

# **AIMing for a Diplomatic Future:**

The American Indian Movement's Occupation of the BIA

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Group Documentary

Process Paper: 500 words

## *Process Paper*

We realized the historic significance of the 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) federal building while exploring archival resources at the Mitchell Museum of the American Indian in Evanston, Illinois. Our inquiry initially focused on the role of the U.S. federal government in violating land agreements with Indigenous communities. We knew that a breakdown in federal-tribal relations led Native Americans to converge on Washington, D.C. in the Trail of Broken Treaties, a 1972 caravan and protest march. However, it became evident to us that the seven-day takeover of the federal BIA building was the pivotal event that brought the debate over tribal sovereignty onto the national stage. By creating this documentary, we sought to amplify the story of Native Americans who insisted that negotiations about Indigenous rights accurately reflect their voices and experiences of physical, spiritual and cultural neglect on American reservations. Taking on the White House and the entire U.S. government, the BIA protesters exposed the failures of federal-native diplomacy and the erasure of legal Native rights, a struggle that continues today.

The bulk of our research was conducted in the Special Collections of the University of Chicago Regenstein Library and the Newberry Library. Research librarians guided us to primary research materials, including newspaper articles, film clips, photographs and unpublished manuscripts. We conducted interviews via Zoom with individuals working on behalf of tribal sovereignty, including Wilson Pipestem (Otoe-Missouria, Osage), a second-generation Native American activist and Deborah Ho, founder of the Mapetsi Policy Group, a Washington, D.C. lobbying firm specializing in federal Indian law. These interviews helped us understand historic and contemporary Indigenous perspectives.

Creating a documentary allowed us to share compelling personal statements, photographs, and news clips about the BIA occupation. The majority of our footage came from interviews and digitized broadcast news stories. Many photographs were found in Laura Waterman Wittstock's book, *We Are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement*, a critically important visual resource containing the work of Dick Bancroft, the official photographer of the American Indian Movement. We

recorded our script using QuickTime Player's Audio Recording feature and filmed the interviews using Zoom's recording software. The documentary was compiled and edited using Adobe Premiere Pro.

The occupation of the BIA building reflected the collapse of diplomatic relations between the U.S. federal government and Native American tribes in the early 1970s. True diplomacy requires mutual trust and an open-minded, committed effort from all parties, conditions that the federal government failed to honor due to ongoing infringement on Native rights, which the BIA takeover exacerbated. Yet, the event helped to get diplomatic relations back on track, as the protestors' demands ultimately informed President Nixon's 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. The BIA takeover reveals the need to prioritize empathy, dialogue and cultural understanding in diplomatic negotiations with domestic and international parties. For Native Americans, the BIA takeover was a call for all Americans to truly hear Native voices and respect their demand for legal sovereignty.

## Annotated Bibliography

### *Primary Sources, Annotated*

#### **Periodicals**

Collins, John. "Trail of Broken Treaties." *Ann Arbor Sun*. December 1, 1972.  
[https://aadl.org/aa\\_sun\\_19721201\\_p015-trail\\_of\\_broken\\_treaties](https://aadl.org/aa_sun_19721201_p015-trail_of_broken_treaties).

This article benefited our understanding of both the history behind and the justification for the Trail of Broken Treaties. The contextual information as well as the series of quotes retrieved from this article allowed us to better display it in our documentary.

"Indians Staying in the US Building: Marshals Delay Eviction While Negotiations Go On." *New York Times*. November 5, 1972.  
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/indians-staying-u-s-building/docview/19503102/se-2?accountid=14657>.

Published during the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this piece offered insight into public sentiment during the controversial movement. This article was one of the only sources that gave detailed accounts of individual events that happened on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of November, rather than broad overviews. As such, this contributed specific content to our documentary that we previously would not have had.

Margolis, Richard J. "A Long List of Grievances." *New York Times*, November 12, 1972.  
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/long-list-grievances/docview/119392572/se-2?accountid=14657>.

This article, published 3 days after the end of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Occupation, is about the events that ensued over the seven days as well as the overall Indigenous rights movement. This was one of the few sources that offered quotes from participants of the occupation, and as such gave us a clearer understanding of the intent and consideration behind AIM and the Trail of Broken Treaties' actions.

Maufix, Joan. "BIA Occupation Draws Mixed Reaction Here." *Idaho State Journal*, November 2, 1972, p. 2. Newspapers.com,  
[https://www.newspapers.com/image/?image=&clipping\\_id=59195517&fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlXzZpZXctaWQiOjE5MTc5NzA2LCJpYXQiOjE2NDYyNjk4MzEsImV4cCI6MTY0NmM1NjIzMX0.Jh78vA5PCmk\\_-hhvF741U-jfLROEIoq9or8TvGMIVBw](https://www.newspapers.com/image/?image=&clipping_id=59195517&fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlXzZpZXctaWQiOjE5MTc5NzA2LCJpYXQiOjE2NDYyNjk4MzEsImV4cCI6MTY0NmM1NjIzMX0.Jh78vA5PCmk_-hhvF741U-jfLROEIoq9or8TvGMIVBw).

This is a newspaper clipping from a local Idaho publication on local reaction to AIM's Occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972. This newspaper is the perfect demonstration of how quickly the occupation overtook national headlines. The article describes the response of local Idaho communities to the Native American fight for

sovereignty, and is posted on an online database called Newspapers.com that collects and digitizes newspaper clippings and magazine articles.

## Audiovisuals

AIMovementmedia. "AIM documentary 1970s." YouTube Video. 54:48.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CoypTJgG74&t=1s>.

This official documentary of the American Indian movement contains priceless primary footage of Native Americans activists during the 1960s and 70s. It includes videos of Native Americans performing traditional cultural activities, interviews with Native Americans about their experiences during termination, and footage from the Wounded Knee Occupation that we used to get a better understanding of the time itself from the perspective of those who were directly involved.

AIMovementmedia. "American Indian Movement-Vernon Bellecourt-What is AIM?" YouTube Video. 9:53. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GkDppjFFFws>.

This clip contains footage of an interview with Vernon Bellecourt, a prominent leader of the American Indian Movement and brother of AIM founder Clyde Bellecourt. In the interview, Bellecourt discusses the founding and mission of AIM as he attempts to explain to viewers the essence of the American Indian Movement. He also talks about the political changes AIM was able to make on a national scale, noting that after the American Indian Movement "things will never be the same again."

Alaskool. *Tundra Times Headline After ANCSA Passed Into Law*. Photograph. In: "The Modern Treaty: Protecting Alaska Native Land, Values." Meghan Sullivan. June 7, 2021. *Indian Country Today*.  
<https://indiancountrytoday.com/news/the-modern-treaty-protecting-alaska-native-land-values>.

This source provided an example of Nixon's advocacy for Native Americans and its impact on the Native citizens the laws he passed concerned. This impact is made evident by the passing of the ANCSA making headlines in the Tundra Times newspaper, which was a popular newspaper for Alaskan Indigenous communities.

Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Column: Indigenous Tribes Took Over Alcatraz 51 Years Ago. Read the 'Holy Grail' of the Occupation." Carolina A. Miranda. November 19, 2020. *Los Angeles Times*.  
<https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2020-11-19/alcatraz-occupation-indigenous-tribes-activity-museum>.

This photograph, depicting activists on Alcatraz during its nineteen-month occupation by AIM, helped us get a better understanding of the mindset of many Native American activists; they saw their land as theirs alone and wanted this to be known by all who

ventured onto it. This photo allows the viewer to understand this sentiment and the overall intensity of the American Indian Movement.

Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Leonard Garment, Lawyer and Nixon Adviser During Watergate, Dies at 89.” Eric Lichtblau. July 15, 2013. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/16/us/politics/leonard-garment-nixon-lawyer-and-watergate-figure-dies-at-89.html>.

This photo captures Leonard Garment, Special Assistant to President Nixon, during a press conference in May 1973 discussing Nixon’s official response to the Watergate affair. Beyond Watergate, Garment played an influential role in Nixon’s Native policy that contributed to heightened tensions before the BIA occupation. He is an important figure to represent in our telling of the occupation and the context that led to such an extreme action by the American Indian Movement.

Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Uprooted: The 1950s Plan to Erase Indian Country.” Max Nesterak. November 1, 2019. *APM Reports*. <https://www.apmreports.org/episode/2019/11/01/uprooted-the-1950s-plan-to-erase-indian-country>.

This photo of Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton signing an agreement returning land to the Menominee Native Americans provided us with an example of positive discussions between the United States government and Native leaders. Also, though this represents an example of the US government granting land to Native Americans, the history of termination and removal that lay behind this image is represented through it and will be expressed to the viewer.

Attahvich, Sam and the United States: Office of Indian Affairs. *Indian Tribes, Reservations and Settlements in the United States*. [map]. 36 x 58 cm. Washington, D.C: Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 1939. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701g.ct002650/>.

This is a map of Indian tribes and reservations in 1939. It maps out reservations allotted in part, reservations allotted and open, and tribal land throughout the middle and western parts of the country. Additionally, the map includes markings of all colonies in Nevada and rancherias in California, making this resource extremely helpful for understanding the layout of the country in a Native American context as the United States expanded westward in the 1800s.

Atkins, Oliver F. *President Nixon Meets with Taos Pueblo Leaders*. 1970. Photograph. Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, California, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/photos/fotoware?id=8EE6D12ED26248A1%20B9F748EC28C03F78>.

Overall, our group found the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library to be incredibly helpful in our creation of this documentary. This image in particular was used to illustrate

Nixon's involvement with Native Americans and his desire to find diplomatic resolutions to the centuries of federal neglect.

Bancroft, Dick, and Laura Waterman Wittstock. *We are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement*. Minnesota: Historical Society Press, 2013.

This book is an incredible collection of primary photographs of leaders and members of the American Indian Movement throughout the 60s and 70s. Most importantly, this book contains images of Native Americans during the Trail of Broken treaties and demonstrating outside the Bureau of Indian Affairs building, making this source incredibly important for providing visuals to our documentary. It also includes helpful text with information about the context of each photograph to help us understand the timeline of events throughout the American Indian Movement's demonstrations.

Bell, Charles. *Lakota Delegation 1891*. Photograph. In: "The United States Government's Relationship with Native Americans." December 11, 2019. *National Geographic Society*. <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/article/united-states-governments-relationship-native-americans/7th-grade/>.

While this documentary is not about the Lakota Delegation, the photograph gave us a snapshot of what the structure of tribal governments/ representatives looked like. This photograph was used in the background information part of our project to help our audience see a form of native sovereignty.

Bettmann, Getty. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "The Radical History of the Red Power Movement's Fight for Native American Sovereignty." Erin Blakemore. November 25, 2020. *National Geographic*. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/red-power-movement-radical-fight-native-american-sovereignty>.

This is a photograph of a Native American woman painting the words, "Indian American Land" during the protest on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco. It shows the viewer a crucial turning point in the Pan-Indian rights movement, where Native Americans held a nineteen month occupation of Alcatraz Island. American Indians refused to be silenced any longer about their stolen land and years of suffering under unjust Federal-Native relations. We used this photo to show the frustrations Indigenous communities had regarding the series of broken land treaties.

Denver Public Library, Western History Department. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Revisiting the American Indian Movement: How the United States Failed at Another Chance." Maxwell Lurken-Tvrđik. November 18, 2021. *Columbia Political Review*. <http://www.cpreview.org/blog/2021/11/revisiting-the-american-indian-movement-how-the-united-states-failed-at-another-chance>.

This photograph, which depicts Native American protestors marching on the BIA in 1970 provided a specific example of the discontent that was common in Native communities at

the time. The messages depicted on the protestors' signs give the viewer a clearer understanding of the specific complaints related to the BIA that many Native Americans shared.

Gamma-Rapho. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "The Radical History of the Red Power Movement's Fight for Native American Sovereignty." Erin Blakemore. November 25, 2020. *National Geographic*.  
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/red-power-movement-radical-fight-native-american-sovereignty>.

This photo shows a Native American protester painting the words "Indian American Land" onto a wall. This photo was taken in front of the chamber of commerce in Gallup, New Mexico, protesting the town's Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, an annual event they denounced as exploitative of Native American culture. This provided us with another example of the sentiments of Native Americans and the responses they had to disrespect their cultures.

Knudsen, Robert L. President Nixon Signs Blue Lake Bill. 1970. Photograph. Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, California,  
<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/photos/fotoware?id=402F0BFADF674439%209FB23E5134161F09>.

This photo displays President Nixon signing a treaty in front of a Native American audience. This image demonstrates our argument that Nixon took the necessary first steps in establishing diplomacy with Indigenous communities.

Koch, Paolo. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "The Radical History of the Red Power Movement's Fight for Native American Sovereignty." Erin Blakemore. November 25, 2020. *National Geographic*.  
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/red-power-movement-radical-fight-native-american-sovereignty>.

This is a photograph of a protest led by the Red Power Movement that took place in Gallup, New Mexico. The picket happened in front of the chamber of commerce and fought against the town's Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial, an event which appropriated native culture. It shows Native Americans protesting with signs that say "Give it back to the Indians," calling for the return of stolen land.

Library of Congress. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Celebrate the Anniversary of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." March 10, 2017. *U.S. Department of the Interior: Stewarding Conservation and Powering Our Future*.  
<https://www.doi.gov/blog/celebrate-anniversary-bureau-indian-affairs>.

Found from the U.S. Department of the Interior's website, this photo captures members of the Blackfoot Indian tribe meeting with John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian



Affairs, in 1934. The photograph will be used to accompany visuals of Native Americans interacting with the BIA in both diplomatic and non-diplomatic ways.

Marshall, MarBrooke. "Trail of Broken Treaties" YouTube Video. 5:44.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXqh\\_gQyCiU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXqh_gQyCiU).

This crucial documentary provided countless primary clips of Native American protestors in the 1970s. It shows Natives performing cultural songs and dances, marching in D.C during protests, and even videos of Native Americans gathering inside the BIA, breaking into offices, barricading the doors, and fighting off police during the occupation. There are videos of Dennis Banks addressing protestors inside the BIA as they prepare for the occupation, as well as clips of activists holding up the Red Power Fist and using doors to secure the doors of the BIA from federal authorities.

Maxwell, Charles A. and the United States: Office of Indian Affairs. *Indian Territory: Compiled Under the Direction of the Hon. John H. Oberly, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by C.A. Maxwell*. [map]. 61x81 cm. Oklahoma, 1889.  
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4021e.ct000225/?r=-0.361,-0.057,1.773,0.837,0>.

This is a map of Native American territory under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs C.A Maxwell in 1889. It shows the lands occupied by various tribes and includes details about land transfers and cessions.

Muscarella Museum of Art. "Rising: The American Indian Movement and the Third Space of Sovereignty." 2020. <https://muscarelle.wm.edu/rising/relocation/>.

This is an online exhibition by the Muscarelle Museum of Art created by students at William and Mary College in Spring 2020 enrolled in the senior seminar titled "Native Sovereignty." The exhibition contains countless photographs of Native Americans between 1968-1977 and explores the American Indian Movement's founding, the 1969 occupation of the Alcatraz islands, the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties, and the Peltier Trial of 1977, among other things.

Newberry Library. *BIA Pamphlet from the Chicago Relocation Office*. Photograph. In: "Uprooted: The 1950s Plan to Erase Indian Country." Max Nesterak. November 1, 2019. *APMreports*.  
<https://www.apmreports.org/episode/2019/11/01/uprooted-the-1950s-plan-to-erase-indian-country>.

This image depicts a pamphlet from the Chicago Field Office that the BIA created in order to explain why Native Americans were being relocated to racist White Americans who did not want to live alongside them. This pamphlet details the BIA's reasoning behind relocation and demonstrates how it claimed to see its actions as to the benefit of Native Americans.

Newberry Library. *BIA Relocation Promotional Materials from the Chicago Field Office*. Photograph. In: "Uprooted: The 1950s Plan to Erase Indian Country." Max Nesterak. November 1, 2019. *APMreports*. <https://www.apmreports.org/episode/2019/11/01/uprooted-the-1950s-plan-to-erase-indian-country>.

These are photographs depicting a Native American woman pushing a stroller with a White woman and a Native American man and a White man working together in a factory. These photos, which are from the Chicago Field Office, are examples of BIA materials promoting the relocation of Native Americans in the 1950s. They were meant to show the successful assimilation of Native Americans into white society.

Palmer, Jim and the Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Dennis Banks, American Indian Civil Rights Leader, Dies at 80." Robert D. McFadden. October 30, 2017. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/obituaries/dennis-banks-dead.html>.

This is a photograph of Dennis Banks that was taken in 1974 during a speech of his that discussed the abuse Native Americans had to endure throughout history. He expressed his utter disdain for the native condition and the mistreatment they face on their reservations. It is in this speech that Banks first says his famous line "we had reached a point in history where we could not tolerate the abuse any longer, where mothers could not tolerate the mistreatment that goes on on the reservations any longer."

Palmer, Jim and the Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Dennis Banks, Founder of the American Indian Movement, Dies at 80." Emily Langer. October 31, 2017. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/dennis-banks-founder-of-american-indian-movement-dies-at-80/2017/10/31/96767fb8-be40-11e7-97d9-bdab5a0ab381\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/dennis-banks-founder-of-american-indian-movement-dies-at-80/2017/10/31/96767fb8-be40-11e7-97d9-bdab5a0ab381_story.html).

This is a photograph of Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt speaking in Washington DC about their work with the American Indian Movement. The photo was taken in 1972, and shows Banks and Bellecourt dressed in cultural clothing speaking to a group of reporters in an office decorated with Native art. Banks and Bellecourt both have solemn looks on their faces as they speak into two microphones held out by reporters.

Reuters. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Dennis Banks, American Indian Civil Rights Leader, Dies at 80." Robert D. McFadden. October 30, 2017. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/obituaries/dennis-banks-dead.html>.

This photograph showcases Mr. Banks with former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and novelist Alice Walker arriving in Havana to deliver medical aid to Cubans. The photograph is important to the documentary to show Dennis Bank's influence in federal policy beyond the American Indian Movement. Besides advocating for self-determination and "Indian Reparations," Banks became an important face for justice movements for other minority communities disproportionately affected by United States policies.

Richard Nixon Foundation. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Meeting the Needs of the ‘Seventies.” September 15, 2016. *Richard Nixon Foundation*.  
<https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2016/09/meeting-the-needs-of-the-seventies/>.

In this photo, housed on the Richard Nixon Foundation website, Nixon is pictured sitting down and surrounded by other high-level government officials. The article accompanying the photo discusses Nixon’s plans for foreign policy. We will use this photo to showcase Nixon’s strong reputation of diplomacy with foreign nations like China and the USSR.

Richard Nixon Presidential Library. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Podcast: Reid Peyton Chambers on the Nixon administration’s advocacy for American Indians.” September 4, 2018. *Richard Nixon Foundation*.  
<https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2018/09/reid-peyton-chambers-nixon-administrations-advocacy-american-indians/>.

This picture shows Richard Nixon in a meeting with Native American leaders from Taos Pueblo on July 8, 1970. On this same day, he delivered a speech to Congress on Native American issues in which he criticized the programs meant to assist Indigenous communities that existed at the time.

Richard Nixon Foundation. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “President Nixon and Non-Proliferation.” September 8, 2016. *Richard Nixon Foundation*.  
<https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2016/09/president-nixon-and-non-proliferation/>.

This photo, housed on the Richard Nixon Foundation website, shows Nixon signing a bill. Two officials stand behind him. The article accompanying the photograph talks about Nixon’s championing nuclear policy as he uses debate and diplomacy to implement a policy of detente to cool down tensions between the US and the USSR during the Cold War.

Richard Nixon Foundation. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “President Nixon: Champion for Native Americans.” September 13, 2016. *Richard Nixon Foundation*.  
<https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2016/09/president-nixon-champion-for-native-americans/>.

This photograph is placed in an article from the Nixon Foundation that describes President Nixon as a hero to Native Americans. It recounts his many successes at establishing diplomacy with Natives, and shows the president shaking hands with a Native American dressed in traditional tribal clothing.

United Press International. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Dennis Banks, American Indian Civil Rights Leader, Dies at 80.” Robert D. McFadden. October 30, 2017. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/obituaries/dennis-banks-dead.html>.

This is a photograph of the leaders of the American Indian Movement. In the image Dennis Banks and Russel Means, two of the founders of AIM, are seated at a news conference in July of 1973. Behind them stand three other men, assumed to also be Indigenous. All five men are dressed in cultural clothing to represent their culture.

United States, Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Chicago Story*. 1968; Chicago, IL: Newberry Library. 16mm Film Reel. [https://archive.org/details/ayer\\_mms\\_bia\\_relocation\\_box\\_004](https://archive.org/details/ayer_mms_bia_relocation_box_004).

This film reel contains footage of Native Americans during urbanization. It shows Native Americans being forced out of reservations and moving into cities. We will use this in our documentary to visualize urbanization under the Termination policies of the 1950s.

Washington Office of the Secretary of State. "Hank Adams" Accessed March 3, 2022. <https://www.sos.wa.gov/legacy/who-are-we/exhibit/hank-adams/>.

This online collection from the Washington State Office of the Secretary of State explores the question "Who are We" by looking at influential descendants of the state. The first of these individuals listed is Hank Adams. Adams has an entire page of the exhibit dedicated to his work which includes primary photographs, quotes and anecdotes of Adams work for the American Indian Movement.

"Young Native Americans giving the Red Power Salute," ca. 1969. Photograph. *University of Georgia Wilson Center DigiLab*. <https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/items/show/551>.

This image shows four young Native American activists doing the Red Power Salute, a symbol of the Native American fight for justice throughout the 60s and 70s. This photo will be used to show the growing sense of unity among young Natives during the founding of the American Indian Movement.

*Northwest Alaska Native Association*. 1970. Photograph. National Congress of American Indians, California, <https://americanindian.si.edu/collections-search/archives/components/sova-nmai-ac-010-ref9841>.

This is a photograph of Richard Baenen, Foster DeReitzes, and Harrison Loesch. Harrison Loesch was the Assistant Secretary of Interior during Nixon's presidency, and in our documentary we used this image during our discussion of his published memo that prohibited any assistance to the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan members

### **Additional Sources**

Adams, Hank. *Trail of Broken Treaties 20-Point Position Paper*. Position Paper. American Indian Movement, October 1972. <https://www.aimovement.org/ggc/trailofbrokentreaties.html>.

The 20-point Position Paper was the center of AIM's cross-country caravan, and thus is a crucial source for understanding AIM's frustrations and motives behind their protests.

The paper details the various demands of the American Indian Movement and describes the direct action Native Americans expected from the federal government to address inequalities in Native communities.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Relocation Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

This was a special collection found at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Although the overall collection had photographs, clippings, maps, employment brochures, and statistics on native populations, we primarily used the images to demonstrate termination and forced Native American assimilation in our historical context.

Johnson, Susan, Jeanne Kaufmann, John Dossett, and Sarah Hicks. *Government to Government: Understanding State and Tribal Governments*. Washington, D.C.: National Congress of American Indians/National Conference of State Legislatures, 2000.

This primary source is a guide to understanding Native American government systems, including tribal governments and their relationship and coexistence with the federal government of the United States. The source highlights the distinct duties of the tribal government from the federal government, including imposing taxes, passing laws, creating a court system, and providing comprehensive services to their citizens. It was created by the National Congress of American Indians.

“Seizure of Bureau of Indian Affairs Headquarters.” December 1972. House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. U.S Government Printing Office. Washington: 1972.

This is a record of the legal defense/offense in the Wounded Knee trials. It includes passionate testimonies and anecdotes of the Native experience of the occupation, as well as quoted federal responses to the situation. It will be useful as an interesting tool to see how diplomacy, or a lack thereof, played out in the dialogue of court and legal hearings.

United States. Ratified Indian Treaty 43: Sauk and Fox - St. Louis in the District of Louisiana. November 3, 1804. *United States Statutes at Large* 7, no. Main Section, 84-87. *National Archives*, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/7891102>. Accessed February 25, 2022.

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States broke throughout the Westward Expansion. We used this image in our historical context as a visual example of these empty promises.

United States. Ratified Indian Treaty 208: Potawatomi - Near Yellow River, Indiana. August 5, 1836. *United States Statutes at Large* 7, no. Main Section, 505-506. *National Archives*, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/12013177>. Accessed February 25, 2022.

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States broke throughout the Westward Expansion. We used this image in our historical context as a visual example of these empty promises.

United States. Ratified Indian Treaty 318: Potawatomi - Agency on the Kansas River, Kansas. November 15, 1861. *United States Statutes at Large* 12, no. Main Section, 1191-1199. *National Archives*, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/74859370>. Accessed February 25, 2022.

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States broke throughout the Westward Expansion. We used this image in our historical context as a visual example of these empty promises.

United States. Ratified Indian Treaty 360: Sioux (Sisseton and Wahpeton) - Washington, DC. February 19, 1867. *United States Statutes at Large* 15, no. Main Section, 505-513. *National Archives*, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/58234673>. Accessed February 25, 2022.

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States broke throughout the Westward Expansion. We used this image in our historical context as a visual example of these empty promises.

*Restitution, Reparations, Restoration of Lands for a Reconstruction of an Indian Future in America*. Press Release. American Indian Movement, October 31 1972. <https://www.aimovement.org/ggc/trailofbrokentreaties.html>.

This press release is an official statement by the American Indian Movement of their attack on the federal government. It is the perfect example of failed diplomacy and demonstrates the frustration and anger of the Native Americans after centuries of mistreatment by the federal government. The statement is relatively brief, but serves as a precursor to AIM's continued protests throughout the rest of the 70s.

## *Secondary Sources, Annotated*

### **Interviews**

Ho, Debbie. Personal Interview. February 13, 2022.

Debbie Ho is the founder and an active member of the Mapetsi Policy Group, an organization that lobbies for tribal governments and is dedicated to preserving native sovereignty. Through the Mapetsi group, Ho works directly with Indigenous communities to foster diplomacy with the federal government and demand government officials to take action to actualize Native goals for sovereignty. She spoke about her involvement with Native Americans and added to our understanding of the modern-day push for greater tribal autonomy.

Pipestem, Wilson. Personal Interview. February 13, 2022.

Wilson Pipestem is a member of the Osage Nation of Oklahoma and spent his career working for tribes as a lawyer and an advocate. During the interview, he offered insight into his work with Native Americans, the modern Indigenous experience, and the continuing fight for tribal sovereignty. He also provided information on his father, Browning Pipestem, who was an advocate for tribes in the 1970s.

### **Audiovisuals**

Born2Beats. "Native American Flute Main-No Copyright Music" YouTube Video. 2:30.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZVjYarxm17s>.

We used this Native American flute playing as audio accompaniment to our documentary. The soothing sounds provided a great background to our telling of the story of AIM's Occupation of the BIA.

Dyck, Darryl. *Untitled*. May 29, 2018. Photograph. In: "American Indian Movement Founded 50 Years Ago." Bellville, Cheryl Walsh. July 9, 2018. *People's World*.  
<https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/american-indian-movement-founded-50-years-ago/>.

This photo shows a Native American woman holding an AIM flag during a protest in 2018. This visual shows that the fight for native sovereignty continues today.

Historical Office: Office of the Secretary of Defense. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Frank C. Carlucci: Ronald Reagan Administration." Accessed March 3, 2022.  
<https://history.defense.gov/Multimedia/Biographies/Article-View/Article/571285/frank-c-carlucci/>.

This photo shows Frank C. Carlucci, who was the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget during the time period of our topic as well as one of the three

representatives sent to negotiate with the AIM protestors. This visual was used in our brief mentioning of Carlucci towards the end of our discussion on the occupation of the BIA itself.

Iridium Music. "Gold Horizons-Royalty Free Native American Music" YouTube Video. 3:21.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YkFqnaaOJkI>.

We used this traditional Native American music as background audio for our documentary. The relaxing sounds of a flute were the perfect accompaniment to the background section of our documentary.

Indian Music-Topic. "Native American Drum Beat" YouTube Video. 3:12.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LS4YEMJ5hV8>.

This traditional Native American drumming was the perfect music for the more intense parts of our documentary. We used this music to accompany the section of our documentary about AIM's occupation of the BIA.

Richard Nixon Foundation. "Nixon: A Champion for American Indians." YouTube Video. 2:15.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CoypTJgG74&t=1s>.

This video was instrumental in our understanding and demonstration of Nixon's work with Native Americans and their fight for self-determination. In addition to primary source photographs, the video also had primary source footage of Nixon signing treaties which was additive to our overall documentary.

Reuters. "Thousands march on Washington for Dakota Access Pipeline Protest" March 10, 2017. Film Reel. 1:49.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2017/mar/10/dakota-access-pipeline-washington-dc-protest-video>.

This video provides great footage of recent protests held in Washington D.C by Native American Activists protesting the Dakota Pipeline. We used this to show the continued fight for Native American justice and rights today.

The Obama White House. "President Obama Celebrates Tribal Nations" YouTube Video. 0:38.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_2Ma7CQiG3c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_2Ma7CQiG3c).

This is a video from the Obama White House of President Barack Obama interacting with Native American children and leaders. We used this to show the progress that has been made in native-federal relations since the American Indian Movement's occupation of AIM in 1972.



## Additional Sources

Barnes, Celia. *Native American Power in the United States, 1783-1795*. Massachusetts: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2003.

This book was not directly used in the making of our script, but rather was used in the early research process to help us garner a deeper understanding of the cause and effect that led to our topic. Barnes discusses various Native American movements and their rise and fall which then guided our later research on the American Indian Movement.

Blakemore, Erin. "The Radical History of the Red Power Movement's Fight for Native American Sovereignty." *National Geographic*. November 25, 2020.  
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/red-power-movement-radical-fight-native-american-sovereignty>.

This helpful article walks through the history of the Red Power Movement, spanning from the implementation of termination policies to the creation of the Red Power Movement, to the Alcatraz occupation to the Trail of Broken Treaties, and finishes with the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building. It explains the cause and effect of each of these events, helping us better understand the flow and progress of the American Indian Movement's actions. This source is also helpful for understanding sovereignty and its implications in United States Federal policy and the protests by Native Americans.

Bradley Glenn Shreve. 2014. *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*. Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press.

This helpful book tells the story of the starting years of Native American activism. It follows the National Indian Youth Council, another organization that branched off the Red Power Movement in the 60s. This book was helpful for understanding the struggles of Native Americans and the reasons behind their demands for social justice.

Fixico, Donald Lee. *Bureau of Indian Affairs*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2012.

This source provides a history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs dating back to the 1800s. It discusses the BIA's Native policy under several different presidents and details AIM's occupation of the BIA building. The book helps explain AIM's objections to the BIA and why sovereignty and treaties make American Indians different from other citizens in the United States.

Gover, Kevin. "Agency's 175th Anniversary Occasion for Reflection." Keynote Remarks presented at the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, September 8, 2000.  
<https://www.bia.gov/sites/bia.gov/files/assets/as-ia/opa/pdf/idc1-032248.pdf>.

This keynote was used to frame our discussion on the founding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since the BIA is a central aspect of our documentary, we wanted to ensure we accurately discussed its initial purpose upon its founding and its current use today. Gover, the former Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs, gave us this exact content through his address.

Mone, Jim. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “Dennis Banks, American Indian Activist Who Helped Lead Wounded Knee Occupation, Dies at 80.” Associated Press. October 30, 2017. *The Los Angeles Times*.  
<https://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-me-dennis-banks-20171030-story.html>.

This is a photograph of Dennis Banks reading a message from the United States federal government that requested an end to the Native American occupation on Wounded Knee. While this particular photograph is not from the exact event we are focusing on in our documentary, it captured Dennis Banks’ passion and activism that was helpful for the section of our documentary that discusses his outreach with government officials.

National Geographic Society. *Native American Removal From the Southeast*. In: “May 28, 1830 CE: Indian Removal Act.” Caryl-Sue. Last modified April 6, 2020.  
[https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/may28/indian-removal-act/?utm\\_source=BibliRCM\\_Row](https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/may28/indian-removal-act/?utm_source=BibliRCM_Row).

This is an easy-to-read, user-friendly map that demonstrates American Indian removal in the early years of the United States. A simpler, more modern map allowed us to easily visually demonstrate the removal of Native Americans to our viewers.

“Our History.” U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs. Accessed February 21, 2022.  
<https://www.bia.gov/bia/ojs/careers/our-history>.

While we found several articles and books that discussed the founding of the Indian Affairs branch of the United States Department of the Interior, it is always best to get content from the organization itself. This webpage helped us frame our language when talking about the background for our documentary and contextualized our later research.

Smith, Sherry L. *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

This book was crucial in our writing of both the historical context of the American Indian Movement and the BIA occupation for our script. Smith chronologically walked through the events that led up to the BIA occupation as well as the aftermath of the week-long movement which was invaluable content in our documentary.

Tóth, György Ferenc. *From Wounded Knee to Checkpoint Charlie: The Alliance for Sovereignty Between American Indians and Central Europeans in the Late Cold War*. New York: State University, 2016.

Tóth contextualizes Native Americans' fight for sovereignty and also offers a brief overview of the Trail of Broken Treaties. Thus, this content was helpful as we wrote two primary sections of our documentary script: the historical context and the BIA occupation itself.

Wilkins, David and K. Tsainina Lomawaima. *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

This book is an incredible source on American Indian Sovereignty and how sovereign governments interact with the government of the United States. It covers what tribal autonomy should entail, and details the infringement on sovereignty inflicted by the U.S government.