating at Wounded Knee. People were afraid if word got around that IRA could be shipped, it might mean termination.

Thus Wilson was damning them all: AIM for manipulating the scene to where the federal government, ostensibly Wilson's ally, would eventually cut him down. And the "reds" for making him weak when he could have been the strongest chairman—the one who brought down AIM. But he was a little late for that kind of thinking. People argue that Wilson was on soft ground when he said the federal government should not have been at Wounded

Knee. He had admitted that he could not handle the uprising when he asked for federal help. But some say his ideas on tribal government hold water. And he is not the only one who would not be romanced by the 1868 Sioux Treaty.

All the 1868 treaty did for the Indians was give them a wide swath of land from the Missouri River to the eastern section of Wyoming (most of which has been stolen from them) plus some provisions for federal help in education and subsistence, which have no bearing on modern life. That is the opinion of John Echo Hawk, an attorney at the Native American Rights Fund in Boulder, Colo. He says that, in effect, the treaty is a dead item. But the IRA, though badly afflicted, is still alive and could be made the root of self-determination.

Echo Hawk sees no realistic Indian future in the past and says that instead of exhuming some long-decomposed treaty, Indians should be tending to their future legal business. They should be solving problems like settling the reservation jurisdictional quandaries between tribes, the federal government and state governments; updating and unifying the criminal codes and scraping the current system where reservation police handle misdemeanors and the FBI takes care of felonies; clarifying who can institute a civil suit on a reservation; making a determination on who can tax what on a reservation and where the taxes should go. The list could run into libraries of legislation and years of court time. It is still that old slow road.

But here is where that second route comes in sight. The rough sketches for the intersection were supplied by Hank Adams of the Survival of the American Indian organization. Adams is a veteran of the Washington fishing rights fight and was instrumental in drafting the "20 Concerns" carried by AIM into Washington, D. C., with the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan (See "The Correspondents Report," RRR, Vol. 4, No. 9).

"Sovereignty is the collective authority of a people to govern themselves," Adams said. He explained that sovereignty was once affirmed for the Indians in their right to make treaties—the right of a nation. Chief Justice John Marshall ruled on that right when he said that nations do not have to be equal in size or strength to enter into an equitable treaty. All that was needed was the sovereignty to make the treaty and the ability to carry out its stipulations.

In one of several major cases concerning the rights of Indian Tribes, *Cherokee v. Georgia*, Marshall wrote in 1831:

"So much of the argument as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State, as a distinct political society separate from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a state from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States recognize them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political charac-



Hank Adams

ter for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on citizens of the United States by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. The acts of our government plainly recognize the Cherokee Nation as a State, and the courts are bound by those acts."

Further on in the opinion Marshall said, "... yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated as foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations."

Marshall had the right idea, in Adams's opinion, and that idea should still be the authority—Indian tribes should still be sovereign nations, protected by a stronger though equally sovereign nation. But since Marshall's time, Adams said, Indian sovereignty has only been recognized in "bastardized forms."

"There has been a transformation of the dependent status of related nations to a wardship and social dependency. There is no legal validation for wardship status. It was brought about by court decisions and administrative orders which were just gimmicks and devices to control the land and the resources of Indians. It's a divergence from existing laws."

Adams argued these points for a week in Minneapolis, Minn., during the final AIM strategy session before the Trail of Broken Treaties moved on Washington. He said AIM was a changed organization when it left the capital in November, but that change started in Minneapolis, the same city where the fast road originated.

Route Two: Stillwater to Insurrection

Late in the 19th Century on the plains, a group called the Dog Soldiers were content with two simple states of existence: fighting and looking for a fight. They were the "turbulent and uncontrollable spirits of all the tribes

... fine looking braves of magnificent physique and in appearance and demeanor more nearly conformed to the ideal warrior than those of any other tribe." Custer said that and he was in a position to know.

AIM had the dog soldiers' bearing of romance when its members first made a show on Pine Ridge nearly 18 months ago. They came onto the reservation fresh from a victory over the little town of Gordon, Neb., where they had helped to avenge the death of an Oglala, Raymond Yellow Thunder (See RRR, Vol. 3, No. 6). They were drinking hard and raising hell and impressing everybody, one way or another. A sympathetic Pine Ridge Councilman called them then "The Twentieth Century Warrior Class." AIM would sooner lose a leg than let that image down.

The Minnesota State Penitentiary at Stillwater was where it began, in an educational project, the American Indian Folklore Group, run by an Indian named Eddie Benton. Benton wanted to break that cycle of Indians being sent up, taught nothing more than how to make a license plate, being released and six months later being sent up again. Clyde Bellecourt, an Ojibwa, had been riding that cycle since he was eight years old. The folklore group worked for him, and he credits Benton with changing his life. On his release Bellecourt was determined to change a few lives himself.

In the spring of 1968, Bellecourt joined Dennis Banks and George Mitchell in Minneapolis and formed the Concerned Indian Americans. Benton, also in Minneapolis, had already organized another agency, the Upper Midwest American Indian Center, which was to become one of the top OEO community action showcases in the nation. The Concerned Indian Americans operated in a different sphere.

At that time arrests in the Minneapolis Indian ghetto were running 30 to 40 a week. Police would wait outside the beer joints at closing time and then clean the streets. The Concerned Indians' first job was to form the police patrol. They began taking drunks and vagrants home before the law got to them and started following the squad cars to make sure there was no abuse on the ones they had missed. They did a little poverty organizing on the side. But it was random work and people began saying they needed a direction. Benton was sought out again. He was no longer at the Upper Midwest Center, having been pushed out by internal politics, but Banks, Bellecourt and Mitchell found him in Gary, Ind. They took him to Chicago where he gave them their name, their sign (AIM written vertically makes an arrow), their first drum, the AIM Song, and a spiritual vision.

At first the vision did not include dog soldiers or warrior classes, or reservations. It contained the images of the times, urban economic opportunity and civil rights with an accent on urban. AIM's appearance showed that. They were street men making good. Banks was with Honeywell Corp., Bellecourt was an electrician, and his brother Vernon, who would later establish Denver AIM, was up and coming in the Great Western Sugar conglomerate. They call it AIM's "Gold Cuff-link Period"—big cars, flashy clothes and a purpose to get other ghetto Indians up to the same level.

AIM, in one of its first documents, stated that its highest goal was to "solicit and broaden opportunities for the urban Indian." The short range plans were to work for better housing, institute a youth program, an employment program, educate industry on Indian culture and its affects on the urban Indian, and to improve general communications in the Indian community. The long range view was to get urban Indians involved in the community and finally bring them up to economic parity with the rest of the city.

AIM began making its dents fast. By 1970 Minneapolis AIM had a housing specialist, a legal ombudsman, a social services advisor, plus a staff of three or four others. It was drafting plans to start its first "survival school" to accommodate Indian children who were dropping out of the Minneapolis system at a 90 per cent rate. AIM's treasury was filled by a little federal money, a few dollars from private foundations and a lot of church reparations.

AIM's first major attack was against organized Christianity. It accused the churches and their missionaries of doing more to destroy Indian culture than any other force in the country. It charged that the churches solicited millions in the name of Indians sending plastic tepee key chains to the donors, and then spending the money on themselves. The strategy and the times were right, the churches paid off well. AIM has no estimate on how much they got from the churches because they never kept a record of it. AIM says the money should have been Indian's in the first place and they don't have to account to anybody for it.

When AIM began making its name, support from other Indian groups began to dwindle and cool. AIM had irritated them with its non-ideological, urban street-smart militancy. In 1971, the organization heckled and harassed the reservation-based National Congress of American Indians at its convention in Kansas City. The year before it had trashed a Warrenton, Va., meeting of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, a federal organization under the auspices of the vice president. And it disrupted the first convention of the National Indian Education Association in Minneapolis. At that meeting AIM met Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux, who was working out of an Ohio project called the Cleveland Indian Center. He went back a convert and set up Cleveland AIM.

Means was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation but spent most of his life in Cleveland. He was urban like the rest and known to show a gold cuff-link himself at one time. He was the consummate organizer and AIM's top man when they needed the media to run and fetch. Within months of his joining, Means was AIM national coordinator, but his trouble with the others in leadership was just beginning to point him back to Pine Ridge.

First, Means made this observation on hearing that Chief Noc-A-Homa, mascot to the Atlanta Braves, was a Chippewa. "It figures. All the Chippewa used to hang around the fort, anyway." That was no diplomatic mile-



Russell Means

stone, but it was in Means's character and tradition. Dennis Banks, by then AIM national director, and almost the entire Minneapolis Indian community are Chippewa and the Chippewa drove the Sioux out of the western Great Lakes area two centuries ago.

Means submitted his letter of resignation as top coordinator in January, 1972. He accused the other AIM leaders of falling under the white man's divide-and-conquer tactics where his Noc-A-Homa comment was concerned. He said he was not getting enough support.

But he was still in office in May when AIM opened its second national convention at Cass Lake on the Leech Lake Chippewa Reservation in Minnesota. The meeting coincided, not by chance, with the opening of fishing season and the area's annual infestation of white sportsmen. The time and setting promised some gratifying outside conflict, but the fight with the fishermen never matched the one inside. Means and Banks were looking for power and their differences only started at being Sioux and Chippewa.

Means impresses people as being handsome, articulate, intelligent, void of humor, insensitive, bitter, rhetorical and not altogether reflective. He has all the facial scars anyone wants to see—the perfect complexion for a man in his line of work. But Banks is quiet and given to moods. Indians credit him with a deep running sorrow for their state and say he is the most militant of all. Banks, some think, was ready to die at Wounded Knee, and maybe Means was not.

Banks wanted to blockade the fishing areas around Cass Lake; Means was against. The two and a number of others fell out over section 3-10 of the AIM Constitution and By-Laws, which stipulates that any member can be expelled, after a hearing, and by a majority vote at an annual meeting for: "1) Excess use of alcohol. 2) Use of narcotics without prescription. 3) Use of grass or any kind of drug that will send you on false vision quests." Banks, who is said to lead like a Cromwell, was in favor of 3-10; Means was against. They breeched *Robert's Rules of Order* by pulling guns and threatening to kill each other.

Before Cass Lake was over, Banks said he would re-

sign his office, but stay on in Washington, D. C., (the national headquarters had been moved there from Minneapolis) as director of the local chapter. Apparently, Means's letter was still before the meeting, but neither resignation was acted on. During the summer, AIM's Board of Directors and the state directors, met on two different occasions and finally voted to relieve Banks of his office, but allow him to organize wherever he chose. They also decentralized the national office, put the organization under the co-directorship of George Mitchell and Vernon Bellecourt, and accepted Means's resignation. He went back to Pine Ridge and announced he would run for tribal chairman in the next election.

Means's new direction was the logical choice, observers say. He had accepted, earlier than most in AIM leadership, Hark Adams's ideas on tribal sovereignty. And because a reservation is the schizophrenic embodiment of the most and the least of Indian potential, it is the place to force the issue. The anti-Wilson ferment, already bubbling on Pine Ridge, made Means's work that much easier, plus he had a band of supporters there. It had jelled when AIM was called into the struggle at Gordon, Neb., late the winter of 1972. That is when AIM got its new image, when it opened a wide schism in the tribe, when the BIA area office in Aberdeen, S. D., suggested using federal marshals to run AIM off Pine Ridge, and when the tribal council, still led by One Feather, turned down that idea. Federal marshals would have to wait until after the Trail of Broken Treaties.

Washington, D. C., in November was where the image joined the idea. Adams introduced the two at the Minneapolis strategy session and a week in the close tense quarters of the BIA building forced the union. Many in AIM came on the caravan to make sure the BIA's budget would stay at a high level, but they left with BIA destruction on their minds. Where before, they were "moderates" on Indian sovereignty and indifferent toward the IRA, AIM left D. C. vowing to inter every IRA council in the country.

AIM was changed. No more flashy cars and poverty organizing. Now it is braids and freedom. No more Great Lakes urban work. It has moved west—transformed. Denver is the place now. Minneapolis is back in that other era. The change shows in the two chapters.

Minneapolis AIM is quartered in a store front. In April the door was locked and the only light on in the building was over a front desk where a young woman answered the telephone, and watched traffic out on Franklin Avenue. Next to her an old woman tended a granddaughter and opened the door for those they wanted to let in. The old woman did not mind admitting the obvious: Minneapolis AIM was broke.

The staff is gone, there are only the volunteers. The two women provide the phone numbers of agencies—the Minneapolis Housing Authority, Legal Aid Service, Public Health—to those in the community who come with a problem. The Indian survival school was turned over to the community earlier in the year because it could not get funds as long as it was associated with AIM. Clyde Belle-

court is still the director of the chapter, but what with the Trail of Broken Treaties, Wounded Knee, speaking engagements and so on, they say, he has not had the time to raise any money. But the two women are optimistic, they say things will come back their way.

AIM's spirit is now in Denver. The chapter there is in a suite of offices, with a secretary and a lot of business. Vernon Bellecourt, the chapter's founder, was voted out of the Denver directorship a few months ago. An Arapaho from Wind River named Jess Large took his place. Large is a Navy veteran, he says, who used to hang around and drink a lot and just naturally assume that the people who took over Alcatraz Island were a bunch of dope freaks and hippies. But now he knows those people, knows they were straight and right. He says he hasn't taken a drink in over a year.

Large said AIM was not structured to be a social service organization but it is occasionally forced into that role because "we're the only ones in the Indian community who can get anything done." AIM, in truth, he says, is the vanguard of Indian sovereignty and in that respect they have plans for places like Pine Ridge and Wind River.

The first step is to purge the reservation (he was speaking of Wind River in particular) of anything white. Get rid of the white farmers and ranchers, store owners, bureaucrats, tavern keepers, horse traders, miscellaneous and clergy. The church has to go. Next, stop dealing with the towns around. "Throw up a wall around the whole damn reservation," he says. Make the reservation economically self-supporting.

Wind River has farming and pasture land, oil, water, lumber, an Indian community-controlled public high school, and a cache of unused indigenous leadership that can be put into power once AIM has brought down the old structure. The final steps are to open up channels of commerce between Wind River and similarly reconstituted reservations, reactivate the old alliances, make Indians whole again. The intent is to build total self-determination and sovereignty. But that is only a rough agenda because, Large said, the details of reservation rejuvenation would be left up to its residents. AIM never claimed the responsibility, or the right, to build a new order. AIM is just there to pound the bejesus out of the old regime.

The Meeting, The Costs, and The Results

But AIM takes a few lumps too. On Feb. 27, Russell Means was down in the parking lot of the Sioux nation Supermarket in Pine Ridge—down on his back under three other Oglalas. One of them looked like he was going for a knife. At the time Means's braids were worth \$300 in bounty. That is good money around Pine Ridge because work there is "hard," as they say—hard to find. Besides braids symbolize AIM and AIM was outlawed on Pine Ridge.

The tribal council took a harder line against AIM after the Trail of Broken Treaties than it took after Gordon. Wilson was afraid of what the returning caravan veterans,

especially Means, would do on Pine Ridge, now they were talking death to IRA. When no federal marshals were sent in November, a tribal judge temporarily enjoined Means from attending or conducting meetings on Pine Ridge. The council made the injunction permanent by outlawing AIM, and also gave Wilson the power to deputize supporters to enforce the measure. That was the birth of the "goon squad" and braid bounty.

The challenge was out and it was just a matter of time before the test. On Pine Ridge the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization was formed in January to attempt the impeachment. At the same time Means began to skirt the reservation, building and training his force in a two-month campaign of police skirmishes in Scottsbluff and Gering, Neb.; Rapid City and Custer, S. D. The ashes of the Custer Chamber of Commerce building were hardly cold when Means got into that parking lot fight. People say that Means decided that afternoon, after he got away with both his health and braids, after the reservation police said they could find no witnesses to the fray, that it was the time to make his fight. That night, Wounded Knee was occupied.

They were there for the next 70 days in their collection of circles. Each ring held some degree of hostility toward the others, and all stood in each other's way of drastic action. Everybody wore out their welcome. Negotiations were ritually started, stopped, and started again. One OSCRO leader mutinied and had to flee for his life. Both blockades—federal and goon squad—started setting examples to all good sieves. Federal marshals began to irritate the FBI and vice versa. Pine Ridge people began beating up on the press. Wilson supporters kept making their blood-bath threats. Civil Rights and Movement people arrived conspicuously and left quietly when they learned AIM makes no coalitions.

At first Wounded Knee might have appeared funny, romantic, vastly entertaining, somewhat hopeful and at least a temporary purgative of white guilt. But that was before it became expensive:

- Two insurgents were shot to death and one FBI agent was crippled.
- Forty-five families—235 people—were dispossessed.
- An estimated 20,000 per-pupil school days were lost due to closings.
- Eight reservation teachers resigned because of the occupation.
- Enrollment at the school serving Wounded Knee dropped by more than 100 students.
- Damage to BIA equipment, roads, bridges and vehicles was placed at \$600,000.
- Cost of emergency needs for displaced Wounded Knee residents was estimated to be \$100,000.
- A contractor, building 25 new homes in Wounded Knee, was set back \$125,000.
- Estimated cost of rebuilding the village of Wounded Knee was \$300,000.

- The cost of lost man hours was never even guessed at.

- Justice Department expenditures were figured to be slightly less than \$2 million.

- Several white-owned ranch houses and haystacks in the area were burned, a number of their cattle were butchered.

- Whatever irreplaceable harmony existed among the Oglalas was almost totally destroyed. No price was figured.

During the occupation, Vine Deloria Jr. wrote in the *Denver Post* that whites would never understand the emotional pain Wounded Knee brought to Indians. He left it there, but a little of it can be heard in a statement concerning AIM made by an Arapaho woman on Wind River. She said that AIM was turning Indian children into white children; and if it weren't for AIM, they would never do the crazy and utterly disrespectful things that once were only the province of white youth. Some Indians agree with the assessment that on Pine Ridge her observation could be amplified to the entire tribe. The Oglalas saw their privacy and solitude disrupted; their poverty made infamous; their weaknesses exposed; and their only slight claim to self-leadership shown to be corrupt and helpless. If that had been the work of a white anthropological team, or a white army, it would have been easier to take. But the tribe had been held to shame by those who claimed to be their own.

The white press never reported seeing that in the people of Pine Ridge. There could be three reasons for that omission. First, as Teri Schultz wrote in *Harpers*, the press merely followed each other's lead, plus some "End of the Trail" images of a noble, though all but defeated, people. Writers stumbled in to write up the excitement and pathos that Wounded Knee offered. She wrote that she and the rest of the press went looking for myths and found only people and that upset her enough to conclude that it was nothing but a media event—a swindle.

Second: The press appeared to capitalize on the images of the two most visible antagonists—AIM and the federal government—and the reportage tended to obscure the local issues and the people between those two extremes, particularly Wilson and OSCRO.

The third explanation is that the press rarely reported Wounded Knee as straight Indian, but rather, Indians *vis a vis* whites—Indians as a subject of white oppression, Indians as a subject of white policy, Indians as a subject of white benevolence. And so as the occupation dragged along and after all the human interest material was published three or four times, the press settled down to report on just that part of Wounded Knee: the negotiations between the Indian insurgents and the white Justice Department.

The negotiations began early in March and before the month was out the Justice Department was using its fourth negotiator. Ralph Erikson, Charles Ablard and Harlington Wood had come and gone. Kent Frizzell, assistant attorney general, was up next. He and the insurgents, primarily Means; Leonard Crow Dog, AIM's senior spiri-



Dennis Banks

tual leader; several from OSCRO; and Carter Camp, who was in charge of AIM security forces, negotiated for eight solid days and finally signed an agreement April 5. The plan was to be implemented when Means made a call from Washington, D. C., to the Wounded Knee compound, signalling the beginning of a meeting between the White House and the traditional headmen and chiefs of the Teton Sioux Tribes. The call was never made for any number of reasons. A few given were: Means's rhetoric when he reached D. C., the hard line of Banks and an AIM lawyer, Mark Lane, back on Pine Ridge, the lack of bond money and some unrestrained and impolitic planning on the part of federal marshals when setting down surrender details to AIM security forces.

When the negotiations were reopened several weeks later, Stanley Pottinger, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, was talking for the government. Then it was Dick Hellstern, who assisted Frizzell the first time. Finally, when frustrations and tension were at their peak, Frizzell, who said there was never a time when he doubted negotiations could settle it all, was called back out. He made his point. Early in May the second agreement was reached. It was identical to the first, except that it worked. It was almost exclusively a Pine Ridge settlement—something for OSCRO. To the press and the public at large who had been concentrating on the generalized symbolic aspects—AIM vs. federal government—the provisions of the agreement seemed anti-climactic and understated because there were no national issues in them—nothing for Banks, who was the principal insurgent negotiator for the second round, or the AIM veterans who had come looking for a place to pick up after the Trail of Broken Treaties was bought out.

But there was something in Wounded Knee for AIM, other than glory—the secession of the Independent Oglala Nation. The press never took it seriously, despite Means's entreaties. The Nation looked a little deranged, some-

thing bizarre to pad out a news dispatch. Its success wasn't improbable, it was beyond hallucination.

Means took it seriously, and why not? It was what AIM had grown to, fed by the workings of the federal government and the failures of Pine Ridge. It was the sovereignty that Justice Marshall wrote of; none of that five-and-dime IRA variety.

Tanna Beebe, a writer for the *Northwest Indian News* asked Russell Means on the day the Nation was established, "... in your wildest dreams do you really think this can be carried off . . .?" And Means said:

"Yes, and I'll tell you why. Number one, it's because I believe in the prophesies of our holy men, you know way back before the white man ever came. Number two is that I'm part of that prophesy, I'm a conduit of those prophesies. Number three, the United States of America, if it chooses not to allow, militarily, a nation within a nation we will have that quasi-status anyway. We are a quasi-independent, a quasi-sovereign, nation as defined by the U. S. Supreme Court. We no longer recognize the United States courts, they're unfair and biased.

"There's another factor here, because I had a vision last February, before the Raymond Yellow Thunder atrocity in Gordon, about just this thing happening, and now it has happened. . . ."

There was never time for testing the Nation. Shortly after it was established, Means left for Washington under the court stipulation that he could not return. There was little mention of it after that. When the second agreement was reached, it was billed as the end of the Wounded Knee occupation and not the end of the Independent Oglala Nation. The Nation's viability and whether or not it could make good on its promise to return to the ancient ways of governing and remake the magic of the Sioux are just matters of speculation.

Though the Independent Oglala Nation did not survive, Wounded Knee—in a specific, local and original sense—was a success. OSCRO managed to get Wilson investigated by the federal government, plus a mandate that civil rights will be observed and protected on Pine Ridge. And it started some thinking about reforming IRA. But other than that, Wounded Knee was bankrupt of solutions.

It did nothing to alleviate, and much to reinforce, Vine Deloria's observation in March that Indians are still forced to behave according to white stereotypes—"We must dress in buckskin when we protest . . . The system, public and private, listens only to the men in buckskin because they are the *real* Indians."

It did not, despite politics and ghost dances, bring back any Oglala Sioux magic. Some said it was proof that the magic was irretrievably gone.

Nor did it soften the respective lines of each faction. If you look closely, those two roads and all the concentric circles, though less populated, are still there. And nobody knows where to go on them, or what to do with them, anymore than they did before.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 8, 1974

BY LIAISON

Honorable Leonard Garment
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Garment:

I thought you might be interested in a study we have prepared concerning the American Indian Movement. In this regard, I have enclosed a copy of "The American Indian Movement: A Record of Violence."

We are also furnishing copies of this document to the Attorney General; the Office of the Deputy Attorney General; the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division; the United States Secret Service; the Department of the Interior; and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C M Kelley", is written over the typed name.

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED



CONFIDENTIAL



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SUBJECT: THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT:
A RECORD OF VIOLENCE

DATE: January 30, 1974

DECLASSIFIED - E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3
With PORTIONS EXEMPTED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3 (a) (3)

MR 91-14, #2 DOJ ltr. 6/30/92
MR 87-11, #77, DOJ ltr. 4/13/87

By KBH 8/7/92
KR NARA, Date 1/14/88

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Classified by Director, FBI
Exempt from General Declassification
Schedule of Executive Order 11652
Exemption Category Number 2
Automatically Declassified on: Indefinite

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT: A RECORD OF VIOLENCE

Purpose

Since 1971, the American Indian Movement (AIM) has engaged in activities which clearly indicate the organization's willingness to go beyond radical rhetoric and employ violence where desired. The purpose of this resume is to set forth background regarding the AIM, its leadership, and to provide a chronology of some AIM-related violence.

Sources mentioned herein have furnished reliable information in the past.

Basis for Investigation

The FBI's investigation of the AIM is based on information which indicates it is engaged in activities which may involve violations of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), or 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy). In addition, by letter dated November 6, 1972, the Department of Justice instructed the FBI to take appropriate steps to secure information concerning potential civil disturbances in connection with the AIM occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building in Washington, D. C.; by letter dated November 21, 1972, the Department requested the Bureau intensify its efforts in identifying violence-prone individuals or organizations of the AIM who may be planning future demonstrations or criminal activities; by letter dated April 26, 1973, the Department requested the FBI to furnish reports concerning any possible future confrontations between Indians and the U. S. Government; and, by letter dated June 8, 1973, the Department requested the FBI to determine the nature and location of the AIM's assets.

Background

The AIM, originally organized as a civil rights organization, was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1968 by Clyde Bellecourt. The organization is currently comprised of

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thirty-seven known chapters with an estimated 1,380 members throughout the United States. AIM leaders have publicly claimed 3,000 to 5,000 members in as many as sixty chapters throughout the United States with an additional three chapters located in Canada.

During the AIM National Convention held at White Oak, Oklahoma, between July 25 and August 5, 1973, the following individuals were elected to national offices:

Dennis James Banks - Executive Director

Carter Camp, John Trudell - National Co-Chairmen

Larry Anderson - Treasurer

Carol Stubbs - Secretary

Vernon Bellecourt, Clyde Bellecourt, Russell Means,
Dennis James Banks - Board of Directors

Although no official announcement has been made, sources indicate Carter Camp was removed from his leadership capacity following his alleged participation in the August, 1973, shooting of Clyde Bellecourt. In January, 1974, Russell Means announced his resignation from the Board of Directors and his intention to run for the Tribal Chairmanship of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

The plight of the American Indian has been a controversial issue in this country, and the AIM has continuously justified its own activities as being necessary to secure the interests of American Indians. The following chronology of incidents involving the AIM and/or its individual members and sympathizers reveals the interstate character of the organization and the dominant influence of its leadership, as well as providing a record of violence extending from May, 1971, to the present:

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Incident</u>
5/16-21/71	Under AIM sponsorship, Dennis Banks and 200 Indians staged a sit-in at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. U. S. Marshals eventually arrested sixteen protestors at which time two Marshals were injured and subsequently hospitalized.
6/6/71	Russell Means led fifty Indians armed with baseball bats and pick handles in a demonstration at Mount Rushmore, South Dakota. Twenty Indians, including Means, were arrested.
6/14 - 7/1/71	Indians led by an AIM member staged a sit-in at an abandoned U. S. Army Nike Missile Site in Chicago, Illinois. On July 1, 1971, the Indians threw stones and Molotov cocktails to resist evicting police officers, three of whom were injured.
9/22/71	Twenty-four persons were arrested after thirty-five to forty AIM members scuffled with General Services Administration Guards at the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Washington, D. C.
3/9/72	Russell Means and members of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Government led 300 Indians to Wounded Knee, South Dakota, after the funeral of a local Indian. At Wounded Knee, a local merchant was assaulted and his store looted. The museum adjoining the store was broken into and an estimated \$50,000 in Indian artifacts stolen.
6/8/72	AIM members and sympathizers demonstrated against an Indian dance being performed by Boy Scouts in Topeka, Kansas. Fist fights broke out and five AIM members were arrested.

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Incident</u>
7/2/72	Eight AIM members were arrested and charged with inciting a riot and assault after disrupting the All-Indian Pow Wow at Flagstaff, Arizona.
11/2-8/72	AIM-led Indians forcibly seized the BIA building, Washington, D. C. BIA files and Indian artifacts were stolen, a Metropolitan Police Department officer was assaulted, and an estimated \$2 million damage was done to the building.
1/13-23/73	AIM activists and Mexican-American sympathizers initiated confrontations with local authorities in Scottsbluff, Nebraska. During this period, three police officers were assaulted while arresting Russell Means, who was armed. Five individuals, including Carter Camp, were arrested with weapons and materials for making Molotov cocktails after the firebombing of Scottsbluff Junior High School.
1/28/73 - 2/1/73	Six Indians, including two self-proclaimed AIM members, held staff members and patients at the Gallup, New Mexico, Indian Medical Center at gunpoint until surrendering.
2/5/73	Five sticks of dynamite, reportedly to be used to blow up an unspecified power plant, were recovered from a Greeley, Colorado, bus station locker rented by two female AIM members.
2/6/73	Twenty-four individuals, including Russell Means and Dennis Banks, were arrested after approximately 200 AIM members and sympathizers demonstrated at Custer, South Dakota.

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Incident</u>
	During an ensuing riot, seven law enforcement officers were injured, two police cars were damaged and weapons stolen therefrom, the County Courthouse was damaged, the Chamber of Commerce building destroyed by fire, and a gas station was looted.
2/9/73	Thirty-eight Indians were arrested after an AIM-inspired rampage through Rapid City, South Dakota. Subsequently a number of firebombing incidents occurred in the city.
2/27/73 - 5/8/73	An armed group of AIM-led Indians forcibly seized Wounded Knee, South Dakota, and took a large quantity of weapons, mostly rifles, and ammunition from the trading post. Eleven non-Indian residents were initially held hostage but subsequently released unharmed. During the occupation, AIM activists proclaimed their independence from the U. S., resisted Federal authorities by force of arms, and destroyed private property. During exchanges of gunfire, a U. S. Marshal and FBI Agent were wounded, and two of the insurgents were killed. Federal indictments have been returned against 137 of the participants.
3/6/73	Eight persons were arrested following AIM-led demonstrations in Lumberton, North Carolina.
4/20/73	An armed group of AIM members and sympathizers traveled interstate to Albuquerque, New Mexico, to take over the Southwest Polytechnic Institute. Though the effort was subsequently canceled, one member fatally shot another during a disagreement.

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Incident</u>
4/24/73	AIM activist arrested at Phoenix, Arizona, after purchasing weapons intended for the Wounded Knee insurgents. Federal indictments were returned against five AIM members, including Russell Means, in this matter.
8/22/73	Ten armed AIM members held the second floor of a Des Moines, Iowa, office building for two hours before surrendering peacefully.
8/27/73	Clyde Bellecourt was shot and seriously wounded at the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota. Carter Camp was subsequently charged with the shooting.
9/2/73	An Apache County, Arizona, Deputy Sheriff responding to a looting call was shot and killed by an AIM activist at Lupton, Arizona.
11/18/73	Two AR-15's and a fully automatic AK-47 used in the occupation of Wounded Knee were recovered when Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, police officers arrested seven Indians in connection with a series of robberies.

Miscellaneous

A source advised on 3/13/73, Vernon Bellecourt, in a speech at the University of California at Santa Barbara, stated, "Crazy Horse said in the past, it's a good day to die. But the American Indian Movement is saying right now, it's a hell of a good day to fight." Bellecourt added in reference to the U. S. Bicentennial in 1976, "The American Indian Movement is going to be there along with hundreds and thousands of other Indians. We're going to blow the candles out on your cake."

A source advised, on 3/15/73, at the University of California at Berkeley, Bellecourt said that by 1976 the AIM would be powerful enough to "blow out the candles on the birthday cake."



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Sources advised during November, 1973, that Vernon Bellecourt stated the AIM had been asked by Alaskan Indians to help in stopping the Alaskan oil pipeline. Bellecourt stated the pipeline would be stopped by any means necessary.

Another source advised that during the November 10-13, 1973, California State AIM Convention, Dennis Banks indicated a "plane load of people" had been sent to Alaska to support Alaskan Indians.

The November 21, 1973, issue of "The St. Paul Dispatch," St. Paul, Minnesota, quoted Banks as stating, "The Indian response to the Alaskan pipeline running along the Indian land will make Wounded Knee look like a Boy Scout picnic."

Although no information has been received to date indicating there has been any attempt to disrupt the Alaskan oil pipeline, this matter is being closely followed.

On December 8, 1973, a source stated the AIM had given consideration to kidnapping U. S. Senators, including Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, if the trials arising out of the Wounded Knee seizure went bad for the defendants.

On January 18, 1974, William Kunstler, attorney for Dennis Banks and Russell Means in the aforementioned trials, was the keynote speaker at the "Third World Week," a series of student-sponsored speakers dealing with minority group problems throughout the world, which was held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Kunstler stated, "That trial should be stopped" by filling the streets with people and preventing anyone from entering the courthouse. He added that acquittal of the defendants could signal a "new day" for the AIM.

Foreign Influence

On January 10, 1973, a source advised that ten to twelve AIM members, including Carter Camp, had been invited to travel to the People's Republic of China (PRC) by the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa, Canada. No information has been received to date that this travel to the PRC has as yet been undertaken.

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From the point of the Wounded Knee takeover through July, 1973, sources advised Vernon Bellecourt traveled extensively throughout Europe making speeches to secure support and financial assistance for the AIM.

In September, 1973, information received from a source indicated AIM leaders traveled to Canada to meet representatives of foreign governments, possibly including East Germany and Middle-Eastern petroleum-producing countries, to obtain funds for the AIM. In return, the AIM was to encourage Canadian Indians to demand the rights to petroleum deposits on their land, some of which being near the oil-rich Alaskan North Slope. During this same period, a source advised Dennis Banks and other AIM activists were staying with a Canadian Indian chief in a secluded camp in a remote part of Canada's Northwest Territory. As of this time, no information has been received indicating a meeting with representatives of foreign governments was ever held, but investigation in this regard continues.

On December 4, 1973, a source stated the AIM had made plans for unidentified United States Embassies in Europe and South America to be bombed by unknown foreign extremists in connection with the trials of previously-mentioned AIM activists at St. Paul, Minnesota. The United States Embassy in Mexico was specifically mentioned as a potential target. To date, no information has been received that any such bombings have taken place, but this matter is also being closely followed.

According to a source, Dennis Banks and George Christopher Roberts, National Press Secretary for the AIM, were arrested on December 6, 1973, in Mexico City by Mexican authorities and charged with interfering with the internal security of the Mexican Government. That date Banks and Roberts had participated in a student rally at Mexico National University which reportedly had been organized by communist elements. During the rally Banks made "inflammatory statements" against the United States and Mexico. Banks and Roberts had planned to travel from Mexico City to Cuba on December 7, 1973, where they reportedly would be guests of the Cuban Government. But, on December 7, they were deported to the United States as undesirable aliens and thus unable to complete their trip to Cuba.

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On December 8, 1973, a source advised a coalition was formed between Indians in Mexico and AIM leaders.

Funding

The sources of the AIM's funding have not always been identifiable. Public documents do indicate the AIM has received financial assistance in the amounts indicated from the following organizations:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Office of Economic Opportunity (1968)	Spokane, Washington, AIM Chapter	\$ 48,643
Federal funds (unidentified) (1968-73)		\$400,000
American Lutheran Church, Minnesota, (1969-73)		\$ 37,000
Campaign for Human Development, Roman Catholic Church (1971)		\$ 40,000
National Indian Lutheran Board (1971-73)		\$238,000
United States Catholic Conference, Washington, D. C. (1971-73)		\$ 40,000
World Council of Churches, New York (1971-73)		\$ 6,000
United Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Lutheran organizations (1972)	"Trail of Broken Treaties" caravan to Washington, D. C. (culminated in takeover of BIA building)	\$ 20,000

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<u>Source</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Amount</u>
United Methodist Church, New York (1972)	Same as preceeding	\$ 4,500
Episcopal Church, Seattle, Washington (1972)	Same as preceeding	\$ 10,000
Office of Economic Opportun- ity	For Indians occupying BIA building, Washing- ton, D.C., to return to their homes	\$ 66,650
Iowa United Methodist Con- ference (1973)	Bail bond for Dennis Banks	\$ 85,000

The AIM has also received considerable assistance for legal fees and to secure the release of incarcerated activists as well as the extensive material support rendered by sympathizers during its 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

Identification of these alleged sources of revenue is not intended to suggest their endorsement of violence perpetrated by AIM activists.

Conclusion

An analysis of the AIM's past activities confirms its propensity for violence. In the tradition of other extremist organizations which similarly have presumptuously claimed to champion the cause of their respective minority groups, the AIM is the first to gain widespread recognition as a representative of the American Indian. Though there is no indication that the AIM receives significant support from the American Indian community, an April 8, 1973, Harris Poll revealed the majority of Americans supported the Indians at Wounded Knee and believed Indians have not been treated well in the past.

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History has shown that wherever a cause exists, there will always be those who exploit it while claiming to speak on its behalf. During the AIM's occupation of Wounded Knee, it received active support from organizations such as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Worker's World Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, Progressive Labor Party, and the Venceremos Organization, all showing public solidarity with this extreme example of "confrontation politics" and "propaganda by deed" which supported the thesis that armed resistance was not only necessary but could be successful.

What does the future hold for the AIM? A significant variable in this regard will be the tempo and outcome of the trials of AIM activists charged with crimes arising out of the occupation of Wounded Knee. In a January 7, 1974, pretrial rally at the University of Minnesota before an audience of approximately 1,000 people, Russell Means called the trials the most important of the century for the American Indian. Means stated the United States was an illegal government and was never sanctioned by the red man.

If these trials experience the kind of disruptions called for by attorney William Kunstler and which have characterized other courtroom proceedings involving celebrated militants or culminate with verdicts unfavorable to AIM activists, further AIM-inspired confrontations and violence could follow. AIM leaders can be expected to attempt to obscure the reason for the trials and portray them as another effort by the Government to persecute American Indians and deny them their rights.

Another important variable concerning the AIM's future will be the traditional Indian leadership's ability to represent American Indians and resolve problems confronting their communities. Where the traditional leadership is unsuccessful, the AIM, with the support and sympathy of other militant groups, can be expected to attempt to capitalize on the opportunity for additional public exposure and to gain credibility in the Indian community. In those places where the Indian community finds that violent rhetoric, intimidation, and naked force are, in fact, acceptable and effective alternatives to reason and law, the AIM's future can be considered bright.

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AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT CHAPTERS IN THE UNITED STATES



CANADIAN AIM CHAPTERS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA
LONDON, ONTARIO, CANADA
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

[2/21/74]

Council Makes Antiracism Grants

Religious News Service of Frelimo was given \$60,000. tion and emancipation of the ple's Organization was given
GENEVA—New antiracism Two groups working for the African population and the \$30,000. The group opposed



THE CONTINUING MASSACRE AT WOUNDED KNEE

by Terri Schultz

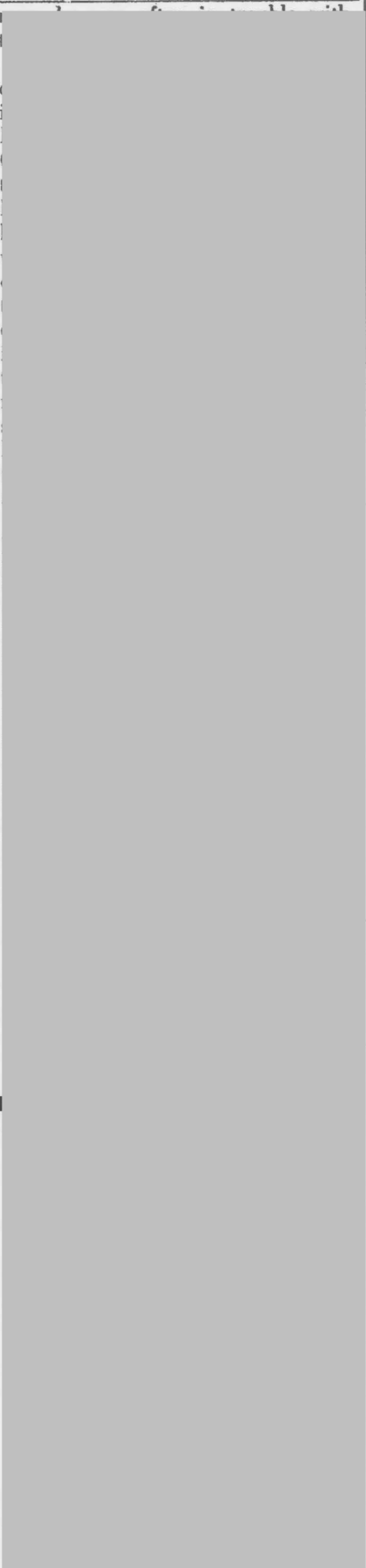


HARPER'S
JUN 1974
MONTHLY - 278,000

A tribal election overshadowed
by internecine murder

MASSACRE AT WOUNDED KNEE





Duphate

June 19, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO: LEONARD GARMENT
FROM: BRADLEY H. PATTERSON, Jr.
SUBJECT: AIM Coming to Washington

As you know, the 7-day-long convention of the American Indian Movement in South Dakota from the 9th to 16th went off without incident, in part due to some careful planning by local and national BIA, HEW and Justice officials.

Then a caravan went to Aberdeen, Regional Headquarters of BIA. They are meeting there now with local HEW (Indian Health) and BIA officers but, using some threats of violence there, have absolutely insisted that Commissioner Thompson meet with them.

Thompson has agreed to do so; to meet with a group of ten here in Washington next Monday or Tuesday, under a policy he has of meeting with Indian leadership for peaceful discussions.

Washington, unlike Mobridge, South Dakota, will give AIM a national if not a world PR stage and although their spirit of confrontation is reportedly lower now, it would be lacking in perspicacity if we did not anticipate such possibilities as:

- a) Many more than ^{Ten} then showing up;
- b) Demands to meet with White House, State, UN and Senate Foreign Relations officials on what they term "international" treaty issues;
- c) Refusal of the 150 adherents in Aberdeen to leave there peacefully until they see "the results of" the Washington talks, not just the fact of the meeting itself (a technique used on us a year ago).

Meetings are planned to discuss tactics; will keep you informed; this is simply an alert for what will hopefully be not much more than a minor headache.

CC: General Haig	Deputy Attorney General Silberman
General Scowcroft	Ken Cole
Frank Zarb	Gerald Warren
John Carlson	Norman Ross

June 27, 1974

✓
L6 FYI
Duplicate BHP files

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAM BUFFAM
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

VIA:

GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

BRADLEY H. PATTERSON, Jr.

SUBJECT:

Formation of a so-called International
Indian Treaty Council

This will bring to the State Department's attention the formation of a so-called International Indian Treaty Council by members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) at a recent meeting in South Dakota. Among the stated goals of this group are to "establish diplomatic relations with the United States", apply for UN membership, to get other aboriginal native peoples to do likewise, to seek additional recognition of treaty rights, especially as interpreted by them and to ask other nations to "charge and prosecute" the United States for its practices against "sovereign Native Nations".

I would suggest that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Morris Thompson, be advised if any contacts are made between this "Council" and the Department of State or the UN. He will be able to furnish appropriate background information on the membership and status of this group.

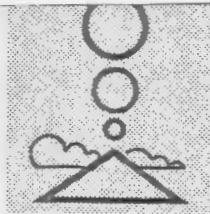
You and USIA should be aware that this "Council" is not regarded by either Commissioner Thompson's Bureau or this office nor by the majority of the elected Indian tribal leaders of America as a group representative of the American Indian people.

cc: Wallace Johnson (Justice)
Frank Zarb (OMB)
Morris Thompson (BIA)
James Keogh (USIA)

Attachment

AMERICAN INDIAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

NEWS SERVICE



ROOM 206
1346 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 293-9150

Executive Director: *Rose Robinson*
News Director: *Richard LaCourse*

DECLARATION - JUL72 (WITH TREATIES)

MOBRIDGE, S.D.--(AIPA)--A "Declaration of Continuing Independence", the result of nine days of deliberations during the First International Indian Treaty Council sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM) and hosted by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council here at the Chief Gall Inn, was made public during a final evening session with approximately 3,000 persons in attendance.

Following is the full text of the declaration, which is preceded by a preamble:

FORENOTE

"A long time ago my father told me what his father told him. There was once a Lakota Holy Man called Drinks Water, who visioned what was to be; and this was long before the coming of the Wasicus (white men). He visioned that the four-legged (animals) were going back into the earth and that a strange race had woven a spider's web all around the Lakotas. And he said, 'When this happens, you shall live in barren lands, and there beside those gray houses you shall starve.' They say he went back to Mother Earth soon after he saw this vision and it was sorrow that killed him."--Black Elk, Oglala Sioux Holy Man.

PREAMBLE

"The United States of America has continually violated the independent Native peoples of this continent by executive action, legislative fiat and judicial decision. By its actions, the U.S. has denied all Native people their international treaty rights, treaty lands and basic human rights of freedom and sovereignty. This same U.S. government which fought to throw off the yoke of oppression and gain its own independence, has now reversed its role and become the oppressor of sovereign Native people.

"Might does not make right. Sovereign people of varying cultures have the absolute right to live in harmony with Mother Earth so long as they do not infringe upon this same right of other peoples. The denial of this right to any sovereign people, such as the Native American Indian Nations, must be challenged by truth and action. World concern must focus on all colonial governments to the end that sovereign people everywhere shall live as they choose, in peace with dignity and freedom.

The International Indian Treaty Conference hereby adopts this Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Sovereign Native American Indian Nations. In the course of these human events, we call upon the people of the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights. We pledge our assistance to all other sovereign people who seek their own independence.

"The First International Treaty Council of the Western Hemisphere was formed on the land of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on June 8-16, 1974. The delegates, meeting under the guidance of the Great Spirit, represented 97 Indian tribes and Nations from across North and South America.

"We, the sovereign Native peoples recognize that all lands belonging to the various Native Nations are clearly defined by the sacred treaties solemnly entered into between

MORE

the Native Nations and the government of the United States of America.

"We, the sovereign Native peoples charge the United States of America with gross violations of our international treaties. Two of the thousands of violations that can be cited are the 'wrongfully taking' of the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Nation in 1877, this sacred land belonging to the Great Sioux Nation under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The second violation was the forced march of the Cherokee people from their ancestral lands in the state of Georgia to the then 'Indian Territory' of Oklahoma after the Supreme Court of the United States ruled the Cherokee treaty rights inviolate. The treaty violation, known as the 'Trail of Tears,' brought death to two-thirds of the Cherokee Nation during the forced march.

"The Council further realizes that securing United States recognition of treaties signed with Native Nations requires a committed and unified struggle, using every available legal and political resource. Treaties between sovereign nations explicitly entail agreements which represent 'the supreme law of the land' binding each party to an inviolate international relationship.

"We acknowledge the historical fact that independence of the peoples of our sacred Mother Earth have always been over sovereignty of land. These historical freedom efforts have always involved the highest human sacrifice.

"We recognize that all Native Nations wish to avoid violence, but we also recognize that the United States government has always used force and violence to deny Native Nations basic human and treaty rights.

DECLARATION

"We adopt this Declaration of Continuing Independence, recognizing that struggle lies ahead--a struggle certain to be won--and that the human and treaty rights of all Native Nations will be honored. In this understanding the International Indian Treaty Council declares:

"The United States government in its Constitution, Article VI, recognizes treaties as part of the supreme law of the United States. We will peacefully pursue all legal and political avenues to demand United States recognition of its own Constitution in this regard, and thus to honor its treaties with the Native Nations.

"We will seek the support of all world communities in the struggle for the continuing independence of Native Nations.

"We the representative^s of sovereign Native Nations unite in forming a council to to be known as the International Indian Treaty Council to implement these declarations,

"The International Indian Treaty Council will establish offices in Washington, D.C., and New York City to approach the international forces necessary to obtain the recognition of our treaties. These offices will establish an initial system of communications among Native Nations to disseminate information, getting a general consensus of concerning issues, developments and any legislative attempt affecting Native Nations by the United States of America.

"The International Indian Treaty Council recognizes the sovereignty of all Native

MORE

Nations and will stand in unity to support our Native and international brothers and sisters in their respective and collective struggles concerning international treaties and agreements violated by the United States and other governments.

"All treaties between the sovereign Native Nations and the United States government must be interpreted according to the traditional and spiritual ways of the signatory Native Nations.

"We declare our recognition of the Provisional Government of the Independent Oglala Nation, established by the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation at Wounded Knee (on) March 11, 1973.

"We condemn the United States of America for its gross violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty in militarily surrounding, killing, and starving the citizens of the Independent Oglala Nation into exile.

"We demand the United States of America recognize the sovereignty of the Independent Oglala Nation and immediately stop all present and future criminal prosecutions of sovereign Native peoples. We call upon the conscionable nations of the world to join us in charging and prosecuting the United States of America for its genocidal practices against the sovereign Native Nations, most recently illustrated by Wounded Knee 1973 and the continued refusal by the United States of America to sign the United Nations 1948 Treaty on Genocide.

"We reject all executive orders, legislative acts and judicial decisions related to Native Nations since 1871, when the United States unilaterally suspended treaty making relations with Native Nations. This includes, but is not limited to, the Major Crimes Act, the General Allotment Act, the Citizenship Act of 1924, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Indian Claims Commission Act, Public Law 280 and the Termination Act (sic). All treaties between Native Nations and the United States made prior to 1871 shall be recognized without further need of interpretation.

"We hereby ally ourselves with the colonized Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence from the same United States of America.

"We recognize that there is only one color of mankind in the world who are not represented in the United Nations. And that is the indigenous Redman of the Western Hemisphere. We recognize this lack of representation in the United Nations comes from the genocidal policies of the colonial power of the United States.

"The International Indian Treaty Council established by this conference is directed to make application to the United Nations for recognition and membership of the sovereign Native Nations. We pledge our support to any similar application by any aboriginal people.

"This conference directs the Treaty Council to open negotiations with the government of the United States through its Department of State. We seek these negotiations in order to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. When these diplomatic relations have been established, the first order of business shall be to deal with U.S. violations of treaties with the Native Indian Nations, and violations of

the rights of those Native Indian Nations who have refused to sign treaties with the United States.

"We, the people of the International Indian Treaty Council, following the guidance of our elders through instructions from the Great Spirit, and out of our respect for our sacred Mother Earth, all her children, and those yet unborn, offer our lives for our international treaty rights."

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INTERNATIONAL - JU173

MOBRIDGE, S.D.--(AIPA)--How do historians and specialists on international law view the prospect of bringing Indian treaties before the World Court and the United Nations? Some glimpses into that question were provided at the first International Indian Treaty Conference here June 9-16. Among those observations were:

--Historian Ed Castillo of the University of California at Berkeley: "Let us (Indians) not underestimate ourselves. The government wants what we have--our timber, our river valleys. Third World nations in a world court will understand our plight since they have been ripped off by oil companies and the like. Because of plans for a dam and flooding on our land, the art of basketry in California will be lost because the materials to make baskets are all in the valley to be destroyed."

--South American Indian Gonzalo Castillo: "We must present our own cases (before the World Court). We'll gain strength and stamina from this, not from letting whites do it for us, even though they might do it better..."

--Richard G. Falk, professor of international law at Princeton University: "These discussions...are a great step forward for the Indian people because I think that these treaty issues cannot be solved unless the Indian nations cooperate with one another and develop what is a national movement to achieve these results."

"I think that it is important to establish...that there has been fraud and deception in the original treaties and that your legal arguments are powerful and, if they are accepted, would lead to the vindication of your claims. But you should understand that your legal arguments have always been that, and that everyone including the white man and the United States government has understood that they were that. The Supreme Court has said on numerous occasions that it understood that those treaties were being violated at the very time they were solemnly entered into."

"So what I am trying to say is that you must not place much hope in the legal system that perpetuated these wrongs, that imposed these wrongs, as being willing now to turn around suddenly and do justice, because it is the same legal system that originally accomplished these injustices, and it is for this reason that in addition to a national movement, what seems...most important is to bring these treaty disputes between nations to the level where they belong--that is, to the level of global concern, world concern."

MORE

"They are disputes among nations that are a concern to people who have been deprived everywhere in the world, and we are living in a time when the people who have suffered from colonialism and repression and injustice are finally beginning to assert their rights in the world. And it is therefore important, as (AIM leader) Russell Means has said, to bring the case that you have into international forums, to bring it to the attention of those Americans who believe in a just and decent solution to the problems that have confronted the Indian people.

"It is in this connection that one might consider going to the International Court of Justice with these treaty disputes. ...I would not place an early emphasis on going to the World Court because it is a very conservative institution that is basically controlled by the colonial powers in the world. It has very expensive procedures that are very complicated and very difficult to gain access to, and therefore I believe that a much more important emphasis should be on the political forums that are concerned with the problems of dependent peoples, of national self-determination, of human rights, of genocide, of problems of colonialism, and that these forums are available in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States to some degree, and in many other arenas within the world today.

"I believe that if you develop strong planes of injustice and exploitation in these forums, you will find that there are many powerful allies of the Indian people throughout the world (who) can help you and (who) can create even in this country much more understanding and public opinion willing to compel the legal system and to compel the government to rectify the wrongs that have been done. I hope that in setting up an all-Indian treaty commission, ...that you will keep this general kind of emphasis in mind and won't have unrealistic hopes that the present legal order is going to be able to solve these problems. One final small suggestion that I'd like to put forward for your consideration is that if you establish this treaty commission, that you have it undertake research and development of positions on general treaty questions that affect all the specific treaty claims.

"One of the things that such a commission could do, which perhaps some of the tribes are not in a position to do, is to develop an understanding of the general treaty problems and the relation of the status of these treaties within the constitutional system and within and under international law, and that this general research be coordinated with the specific research that is being done by particular tribe into the treaty disputes that they have and the kind of development that they have been making of their own claims, because I think that the specific claims can be put forward in a much more compelling legal, moral and political way if they are coordinated with the kinds of general positions that should be taken as a matter of national priority."

Duplicate

NOTE TO MORRIE THOMPSON

Subject: AIM Convention aftermath

You will recall this meeting in John Whitaker's
office.

~~MMW~~ What is the status of action on points 8 and 9?

*Sent
7-17-74*

BHPjr



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1974

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

FROM: BRADLEY H. PATTERSON, Jr.

SUBJECT: AIM Convention in South Dakota
(June 8-16)

Representatives of the White House (Patterson), BIA (Morris Thompson, Ray Butler, Eugene Suarez), Justice (McDermott, Cash, Pompa), HEW (George Scott, ONAP), OMB (Crabill, Arnold), Interior Solicitor's Office (Frizzell, Stergel) met under Whitaker's chairmanship June 7 at 2 p.m. to go over strategy and tactics with regard to existing and potential problems with respect to the upcoming AIM convention.

The following agreements were reached:

1. No objection to HUD's decision, made in the Denver FRC, to respond to the Standing Rock Tribe's request for two "disaster type" mobile homes, for minimal rent plus hauling costs, to be used as (a) a first-aid station and (b) as a security van.
2. No objection to LEAA's decision to pull some available grant money together in case the Standing Rock Tribe itself makes a request for funds for augmented tribal security forces. Total agreement that there were to be absolutely no federal payments to AIM for "salaries of AIM security forces".
3. No objection to HEW's response to the request of the Standing Rock Tribe to extend HEW's training grant to include overtime pay to the employees of the Chief Gall Inn (a tribal corporation).
4. No objection to BIA's responding to the Standing Rock Tribe's request with a water truck to water down roads and the Indian Health Service's responding by providing the Tribe with a truck for auxiliary drinking water.



5. Recognition that, with respect to the Standing Rock Tribe's request for food, the food supply question could be a flashpoint problem if the convention attendees were left with no food except to raid local cattle-owners and grocery stores.

6. Decision that HEW/ONAP's offer in response to the Standing Rock Tribe's request, namely to permit the Tribe to use its existing CAP grant to purchase food, in its discretion, to help feed convention attendees, was sound, in view of point 5 above. (One dissent here.)

7. Unanimous and strong agreement that none of the other requests made by the Standing Rock Tribe to assist in meeting the expenses, to the Tribe, of the AIM convention (e.g. transportation expenses, Inn expenses, a helicopter, rental cars, phone bills, room costs, gas money etc.) were to be met at all.

8. Agreement that the Standing Rock Tribe should be informed to keep close and accurate accounts of its convention-related expenses over the coming days and that the Tribe should then submit a bill to AIM for the total of these expenses. If any of the bill is paid, the Tribe will reimburse the federal agencies correspondingly.

9. Agreement that BIA should later circulate a notice to all tribes advising them that if AIM ever again asks any of them to host one of its conventions, said tribe should require an advance bond as a prerequisite to tribal council action approving the invitation. NTCA should also be asked to so inform its members through its own channels.

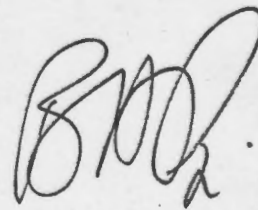
10. For tactical, on-the-spot law enforcement decisions during the convention, the officer-in-charge will be Mr. Mike Windham of the BIA police, he in turn working with and through the Standing Rock Tribal Council.

11. On-the-spot federal coordinators, working with and through the Standing Rock Tribal Council, will be the BIA Area Director, Wyman Babby, assisted by Mr. Elmer Nitzker, Interior's Minneapolis Area Solicitor. No federal agency decisions should be made on the scene without advance consultation with Babby/Nitzker.



12. The Washington federal coordinator will be Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson. No independent Federal agency decisions are to be made without advance notice to Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson will be the central communicator from Washington to the field, except for entirely internal agency matters.

13. Press queries are to be handled first by the Standing Rock Tribal Council Chairman and, for federal questions, by Babby/Nitzker.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'B. Nitzker' or similar, with a stylized, cursive script.

September 6, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN WHITAKER

SUBJECT:

ADM Trial -- Contingency
Planning

It is at least a possibility that the ADM trial in St. Paul may result in an acquittal. One needs little imagination to figure out the kind of statements which will come out of Banks, Means and their sympathizers if that happens.

My suggestion: that you and Merrie do some contingency thinking about the kind of statement, if any, which the federal government should make on the acquittal contingency. What will responsible Indian people expect us to say? I think that Messrs. Hushon (White House) and Havel (Justice's new Press Officer) as well as Len and me will be interested to know what you come up with.

Bradley H. Patterson

cc: Mr. Thompson
Mr. Hushon
Mr. Havel



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



September 13

LG:

Thompson doesn't think we should say anything. I suppose that is the proper posture for the short-run, but believe that if the President ~~makes~~ any new Indian ~~statements~~ down the road, he should address, by indirection, the problem of super-militancy...

Do you agree?

Bad

September 6, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN WHITAKER

SUBJECT:

AIM Trial -- Contingency
Planning

It is at least a possibility that the AIM trial in St. Paul may result in an acquittal. One needs little imagination to figure out the kind of statements which will come out of Banks, Means and their sympathizers if that happens.

My suggestion: that you and Morris do some contingency thinking about the kind of statement, if any, which the federal government should make on the acquittal contingency. What will responsible Indian people expect us to say? I think that Messrs. Hushon (White House) and Havel (Justice's new Press Officer) as well as Len and me will be interested to know what you come up with.

Bradley H. Patterson

cc: Mr. Thompson
Mr. Hushon
Mr. Havel



September 24, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

**MORRIS THOMPSON
STAN POTTINGER
JOHN CARLSON**

SUBJECT:

**Telegram from
Dennis Banks**

Even though some of the statements here are easily rebutted and though the press will probably be given this telegram, I do not plan to have a response prepared unless I hear a contrary recommendation from one of you.

Bradley H. Patterson, Jr.

**bcc: Leonard Garment
Central ~~Files~~ Files**



The White House
Washington

WHA023(1412)(2-023249E263)PD 09/20/74 1412

1974 SEP 20 PM 2 22

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PMS PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

WHITE HOUSE DC

WE DENOUNCE YOUR PARDON OF RICHARD NIXON. IT SERVES ONLY TO
SUPPORT OUR CONTENTION THAT THERE IS A DOUBLE STANDARD OF JUSTICE
IN THIS COUNTRY. WHILE PARDONING CRIMINALS LIKE RICHARD NIXON,
YOU ARE LEAVING A LIFE LONG SENTENCE OF TERMINATION HANGING
OVER THE LIVES OF INDIAN PEOPLE.

WE WILL NOT STAND BY WHILE THE REAL VICTIMS OF THIS GOVERNMENT
SIT IN JAIL; YET THOSE WHO HAVE PERPETRATED THE MOST SERIOUS
CRIMES AGAINST THIS COUNTRY ARE PARDONED. IF YOUR CONCERN IS
FOR THE (GREATEST GOOD OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES),
WHERE IS YOUR COMPASSION FOR THE PAIN INFLICTED ON INDIAN PEOPLE?
THE INDIAN MURDERS IN FARMINGTON, NEW MEXICO, GO UNNOTICED BY

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YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH PROFESSES TO SEEK JUSTICE. WE EXPECT JUSTICE FOR THE INDIANS IN FARMINGTON.

WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF SARAH BAD HEART BULL, WHO WAS ARRESTED FOR PROTESTING THE RELEASE OF HER SONS MURDERER. WE INSIST ON THE RELEASE OF THE CUSTER DEFENDANTS WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED BAIL PENDING APPEAL WHILE THE WATERGATE CRIMINALS ARE RELEASED ON THEIR OWN RECOGNIZANCE.

WE DEMAND AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GOVERNMENTAL MISCONDUCT IN THE WOUNDED KNEE TRIALS.

WE SUPPORT THE KOOTENAI IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO GAIN A JUST SETTLEMENT FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT.

WHERE IS YOUR JUSTICE AND MERCY FOR INDIAN PEOPLE?

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE DENNIS J BANKS



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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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