

*A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of*

# **The FBI Files on the American Indian Movement and Wounded Knee**

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# INTRODUCTION

Formed in 1968 as a local Indian-support organization, the American Indian Movement (AIM) quickly expanded well beyond its roots in Minnesota and broadened its political agenda to include a searching analysis of the nature of social justice in America. Under the leadership of Dennis Banks and Clyde Bellecourt, AIM developed into a national vehicle for protest during the Nixon administration. Calling for the reorganization of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and for strict observance of past treaties between American Indians and the U.S. government, AIM took an activist and increasingly militant stance in support of its claims. In 1972, to dramatize their demands, AIM members occupied the BIA building in Washington, D.C. The following year, in a protest that gained worldwide attention, about two hundred AIM militants seized the village of Wounded Knee, an Oglala Sioux hamlet on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and waged what came to be known as the "Second Battle of Wounded Knee." On the same reservation, in 1975, a shoot-out took the lives of two FBI agents; this episode led to the largest manhunt in FBI history and, eventually, to the indictment of four AIM members on murder charges.

These FBI files provide detailed information on the evolution of AIM as an organization of social protest and on the occupation of Wounded Knee. The AIM and Wounded Knee files also illuminate the policies and activities of the FBI during the years just before and after the death of J. Edgar Hoover, a period marked by often severe criticism from outside the Bureau and increasingly by frequent dissent from within. The history of the Bureau in the Nixon "Watergate" era was often a troubled one, and changes in Bureau leadership frustrated efforts to develop clear and consistent policies in response to the fervid politics of the early 1970s. These files offer a significant source of documentation on the intelligence and law enforcement programs of the Bureau in an era of increasingly militant social activism.

The FBI elected to maintain separate files on the American Indian Movement and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee. As might be expected, the AIM file is much larger than the Wounded Knee file—eighteen thousand pages for the former to eight thousand pages for the latter. The Wounded Knee file concentrates on the seventy-one-day occupation, but also contains material on events immediately preceding the takeover and a substantial amount of information concerning its aftermath, including the death of FBI agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams. The AIM file covers the ten-year period from 1969 through July 1979, a period that witnessed AIM's rise to national prominence and its subsequent demise as a politically and culturally viable force. During the course of its surveillance, the FBI developed an extensive network of information concerning AIM's leadership, its policies, its strategies, and its role in the civil rights movement and the politics of the New Left. Within several months of the organization's initial success in the Minneapolis–Saint Paul area, AIM-inspired demonstrations and takeovers proliferated throughout the country. For an entire decade the files in this collection supply details on every such incident of any consequence involving AIM.

AIM achieved national recognition as an effective organization after its successful intervention in the town of Gordon, Nebraska, to protest the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder at the hands of four white men in February 1972. Yellow Thunder lived on the nearby Pine Ridge Reservation, and many of the Sioux welcomed AIM to their reservation, which retained some of the worst living conditions of any Indian reservation. In general, AIM's influence and support blossomed as a result of the Gordon affair. Volume three of the AIM file depicts the Gordon incident in great detail.

Encouraged by the success at Gordon, AIM decided to embark upon a "Trail of Broken Treaties" to protest the government's failure to honor its many Indian treaties. The plan entailed assembling two groups on the West Coast, one from Seattle and one from San Francisco. The groups were to travel east, picking up followers and support along the way, and were to arrive in Washington, D.C., in early November just before the 1972 presidential election. Although AIM leaders maintain that they had not planned a violent confrontation, the group occupied the headquarters building of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on November 1, barricaded themselves in, and stayed until November 9, when President Nixon's aides granted them amnesty. Volumes one, two, four, and five deal with the Trail of Broken Treaties. Volume two also includes negotiator Hank Adams's account of the bargaining at the BIA building.

Immediately following the BIA confrontation, on November 21, 1972, the FBI issued a directive to intensify its efforts against AIM; to develop informants and sources of information concerning extremists in the group; and to have the Extremist Intelligence Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division assume supervision of the investigation. This directive, combined with an almost frenetic increase in AIM activity, makes the files much richer for the next several years. FBI records indicate that, although AIM was benefitting from the enormous publicity it had generated, it also had managed to alienate much of the established Indian leadership and dry up a good deal of its financial support from government and church sources.

Another significant event in this period involved the riot at Custer, South Dakota, on February 6, 1973, that was precipitated by the stabbing death of AIM member Wesley Bad Heart Bull at nearby Buffalo Gap. When Custer County authorities charged Bad Heart Bull's white assailant with second degree manslaughter (rather than with a first degree murder charge), AIM leaders decided to demonstrate at Custer to protest what they considered another example of white injustice. The Custer riot, which led to prison terms for both Dennis Banks and Russell Means, is carefully detailed in volume twelve.

Aware that it must move quickly to capitalize on its high visibility, AIM sought to gain control of the Pine Ridge Reservation in early 1973 by attempting to impeach tribal chairman Richard Wilson. When the Pine Ridge Tribal Council refused to impeach Wilson, AIM and its Pine Ridge allies occupied Wounded Knee. Events concerning the occupation are, of course, treated most fully in the Wounded Knee file. However, volumes six, seven, and twelve of the AIM file concentrate on the events immediately preceding the Wounded Knee occupation.

Moreover, the AIM file documents the numerous demonstrations in support of the occupation throughout the country and identifies many individuals and groups who sympathized with the takeover. While at the height of its national prominence, AIM received financial support from a variety of sources, including church groups, government programs, and private donations. As the AIM file indicates, the FBI took a great interest in these sources—volume thirty-two details the sources for almost one million dollars of AIM support. During their investigation the FBI recovered a briefcase owned by AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt, brother of Clyde, that contained excellent examples of AIM fund-raising proposals. Volume thirteen offers a complete analysis of the contents of Bellecourt's briefcase.

In addition to financial support, AIM established a network of support groups, mostly from the New Left organizations such as the Black Panthers, Vietnam Veterans against the War, Venceremos, Students for a Democratic Society, La Raza Unida Party, Workers Student Alliance, and the October League. Altogether, the FBI identified some fifty-one organizations that either attempted to enter or did gain entry into Wounded Knee during the takeover. AIM also worked closely with various government agencies established to assist minority groups. These included various agencies of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Justice Department's Community Relations Service. The FBI files thus form a useful introduction to the coherent network of activist groups that supported AIM and similar organizations.

Wounded Knee also represents an important chapter in the history of the conflict between militant social activism and federal law enforcement. The FBI was on the scene from the beginning of the seventy-one-day occupation and was forced to maintain a contingent of approximately one hundred agents in a paramilitary endeavor unique to the history of the organization. Never have the inherent shortcomings of the FBI been more exposed, and never have agents been more critical of their role in an operation. For the first several weeks the FBI, acting on instructions from the Department of Justice, participated in direct negotiations with the AIM occupiers in an attempt to end the takeover. Those acquainted with the FBI realize that engaging in negotiations of this sort, as well as manning roadblocks and laying siege to areas, are not typical of the Bureau's role in law enforcement. The Bureau's paperwork documents the Wounded Knee episode and the FBI's role in response to the takeover in enormous detail. The FBI communications, interviews, reports, and analyses contained in the Wounded Knee file provide a day-to-day portrait of the occupation. For example, all of the negotiations and maneuvers that took place are minutely dissected. In addition, interviews and reports make it clear that AIM—as well as the FBI—was troubled by dissension, mistrust, and a lack of cohesiveness throughout the ordeal.

While the FBI was compiling its own information on Wounded Knee, it was also accumulating an impressive collection of published items concerning the incident. Newspaper reports from around the world can be found in the file. The FBI was especially partial to information that documented Far Left or Communist support for AIM. Popular magazine articles and reports in specialized publications such as the John Birch Society's *American Opinion* are also included. Volume twenty-eight contains the May 30, 1973, *Gordon Journal*, the front page of which features close-up pictures of medical equipment with Chinese writing on it, which allegedly demonstrated that some of the AIM support came from Communist China.

The Wounded Knee file indicates quite clearly that the government's patience had worn out by early May. Plans to end the confrontation by force were in place when the militant occupiers gave up. Their demands—that tribal president Dick Wilson be removed and the reservation returned to the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty—were never achieved, so in a sense it can be argued that the government prevailed. However, when the government lost its case against Means and Banks in the Wounded Knee leadership trial at St. Paul, Attorney General William Saxbe was so upset that he ordered the FBI to gather everything it had concerning the case and meet with him on September 24, 1974. The FBI responded with a comprehensive report titled "The Use of Special Agents of the FBI in a Paramilitary Law Enforcement Operation in the Indian Country." The report defended the FBI, noting that, after the initial occupation of Wounded Knee, tactical decisions were made by the attorney general in consultation with White House officials; that the use of five different government negotiators only exacerbated the

situation; that Department of Justice officials would fly to Washington and return with new policies of which FBI headquarters was not aware; and that, in general, the FBI had not been allowed to provide direction and leadership throughout the occupation.

The FBI files detail AIM's rapid disintegration after Wounded Knee. Efforts to gain support at reservations around the country were, for the most part, frustrated. Attempts to hold national AIM conventions—at White Oak, Oklahoma, in 1973; at the Standing Rock Reservation near Mobridge, South Dakota, in 1974; and at Farmington, New Mexico, in 1975—netted disappointing results. All were poorly attended and were characterized by factionalism and rancor. Each of the meetings is covered in detail in the AIM file. The file also reveals that as early as the summer of 1974 virtually no AIM chapters were in operation. The only chapter that still exhibited much vitality was Minneapolis-St. Paul.

The demise of AIM as a national organization was furthered by dissension at the upper echelons of its leadership, most dramatically seen at the White Oak meeting when Carter Camp shot Clyde Bellecourt on August 27, 1973, apparently over money matters. Volume twenty-nine details the shooting. Bellecourt survived and was named to Camp's position in December 1973. By February 1974, Dennis Banks publicly announced that Camp might be an FBI informer. Camp retaliated by sending a letter to AIM members claiming Banks and Means acted in a cowardly manner during the Wounded Knee occupation. By May 1974, AIM leaders meeting at Cumberland, Wisconsin, recalled all memberships in a clearly defined thrust at dissident members of the movement. Banks announced that AIM intended to change its militant image.

Allegations that AIM was infiltrated by FBI informers were substantiated in March 1975 when Chicago television broke the story that Douglass Durham, AIM's top security officer and Banks's personal pilot, was employed by the FBI. AIM leaders had confronted Durham with their evidence, and he admitted to the charge in a television news conference. The entire interview can be found at the end of volume forty-four.

Meanwhile, the Pine Ridge Reservation had become a caldron of violence after Means failed to defeat Wilson in a disputed election early in 1974. Militants from around the country flocked to Pine Ridge. On June 26, in spite of official warnings to use extreme caution, two FBI agents, Jack Coler and Ron Williams, were ambushed and murdered on the Jumping Bull ranch near Oglala, just as Dennis Banks's trial for the Custer riot was beginning.

Unfavorable publicity concerning the murder of Coler and Williams, combined with Banks's political asylum in California and Means's incarceration in South Dakota, effectively ended any hope that AIM would remain a viable national organization. By September 1976 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, using Durham as its key witness, branded AIM "a frankly revolutionary organization which is committed to violence." Interviewed in jail, Means stated, "Nationally, AIM is in terrible shape." By July 1979 the FBI closed the full investigation of AIM with the following directive: "If informants reporting on AIM cannot be redirected, they should be discontinued." Some information concerning AIM can be found in the file after that date, but the FBI's judgment was essentially accurate.

**Rolland Dewing**

**FBI Memorandum dated April 24, 1975**  
**The Use of Special Agents of the FBI in a**  
**Paramilitary Law Enforcement Operation in the Indian Country**

*Purpose :* This position paper was prepared for use of the Director of the FBI to brief the Attorney General (AG) and the Deputy Attorney General (DAG) on the role of the FBI in the event of a major confrontation in Indian country (Federal jurisdiction) where (1) the President decides against the use of troops; and (2) the FBI is ordered by the President and/or the Attorney General to deploy FBI Special Agents in a paramilitary law enforcement situation, in lieu of the use of troops.

*FBI Involvement:* The FBI was instructed by the Department of Justice (DOJ) in the latter part of 1972 to conduct extremist and criminal investigations pertaining to AIM. During the afternoon of February 27, 1973, approximately 200 members and supporters of AIM, carrying weapons, left Calico Hall, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in a car caravan and were under surveillance by a few FBI Special Agents. Under the leadership of Dennis James Banks and Russell Charles Means, the caravan moved into Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation where they took eleven hostages and burglarized the Wounded Knee trading post in violation of Federal statutes involving crime on an Indian reservation. A decision was made by Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Joseph H. Trimbach, Minneapolis Division, to set up roadblocks to contain the militants, which roadblocks were manned by FBI Agents, U.S. Marshals, and BIA Police. This is how the FBI first became involved in the Wounded Knee armed standoff against the U.S. Government.

*Role of the White House, Justice Department and Other Agencies :* Decisions were made by the AG after regular and continuous consultation with responsible officials representing the White House, namely Mr. John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, Mr. Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President, and his assistant, Bradley Patterson, and officials in the U.S. Department of the Interior. On February 28, 1973, the situation at Wounded Knee was evaluated in a series of meetings between former AG Richard G. Kleindienst, former DAG Joseph T. Sneed, former Associate DAG Charles D. Ablard, and others. These three officials were responsible for the decision making of the DOJ. Department of the Interior officials and the BIA were involved as these agencies administer Indian reservations under Federal jurisdiction.

*Problems Confronting the FBI:* The various other Federal agencies involved in the Wounded Knee takeover were the U.S. Marshals Service (USMS), BIA Police, DOJ Attorneys, public information officers and Community Relations Service, the U.S. Attorneys (USAs), Department of Defense, and the U.S. Army. The DOJ sent Ralph Erickson, Special Assistant to the AG, to



Wounded Knee as the senior U.S. Government representative on the scene. He was subsequently followed by four other DOJ and/or Department of the Interior Officials who assumed this role during the 71-day siege from February 28–May 8, 1973. Throughout the operation there was a definite lack of continuity as each senior representative replaced another. Colonel Volney Warner (now General), Chief of Staff, 82nd Airborne Division, was dispatched to Wounded Knee at the outset to assess the situation and to recommend whether or not troops should be utilized. The AG issued instructions there was to be no confrontation and negotiations with the militants by representatives of the DOJ were to be entered into to resolve the matter and have the hostages released.

There was a divided authority among the many agencies present at Wounded Knee, including church and social groups. The senior Government representative, Departmental Attorneys, and members of the USA's Staff issued conflicting instructions. Each representative present on the scene took instructions for the most part from superiors of his own agency. For example, on March 4, 1973, after consulting with Colonel Warner, Ralph Erickson issued orders that the use of deadly force by the law enforcement officers on the scene could only be used in self-defense to avoid death or serious bodily harm. In the application of force the officers, including FBI Agents, were to aim to wound rather than kill. This was in direct conflict with the policy of the Bureau that an Agent is not to shoot any person except when necessary in self-defense, that is, when he reasonably believes that he or another is in danger of death or grievous bodily harm. Special Agents are not trained to shoot to wound. Special Agents are trained to shoot in self-defense to neutralize the deadly force. The SACs on the scene and officials at FBIHQ strenuously objected to orders such as this which had previously been approved by the AG without consultation with any FBI official.

On a number of occasions the Acting Director and officials of the FBI requested the Administration and the Department to consider the use of troops at Wounded Knee. In Washington, D.C., DOJ officials in conjunction with other Governmental agencies explored the possibility of using troops. Colonel Warner on the scene recommended to the Chief of Staff of the Army against the use of troops. The Government concluded that such use would be undesirable because (1) it would substantially increase the risk of loss of life, (2) the full prestige of the U.S. Government would be committed to what was primarily a dispute between rival tribal factions and (3) the use of Army troops against these Indians might be misinterpreted by the press and some citizens.

The FBI encountered extreme problems, both in the field and at FBIHQ, in adapting to a paramilitary role. The FBI was not equipped logistically to operate in a paramilitary situation in open terrain which ultimately ended in a 71-day siege. The FBI and USMS had to be equipped with military equipment, including Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs), M-16s, automatic infantry weapons, chemical weapons, steel helmets, gas masks, body armor, illuminating flares, military clothing and rations. Authority had to be obtained from both the AG (and/or his representative) and from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, prior to requesting the military logistics adviser, Colonel Jack Potter, to obtain the weapons and material through the Directorate of Military Support (DOMS). This clearance was often not forthcoming when clearance had to be obtained during the night hours. This phase of the operation required the FBI to maintain a constant 24 hour vigilance so as to equip our Special Agents and the other law enforcement officers with the weapons and material needed for a defensive operation.

*Opinions of the SACs Who Were on the Scene:* SACs Richard G. Held, Chicago; Herbert E. Hoxie, Milwaukee; Wilburn K. DeBruler, Atlanta; and Joseph H. Trimbach, Minneapolis, fur-

nished their observations regarding the Wounded Knee Special. In essence, they advised complete confusion existed as there were a number of DOJ representatives on the scene, each issuing conflicting orders. There was no coordination between the agencies other than that provided by the FBI, nor was there any advance planning done. For example, DOJ officials and Director Wayne Colburn, USMS, would fly back to Washington, D.C., presumably for conferences and would return with new policy of which FBIHQ was not aware. The military did not realize in many cases that they were there to assist and not direct the FBI. SAC Held at the time advised FBIHQ that to have any success at Wounded Knee it would be necessary to withdraw the "political types" and make it an FBI operation under FBI direction and leadership. SAC Hoxie stated at Wounded Knee there was a constant vacillation of instructions and policy which was devastating. SAC DeBruler believed the ill-advised instructions given prolonged the incident at Wounded Knee and in some measure resulted in unnecessary risk to law enforcement personnel and others at the scene. All SACs recommended should we in the future become involved in another situation similar to Wounded Knee where Special Agent personnel are deployed that the entire operation be under the direction of FBI officials and when law enforcement personnel from other agencies are involved it should be clearly understood the FBI is in the decision making role.

*Opinions of FBIHQ Personnel:* FBIHQ supervisory personnel were confronted with the major task of coordinating all phases of the Wounded Knee paramilitary law enforcement operation with the Department and other interested agencies, including USMS, the Department of the Interior, and the BIA. Many of the officials from the other agencies, including the staff in the DAG's Office, were not trained law enforcement personnel. It was necessary to constantly explain matters and give advice from a law enforcement standpoint. As the FBI was utilizing approximately 3 SACs and 150 Agents per day at Wounded Knee in a defensive perimeter along with other Federal officers which were receiving hostile fire, it was necessary to insure that nothing was done in a decision making role at the White House or DOJ which might result in Federal law enforcement officers taking heavy casualties. It was reported in the initial phase of Wounded Knee that the militants were in possession of an M-60 machine gun and AK-47s (Communist automatic assault rifles), which could result in heavy casualties. It was necessary to convince the decision makers that APCs were necessary for the protection of the Special Agents and U.S. Marshals. When the APCs came under hostile fire they could not be moved to a more secure position without authority from the AG. It is the consensus of opinion among the headquarters supervisors that no Government official who is not a trained law enforcement officer be permitted to direct a law enforcement operation the magnitude of Wounded Knee.

*Recommendation:* The Director meet with the AG and DAG to brief them on the Wounded Knee incident so that they fully understand if such an incident occurs in the future or an incident similar to Wounded Knee and the FBI is involved, the FBI will insist upon taking charge from the outset and will not countenance any interference on an operational basis with respect to our actions. They should understand that the FBI, due to its long years of experience and training, is able to make law enforcement decisions without over-reacting to protect the general public, its Special Agent personnel, and the violators of the law. The AG and DAG should be advised it is our broad policy in such instances as this to "get in and get out as quickly as possible" with complete regard for the safety of all concerned. The FBI furthermore would seize control quickly and take a definite, aggressive stand where necessary. It should be clearly stated that the FBI does not desire to become involved in any political situations and definitely not participate in any discussion where it is obviously political in nature.

## **Department of Justice White Paper on Wounded Knee\***

### **Prologue**

In October of 1972 a group of individuals, largely Indian, seized the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in Washington, D.C., and occupied it for five days. They operated under the leadership of an organization calling itself the American Indian Movement. The seizure, which may or may not have been planned, grew out of a "Trail of Broken Treaties" march on Washington, modeled on the civil rights marches of the 1960s. The tactic, however, was less than effective, and when the government signaled that it might be willing to take a gentle attitude if the whole exercise were ended, AIM and its followers departed expeditiously.

The experience, however, had opened the eye of the leadership of AIM to the embarrassment and confusion militant tactics could cause to the government. Thus in November 1972, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of AIM, arrived in southwestern South Dakota, the location of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indian Reservations of the Sioux Indians. Banks is a Chippewa, and Means is Oglala Sioux. They threatened to seize the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building located in Pine Ridge, South Dakota and thus *de facto*, if not *de jure*, replace the elected tribal government. This government had been elected by a vote of the residents of the reservation pursuant to procedures of a tribal constitution adopted in the 1930s at the urging of the Bureau of Indian Affairs after enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act which changed the Indian way of governing through traditional headmen or chiefs. A seizure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in Pine Ridge could be justified, as the seizure in Washington could not, as a forceful exercise of Indian self-determination on Indian territory.

The Tribal Council, under the leadership of President Richard Wilson, responded aggressively to this threat. The Council passed an ordinance banning Banks and Means from the reservation. And when, one day in November, Banks and Means came on the reservation, they were arrested and removed by tribal police. Because the law enforcement personnel on the reservation were not equal to the nationwide support AIM could muster, the Tribal Council, through the Reservation Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, requested assistance. The Department of the Interior, of which the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a part, lacked sufficient law enforcement personnel for this type of situation, and the request was therefore transmitted to the Department of Justice.

The Department of Justice agreed to assist. Shortly before Thanksgiving, a small group of United States Marshals arrived at Pine Ridge to assist in law enforcement. They were subsequently to depart and then again return. What followed was a period of unease as AIM and its supporters organized, threatened and demonstrated and tensions on the Reservation and in surrounding communities rose.

\* Prepared under the direction of Deputy Attorney General Joseph T. Sneed

On January 21, 1973, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, a local Oglala, was stabbed to death in the nearby town of Buffalo Gap. The white man accused of his death was charged with second degree manslaughter. AIM protested, claiming the charge was indicative of the value of Indian life in the eyes of the white power structure.

Some of the Oglala living on the reservation opposed Wilson and the Tribal Council. Those who opposed Wilson made allegations of misuse of tribal funds and charged that he maintained a "goon squad" to intimidate the local populace. The AIM leaders allied themselves with the opposition.

On February 6, 1973, as part of an effort to protest the charges arising from Bad Heart Bull's death, Indian demonstrators stormed the courthouse in Custer, South Dakota. The courthouse and an unoccupied Chamber of Commerce building were set afire, the latter burning to the ground. Control was ultimately established through the use of tear gas and numerous arrests were made.

To prevent further incidents, several hundred National Guardsmen were called to active duty in the area. During the night of February 9-10, approximately sixty Indians ran through the streets of Rapid City, South Dakota, breaking windows and destroying other property. Indians from other states began arriving in the area, apparently in response to an AIM request for assistance.

In the middle of February, the possibility of violent disruptions seemed less likely. Local attention was focused on an upcoming impeachment against Tribal President Richard Wilson. On February 16, the National Guard was released from active duty. Marshals were gradually returned to their home posts, reaching a numerical low of forty-seven on February 26.

On February 24, 1973, the impeachment proceedings against Tribal President Wilson were concluded and he was retained in office by a fourteen to four vote of the Tribal Council. The AIM faction was dissatisfied, and meetings were held to discuss further action. Rumors of an imminent takeover of the BIA building heightened, and federal security personnel were concentrated there. But the government had either misinterpreted AIM's plans or their presence at the BIA building had forced a change in strategy. AIM's target was to be Wounded Knee.

### **The Occupation of Wounded Knee**

During the afternoon and evening of February 27, 1973, approximately two hundred members and supporters of AIM gathered at Calico Hall, near the community of Pine Ridge. A number of these persons were carrying rifles, pistols, knives, and clubs. That evening a car caravan left Calico Hall, ostensibly en route to Porcupine, South Dakota. They never reached their destination, stopping instead at Wounded Knee, where they were to remain for seventy-one days.

Wounded Knee, South Dakota, does not at first appear as a likely setting for an armed confrontation between militant Indians and the federal government. The tiny community, which is the home of about seventeen families who are primarily Oglala Sioux, lies in a quiet valley surrounded by low hills. Some thirty buildings, mostly dwellings, are spread across the three square miles which comprise the community. At the point where the two principal roads into the area converge stands a cluster of buildings including several churches, a trading post, Indian museum, and gas station. Much of this is only wreckage now. Wounded Knee has historic and symbolic significance beyond its modest reality. It was there, in 1890, that several hundred Sioux men, women, and children were killed by the Seventh Cavalry in what some call a "battle" and others term a "massacre."

The precise details of the activities on the night of February 27 are somewhat unclear. It is known that a large group of Indians, estimated at between two and three hundred in number,

converged on the town brandishing weapons and shooting in the air and at streetlights. Throughout the night, systematic looting of the trading post occurred and the shelves were stripped bare. Looting of churches and private residences also began.

That night, and on the following morning, white residents of Wounded Knee were informed that they were "hostages." A list of "hostages," prepared later by Russell Means, an AIM leader, contained eleven names. These persons, many of them elderly, were mostly members of the Gildersleeve family, proprietors of the trading post.

Word of the Wounded Knee takeover was first received at the federal command post in the Pine Ridge BIA building at 8:34 p.m. on February 27. The early reports were conflicting and it was difficult to ascertain the number of occupiers, the type of weapons they possessed, and the number of hostages held. A decision was made to set up roadblocks, utilizing passenger vehicles, to prevent further entrance into the Wounded Knee area. These were manned by United States Marshals and FBI agents. Seventeen persons were arrested as they attempted to leave Wounded Knee with arms or stolen property.

On the morning of February 28, the situation was evaluated in a series of meetings between Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, Deputy Attorney General Joseph T. Sneed, Associate Deputy Attorney General Charles D. Ablard, and others.

These three officers were responsible for the decisions relating to Department of Justice operations reflected in the following account. Their decisions were taken after regular and continuous consultation with responsible officials representing the Department of Interior and the White House. The immediate objective identified at these initial meetings was the release of the hostages and the arrest of those violating the law in a manner presenting minimum risk of injury or loss of life by both the occupiers and government personnel. This decision was reached after consideration of the danger to the hostages, risk of injury or loss of life by government personnel, the lack of information on the number and arms of the occupiers, and in the hope that the passage of time might serve to calm the situation. During the ensuing seventy-one days of the occupation of Wounded Knee, this remained the overriding objective.

It became apparent on February 28 that the occupiers had no immediate intention of leaving Wounded Knee. Several shots were fired at federal roadblocks and federal officers returned the fire. Low-flying press planes were fired upon. The occupiers began to dig foxholes and trenches. In a statement by Russell Means, AIM presented its first set of "demands," calling for immediate congressional investigations into Indian treaties and conditions on Sioux reservations. Carter Camp, an AIM leader, told reporters that the hostages would not be harmed unless the federal authorities came too close.

On Thursday, March 1, Ralph E. Erickson, Special Assistant to the Attorney General and former Deputy Attorney General, arrived at Wounded Knee. He established procedures to coordinate the efforts of the two Department of Justice law enforcement forces on the scene, the USMS and the FBI and, on orders of the Attorney General, instructed all personnel to use restraint in the use of deadly force and not to fire unless fired upon. This policy was to remain in effect throughout the confrontation.

On March 1, the two Senators from South Dakota, McGovern and Abourezk, arrived on the scene and were briefed on the situation by FBI SAC Joseph H. Trimbach. Trimbach and the Senators agreed that no meetings would be held with occupiers until the hostages were released. This fact was communicated to Russell Means who replied that the hostages were free to go. Father Paul Manhart and two other persons on the hostage list then exited Wounded Knee and stated that the others had remained behind voluntarily. The Senators proceeded to meet with

leaders of the occupiers and agreed that hearings concerning their grievances would be held by Senate committees. The Senators then left the Reservation, indicating to the press that their objectives had been accomplished.

Whether or not the hostages were really free to go is open to question. Clyde Gildersleeve states that at the outset all of the eleven were held hostage and definitely told they could not leave. Mary Pike concurs. On March 2, Jim Czyczuski, a part owner of the trading post, notified the FBI that Mrs. Gildersleeve had called him and stated that her family was being held under guard. She reportedly said, "I may not have been a hostage yesterday, but I certainly am now." However, on the afternoon of that same day, Mrs. Gildersleeve, accompanied by Stanley Holder, head of the AIM "security force," and Paul Boe, a clergyman, met with Erickson at one of the roadblocks. She stated that "I want to retract the statement that I made this morning" and claimed that the members of her family were free to go but chose to stay. She also wished to know if those inside could return if they went out because her sister wished to keep a hair appointment. Erickson said that once they left, they would not be allowed back in. Whether or not they were "hostages" during the entire period, all of the persons listed as such apparently exited Wounded Knee by March 7 or 8.

During the first few days of March, federal positions continued to take sporadic gunfire from within Wounded Knee. The occupiers begin fortifying their positions using bulldozers and a backhoe which had been left at a home construction site in Wounded Knee. Elaborate bunkers were constructed. It became apparent that the federal roadblocks were having little success in stopping the flow of men and supplies in and out of Wounded Knee and reports were received from throughout the country that Indians, as well as white and black militants, were planning to converge on Wounded Knee.

In light of these developments, Erickson investigated possible sources of additional manpower. He reported to officials at the Justice Department that three choices seemed to be available. First, to pull back. Second, to stand fast and maintain present policies. Third, to increase the available manpower in order to effectively seal the perimeter. It was estimated that twenty-two hundred men would be needed to establish a voice perimeter around the occupied area. The second option was chosen pending further review of other choices.

In Washington, Justice Department officials, in conjunction with other governmental agencies, explored the possibility of using federal troops. They concluded that such use would be undesirable because (1) it would substantially increase the risk of loss of life; (2) the full prestige of the United States government would be committed to what was primarily a dispute between rival tribal factions; and (3) the use of army troops against these Indians might be misinterpreted by the press and some citizens. It could, in some ways, play into the occupiers' hands.

Erickson, through William Clayton, U.S. Attorney for South Dakota, explored the availability of the South Dakota National Guard. However, the Governor of South Dakota responded that the Guard was not available for operations on territory under federal jurisdiction. Thus, only options (1) and (2) were left. In an effort to relieve tensions it was decided to try to open up communications with the occupiers. To increase the viability of the roadblocks, more armored personnel carriers were requested to protect the federal officers manning them.

During this period, Erickson was also meeting with Tribal President Richard Wilson. Wilson claimed to have eight or nine hundred supporters ready to go into Wounded Knee and remove the occupiers by force. Erickson dissuaded Wilson from action, Wilson agreeing to refrain if some progress was made toward a negotiated settlement.

On March 4, a decision was reached by Erickson and representatives of the Public Information Office of the Department of Justice to allow limited press access to Wounded Knee. Until this decision, all press had been officially barred from entering the occupied area because of fears for their safety. However, a number of media representatives, including camera crews from the three major networks, were operating within Wounded Knee. Many of these had entered at night via foot trails with the aid of Indian guides and some seem to have arrived with the occupiers on the first night of the takeover. Under the March 4 decision, a press pool was admitted to Wounded Knee daily from 10:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. The pooling arrangement, because of the media's disinclination to share, was abandoned shortly thereafter. All representatives of legitimate media were issued press credentials at the scene and allowed access during specified hours unless safety considerations dictated otherwise. The principal reasons for allowing press access were to avoid any implication that a "coverup" might be taking place and to create a source of information concerning events occurring within Wounded Knee.

### **Early Negotiations**

Representatives of the Community Relations Service, who had been in contact with the leadership within Wounded Knee, informed Erickson that the occupiers would be unwilling to negotiate without legal assistance. On March 3, lawyers from the Native American Rights Fund arrived and met with Erickson who informed them of the government's position. They then entered Wounded Knee, later returning to report that there were no hostages; that the AIM people had been invited in by the residents of Wounded Knee; and that they had no specific arrangements to suggest by which the confrontation might be ended.

In light of the occupiers' failure to propose any constructive means of terminating the occupation or to propose terms for negotiations, Erickson came forward with a proposal of his own. If the occupiers would leave Wounded Knee unarmed and identify themselves, they would be permitted to leave the scene without immediate arrest. This offer was handed to the occupiers' lawyers on the afternoon of March 4.

Most of March 5 was devoted to negotiations concerning this proposal. In the course of these negotiations the focus expanded from the terms of dispossession to the general problems of the Indian people and their relations with the Department of Interior. In the afternoon the occupiers made a formal proposal that a high Department of Interior official be made available to hear grievances. Justice Department representatives replied that they could not make commitments for another department. At this point, Charles Solter, Assistant Solicitor of Interior, entered the negotiations. He felt that this condition could be satisfied. There was considerable optimism that disengagement could be achieved without bloodshed. Shooting incidents had all but ceased for two days and representatives of the Community Relations Service were working within Wounded Knee to maintain the ceasefire.

The following day, March 6, negotiations continued. Erickson's offer to allow the occupiers to pass through federal roadblocks without immediate arrest was extended to 6 p.m., March 7. The optimism of the previous day began to disappear as AIM interjected new issues into the discussions. The occupiers demanded the removal of President Wilson and the suspension of the tribal constitution. Government negotiators determined that there was no legal way to achieve these objectives, even if they were to agree to them. AIM statements became increasingly militant and new Indian bunkers were under construction.

AIM negotiators brought firearms to the evening negotiating sessions and their attorneys expressed pessimism. During the night, fifty rounds were fired from within Wounded Knee at armored personnel carriers which were patrolling the area. No injuries were reported.

By March 7, Erickson, Clayton and Bullis (United States Attorneys for South and North Dakota) had concluded that further negotiations would be useless and that the situation might improve if they were to temporarily leave the scene. Before doing so, they sent word to the occupiers through an AIM attorney, Ramon Roubideaux, that further negotiations were still possible and that no use of federal force to accomplish dispossession was presently planned.

Shortly before his departure, Erickson issued a statement to the press in which he extended the "walk-through" offer of March 4 until 6 p.m. the following evening, March 8. He was also quoted as stating that "I do not expect the offer will be renewed." Erickson described the situation as "very grave" and urged the occupiers "to send the women and children, both resident and nonresident, out of Wounded Knee before darkness falls tomorrow." He also announced that a Federal Grand Jury would convene in Sioux Falls on March 12 to investigate the possible commission of federal crimes on the reservation.

Although Erickson's statement may not have been intended as an ultimatum, the press interpreted it as one. The occupiers adopted a similar interpretation and issued a nationwide call to militants for assistance in the second battle of Wounded Knee. A private plane landed within the perimeter and discharged supplies.

With the departure of Erickson, Charles D. Ablard, Associate Deputy Attorney General, was the ranking Justice Department official on the scene on March 8. Tensions were extremely high. Within Wounded Knee, the Indians prepared for battle, having been told by their leaders that 6 p.m. represented a deadline. The Tribal Court ordered all non-members of the tribe to be evicted from the reservation.

Representatives of the clergy, as well as lawyers and the press, had been allowed access to Wounded Knee for several days. The National Council of Churches of Christ, represented by Bishop James Armstrong, Reverend John Adams, and Reverend Ross Hunter offered a complex proposal which the occupiers accepted and which Ablard agreed to use as a basis for negotiations. All parties agreed to that portion of the proposal which provided for a ceasefire supervised by the clergy. A ceasefire pursuant to these terms was agreed to at approximately 5:30 p.m. (MST). Some gunfire from Wounded Knee occurred shortly after 6 p.m. but ended as news of the ceasefire reached outlying AIM positions. The press reported that the government had "backed off."

An estimated forty persons, some carrying food and ammunition, entered Wounded Knee during the night.

In Washington, Erickson told a press conference that a "walk-through" offer was rescinded and that the occupiers were subject to arrest and prosecution. He urged a voluntary dispossession and reaffirmed the government's desire for a peaceful solution. He stated that Department of Interior officials would be made available to hear grievances of reservation residents within forty-eight hours after the end of the seizure.

Negotiations on the National Council of Churches proposal continued on March 9. At the request of the Council, the press was denied passage through the roadblocks. Ablard and Ramon Roubideaux, attorney for the occupiers, negotiated a formula under which the occupiers would come out and identify themselves but not be subject to immediate arrest; federal forces would be withdrawn; and a high official of the Department of the Interior would go to the reservation on the day following dispossession to hear grievances. Ablard asked that the occupiers agree to depart by Sunday, March 11. Roubideaux asked for March 12 and Ablard acceded. It appeared that agreement had finally been reached, on terms not significantly different than those which had been offered since the beginning.



Roubideaux returned to Wounded Knee to confer with his clients. They refused to agree to any date certain for dispossession, instead offering to depart only after they had met with the district chiefs on the reservation to plan the meeting with Interior. This was a new demand and was characteristic of AIM negotiating tactics. Negotiations would continue until agreement seemed at hand; then a new issue would surface. The government was being tested to see how much it would give. By the end of the day, further negotiations appeared fruitless and Roubideaux refused to appear before the press and make any statement of agreement to any government proposal.

Sporadic gunfire occurred on the night of March 9 and the situation apparently began to degenerate once again. Federal officials decided to try a new tactic and concluded that a wise course would be to withdraw the roadblocks. The roadblocks had not proven effective in halting the flow of men and supplies in and out of Wounded Knee and also seemed to serve as a symbolic center for the occupiers' militance. As AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt had noted in a March 4 speech, if the government withdrew, the Indians "would look foolish occupying something no one cares about." Federal officials hoped that the occupiers would take this opportunity to depart. They could always be arrested later. This plan was discussed with tribal leaders and received their support.

On March 10, Wayne B. Colburn, the Director of the United States Marshals Service, met with Stanley Holder, head of AIM "security," to inquire what he would be willing to do if the roadblocks were withdrawn. Holder replied that the occupiers would withdraw from their positions and that Wounded Knee would be open to all persons, including government personnel. This offer was accepted. Holder also informed Colburn that all persons previously feared to be hostages were no longer in Wounded Knee.

The withdrawal was begun at approximately 2 p.m. on March 10. Roadblocks were abandoned, APCs were removed from the area, and surveillance was maintained from automobiles several miles distant. Erickson announced the withdrawal at a Washington press conference. At approximately 4:30 p.m., two FBI agents approached Wounded Knee by car to ascertain whether the occupiers had withdrawn. They had not.

It quickly became evident that the federal withdrawal was not a tactical success. Russell Means proclaimed to the media that the Indians had attained "a major victory." On March 11, FBI agents again approached Wounded Knee to determine if the area was open as Holder had promised. They were turned back at gunpoint. On the same day, four postal inspectors, who had heard that access was now possible, went into Wounded Knee to determine the condition of the post office. They apparently did so without prior consultation with the federal officials on the scene. The postal inspectors shortly found themselves "arrested" by the occupiers. Their arms were confiscated and they were held prisoner for several hours and released. Holder later told Colburn that this incident proved the government's lack of good faith since he had been promised that government personnel would not be armed when they entered. No such promise had been made. What the incident did prove is that Stanley Holder was not authorized to speak for the entire Wounded Knee occupying force. He spoke only for himself. Throughout the negotiations the government was to learn (and relearn) that no single person could speak for all the Indians, reducing most negotiating sessions to mere platforms for rhetoric.

On the afternoon of March 12, two FBI agents observed a stolen van on the road north of Wounded Knee. At their approach, the van took off towards the perimeter and the agents pursued it. The occupants of the van opened fire and one of the agents was seriously wounded in the hand and lower arm. The van escaped into Wounded Knee. As a result of this shooting, FBI personnel understandably began to raise questions concerning the efficacy of the "ceasefire."

On the morning of March 12, information was received from the press and other sources that the removal of the roadblocks had allowed a substantial increase in the number of persons and weapons within Wounded Knee. It was reported that fortifications were being strengthened and that land mines had been installed. The occupants also issued statements declaring their "independence" and proclaiming that they were "at war" with the United States.

In view of this escalation of force, it was determined that the roadblocks should be reimposed. They were back in place by 5:30 p.m. on March 12. The use of military force was discussed again and rejected but additional marshals arrived, bringing the total United States Marshals force to one hundred forty-one. Government personnel totalled approximately three hundred.

The government's public position demonstrated a firmer posture. Wayne Colburn stated that, "We're going to have to be a lot more hardnosed about this than we were before." His announced intention was to "change their life-style," implying that food supplies might be blocked and utilities terminated. Both Colburn and Ablard stated that the government planned "no rash action" but that forcible entry "has to remain as an option."

The question of why the Indian's "lifestyle" had not been altered prior to this time should, of course, be asked. Throughout the early days of the occupation, the federal government had allowed food supplies to enter Wounded Knee in the care of lawyers, clergymen, and representatives of the Community Relations Service. Medical supplies were continually provided by the government from beginning to end. It was certainly not the position of the government that persons breaking the law should be well fed. Rather, there was concern over the innocent persons who were within Wounded Knee. In the beginning, the hostages were present. Throughout the occupation, a significant number of Wounded Knee residents, including children, remained in their homes. Some may have remained out of sympathy for AIM but the concern of most was the protection of their property. It was for the welfare of these persons that the government acted. And if enough food had to be allowed in to feed AIM as well, so be it.

Consideration was given to terminating the electrical supply to Wounded Knee and such action was clearly needed from a law enforcement standpoint. However, discussions with the local power company revealed that in order to cut electricity in Wounded Knee it would also be necessary to black out much of the surrounding area, adversely affecting innocent persons. A power blackout would also lead to a water shortage, since the water pumps were electric. This would create dangerous health and sanitation problems, endangering the lives of those residents of Wounded Knee who had remained in their homes. According to one report, leaders of the militant Indians did not share these concerns and the electrical power to Wounded Knee residents who did not support AIM was shut off. The entire question was later rendered moot when the power transformer at Wounded Knee was hit during a firefight.

Harlington Wood, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division, replaced Charles Ablard as the ranking Justice Department official on March 12. Ablard returned to Washington on March 13 and Wood initiated direct negotiations with AIM leaders. He put forth a written plan which would allow representatives of the occupiers to meet with officials of the Department of the Interior prior to their arrest.

On March 14, a blinding snowstorm halted all negotiations and other activities. Federal roadblocks were eased to allow in food and fuel due to weather conditions and because of the "productive businesslike" atmosphere which had prevailed at the negotiations on the previous day. The grand jury in Rapid City returned thirty-one sealed indictments.

Because negotiations had appeared fruitful, Wood returned to Washington on March 15 to set up final arrangements. On March 17, Wood presented a detailed written proposal to the occu-

piers. He termed it the government's "best offer" but stressed that it was not an ultimatum. This proposal provided that the leaders of the occupiers would be able to meet in Sioux Falls with Marvin Franklin, Assistant Secretary of Interior for Indian Affairs. After the meeting had convened, but before substantive discussions would begin, the persons remaining in Wounded Knee would submit peacefully to arrest. This offer was rejected. Sporadic gunfire occurred during the night and one occupier, described as a "Chicano medic," was wounded.

Wood and Colburn continued negotiations on March 18, but with little progress. On March 19, Wood amended his proposal to show the government's good faith. The Indian representatives reiterated their rejection and interjected new demands concerning claimed violations of the Sioux treaty of 1868. AIM leaders stated that they would negotiate only with President Nixon or a Sioux emissary appointed by him.

The period from March 19 through 25 was marked by a lack of negotiations, sporadic gunfire, and occasional arrests of persons entering and leaving Wounded Knee. Heavy gunfire occurred on the night of March 22—approximately one thousand rounds from within Wounded Knee and eight hundred rounds returned by federal officers. No injuries resulted. The United States Marshals Service ordered that the drivers of approved vehicles who entered Wounded Knee would be subject to arrest if they exited minus substantial amounts of gasoline. The occupiers had been siphoning the tanks of cars belonging to the press, lawyers, and other approved persons and it was believed that molotov cocktails were being made. The situation was generally at an impasse.

Kent Frizzell, Assistant Attorney General for the Land and Natural Resources Division and now Solicitor for the Department of Interior, arrived on the scene on March 25. With the departure of Harlington Wood the following day he became the ranking Justice Department official. Attention momentarily shifted from Wounded Knee to the federal district court for South Dakota where, on March 25, Judge Andrew W. Bogue entered a temporary restraining order allowing six carloads of food to be taken to the occupiers each day. The order also provided for access to cooking fuel, lawyers, and medical supplies. By its terms, the order was to remain in effect until March 31, at which time it expired and was not renewed. The complaint had been filed by lawyers of the occupiers, alleging deprivation of civil rights, and the government lawyers had been notified of the complaint only one hour before the hearing. Pursuant to the order, a shipment of food and medicine was allowed into Wounded Knee on March 25 after inspection for concealment of weapons or contraband.

The court order seems to have been the last straw for Oglala Tribal President Richard Wilson and his followers. Wilson had grown increasingly dissatisfied with the failure of federal forces to remove the occupiers and had threatened to use his own men to accomplish this purpose. Constant efforts by federal officials served to deter him from such action but Wilson was becoming increasingly adamant. On March 16, the Tribal Council had ordered all nonresidents, and specifically representatives of the National Council of Churches, to be expelled from the Pine Ridge Reservation. Wilson had also become increasingly critical of the press and felt that the reporting of events had not been accurate. He was also beset by problems other than Wounded Knee. On March 20, a petition signed by 1,445 Oglala Sioux calling for a referendum to restructure the tribal government had been presented to Interior officials.

On March 26, Wilson and approximately thirty armed supporters set up roadblocks of their own to prevent delivery of the food supplies which had been provided for in the court order. Since that order had been directed to federal officials, Wilson was technically not in violation of it. Federal officials attempted to persuade Wilson to abandon his roadblocks but tensions were high.

The previous evening, the body of Leo Wilcox, a member of the Tribal Council and a supporter of Wilson, had been found in a burned car near the reservation. It appeared that he had been the victim of a firebomb and rumors abounded that AIM supporters were responsible. It was determined that the sensitivity of the situation would make forcible removal of the Oglala roadblocks unwise and perhaps lead them to directly attack the occupiers of Wounded Knee. Throughout the occupation, Wilson and his followers intermittently set up these roadblocks when they found themselves in disagreement with the manner in which federal operations were proceeding. No federal force was ever used against them but they did have to be threatened with arrest on a number of occasions. Usually persuasion and the passage of time would lead to their abandonment after the supporters of Wilson felt that they had made their point.

Sporadic firing occurred from within Wounded Knee on March 25 and 26 and was returned by federal positions when their safety was endangered. On March 26, at 5:23 p.m., Assistant Attorney General Frizzell, William E. Hall, Associate Director for Operations USMS, Marshal Grimm and a helicopter pilot were proceeding from the federal position known as "Apple" to a nearby helicopter. Several shots were fired from within Wounded Knee and Marshal Grimm was struck in the chest, the bullet exiting through his back near the spine. Grimm was evacuated by helicopter to Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Aurora, Colorado, where he underwent emergency surgery. As a result of this shooting, Marshal Grimm is paralyzed from the waist down with limited prospect of recovery.

Gunfire erupted on the night of March 26 and an estimated four thousand rounds were exchanged. It continued on the morning of March 27. The shooting of Marshal Grimm accentuated the seriousness of the situation. Federal officials redoubled their efforts to prevent further casualties on either side. Frizzell directed the Community Relations Service to meet with AIM leaders to arrange a ceasefire. William Hall ordered a unilateral ceasefire which would be terminated only if a federal position came under confirmed fire or if the occupiers began to move forward outside the perimeter of Wounded Knee. AIM sent assurances that they would not engage in foot patrols outside the perimeter and it was agreed that federal officers would not engage in foot patrols to the right or left of their established positions.

Between one and two hundred persons remained within Wounded Knee but there were increasing signs of internal dissension. On the night of March 27, Pedro Bissonnette, leader of the Oglala civil rights organization, engaged in a heated dispute with AIM leaders. The followers of Bissonnette, principally local Oglala residents, had had enough. They could see nothing to be gained by further confrontation and an estimated one hundred of them wished to surrender. AIM leaders refused to consider such a proposal. AIM called on its supporters within Wounded Knee to stand fast. Members of the AIM faction, primarily out-of-state Indians and militant whites, ended any discussion of surrender by a show of their weapons. No one was to be allowed to leave Wounded Knee.

The ceasefire continued on March 28. The occupation was now thirty days old, and no demonstrable progress towards a settlement had been made. Each time that agreement seemed to be at hand, the occupiers had made new demands. There were no assurances that the present tenuous ceasefire would not break down. Federal officials on the scene telephoned the Office of the Deputy Attorney General and proposed a plan to gradually tighten the Wounded Knee perimeter. Additional equipment was requested for this purpose. This plan was disapproved by the Attorney General who indicated that injury and loss of life must be prevented and that efforts to negotiate should continue.

The ceasefire continued on March 29 and Frizzell contacted Dennis Banks, an AIM leader, to offer the services of Justice Department personnel to hear any civil rights complaints which the

occupiers or the local Oglalas might have. Banks accepted this offer and expressed a desire to discuss the treaty of 1868. Frizzell informed him that he anticipated dealing with the treaty in later negotiations. That afternoon, Dennis Ickes, Deputy Leader of the Indian Task Force of the Civil Rights Division and six FBI agents met with AIM leaders and Oglala residents to hear complaints. To assure objectivity, the FBI agents had been sent from the Minneapolis office and had had no prior contact with Wounded Knee. The complaints that were filed principally alleged intimidation and harassment of residents by Wilson and his supporters, and misuse of tribal funds by Wilson. Investigation of these claims is presently under way. Further meetings to hear complaints were held on March 31 and April 2.

A government radio was installed in Wounded Knee, and communication procedures were established. The radio was later used to monitor calls of the federal personnel in the area but it was felt that such a price was worth paying. Negotiations between Frizzell and the leaders and lawyers of the occupiers resumed on March 31 and continued through April 4. On April 3, AIM presented a detailed proposal for consideration. Both sides observed the ceasefire and there was general optimism that a settlement was finally at hand.

Early in the evening of April 5 an agreement was finally signed. A statement by Wayne Colburn summarized its terms:

A written agreement between the AIM leaders and the Government has been signed. Immediately after signing the agreement, Russell Means will submit himself for arrest at Roadblock #1. He will be taken into custody and transported to Rapid City for arraignment. Saturday morning, April 7, at 7 a.m., the AIM leaders have agreed to lay down their arms. Those for whom warrants are outstanding will be arrested. No amnesty will be granted. There will be a meeting in Washington, Saturday, between AIM leaders and a representative of the White House to discuss the possibilities of a Presidential Commission to look into the whole matter of Indian Treaties.

Means exited Wounded Knee that night, was arrested, posted bond, and departed for Washington.

The April 5 agreement did not have the dispossession date in writing. Instead, it was an oral understanding. On April 6, Frizzell contacted the Indian representatives who were in Washington (Means, Leonard Crow Dog, Tom Bad Cob, and their attorney, Ramon Roubideaux) and was assured that dispossession the following morning had been agreed to. The details of dispossession, however, had not been worked out. This was to be a major flaw in the April 5 agreement and in further negotiations. What might be termed "agreements in principle" simply did not work.

Frizzell sent a radio message to the leaders within Wounded Knee on April 6 to inform them of the interpretation of the agreement given by their Washington representatives. It added that "due to misunderstanding and lack of proper planning, such dispossession of weapons will be impossible for tomorrow morning." Frizzell therefore requested a meeting with the leaders within Wounded Knee to discuss dispossession plans. He stated that if an implementation agreement was reached, the Washington meeting with the White House representatives would take place on Sunday morning at which time Means would call Wounded Knee and dispossession would commence. Sporadic gunfire occurred in the afternoon. Means and Banks stated to the press that disarmament would occur only after the Washington talks had reached a satisfactory conclusion.

On the morning of April 7, Frizzell met with Stanley Holder and Carter Camp, AIM leaders, but no agreement on dispossession was reached. A recommendation was made to Washington to refuse to negotiate with Russell Means unless the previous agreement was honored. In a further

meeting that afternoon, AIM leaders agreed to procedures for laying down arms but stated that they would have to obtain agreement from the rest of the persons in Wounded Knee. Once again, the lack of an authoritative spokesman for the occupiers was blocking any agreement. The absence of Russell Means, the closest thing to a true leader, had apparently led to a further fragmentation of opinions within Wounded Knee.

In Washington, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Richard R. Hellstern met with Means on April 7 in an attempt to resolve the impasse. Means acknowledged that dispossession was to take place as soon as the Washington meeting began and supposedly called Wounded Knee to advise the occupiers of this agreement.

Means took a different public position on April 8, announcing on television that he would not tell the people at Wounded Knee to lay down their arms until after his meeting with White House representatives had produced meaningful results. The government announced that there would be no meeting with Means until a definite disarmament procedure had been agreed to.

At Wounded Knee, Frizzell notified the leaders of the occupiers that there would be no further meetings until the plan discussed at the previous day's negotiating session had been accepted or rejected. AIM responded on April 9 with a proposal calling for disarmament rather than dispossession. Leonard Crow Dog, AIM spiritual leader, was said to have had a vision in which the Indian's weapons were placed in a tipi with a peacepipe across the door. AIM therefore proposed that the arms be placed in a tipi in Wounded Knee; government personnel would pull back; the Washington meeting would commence; seventy-two hours later implementation of the terms of the April 5 agreement would begin. Since the proposal did not provide a dispossession procedure, it was rejected by the government. AIM responded that new terms would have to await another vision. In Washington, Russell Means, Ralph Erickson, Charles Ablard, and Richard Hellstern testified before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the House Interior Committee with regard to the Wounded Knee situation.

The optimism which had been aroused by the signing of the April 5 agreement was completely dissipated by April 10. AIM took down the "negotiating tipi" and this was interpreted as a signal that negotiations were at an end. Wayne Colburn attempted to further discuss dispossession plans with AIM leaders Stanley Holder and Carter Camp but was told by Camp that the occupiers were ready to stay "two to three years." In lieu of dispossession, the disarmament terms of the vision proposal were again offered. Persons inside Wounded Knee began to move forward towards federal positions. It was obvious that another impasse had been reached and Frizzell departed for Washington. Stanley Pottinger, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, who had been in the Pine Ridge area since April 6, became the ranking Justice Department official.

Why did the April 5 agreement fail? There is the obvious fault of the agreement in its failure to precisely outline the details attendant to dispossession, but other factors must have served to keep these details from being worked out. In retrospect, it appears that incentives for the occupiers to dispossess were almost wholly lacking. The government took a carrot and stick approach, but without the stick. The carrot was the meeting with White House representatives but there was no reason to chase after it. It would presumably be available later. In the meantime, press coverage was relatively extensive and generally favorable. Public opinion still seemed to be on the side of the occupiers. In a national public opinion poll, 51% of those surveyed sympathized with the militant Indians. Only 21% sympathized with the government. Wounded Knee was a platform, a form of guerilla theater. It was apparent that there was little danger of an imminent federal attack. The nation's attention was focused on the dramatic siege of Wounded Knee. Congress itself was listening to Russell Means. Why not wait a little longer and see what

more could be gained? Thus the government negotiators were led tantalizingly close to agreement but never any further.

There are also some indications that the Indians backed away from agreement when they considered its consequence—the Rapid City jail. There apparently was concern that there would not be enough bail money to go around and that many of the occupiers would have to remain in jail until their trials. The issue of bail was occasionally raised with federal negotiators but the government refused to take a position, saying that no recommendations would be made and that bail was entirely a question for the local courts. That bail was of concern is also evidenced by the fact that a number of AIM leaders surrendered early when funds were still available to post bond.

### **An Impasse upon an Impasse**

The week of April 10 through 17 was generally characterized by monotony and tedium. Pottinger met with the occupiers several times in an effort to salvage the April 5 agreement but was told that any changes in the Indians' position would have to await another vision by Crow Dog. Pottinger described the situation as an "impasse upon an impasse." Attempts to negotiate were further hampered by the lack of leadership within Wounded Knee. Russell Means was touring the country in an attempt to raise funds. Leonard Crow Dog was absent from Wounded Knee. Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader, had surrendered at a federal roadblock. Stanley Holder had surrendered to federal authorities in Rapid City. A ceasefire still continued although occasional shots from within Wounded Knee were heard. They were attributed to target practice and the slaughter of some cattle which had been stolen from nearby ranches.

The breakdown in negotiations once again raised the question of the possible use of force. To prepare for this contingency, the Department of Justice, on April 12, approved a plan to borrow necessary equipment from the military and position it at a military installation in Colorado on a standby basis. Policies governing the use of federal personnel were also changed at this time. Because of manpower shortages, it had been necessary to employ FBI personnel, who normally perform investigative functions, in the day-to-day law enforcement operations at Wounded Knee. By April 13, the strength of the USMS was sufficient for the activities of the Marshals and the Bureau to be coordinated according to their traditional functions. By a memorandum of that date, the Attorney General ordered the Director of the USMS to assume command of all protective and containment activities, while the Director of the FBI was to assume investigative responsibility. All government positions were to be manned and supervised by the USMS, except for Roadblock One which was to be maintained by the FBI as the only government processing and interviewing depot for persons entering or leaving Wounded Knee.

Much of Pottinger's time during this period was devoted to problems concerning the residents of Wounded Knee who had been displaced by the occupation. The tragic plight of these people had been largely lost in the greater drama being played out at Wounded Knee. The occupation had created approximately two hundred displaced persons who were forced to find lodging in local homes or churches or in the government nursing home at Pine Ridge where up to eleven persons had to sleep in rooms intended for two. Government surplus food was provided for these families through the Red Cross but many understandably felt that those breaking the law within Wounded Knee were receiving better treatment than they. On April 12, a group of these persons, calling themselves the Wounded Knee Community, began to establish roadblocks of their own. Representatives of the Community Relations Service, who had been serving as a communications link with the occupiers, were denied access. These persons, armed with rifles, also threatened to forcibly evict the occupiers if the government did not act to do so. Pottinger

attempted to convince them to abandon their roadblocks but was only answered with pointed rifles, some in the hands of children. A serious incident was obviously quite possible and officials at the scene considered forcibly removing roadblocks. It was felt, however, that such action would only increase the possibility of violence and that the best course would be to allow these people to blow off steam. Pottinger believed that some means of symbolic protest might help to alleviate tensions and arranged a press conference for the Wounded Knee Community. Such attention seemed to produce results and, later, when Wilson's supporters again imposed roadblocks of their own, federal officials sent them off to train with the BIA police. This served to make them feel noticed and also got them out of the way before they could provoke an incident.

On the night of April 16, fourteen persons carrying supplies slipped by federal roadblocks. The following day, three private planes parachuted supplies into Wounded Knee. Early on the morning of April 17, the occupiers began leaving their bunkers and advancing on federal positions. Heavy firing ensued. Federal positions received approximately four thousand rounds and it was estimated that some seventy-five persons were firing. Fire was received from at least three AK-47s and heavy rifles. At about 10:20 a.m. a brief ceasefire was accomplished while a man with a serious head wound was brought to a federal roadblock. He was evacuated by helicopter to a Rapid City hospital. Another occupier was rumored to have been hit during the firefight.

The situation was again quite serious and conditions had reverted back to the violent atmosphere of early March. Pottinger and the other officials in the field determined that the lack of leadership within Wounded Knee might lead to further rash actions by some of the younger and more militant occupiers. Stanley Holder, who had been head of AIM security and was now in the Rapid City jail, was contacted to see if he would assist in arranging a ceasefire. Holder had been able to enforce ceasefires in the past and was generally considered to be one of the few leaders who could maintain discipline. Holder agreed and, by arrangement with the local court, was released and brought to Wounded Knee. Under the agreement, Holder entered Wounded Knee on April 18, promising to return to jail when called out by federal officials.

A ceasefire was again accomplished and Wounded Knee settled down into the routine of waiting for a breakthrough to a settlement or a breakdown to more shooting. Wayne B. Colburn, Director of the United States Marshals Service, conferred in Washington with Justice Department officials. It was becoming increasingly clear that the government would eventually be forced to a law enforcement solution but further attempts to negotiate were still considered necessary. The all but certain loss of life which would result from forcible entry dictated continued restraint. Colburn returned to Pine Ridge on April 19 and stated that while authority had been given to pre-position equipment and supplies needed to execute the plan which had been developed to enter Wounded Knee, no authority had been given to tighten the perimeter or enter the community.

Pottinger and Colburn held several negotiating sessions with the occupiers but no progress could be made. Leonard Crow Dog was at his home on the Rosebud reservation awaiting another vision. Wilson's supporters and the group called the Wounded Knee Community were again becoming troublesome. On April 19, several shots were fired from the prairie at the occupiers and they were believed to have come from the angry displaced residents. Wilson's supporters again established roadblocks and barred access to the Community Relations Service. On April 23, Colburn ordered those manning the tribal roadblocks to leave or be arrested for interfering with federal officers. They complied but Wilson threatened aggressive action. On April 24, at the direction of Deputy Attorney General Sneed, federal marshals again ordered Wilson and his



supporters to leave the area. The shaky status quo at Wounded Knee was poised for another rapid decline.

### **Death Comes to Wounded Knee**

Stanley Pottinger returned to Washington on April 20 and Kent Frizzell, Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, arrived on April 24 to head the negotiating team. Frizzell stated that the position of the Attorney General continued to favor negotiations and to avoid aggressive action.

The occupiers had broken the ceasefire, and the period between April 21 and 25 was marked by a lack of negotiations, sporadic firefights of varying intensity, and the construction of new bunkers within Wounded Knee. Arrests of persons attempting to enter or leave Wounded Knee continued.

On April 25, Frank Clearwater, the man who had been evacuated from Wounded Knee after the April 17 firefight, died in a Rapid City hospital. Clearwater was apparently a victim of the more militant actions of others. He had been struck in the head by a bullet which had pierced the wall of the church in which he was sleeping. He had only been in Wounded Knee for two days.

AIM leaders sent a message from Wounded Knee that they were in mourning for Clearwater and that no negotiations could be held for four days. The occupiers became increasingly aggressive and, on the afternoon of April 26, began moving out of their bunkers toward the federal positions. Gunfire ensued and continued throughout the night. At 12:20 a.m., Colburn ordered all federal officers to dig in and cease fire, but to protect themselves at all times. Federal roadblocks again began to receive heavy fire at 8:30 a.m. which they returned. Approximately sixty-five hundred rifle rounds were fired by federal officers and eighteen gas grenades were fired toward the Wounded Knee bunkers. The occupiers expended approximately twenty-eight hundred rounds. At 2:30 p.m., Carter Camp, an AIM leader, contacted the federal command post by radio and asked for a ceasefire. He stated that "we have a dead warrior and an injured warrior." A ceasefire was immediately ordered and Community Relations Service personnel entered Wounded Knee. The dead man was identified as Lawrence Dean Lamont, a local resident of the Pine Ridge reservation. His body was removed through the federal roadblocks and the ceasefire continued.

### **Negotiating the May 5 Agreement**

On April 28, Frizzell met with Dennis Banks and Leonard Crow Dog at their request. A firm ceasefire was arranged and Wayne Colburn notified all federal positions to fire only if taking confirmed fire or if the occupiers attempted to move outside their perimeter. Both sides agreed to notify the other if they received fire from third parties. This last point resulted from rumors that the firefight of the previous day had been provoked by persons who had successfully bypassed the federal roadblocks and fired into Wounded Knee. Banks also requested that a meeting be arranged with the traditional headmen and chiefs of the Oglala Sioux.

The atmosphere began to appear more conducive to negotiations but, once again, disruption threatened. On April 28, the tribal council served a restraining order on the wife of Frank Clearwater to prevent her from bringing his body into Wounded Knee for burial. Clearwater was reportedly either a white or an Apache. He definitely was not an Oglala Sioux and was therefore deemed to be ineligible for burial on the reservation. AIM leaders threatened to defy the tribal order. Frizzell finally was able to arrange for a one-day wake to be held on the Pine Ridge Reservation with final rites on the nearby Rosebud Reservation.

In both public and private statements, government officials were indicating that the last chance for a negotiated settlement was drawing near. On April 29, Frizzell met with a number of the Oglala elders at the home of Franklin Fools Crow, a traditional chief. He told them that "the clock is running short" and that he was under pressure from "hard liners" in Washington to reach a settlement. If negotiations were not successful, "hard choices" would have to be made. The character of the occupants of Wounded Knee had changed and only the most hard core remained. The number of white militants who had slipped past government positions had greatly increased and the occupying force was about evenly divided between Indian and white. There were fears that the coming summer vacation might bring more students to the area. Extra supplies and ammunition had been flown into Pine Ridge and plans for a gas attack were made. However, the occupiers were assured that no attack would take place without prior notice so that those who wished to surrender might do so.

On April 30, the Oglala headmen and chiefs met with Banks and presumably conveyed the government's hardening attitude. The following day, two track meetings on substantive grievances and dispossession began with the AIM leaders. Kent Frizzell negotiated on the substantive points while Wayne Colburn and Richard R. Hellstern, Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division, attempted to arrange dispossession procedures. Some progress was made on dispossession but substantive questions still remained at issue, principally revolving around the Sioux treaty of 1868.

On May 2, Colburn and Hellstern told AIM leaders that they would not discuss dispossession plans further unless some progress was made in the discussion with Frizzell. The focus of Frizzell's meetings was on the mechanics of a Presidential treaty commission and Frizzell requested a letter from the White House to affirm the points agreed on. Occasional attempts were made to interject the issue of amnesty but these were dismissed as non-negotiable. Negotiations continued on May 3 with reminders that time was running out. On May 4, a letter was sent from the White House which was delivered to Franklin Fools Crow at his home on the morning of May 5. The letter, signed by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President, provided that "five or more White House representatives will meet with the headsmen and chiefs of the Teton Sioux during the third week in May for the purpose of examining the problems concerning the 1868 Treaty." However, the letter also provided that no such meeting would be held until dispossession had been accomplished at Wounded Knee.

On the afternoon of May 5, a dispossession agreement was signed by Frizzell, Colburn, and Hellstern for the government, and Leonard Crow Dog, Franklin Fools Crow, and others on behalf of AIM, the traditional Oglala leaders, and the occupants of Wounded Knee. The agreement provided for dispossession to commence at 7 a.m. on May 9. The government was to pull back from their positions and the occupiers would abandon theirs. All weapons, ammunition, and explosives of the occupiers were to be turned over to representatives of the Community Relations Service. All persons would then exit Wounded Knee and identify themselves. All persons with outstanding warrants would be arrested and taken to Rapid City. Wounded Knee residents who were not subject to arrest would be escorted back to their community. All other persons would be given transportation to Pine Ridge. The government would then search the area, destroy all bunkers, and withdraw, leaving a residual force behind to both prevent further incidents and to protect the militants from reprisals.

### **Dispossession**

The occupation of Wounded Knee was finally coming to an end. The funeral of Lawrence Lamont was held in Wounded Knee on May 6 without incident. That night, thirteen persons

carrying weapons were apprehended leaving Wounded Knee. On May 7, agreement was reached to move dispossession up a day and it was rescheduled for May 8 at 7 a.m. Leonard Crow Dog and Carter Camp surrendered to federal authorities and were arraigned in Rapid City on multi-count indictments. That night, a number of persons were arrested attempting to leave Wounded Knee but a large number of people and weapons are believed to have slipped past federal positions.

The occupation finally ended on the morning of May 8. Dispossession proceeded smoothly according to the terms of the May 5 agreement. The arms were sent out and one hundred twenty-nine persons exited Wounded Knee. Approximately 85 percent of these were Indians, thirty-three of whom were residents of Wounded Knee. Fifteen arrests were made, bringing the total number of arrests to two hundred thirty-seven. Only thirty-five weapons were confiscated, the rest apparently having been removed during the previous few nights. Those non-residents who had not been arrested were provided with transportation to Rapid City.

The United States Marshals entered Wounded Knee without incident and disarmed several devices left behind, including molotov cocktails and anti-personnel mines. The residents of Wounded Knee were then allowed to return to their community. Not much was left of it. The trading post, which had burned to the ground on April 29, was a mass of wreckage. Several homes were burned out shells. Garbage and trash covered the area and the stench left from slaughtered cattle permeated everything. As the residents of this unfortunate community sifted the rubble in search of their belongings it was clear that, while no one really won at Wounded Knee, some had certainly lost more than others.

Dispossession had been brought about by the May 5 agreement, but there does not seem to have been anything in the agreement itself which might be cited as causing the end of the occupation. Its substantive terms did not differ markedly from previous agreements. The April 5 agreement had also provided for meetings with representatives of the White House although some of the details were different. But there is little doubt that the details of the May 5 agreement would have been agreed to by the government on April 5 if they had been requested. The factors which finally brought the occupation to an end must therefore be looked for outside of the agreement.

Time, of course, was a contributing factor. Seventy-one days will take its toll on the spirit of any occupying force. But the biggest psychological factor seems to have been the death of Lawrence Lamont. Lamont was a local Oglala, a resident of Pine Ridge Reservation. His family was large and well known, Lamont's brother-in-law serving as the executive secretary of the tribal council. A tape recording made by Carter Camp during the first few weeks of May and later confiscated by federal officers relates that the death of Lamont had left everyone saddened and that morale was very low.

The lack of food was also a factor. A physician who left Wounded Knee at the end of April reported that the diet then was oatmeal for breakfast and boiled beef for dinner. With the absence of electric power after the transformer had been immobilized, life in Wounded Knee had become increasingly uncomfortable. The hotplates used to cook food were inoperable. There was no more radio or television for entertainment. The water supply was low since the pumps had been electrically powered. Sanitation was terrible and many of the occupiers were suffering from a virus.

Press coverage had also waned. Wounded Knee no longer was front page news. Public satiation and increased interest in Watergate had pushed it to the back pages. The responsible members of the press also had begun to realize that they were being taken for a ride and had begun to refuse coverage of events which AIM staged for the cameras.

Public opinion also appeared to have shifted away from sympathy with the militants. No longer were the occupiers viewed as innocent civil rights demonstrators under siege by a heartless government. A number of events, particularly the shooting of Marshal Grimm, had demonstrated that there was an element within Wounded Knee who placed a higher value on coverage by the evening news than they did on human life. Senator McGovern, who had originally been receptive to negotiating with the occupiers, is representative of this change in attitude. He later called for their forcible ouster, stating that "we cannot have one law for a handful of publicity-seeking militants and another law for the ordinary citizens."

The hardening of the government's attitude in the closing days of the occupation may have also aided its conclusion and it is appropriate to inquire whether an ultimatum by the government at some earlier time might have hastened the end. Seventy-one days, approximately five million dollars, two lives, and numerous injuries are certainly a high price to pay for restraint. But, even in retrospect, restraint seems to have been the proper course. Although it cannot be said with any certainty, all indications are that the occupiers would not have backed down from a threatened government attack. The number and arms of the occupiers and the character of the surrounding terrain could have made the second battle of Wounded Knee costly to both sides. A decision had to be reached and the particular facts of the Wounded Knee situation called for restraint. This is not to say that a similar degree of restraint might necessarily be exercised if a similar incident arose again. Many lessons have been learned from Wounded Knee and the events there would probably have been much different if what is known now could have been known then. For now, the clearest conclusion is that what was learned there must be used in an effort to prevent such situations from ever arising again.

August 8, 1973

## NOTE ON SOURCES

The materials in this project were collected from the FBI files on the American Indian Movement and the incident at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. These materials can be found at the FBI Headquarters, Washington, D.C.

The FBI classifications relating to the American Indian Movement include the following:

- File 100-462483, Volumes 1-64, 1970-1981
- File 105-203686, Sections 1-14, 1970-1980
- File 157-31709, 1974-1975
- File 157-31996, 1974-1976
- File 157-31240, 1973-1975
- File 157-31278, 1974-1975
- File 174-7149, 1976
- File 173-0-211, 1972
- File 157-31224, 1974
- File 157-31621, 1974-1975
- File 157-35137, 1981-1983
- File 157-35101, 1979
- File 157-35082, 1978
- File 157-32618, 1974-1975
- File 157-32584, 1974
- File 70-03045, 1971
- File 62-116878, Undated
- File 157-27976, 1973-1974
- File 157-27977, 1973-1975
- File 157-28004, 1973-1974
- File 157-27979, 1973-1974
- File 157-29978, 1973-1974
- File 157-28141, 1973-1974
- File 157-28691, 1973-1974
- File 157-28142, 1973-1975
- File 157-30925, 1973-1974
- File 157-30150, 1973-1975
- File 157-30562, 1973-1975
- File 157-31106, 1973-1975

The FBI classifications relating to Wounded Knee, South Dakota, also include:

- File 176-2404, Sections 1-32, February 21, 1973-April 4, 1977

## **Explanation of FBI Classifications**

The present FBI subject-classified Central Records System (CRS) began in 1921 and has not changed in any major respects since then. The classifications in CRS correspond to specific Federal crimes (e.g., bank robbery, classification 91), investigatory responsibilities (e.g., domestic security investigations, classification 100), or subjects (e.g., fingerprint matters, classification 32). The numerical classifications that have been included in this microfilm publication (and listed on the previous page) correspond to the following subjects.

<b>Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
62	Miscellaneous Subversives
70	Crime on Government Reservations
100	Subversive Matters; Internal Security; Domestic Security Investigation
105	Foreign Counterintelligence
157	Extremist Matters; Civil Unrest
173	Civil Rights Act of 1964
174	Explosives and Incendiary Devices; Bomb Threat
176	Anti-riot Laws

## **EDITORIAL NOTE**

All files have been filmed in their entirety, except for photographs of poor contrast that have been omitted from File 100-462483, Volume 13-Serial 873-Bulky Part 1. Records are filmed in the order received and consequently File 100-462483, Volume 1, is followed by 105-203686, Section 1, and so on. Researchers should note that documents in the Wounded Knee, South Dakota, file are arranged in reverse chronological order within sections.

## **SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE**

FBI investigations documented in this micropublication highlight the organization, personnel, fund raising, and local branch chapters of AIM. Reports on demonstrations, undertaken both by AIM and in support of AIM from throughout the nation, are included. Liaison of AIM with student groups and radical organizations was another topic of interest to the FBI. Occupations (takeovers) of government and private installations are well documented in the FBI files. States particularly well covered include South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Arizona. Other states with active AIM organizations included North Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington (state), Idaho, Montana, New York, and North Carolina. Files on Wounded Knee, South Dakota, contain many lengthy FBI reports covering all aspects of that investigation, including interviews with persons who were connected with AIM activities in the area and witnesses to those activities.

## Explanation of Exemptions

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), under which these documents were requested, processed, and released, allows the FBI and other federal agencies to delete and withhold a variety of types of information. These exemptions—listed below and on the following page—authorize the Bureau to withhold any classified information (exemption [b] [1]), any material “related solely to the internal rules and practices of the FBI,” such as informant coding symbols ([b] [2]), any records that would invade someone's personal privacy by, for instance, discussing their sexual habits ([b] [7] [c]), or material that would “reveal the identity of a confidential source or reveal confidential information furnished only by the confidential source” ([b] [7] [d]), among others. Whichever exemption or exemptions the FBI is claiming in withholding a certain passage or document is cited as such in the margin of a partially released document or on the top line of the “deleted page” sheets, which are inserted when a single page or entire document is withheld. Deleted page sheets also appear in place of referral documents, memos prepared by agencies other than the FBI and which the FBI forwarded to the originating agency for separate (and subsequent) FOIA processing.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b) (1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 12356 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods
- (b) (2) materials related solely to the internal rules and practices of the FBI
- (b) (3) information specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (see continuation page)
- (b) (4) privileged or confidential information obtained from a person, usually involving commercial or financial matters
- (b) (5) inter-agency or intra-agency documents which are not available through discovery proceedings during litigation; documents, the disclosure of which would have an inhibitive effect upon the development of policy and administrative direction; or documents which represent the work product of an attorney-client relationship
- (b) (6) materials contained in sensitive records such as personnel or medical files, the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b) (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would: (A) interfere with law enforcement proceedings; (B) deprive a person of the right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, or give one party of a controversy an undue advantage by exclusive access to such information;



(C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of another person; (D) reveal the identity of a confidential source or reveal confidential information furnished only by the confidential source; (E) disclose investigative techniques and procedures, thereby impairing their future effectiveness; and (F) endanger the life or physical safety of law enforcement personnel

- (b) (8) information collected by Government regulatory agencies from financial institutions
- (b) (9) geological and geophysical information, including maps, produced by private companies and filed by them with Government agencies.

**SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a**

- (d) (5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding
- (j) (2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals, except records of arrest
- (k) (1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 12356 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods
- (k) (2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which would reveal the identity of an individual who has furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence
- (k) (3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056
- (k) (4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records
- (k) (5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence
- (k) (6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process
- (k) (7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence.

4-694a (Rev. 5-26-83)

## **How to Cite FBI Records**

Citations of FBI records should give the reader sufficient information to access the same material if desired. Although FBI files contain many different types of records, the following examples should suffice for most of them. They should include document type, "sender" to "recipient," date, caption/subject, headquarters or field office city, and classification-file number-subfile (if applicable)-serial number.

Example: memo, SAC [Special Agent in Charge], Boston to Director, FBI, 12/10/50, WILLIAM JONES, JOHN SMITH-VICTIM, Bureau File 7-xxxx-124.

Example: letter, SAC, Atlanta to Chief of Police, Atlanta, 1976 TRAINING SCHEDULE, 1-xxxx-124.

The types of documents usually found in FBI files are as follows:

(1) Letters: A communication sent from FBIHQ to a field office, from a field office to FBIHQ, from one field office to another or from either FBIHQ or a field office to any outside agency or person.

(2) Memorandum: A communication (on FBI memorandum paper) to the Attorney General and other departmental officials; from one official to another at FBIHQ, or from one employee to another within a field territory. It is also applicable to the omnibus types, such as memoranda to all SACs.

(3) Letterhead Memorandum (LHM): A memorandum on letterhead stationery; it should normally require a cover communication for transmittal.

(4) Report: A written document containing the results of an investigation. It is almost always prepared in a field office.

(5) Cover Page: The page(s) containing administrative data, leads and informant evaluations not found in LHMs or reports. Cover page(s) are not disseminated outside the FBI.

(6) Teletype: A communication transmitted by machine.

(7) Airtel: An intra-FBI communication with highest priority of those sent through the mail. Originally conceived as a teletype sent via airmail, it may be in teletype phraseology.

# ACRONYM LIST

The following acronyms and abbreviations are used frequently in this guide and are listed here for the convenience of the researcher.

<b>AIM</b>	American Indian Movement
<b>BIA</b>	Bureau of Indian Affairs
<b>FBI</b>	Federal Bureau of Investigation
<b>SDS</b>	Students for a Democratic Society
<b>VVAW</b>	Vietnam Veterans against the War
<b>WKLD/OC</b>	Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
<b>YAWF</b>	Youth against War and Fascism

# REEL INDEX

The frame number on the left side of the page indicates a specific file volume or section. In the interest of accessing material within files, this index denotes major issues, reports, prominent individuals, and key policy matters under the category Major Subjects.

## Reel 1

### American Indian Movement

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 1. 1970-1972. 187pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Trail of Broken Treaties; Bill Haas and Native American Embassy; boycott of white merchants in Cass Lake, Minnesota; murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder in Gordon, Nebraska; correspondence of Vernon Bellecourt and J. Edgar Hoover; burial ground incident in Sioux City, Iowa; liaison between National American Lutheran Church and Black Panthers Party; occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; demonstrations in connection with hearings of U.S. Congress; identification of student Indian organizations by FBI.
- 0188 File 105-203686, Section 1. 1970. 179pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations at Glasgow Air Force Base in Glasgow, Montana; FBI coordination with other federal intelligence agencies; Confederated Indian Organization activities; appearance by Senator Edward Kennedy in Missoula, Montana; picketing of U.S. Public Health Service installation at Flathead Indian Reservation in St. Ignatius, Montana; joint statement to BIA by National Indian Youth Council, United Native Americans, University of California, Los Angeles Indian Student Association, and Los Angeles, California, community representatives; Indian civil rights rally at University of Utah; plans for demonstrations at Republican Governors Conference to be held in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico; demonstration at U.S. Court House in Seattle, Washington; occupation of Alcatraz Island, California; confrontation over attempt to occupy Lassen Volcanic National Park in Shasta County, California; demonstrations at Missoula, Montana, office of BIA by Indian Low Income Group for Human Treatment; demonstrations at Gallup Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico, by Indians against Exploitation; disturbances at Tuscarora Indian Reservation in Lewiston, New York; protest of Puyallup Indians in Tacoma, Washington, over fishing rights.
- 0367 File 100-462483, Volume 2. 1972-1973. 184pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Trail of Broken Treaties; conflicts between Canadian government and Akwesasne Mohawk Indians of St. Regis Indian Reservation, New York; activities and personnel of White Roots of Peace organization, including

Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson; call for disruption of interstate road and railroad traffic by American Indian Businessmen's Association; plans for American Bicentennial celebration planning session to be held at University of Arizona under aegis of Amerind (a student group); candidacy of Russell Means for tribal presidency at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; meeting of AIM leaders with BIA officials and tribal leaders in Duluth, Minnesota, to justify occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; AIM's public relations activities and legislative program; White House policies regarding nonprosecution of individuals for occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; discussions of Leonard Garment and Frank Carlucci with Trail of Broken Treaty representatives on a special federal interagency task force to review federal Indian policy and Indian needs; contents of two attache cases found in overdue rental car parked in Washington, D.C.; AIM local branch chapters.

0651 File 105-203686, Section 2. 1970-1971. 181pp.

*Major Subjects:* *Fowler v. Bennett*, a lawsuit brought against an FBI agent for photographing demonstrations by Indians against Exploitation at Gallup Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico; arrest of Pit River Indians in Burney, California, for assaulting a federal officer and for other incidents stemming from their occupation of Forest Service land in Shasta County and of an abandoned U.S. Army communications station near Davis, Yolo County, California; occupation of Alcatraz Island, California; sit-in led by AIM at Fort Snelling Naval Air Station, Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and arrest of protesters; sit-in at Shiprock, New Mexico, High School by Navajo Indians; demonstration led by AIM at Mt. Rushmore National Memorial in Keystone, South Dakota; sit-in at U.S. Army NIKE missile site in Chicago, Illinois; occupation of U.S. Army NIKE missile site in Richmond, California; wage strike of members of Navajo Indian police at Navajo Indian Reservation in New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado.

0832 File 100-462483, Volume 3. 1973. 256pp.

*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; demonstrations and arrest of Russell Means and others in Scottsbluff, Nebraska; occupation of U.S. Public Health Service Indian Hospital, Gallup Medical Center in Gallup, New Mexico; liaison between Indian and Chicano groups; AIM fund raising and public relations matters; demonstrations in Custer, South Dakota.

## Reel 2

### American Indian Movement cont.

0001 File 105-203686, Section 3. 1971-1972. 234pp.

*Major Subjects:* Negotiations and settlement by AIM with town of Gordon, Nebraska, over death of Raymond Yellow Thunder; occupation by AIM of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; settlement of labor dispute between Navajo Indian police and Navajo Indian Reservation in Window Rock, Arizona; sit-in at Argonne National Laboratory in Westmont, Illinois; protest demonstration by Native American Rights Movement at Chilocco Indian School in Kay County, Oklahoma; sit-in at Camp Logan in Zion, Illinois; call by Michael Chosa, leader

of Chicago Indian Village Group in Chicago, Illinois, for proposed sit-in at offices of federal agencies in Washington, D.C.; demonstrations in Fort Sheridan, Illinois; demonstration by Indian high school students at Board of Education building in Lawton, Oklahoma; settlement of lawsuits stemming from demonstrations at Gallup Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico; demonstrations led by AIM at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and Gordon, Nebraska; possible confrontations over hunting and fishing rights in Cass Lake, Minnesota; demonstration by Hopi Indians at White House, Washington, D.C.; occupation of jail at Fort Totten Indian Reservation in Fort Totten, North Dakota; occupation by Lummi Indians of Naval Security Facility in Marietta, Washington; demonstrations led by AIM at all-Indian powwow in Flagstaff, Arizona; demonstrations led by AIM in Ajo, Arizona.

0235 File 100-462483, Volume 4. 1973. 231pp.

*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Custer and Rapid City, South Dakota; AIM organization and personnel; takeover of U.S. Public Health Service Indian Service Hospital in Gallup, New Mexico; SDS demonstration in Minneapolis, Minnesota to show support for AIM; investigation of vehicles observed during occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; chronology, demands, and outcomes of Trail of Broken Treaties.

0566 File 105-203686, Section 4. 1972. 244pp.

*Major Subjects:* Disruption of all-Indian powwow in Flagstaff, Arizona; demonstrations in Alliance, Nebraska, protesting sentences given Lester and Melvin Hare for murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder; Trail of Broken Treaties; travel of caravan to Washington, D.C.; AIM organization and personnel; sit-in at Fort Sill Indian School in Lawton, Oklahoma; occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; background on groups cooperating with Trail of Broken Treaties.

0810 File 100-462483, Volume 5. 1973. 204 frames.

*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Kansas, New Jersey, Oregon, New York, and New Mexico to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; liaison with VVAW, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Venceremos, and other groups supporting AIM; investigation of AIM chapters nationwide; recovery of documents removed during occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; national speaking tour by Vernon Bellecourt.

## Reel 3

### American Indian Movement cont.

0001 File 105-203686, Section 5. 1972. 246pp.

*Major Subjects:* Trail of Broken Treaties; occupation by AIM of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; liaison with Black Panther Party, SDS, Benjamin Spock, VVAW, and other groups; demonstration at Phoenix Indian Medical Center in Phoenix, Arizona; occupation of BIA buildings in Oregon, Seattle, Washington State, and California; demonstrations in support of AIM in California, Nebraska, Arizona, Washington, D.C., Montana, and Wisconsin; demonstration at Robeson

- County Board of Education in Lumberton, North Carolina; occupation by AIM of Fort Robinson Museum in Crawford, Nebraska.
- 0247 File 100-462483, Volume 6. 1973. 318pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation and trial stemming from occupation of U.S. Public Health Service Indian Hospital in Gallup, New Mexico; AIM national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma; demonstrations in Oregon, California, Montana, Washington, D.C., Georgia, and Arkansas to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; national speaking tour by Vernon Bellecourt; list of attendees at National Indian Lutheran Board in Denver, Colorado; dismissal of charges stemming from incident in Flagstaff, Arizona; liaison with Venceremos, VVAW, and other groups; AIM fund-raising activities; FBI report on AIM national organization and local chapters throughout nation.
- 0565 File 105-203686, Section 6. 1972. 227pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in support of AIM in Kansas, South Dakota, Iowa, New Mexico, Nebraska, Washington, D.C., Idaho, North Carolina, and California; occupation of BIA buildings in Washington State and Oregon; occupation of Phoenix Indian Medical Center in Phoenix, Arizona; Trail of Broken Treaties; disruption of Gallup Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico by Indians against Exploitation; occupation by AIM of Fort Robinson Museum in Crawford, Nebraska; occupation by AIM of Camp Adair in Corvallis, Oregon; hearings before U.S. Congress regarding occupation by AIM of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; meeting of AIM leadership in Tempe, Arizona; demonstration at Robeson County welfare building, in Lumberton, North Carolina; sit-in by Pit River Indians at BIA offices in Sacramento, California; demonstrations led by AIM in Custer and Rapid City, South Dakota.
- 0792 File 100-462483, Volume 7. 1973. 235pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM national convention held in Pawnee, Oklahoma; AIM local branch chapters; liaison with National Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Church, including fund raising for Trail of Broken Treaties; national speaking tour of Vernon Bellecourt; demonstrations in support of AIM in California and Utah; AIM organization and personnel; planned disruption by AIM of Ki-Yo Indian Days, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana.

## Reel 4

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 105-203686, Section 7. 1973. 186pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in Custer and Rapid City, South Dakota; activities of AIM attorneys, including Ramon Roubideaux and William Kunstler; AIM's confrontation with Richard Wilson, tribal leader of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM local branch chapters; deployment of FBI agents and other law enforcement officials at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM fund-raising activities, personnel, and organization; protest by AIM regarding BIA school policies in Hammon, Oklahoma; AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

- 0187 File 100-462483, Volume 8. 1973. 198pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM's confrontation with Richard Wilson, tribal leader at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM local branch chapters; demonstration by Algonquin Indians in Syracuse, New York; demonstrations led by AIM in Scottsbluff, Nebraska; AIM leadership, personnel, and organization; AIM national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma; support by Asian Americans for AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; statement by Carter Camp regarding situation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
- 0385 File 105-203686, Section 8. 1973. 196pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in Rapid City, South Dakota; departure by Vernon Bellecourt from Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; deployment of FBI agents and other law enforcement officials at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstration led by AIM in Hammon, Oklahoma; demonstration by American and Canadian Indians protesting Canadian border policies at Port of Entry, Grand Portage, Minnesota; AIM's confrontation with Richard Wilson, tribal leader of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM leadership, organization, and personnel; demonstrations in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, over killing of Leroy Shenandoah by police; demonstrations in support of AIM in North Carolina, Washington State, and California; demonstration led by AIM and La Raza Unida in Scottsbluff, Nebraska.
- 0581 File 100-462483, Volume 9. 1973. 154pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Statement by Carter Camp regarding situation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; arrest and questioning of AIM personnel in Albuquerque, New Mexico; transcript of panel discussion recording views of John Flynn and Danny Pidgeon regarding situation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; AIM national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma; AIM local branch chapters; demonstrations led by AIM in Carmichael, California.
- 0735 File 105-203686, Section 9. 1973. 234pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Michigan, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Ohio, California, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, North Carolina, New York, Kansas, Texas, Florida, Colorado, Oklahoma, Illinois, and Washington State to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; liaison with VVAW and YAWF; plans of William Kunstler and Daniel Berrigan to travel to Wounded Knee, South Dakota; events surrounding AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; tracking of vehicles suspected to be bound for Wounded Knee, South Dakota; AIM's seizure of U.S. Postal Service inspectors in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; wounding of FBI agent in shootout with AIM near Wounded Knee, South Dakota; interview with Vernon Bellecourt regarding situation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; protest against public school policies in Tuba City, Arizona.



## Reel 5

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 10. 1973. 170pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations protesting arrest of AIM leaders (including Russell Means) in Scottsbluff, Nebraska; AIM local branch chapters; liaison with Chicanos, Black Panther Party, and other groups; AIM national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma; plans for AIM to focus on Northern Cheyenne Reservation in eastern Montana, following Wounded Knee, South Dakota; formation of WKLD/OC.
- 0171 File 105-203686, Section 10. 1973. 242pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Arizona, Illinois, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Nevada, New York, Oregon, California, Georgia, Ohio, Florida, New Jersey, Michigan, Colorado, Wisconsin, Washington State, Montana, Louisiana, and Utah to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; confrontation between AIM and East Carolina Indian Organization in Robeson County, North Carolina; liaison with VVAW, Chicanos, YAWF, and other groups; plans of BIA to counter possible future threats against their installations; tracking of vehicles and persons to and from Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
- 0413 File 100-462483, Volume 11. 1973. 307pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; liaison with Venceremos, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other groups; list of persons arrested in connection with AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; demonstration by AIM at Iowa United Methodist Church Headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa, and grant by that church of bail-bond money for AIM; list of individuals possessing firearms during AIM's occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota; AIM national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma; security measures at Fort Sill, Oklahoma; AIM organization and personnel.
- 0720 File 105-203686, Section 11. 1973. 259pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Utah, Iowa, Texas, Michigan, Ohio, California, Oklahoma, Oregon, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Mexico, Arizona, Maryland, Maine, Kansas, and Indiana to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; liaison with Venceremos, student groups, Farm Workers Organizing Committee, American Friends Service Committee, VVAW, and other groups; deployment of FBI personnel in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; antiriot laws investigations concerning interstate commerce to support the occupiers in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; investigation of AIM personnel and organization involved in occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; questions and answers prepared for hearings before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs regarding occupation by AIM in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; activities of East Carolina Tuscarora Indian Organization in Fayetteville, North Carolina.

## Reel 6

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 12. 1973. 190pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of United Indians of Nebraska and John Two Birds Arbuckle; liaison with black extremist groups, Crusade for Justice, student groups, and other groups; AIM local branch chapters; trial of persons involved in occupation of Public Health Service Hospital in Gallup, New Mexico; change of AIM national convention from Pawnee, Oklahoma, to White Oak, Oklahoma; AIM organization and personnel.
- 0191 File 105-203686, Section 12. 1973. 212pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, Indiana, Washington State, Kansas, Wisconsin, Virginia, New York, Colorado, South Dakota, Arizona, New Mexico, and Michigan to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; deployment of FBI personnel in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; disturbances at Bay Mills Indian Reservation in Bay Mills, Michigan; AIM organization and personnel; surveillance of Canadians in the U.S. in connection with AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
- 0403 File 100-462483, Volume 13. 1973. 182pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Evidence secured at the National Wounded Knee Communications Center in Rapid City, South Dakota; AIM national convention at Pawnee and White Oak, Oklahoma; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization, personnel, and finances.
- 0584 File 100-462483, Volume 13—Serial 873—Bulky Part 1. 1967–1973. 507pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Contents of briefcase of Vernon Bellecourt regarding AIM organization, philosophy, personnel, fund raising, finances, correspondence, public relations, travels of Bellecourt, Trail of Broken Treaties, AIM national convention in White Oak, Oklahoma, and liaison with outside groups [photographs of poor contrast omitted from microfilm of this file].

## Reel 7

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 13—Serial 873—Bulky Part 2. 1973. 192pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Contents of briefcase of Vernon Bellecourt regarding AIM organization, philosophy, personnel, fund raising, finances, correspondence, public relations, travels of Bellecourt, Trail of Broken Treaties, AIM national convention in White Oak, Oklahoma, and liaison with outside groups.
- 0193 File 105-203686, Section 13. 1973–1974. 189pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations by AIM at U.S.-Canadian border crossing points and in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; demonstrations by AIM at Navajo Indian agencies in Fort Defiance, Arizona, and Gallup, New Mexico; AIM proposal for secession of Seneca Nation of Indians, Cattaraugus Indian Reservation in Irving, New York; demonstrations by AIM at Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Oklahoma;

investigation by FBI headquarters of local agents' failure to report demonstrations in Utica, New York, to support AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; disturbances by members of Papago Indian Reservation in Gila Bend, Arizona; demonstrations led by AIM in Detroit, Michigan, protesting desecration of Indian burial grounds; disturbance by Apache Indians at San Carlos Indian Reservation in Bylas, Arizona; demonstrations in support of Wounded Knee defense in California and New York; demonstration at U.S. Department of Agriculture building in Atlanta, Georgia, by members of the Tuscarora Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina.

0382 File 100-462483, Volume 14. 1973. 158pp.

*Major Subjects:* Statements by attorney Ramon Roubideaux in Anchorage, Alaska, regarding AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; investigation of telephone numbers from telephone bill of National Wounded Knee Communications Center; AIM national convention in White Oak, Oklahoma; cancellation of Sioux Sun Dance in Crazy Horse, South Dakota, by Governor Richard Kneip; investigation of U.S. Department of Interior contract awarded to Denver, Colorado, branch chapter of AIM and activities of that local chapter; liaison with National Indian Luthern Board, VVAW, and Crusade for Justice; investigation of alleged members of AIM in Oklahoma, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Colorado.

0540 File 105-203686, Section 14. 1974-1980. 268pp.

*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Arizona, New York, California, Washington, D.C., and Massachusetts to commemorate activities of AIM in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; disorders by Apache Indians at San Carlos Indian Reservation in Bylas, Arizona; demonstrations at U.S.-Canadian border crossing points; demonstrations led by AIM during trials of Custer defendants in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; liaison with Chicano groups; demonstration at Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Oklahoma; demonstrations by Apache, Hopi, and Navajo Indians in Arizona; demonstration at Harrisburg Area Community College in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; demonstrations in front of FBI offices in New York, New York, and Omaha, Nebraska, urging removal of all government agents from Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstration at Canadian Consulate in San Francisco, California, protesting extradition of Leonard Peltier from Canada to face charges in connection with murder of two FBI agents at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstration in Washington, D.C., protesting incarceration of Leonard Peltier; demonstrations at Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation in Nevada; demonstration led by AIM in front of J. Edgar Hoover building in Washington, D.C., protesting mining activities and nuclear weapon and energy projects.

0808 File 100-462483, Volume 15. 1973. 198pp.

*Major Subjects:* AIM national convention in White Oak, Oklahoma; liaison with Santa Barbara Legal Collective, SDS, Weatherman, VVAW, National Indian Lutheran Board, and other groups; preparations by U.S. attorney, South Dakota, for trials in connection with AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; investigation of a U.S. Department of Interior contract awarded to Denver, Colorado, branch chapter of AIM and activities of that local chapter; AIM national organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters.

## Reel 8

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 16. 1973. 232pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Disorders stemming from a land dispute at St. Regis Indian Reservation in Hogansburg, New York; demonstrations led by AIM in Blackfoot, Idaho, Des Moines, Iowa, Fort Defiance, Arizona, and Gallup, New Mexico; AIM local branch chapters; photographs among contents of briefcase of Vernon Bellecourt.
- 0233 File 100-462483, Volume 17. 1973. 171pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts, led by United American Indians of New England; AIM local branch chapters; demonstrations led by AIM in Des Moines, Iowa, Fort Defiance, Arizona, and Gallup, New Mexico; AIM organization and personnel; New York activities of White Roots of Peace.
- 0404 File 100-462483, Volume 18. 1973. 145pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in Fort Defiance, Arizona, and Gallup, New Mexico; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters.
- 0549 File 100-462483, Volume 19. 1973. 213pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Disturbances involving members of AIM encampment in Window Rock, Arizona; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; AIM organization and personnel; proposed presence of AIM at Prairie Band Potawatomi tribe meeting in Holton, Kansas; AIM local branch chapters.
- 0762 File 100-462483, Volume 20. 1973. 159pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; proposed presence of AIM at Prairie Band Potawatomi tribe meeting in Holton, Kansas; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters; national speaking tour by Russell Means.
- 0921 File 100-462483, Volume 21. 1973. 196pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters; proposed presence of AIM at Prairie Band Potawatomi tribe meeting in Holton, Kansas; national speaking tour by Russell Means; seminar at the University of Minnesota sponsored by AIM and appearances there by Clyde Bellecourt, Mark Lane, and Angela Davis; demonstrations led by AIM in Sandstone, Minnesota; death of Pedro Bissonnette at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

## Reel 9

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 22. 1973. 202pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters; meetings led by AIM in McLaughlin and Rapid City, South Dakota.
- 0203 File 100-462483, Volume 23. 1973. 197pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters; death of Pedro Bissonnette at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, attempt to restrict travel there of AIM leadership, funeral of Bissonnette, violent incidents there.
- 0400 File 100-462483, Volume 24. 1973. 173pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Death of Pedro Bissonnette at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and funeral of Bissonnette; election of Robert Burnette as president of the Rosebud Sioux tribe; AIM local branch chapters; disturbances led by AIM at the National Congress of American Indians in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; AIM organization and personnel.
- 0573 File 100-462483, Volume 25. 1973. 142pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Activities of WKLD/OC; demands for arrest of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation tribal chairman Richard Wilson; incidents stemming from shooting of Pedro Bissonnette at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM organization and personnel; AIM local branch chapters; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM.
- 0715 File 100-462483, Volume 26. 1973. 184pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; panel discussions by members of AIM at Grand Valley State College in Allendale, Michigan; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM.
- 0899 File 100-462483, Volume 27. 1973. 157pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; meetings led by AIM in McLaughlin and Rapid City, South Dakota; counterintelligence measures considered by FBI to further disrupt AIM leadership; schism between Russell Means and Dennis Banks in AIM leadership.

## Reel 10

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 28. 1973. 156pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM.
- 0157 File 100-462483, Volume 29. 1973. 170pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; liaison with VVAW, YAWF, and other groups; FBI report on local branches, organization, leadership, finances, activities, and AIM's propensity for violence.
- 0327 File 100-462483, Volume 30. 1973. 191pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; liaison with VVAW, YAWF, and other groups; rally led by AIM in Los Angeles, California, in support of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, defendants; powwow sponsored by AIM at Chilocco Indian School in Chilocco, Oklahoma; surveillance of California state AIM convention; activities of Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice in conjunction with trials of AIM leaders for activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
- 0518 File 100-462483, Volume 31. 1973-1974. 200pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Activities of WKLD/OC; trials of AIM leaders for activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota; AIM local branch chapters ; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; demonstrations in California, Maine, Massachusetts, and South Dakota protesting trials of AIM leaders.
- 0718 File 100-462483, Volume 32. 1974. 237pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Attempt to sell firearms to Russell Means for AIM by an Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Enforcement Division undercover agent; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; demonstrations in Massachusetts and Minnesota protesting trials of AIM leaders; financial support of AIM and Amerind by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization; symposium sponsored by AIM in Denver, Colorado; FBI report on AIM record of violence.
- 0955 File 100-462483, Volume 33. 1974. 258pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Maine, Massachusetts, Oregon, Illinois, and nationwide protesting trials of AIM leaders; progress in trials of Russell Means and Dennis Banks; demonstration in Chicago, Illinois, protesting insensitive museum exhibits at Chicago Historical Society building; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; FBI report on gathering of AIM members in McLaughlin, South Dakota; attempt by Dennis

Banks to negotiate release of Patricia Hearst in conjunction with other groups listed by Symbionese Liberation Army.

## Reel 11

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 34. 1974. 204pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; demonstrations nationwide protesting trials of AIM leaders; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; progress in trials of Russell Means and Dennis Banks; trial of James M. Romero for murder of deputy sheriff, Apache County, Arizona; planning for a workshop sponsored by AIM for Pueblo Indians to be held in New Mexico; demonstration led by AIM in Gordon, Nebraska.
- 0205 File 100-462483, Volume 35. 1974. 227pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; attempt by Dennis Banks to negotiate release of Patricia Hearst in conjunction with other groups listed by Symbionese Liberation Army; list of phone calls made from trading post in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by AIM occupants; plans for AIM national convention at Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstrations nationwide protesting trials of AIM leaders; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; activities of WKLD/OC; disturbances by Apache Indians at San Carlos Indian Reservation in Bylas, Arizona; speeches delivered by Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and William Kunstler at a rally sponsored by the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado.
- 0432 File 100-462483, Volume 36. 1974. 169pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Plans for AIM national convention at Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation in South Dakota; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; call for national boycott of South Dakota by AIM; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; regional conference of AIM in Cumberland, Wisconsin.
- 0601 File 100-462483, Volume 37. 1974. 233pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Picketing by AIM of Rosebud jail and protest by AIM of Mormon missionaries at Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota; coordination between FBI and BIA; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; disturbance by AIM at National Congress of American Indians Convention, Tulsa, Oklahoma; regional conference of AIM in Cumberland, Wisconsin; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; call for national boycott of South Dakota by AIM; communication from Office of the National Chairman, AIM, John Trudell, regarding kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and death of members of Symbionese Liberation Army; fund raising by AIM; AIM national convention at Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

## Reel 12

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 38. 1974. 409pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM national convention and First International (Indian) Treaty Conference at Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation in South Dakota; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; FBI report on local branches, organization, leadership, liaison with Vencermos, VVAW, and other groups; finances, activities, and propensity for violence of AIM; coordination between FBI and Community Relations Service of Department of Justice.
- 0410 File 100-462483, Volume 39. 1974. 210pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; memoranda regarding AIM organization in Oklahoma, Stanley Holder, Carter Camp, and dissension with national leadership; demonstrations led by AIM in Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Minnesota, and Wisconsin; AIM national convention in Fort Defiance, Arizona; southwestern regional AIM conference in Shiprock, New Mexico.
- 0620 File 100-462483, Volume 40. 1974. 148pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in Wisconsin and South Dakota; AIM national convention in Fort Defiance, Arizona; southwestern regional AIM conference in Shiprock, New Mexico; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM.
- 0768 File 100-462483, Volume 41. 1974. 241pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in South Dakota, Ontario, Canada, and Arizona; financial support of AIM by United Way of St. Paul, Minnesota; disturbances led by AIM at Peabody Mine, Black Mesa, Arizona; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; plans for conference of Russell Means and Dennis Banks with U.S. Attorney General Saxbe and President Gerald Ford to demand amnesty for all Wounded Knee defendants and an investigation of government conduct during Wounded Knee trials; arrest of AIM members in Ventura, California, on suspicion of murder; infiltration by AIM of National Congress of American Indians conference in San Diego, California.



## Reel 13

### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 42. 1974. 217pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Appearance by Russell Means at conference sponsored by American Indians Now Texans in Austin, Texas; investigation of persons arrested in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, or otherwise associated with AIM; demonstration led by AIM in Pierre, South Dakota; southwest regional AIM conference in Davis, California; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; infiltration by AIM of the National Congress of American Indians conference in San Diego, California.
- 0218 File 100-462483, Volume 43. 1974-1975. 195pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM organization and personnel; documents concerning AIM seized upon arrest of an unidentified person in Porcupine, South Dakota; southwest regional AIM conference in Davis, California; AIM local branch chapters; proposed study of problems of FBI informants as result of trial of AIM leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks; investigation of persons associated with AIM; allegations of AIM plans for sabotage on Alaskan oil pipeline and disruption of American Bicentennial celebration.
- 0413 File 100-462483, Volume 44. 1975. 231pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; progress of nonleadership Wounded Knee trials in Council Bluffs, Iowa; liaison with YAWF and other groups; occupation of Fairchild Electronics Plant in Shiprock, New Mexico; shooting incidents involving AIM and alleged miscarriages of justice at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstrations by AIM at federal buildings in Rapid City, South Dakota, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, protesting alleged miscarriages of justice at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; occupation by AIM of an Ohlone Indian burial site in Watsonville, California; investigation of persons associated with AIM; transcript of news conference sponsored by AIM, including declaration by Douglass Durham that he had been a paid FBI informant for two years.
- 0644 File 100-462483, Volume 45. 1975. 210pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstration by AIM at federal building in Denver, Colorado, protesting alleged miscarriages of justice at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; demonstration led by AIM in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, protesting trials stemming from disturbance at the Minnehaha County Court House in South Dakota; transcript of television broadcast including declaration by Douglass Durham that he had been a paid FBI informant for two years; investigation of persons associated with AIM; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; threats against jurors following conviction of John Hill in trial stemming from murder of prison guard in Attica, New York; Canadian national convention of AIM in Edmonton, Alberta; disturbance stemming from an employment grievance at Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institution in New Mexico; progress of leadership and nonleadership Wounded Knee trials in Sioux City, Iowa; demonstrations by AIM against importation of Vietnamese refugees

in San Pedro, California; occupation by AIM of Alexian Brothers Monastery in Gresham, Wisconsin; liaison with La Pipa Movement on Quechan Indian Reservation in Winterhaven, California; manhunt for Leonard Peltier at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

0854 File 100-462483, Volume 46. 1975. 175pp.

*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; arrest of AIM members in Ventura, California, on suspicion of murder; investigation of persons associated with AIM; AIM national convention in Farmington, New Mexico.

## Reel 14

### American Indian Movement cont.

0001 File 100-462483, Volume 47. 1975. 440pp.

*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons associated with AIM; AIM national convention in Farmington, New Mexico; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; murder of FBI special agents Jack R. Coler and Ronald A. Williams at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; explosion at visitor's center at Mt. Rushmore in South Dakota; demonstration by AIM at federal building in Minneapolis, Minnesota, protesting alleged miscarriages of justice at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; FBI report on local branches, organization, leadership, liaison with other groups, finances, activities, and AIM's propensity for violence.

0441 File 100-462483, Volume 48. 1975. 162pp.

*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; murder of FBI special agents Jack R. Coler and Ronald A. Williams at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; explosion at visitor's center at Mt. Rushmore in South Dakota; demonstrations in Minnesota, California, and New York protesting killing of Joe Killsright in South Dakota; investigation of persons associated with AIM; arraignment of Carter Camp, Stanley Holder, and others in Iowa City, Iowa.

0603 File 100-462483, Volume 49. 1975. 174pp.

*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations in Minnesota, California, and Massachusetts protesting FBI activities at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; liaison with YAWF, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, and other groups; AIM local branch chapters; AIM organization and personnel; rally led by the Native American Bicentennial Committee at Mt. Rushmore in South Dakota; lawsuit against AIM and AIM leaders stemming from beating of a television cameraman during occupation of Fairchild Electronics Plant in Shiprock, New Mexico.

0777 File 100-462483, Volume 50. 1975. 167pp.

*Major Subjects:* AIM national convention in Farmington, New Mexico; travel of members of Lakota Coalition to Washington, D.C., protesting U.S. Indian policies; AIM organization and personnel; liaison with Venceremos and other groups; investigation of persons associated with AIM; manhunt for federal fugitive Carter Camp; demonstrations in California and South Dakota protesting FBI activities at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

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### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 51. 1975. 129pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Investigation of persons associated with AIM; manhunt for federal fugitives Frank Black Horse and Leonard Peltier; demonstrations in California, South Dakota, and Washington State protesting observance of Columbus Day and protesting FBI activities at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; liaison with members of Farm Workers Union and other groups; hearing held in U.S. Appeals Court, St. Paul, Minnesota, seeking reversal of Wounded Knee convictions; planned activities of AIM directed at bicentennial events.
- 0130 File 100-462483, Volume 52. 1975-1976. 240pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Planned activities of AIM directed at bicentennial events; investigation of persons associated with AIM; demonstrations in Washington State and Wisconsin protesting observance of Columbus Day and protesting FBI activities at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; manhunt for fugitives Carter Camp, Stanley Holder, Dennis Banks, Frank Black Horse, and Leonard Peltier; AIM organization and personnel; coordination of FBI with Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regarding planned acts of violence by AIM; appearances by Vernon Bellecourt and Russell Means in West Germany; liaison with YAWF and other groups; AIM local branch chapters.
- 0370 File 100-462483, Volume 53. 1976. 146pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Planned activities of AIM directed at bicentennial events; demonstrations in San Francisco and Sacramento, California, following arrest and arraignment of Dennis Banks seeking to block his extradition to South Dakota and other states; investigation of persons associated with AIM; liaison with Native American Solidarity Committee and other groups; demonstrations in Oregon and Washington State protesting arrest of Kenneth Loud Hawk and Russell Redner; manhunt for federal fugitive Leonard Peltier.
- 0516 File 100-462483, Volume 54. 1976. 260pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Planned activities of AIM directed at bicentennial events; manhunt for federal fugitive Leonard Peltier; AIM organization and personnel; demonstrations in Oregon and Washington State protesting arrest of Kenneth Loud Hawk and Russell Redner; AIM local branch chapters.
- 0776 File 100-462483, Volume 55. 1976. 332pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Travel of Russell Means; planned activities of AIM directed at bicentennial events; trial of Robert Robideau and Darrelle (Dino) Butler in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in connection with murder of two FBI agents at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; FBI report on origin, history, organization, personnel, basis for investigation, and analysis of AIM investigation; liaison with Brown Berets, SDS, and other groups.

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### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 56. 1976. 245pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM and Survival of American Indians Association in front of White House and elsewhere in Washington, D.C., during bicentennial celebrations; participation by AIM in Custer Memorial Service at Custer National Battlefield, Crow Indian Reservation in Montana; FBI report regarding history of AIM; unauthorized disclosure of FBI communication regarding AIM by BIA personnel; summary of meetings of White House staff with Indian groups; FBI counterintelligence programs and AIM; investigation of persons associated with AIM; AIM organization and personnel; biennial AIM International Treaty Conference in Greenwood, South Dakota.
- 0246 File 100-462483, Volume 57. 1976. 237pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Plans by AIM and Dennis Banks for a Sun Dance ceremony to be held at Deganawidah Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California; biennial AIM International Treaty Conference in Greenwood, South Dakota; AIM organization and personnel; liaison with Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other groups; criticism by AIM of appointment of Richard G. Held as associate director of FBI; demonstrations led by AIM and Survival of American Indians Association in front of White House and elsewhere in Washington, D.C., during bicentennial celebrations; news media reports on background and history of undercover FBI agent and AIM National Security Director Douglass Durham; AIM activities and living conditions during Wounded Knee leadership trials; AIM activities in Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
- 0483 File 100-462483, Volume 58. 1973 and 1976-1977. 192pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Allegations regarding arming citizens of Chadron, Nebraska, for protection against AIM in wake of disturbances in Rapid City and Custer, South Dakota; recovery of AIM memoranda in stolen automobile, including minutes of meeting of AIM Strategic Action Committee at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota; ouster of Dennis Banks and Ron Petite as national director and deputy national director of AIM for threatening Indian people with guns, disrespect for Indian religion, and poor administration of the national office; appointment of Vernon Bellecourt and George Mitchell as national co-directors; demonstrations led by AIM in Oklahoma, Minnesota, and Nevada protesting activities of federal and local law enforcement agencies; activities of Native American Solidarity Committee; activities of AIM in California involving employment grievances and fishing rights of Indians; manhunt for federal fugitive Leonard Peltier and subsequent arrest of Peltier in Canada; demonstrations led by AIM and Native American Solidarity Committee in New York, California, and Canada to urge Canadian government to grant asylum to Leonard Peltier.
- 0675 File 100-462483, Volume 59. 1977. 204pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by AIM in Nevada protesting activities of state prison officials; seminar sponsored by AIM at Southern Illinois University; demonstration led by AIM in Oklahoma protesting activities of federal and local

law enforcement agencies; liaison with the Crusade for Justice, United Farm Workers, Native American Solidarity Committee, and other groups; surveillance of Russell Means in Denver, Colorado; manhunt for federal fugitive Stanley Holder; alleged harassment by FBI agents of Vernon Bellecourt in California; demonstrations led by Native American Solidarity Committee in California protesting FBI harassment of AIM and trial of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk on murder charges stemming from incident in Ventura, California.

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### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 60. 1977. 316pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations led by Native American Solidarity Committee in California protesting FBI harassment of AIM and trial of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk on murder charges stemming from incident in Ventura, California; third annual International Treaty Conference at the St. Elizabeth Mission in Wakpala, South Dakota; possible activities of AIM in Kayenta, Arizona, relating to employment disputes of Navajo Indians with local school board and with Peabody Coal Company, United Mine Workers; AIM local branch chapters; FBI reports on origin, history, organization, personnel, basis for investigation, analysis of investigation of AIM, and liaison of other groups with AIM; affidavit of Myrtle Poop Bear in British Columbia, Canada, in matter of *The State of South Dakota v. Richard Marshall*.
- 0317 File 100-462483, Volume 61. 1977-1978. 209pp.  
*Major Subjects:* AIM local branch chapters; third annual International Treaty Conference at St. Elizabeth Mission in Wakpala, South Dakota; Sun Dance ceremony at Deganawidah Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California; request of Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure concerning FBI dissemination of memorandum regarding Dog Soldiers in AIM and correspondence with Senator James Abourezk; investigation of possible theft by AIM of automatic weapons from Camp Pendleton, California; FBI report to U.S. attorney general regarding organization and personnel of AIM; activities of AIM at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and primary election victory of Richard Wilson; demonstration led by American Indian Coalition in Sacramento, California, protesting legislation under consideration by U.S. Congress.
- 0526 File 100-462483, Volume 62. 1978. 274pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Activities of Darrelle (Dino) Butler in support of Leonard Peltier; demonstrations and activities led by AIM in support of "Longest Walk" and progress of marchers toward Washington, D.C.; activities of AIM at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and primary election victory of Richard Wilson; statements by Vernon Bellecourt regarding possible FBI informer within AIM organization.
- 0800 File 100-462483, Volume 63. 1978. 224pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Demonstrations and activities led by AIM in support of "Longest Walk"; progress of marchers; marchers' arrival in Washington, D.C.; sale of

weapons to AIM members by undercover agents of Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms in Nebraska and coordination with FBI; activities of Russell Means and Larry Red Shirt on behalf of Lakota Treaty Council and International Indian Treaty Council and plans for encampment at Wind Cave National Park in South Dakota; AIM activities at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and investigation of survival camps there; rally in support of Russell Means at South Dakota State Penitentiary in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in conjunction with International Treaty Convention in Rapid City, South Dakota; stabbing of Means in fracas in penitentiary prior to rally.

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### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 100-462483, Volume 64. 1978-1981. 263pp.  
*Major Subjects:* March led by Larry Anderson and other AIM members from Window Rock to Flagstaff, Arizona, protesting federal actions regarding Joint Use Area; activities of Bruce Butler, Darrelle (Dino) Butler, and John Trudell among Stiletz Indian Tribe in Stiletz, Oregon; work release of Russell Means to Senator James Abourezk from South Dakota State Penitentiary; FBI reports recommending that investigation of AIM be closed, general analysis of decline of AIM, and closure of full investigation of AIM; course sponsored by Dennis Banks at Stanford University in Stanford, California; occupation by AIM of Consolidated Coal Mine in Burnham, New Mexico; report from BIA representative regarding increased activities of AIM, including international economic and political alliances, possible terrorist activities, and lack of leadership in AIM.
- 0264 File 157-31709. 1974-1975. 34pp.  
*Major Subject:* Rapid City, South Dakota, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0298 File 157-31996. 1974-1976. 68pp.  
*Major Subject:* Fort Defiance, Arizona, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0366 File 157-31240. 1973-1975. 14pp.  
*Major Subject:* Cheyenne River Sioux, South Dakota, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0380 File 157-31278. 1974-1975. 49pp.  
*Major Subject:* Klamath County, Oregon, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0429 File 174-7149. 1976. 5pp.  
*Major Subject:* Alleged plot to bomb capitol building in Denver, Colorado.
- 0434 File 173-0-211. 1972. 3pp.  
*Major Subject:* Employment under Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- 0437 File 157-31224. 1974. 7pp.  
*Major Subject:* Porcupine, South Dakota, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0444 File 157-31621. 1974-1975. 72pp.  
*Major Subject:* St. Paul, Minnesota, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0516 File 157-35137. 1981-1983. 51pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Minneapolis, Minnesota, division of AIM; Yellow Thunder Camp led by Russell Means at Black Hills National Forest in South Dakota; murder of Clarence Tollefson.

- 0567 File 157-35101. 1979. 25pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Minneapolis, Minnesota, division of AIM; demonstrations led by AIM at BIA offices in Ashland, Wisconsin, and Duluth and Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- 0592 File 157-35082. 1978. 5pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Albuquerque, New Mexico, division of AIM; denial by AIM of a reported threat to take over U.S. Public Health Service Hospital in Tuba City, Arizona.
- 0597 File 157-32618. 1974-1975. 11pp.  
*Major Subject:* Yankton Sioux, Wagner, South Dakota, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0608 File 157-32584. 1974. 19pp.  
*Major Subject:* Tulsa, Oklahoma, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0627 File 70-03045. 1971. 5pp.  
*Major Subject:* Occupation by AIM of U.S. Coast Guard station at McKinley Beach in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- 0632 File 62-116878. Undated. 2pp.  
*Major Subject:* Court case involving AIM as plaintiff in U.S. District Court for District of Columbia, *Adele Halkin et al. v. Richard Helms et al.*
- 0634 File 157-27976. 1973-1974. 18pp.  
*Major Subject:* Tuba City, Arizona, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0652 File 157-27977. 1973-1975. 112pp.  
*Major Subject:* Robeson County, North Carolina, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0764 File 157-28004. 1973-1974. 26pp.  
*Major Subject:* Phoenix, Arizona, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0790 File 157-27979. 1973-1974. 21pp.  
*Major Subject:* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0811 File 157-29978. 1973-1974. 22pp.  
*Major Subject:* Lawton, Oklahoma, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0833 File 157-28141. 1973-1974. 111pp.  
*Major Subject:* Des Moines, Iowa, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0944 File 157-28691. 1973-1974. 13pp.  
*Major Subject:* Neopit, Wisconsin, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0957 File 157-28142. 1973-1975. 48pp.  
*Major Subject:* Rosebud, South Dakota, local branch chapter of AIM.

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### American Indian Movement cont.

- 0001 File 157-30925. 1973-1974. 19pp.  
*Major Subject:* Portland, Oregon, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0020 File 157-30150. 1973-1975. 36pp.  
*Major Subject:* Los Angeles, California, local branch chapter of AIM.
- 0056 File 157-30562. 1973-1975. 57pp.  
*Major Subject:* Detroit, Michigan, local branch chapter of AIM.

- 0113 File 157-31106. 1973-1975. 119pp.  
*Major Subject:* Foreign influence and international activities of AIM.

### **Wounded Knee, South Dakota**

- 0232 File 176-2404, Section 1. February 21-March 6, 1973. 156pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Department of Justice plan and negotiations for termination of occupation; list of persons arrested at roadblocks; deployment of FBI personnel, U.S. marshals, BIA police, and U.S. Army personnel; surveillance of occupation; supply of ammunition and personnel to FBI; news media coverage of incidents; delegation of U.S. senators to meet with AIM; initial occupation.
- 0388 File 176-2404, Section 2. March 5-10, 1973. 214pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; agreement between AIM and law enforcement officials to withdraw roadblocks from area; withdrawal of nonresidents from village; negotiations conducted through auspices of National Council of Churches; wounding of Indians at scene; preparations for Grand Jury hearings in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; deployment of FBI personnel, U.S. marshals, BIA police, U.S. Army personnel, South Dakota State Police, and Nebraska State Police; FBI policies regarding use of force, arrest of demonstrators, and issuance of warrants; firefight with AIM supporters at roadblock number 3 south of Porcupine, South Dakota; surveillance of airplanes used to resupply AIM; application for telephone wiretap in trading post to U.S. District Court for the district of South Dakota; Department of Justice plan and negotiations for termination of occupation; identification of contents of Molotov cocktails seized in the area; supply of ammunition and personnel to FBI; arrest and arraignment of persons seized at roadblocks.
- 0602 File 176-2404, Section 3. March 10, 1973. 443pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Preparations for Grand Jury hearings in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; FBI report regarding predication, background, Calico, South Dakota, roadblocks, arrests, hostages and negotiations, interviews of Wounded Knee residents, ranchers, and nonresidents in vicinity, shots fired, physical evidence, aircraft landings, and action.

## **Reel 20**

### **Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.**

- 0001 File 176-2404, Section 4. March 10-13, 1973. 221pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Preparations for Grand Jury hearings in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; deployment of FBI personnel, U.S. marshals, BIA police, U.S. Army personnel, South Dakota State Police, and Nebraska State Police; Department of Justice negotiations with AIM; FBI report regarding surveillance of airplanes used to resupply AIM, search of aircraft and hangar in Grand Haven, Michigan, investigation of vicinity of Grand Haven Airport, and interview with foodstuffs contributors in Michigan; application for telephone wiretap in trading post to U.S. District Court for the district of South Dakota; surveillance of car caravans



believed bound for area; policies of network television broadcasters regarding furnishing evidence and broadcast footage to FBI; cooperation with Department of Defense regarding Posse Comitatus Act; condition of FBI agent shot at roadblock; arrest of persons in area.

0222 File 176-2404, Section 5. March 13-17, 1973. 150pp.

*Major Subjects:* Surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; policies of network television broadcasters regarding furnishing evidence and broadcast footage to FBI; summary of AIM weaponry; cooperation with Department of Defense and call for tanks, tear gas, and armed forces personnel; national support for activities led by AIM; Department of Justice negotiations with AIM and Department of the Interior; arrest at roadblocks; liaison with VVAW.

0372 File 176-2404, Section 6. March 17, 1973. 460pp.

*Major Subjects:* Preparations for Grand Jury hearings in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; FBI report regarding negotiations through National Council of Churches and Department of Justice, interviews of Wounded Knee residents, hostages, and ranchers in vicinity, interviews by and of BIA police and U.S. marshals, roadblocks, AIM assault on roadblock number 3, arrests, shots fired, aircraft landing, prosecution, and physical evidence.

0832 File 176-2404, Section 7. March 17-21, 1973. 213pp.

*Major Subjects:* Surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; policies of network television broadcasters regarding furnishing evidence and broadcast footage to FBI; national demonstrations and support for activities led by AIM; liaison with VVAW, SDS, and other groups; FBI and Department of Justice negotiations with AIM; cooperation with Department of the Interior and Pine Ridge Indian Reservation tribal leader, Richard Wilson.

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### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

0001 File 176-2404, Section 8. March 21-24, 1973. 221pp.

*Major Subjects:* Surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; shots fired at roadblocks; national demonstrations and support for AIM; arrest of demonstrators, including Vernon Bellecourt in Robeson County, North Carolina; use of news media by AIM leadership; dissension between AIM leadership in Wounded Knee and white supporters within, including Vietnam veterans, over nonconfrontational policies; AIM resupply operations; attempt by Angela Davis to enter area followed by denial of entry and escort from area by tribal police; FBI answers to questions in letter from Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson regarding arrests, Department of Justice contingency plans, and other matters; monetary costs of FBI operations in area; formation of WKLD/OC; legal memorandum on jurisdiction of Department of Justice at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation; liaison with Venceremos and other groups; policies of network television broadcasters regarding furnishing evidence and broadcast footage to FBI.

0222 File 176-2404, Section 9. March 24-28, 1973. 428pp.

*Major Subjects:* FBI report regarding arrests, interviews with residents and non-residents in the vicinity, Porcupine, South Dakota, hostages, U.S. marshals inter-

views, aircraft sightings, roadblocks, shots fired, ranchers, BIA and police interviews, vehicle license checks, press and news media interviews, physical evidence, and prosecution.

0650 File 176-2404, Section 10. March 25-29, 1973. 183pp.

*Major Subjects:* National demonstrations and support for AIM; liaison with VVAW and other groups; deployment of FBI agents; activities of Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Pedro Bissonnette; negotiations with AIM leadership; shots fired; wounding of U.S. marshal; arrest of persons entering and leaving area; maintenance of FBI motor pool in area; legal opinion on use of private aircraft by FBI agents in area; restraining order issued against government by U.S. District Court for the district of South Dakota allowing AIM attorneys free ingress and egress from area with medical supplies, food, and fuel.

0833 File 176-2404, Section 11. March 29-31, 1973. 390pp.

*Major Subjects:* FBI report on chronology of events and answers to questions in letter from Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson regarding arrests, Department of Justice contingency plans, and other matters; FBI report regarding negotiations, arrests, interviews of residents and nonresidents in vicinity, roadblocks, aircraft sightings, BIA interviews, shots fired, interviews of press and media persons, and prosecution; liaison with Venceremos and other groups; lists of persons arrested in vicinity; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; deployment of FBI personnel in area; resupply of AIM and FBI in area; dissension among AIM leadership; cooperation with military personnel regarding proposed battle plan for occupying Wounded Knee by government forces.

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### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

0001 File 176-2404, Section 12. April 1-7, 1973. 233pp.

*Major Subjects:* Deployment of FBI personnel in area; negotiations by Department of Justice with Ramon Roubideaux, Hank Adams, Mark Lane, and Kenneth Tilsen; factional split within AIM between Dennis Banks and Russell Means; lists of persons arrested; FBI report on chronology of events and answers to questions in letter from Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson regarding arrests, Department of Justice contingency plans, and other matters; FBI General Investigative Division summary regarding representatives of fifty-one groups seeking entry to area; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area.

0234 File 176-2404, Section 13. April 8, 1973. 289pp.

*Major Subjects:* FBI report regarding negotiations, arrests, interviews of residents and nonresidents in vicinity, roadblocks, physical evidence, interviews with press and news media persons, prosecution, and identification records.

0523 File 176-2404, Section 14. April 9-12, 1973. 177pp.

*Major Subjects:* Activities of Russell Means in Washington, D.C., and New York; lists of persons arrested to date; request for Russell Means to appear in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, to face felony charges; FBI estimates of costs incurred per diem and deployment of personnel in area; photographs of area; arrest of Vernon

Bellecourt for defrauding an innkeeper in Rapid City, South Dakota; meetings of citizens groups opposed to AIM in area; progress of negotiations with Department of Justice; proposals for pulling federal personnel out of area if negotiations failed; liaison with VVAW, Venceremos, and other groups.

0700 File 176-2404, Section 15. April 12-17, 1973. 353pp.

*Major Subjects:* FBI report regarding negotiations, arrests, interviews of residents and nonresidents in the vicinity, shots fired, physical evidence, identification records, interviews with ranchers, photographic identification, interviews with press and news media persons, and prosecution; deployment and resupply of FBI and other personnel in area; resupply of AIM via attorney Mark Lane and demoralization due to lack of food; arrival of Stokely Carmichael and Robert Brown in Rapid City; attempt by "Crazy" Al Cooper to surrender in Rapid City for shooting of U.S. marshal; surrender of Clyde Bellecourt to FBI at roadblock.

## Reel 23

### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

0001 File 176-2404, Section 16. April 16-20, 1973. 200pp.

*Major Subjects:* Deployment and resupply of FBI and other personnel in area; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area and FBI policy as to arrest of AIM supporters in other states including Oregon; plans for AIM national convention to be held in Pawnee, Oklahoma, or Wounded Knee, South Dakota, and planned summer offensives of AIM for Gallup, New Mexico, and Flagstaff, Arizona; surrender and re-entry of Stanley Holder to quiet shootings; investigation of airdrops of supplies to AIM; list of persons arrested to date; injury of Frank Clearwater in firefight at roadblocks; barring of all AIM attorneys except Ramon Roubideaux from area; progress of negotiations with the Department of Justice; departure of Stokely Carmichael and Robert Brown from area; arraignment of Russell Means and Clyde Bellecourt in Pierre, South Dakota; demonstrations led by AIM at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and plans for a national pilgrimage to the area to coincide with the Easter holidays; national speaking tour of Vernon Bellecourt.

0201 File 176-2404, Section 17. April 20-24, 1973. 318pp.

*Major Subjects:* Deployment and resupply of FBI and other personnel in area; altercations and arrests at roadblocks; composition of AIM occupation forces and leadership; liaison with Socialist Workers Party, Black Panthers, and other groups; activities of Oglala Sioux tribal leader Richard Wilson; resupply of AIM; FBI report regarding negotiations, arrests, interviews of residents and nonresidents in the vicinity, physical evidence, photographic identification, hostages, roadblocks, and prosecution; recommendation of U.S. attorney to the attorney general for an end to restraint and police action to end siege.

0519 File 176-2404, Section 18. April 24-30, 1973. 172pp.

*Major Subjects:* Revocation of bond and arrest of Russell Means; release of Stanley Holder and Clyde Bellecourt from Rapid City jail on bond; fire at trading post in Wounded Knee; coordination with military officials over battle plan and

U.S. marshals over manning of roadblocks; deployment and resupply of FBI and other personnel in area; realignment of roadblocks, and confrontations and arrests at roadblocks; resupply of AIM; liaison with Communist Party and other groups; national speaking tour of Russell Means; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area.

- 0691 File 176-2404, Section 19. April 30–May 4, 1973. 134pp.

*Major Subjects:* National speaking tour by Michael Haney; liaison with Communist Party and other groups; visit by Aaron De Sersa to Miami financed by Doris Duke; negotiations for surrender of Dennis Banks; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; coordination with military officials over battle plan; decision by attorney general against police action.

- 0825 File 176-2404, Section 20. May 4–8, 1973. 337pp.

*Major Subjects:* Implementation of disarmament treaty by AIM; arrest of persons at roadblocks; negotiation and copies of disarmament treaty; FBI report regarding roadblock and Pine Ridge Indian Reservation jail interviews, interviews of residents and nonresidents in the vicinity, physical evidence, interviews with members of press and news media, and prosecution.

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### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

- 0001 File 176-2404, Section 21. May 8–22, 1973. 293pp.

*Major Subjects:* Investigation of area and evidence seized following surrender of AIM; estimates of total cost to tribal council, private individuals, news media, and law enforcement agencies resulting from occupation of Wounded Knee; dissatisfaction of Carter Camp, Stanley Holder and others over lack of bail money; surveillance of car caravans believed bound for area; search warrant executed at WKLD/OC headquarters in Rapid City, South Dakota; redeployment of FBI personnel in the wake of siege.

- 0294 File 176-2404, Section 22. May 22, 1973. 381pp.

*Major Subjects:* FBI report regarding negotiations and agreement, weapons, photographs, searches, roadblock and jail interviews, interviews of residents and nonresidents in vicinity, out-of-state interviews, and prosecution.

- 0675 File 176-2404, Section 23. May 22–June 10, 1973. 233pp.

*Major Subjects:* Attempt to take over AIM organization by Aaron De Sersa and the Crazy Horse Collective; rejection by White House officials of return to treaty of 1868 and abolition of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation tribal council; AIM organization and personnel; investigation of AIM weaponry including AK-47; letters of commendation to Special Agent in Charge Joseph Trimbach from President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton; lists of civil rights cases relating to Wounded Knee.

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### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

- 0001 File 176-2404, Section 24. June 10-20, 1973. 215pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Alphabetical list of arrests at Wounded Knee; news reports on Wounded Knee; correspondence regarding investigation of AIM weaponry including AK-47; rejection by White House officials of return to treaty of 1868 and abolition of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation tribal council.
- 0216 File 176-2404, Section 25. June 20-July 6, 1973. 238pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Cost analysis of FBI operations in area; investigation of AIM weaponry including AK-47; news reports on Wounded Knee; FBI report regarding interviews with residents and nonresidents in vicinity, interviews with former hostages, Wounded Knee crime scene search, photographs taken in Wounded Knee, interviews at BIA jail at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and U.S. attorney's declination of charges against individuals; activities of Russell Means; lists of arrests at Wounded Knee showing charges filed.
- 0454 File 176-2404, Section 26. July 9-August 10, 1973. 201pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Cost analysis and list of FBI personnel assigned to area; investigation of persons associated with AIM activities at Wounded Knee; progress in trials of persons under indictment; cancellation of Sun Dance ceremony at Crazy Horse National Monument and arrest of demonstrators there; surveillance of AIM national convention in White Oak, Oklahoma; daily diary kept by Lebric F. Bald Eagle during and after occupation of Wounded Knee.
- 0655 File 176-2404, Section 27. August 17-31, 1973. 205pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Shooting of Clyde Bellecourt by Carter Camp; cost analysis and progress of investigation by FBI personnel assigned to area; AIM and United Indians of Nebraska organization and personnel; list of weapons recovered from Wounded Knee; identification and value of items recovered from Wounded Knee; cultivation of Pedro Bissonnette by FBI as a potential witness; arrest of Thomas Courtney Cook for failure to report for induction; background of White Roots of Peace.
- 0860 File 176-2404, Section 28. September 3-November 16, 1973. 236pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Allegations from Clyde Bellecourt that Committee to Re-Elect the President contributed to AIM during occupation of BIA building in Washington, D.C.; preparations for Grand Jury indictments stemming from Wounded Knee; subpoena of Mark Lane regarding shooting death of Pedro Bissonnette; funeral and death of Bissonnette; disruption by AIM of National Congress of American Indians in Tulsa, Oklahoma; replacement by John Trudell of Carter Camp as AIM national director; arrest and dismissal of charges against suspects in shooting of Clyde Bellecourt; cultivation of FBI informants in AIM; news reports regarding Wounded Knee.

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### Wounded Knee, South Dakota cont.

- 0001 File 176-2404, Section 29. November 9, 1973. 501pp.  
*Major Subjects:* FBI report consolidating all evidence collected at Wounded Knee and vicinity for use in trials of AIM leadership and others.
- 0502 File 176-2404, Section 30. November 9–December 6, 1973. 278pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Cooperation with Department of the Interior during occupation of Wounded Knee by AIM; Department of Justice “Wounded Knee White Paper” regarding occupation, negotiations, and settlement; testimony of former U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst in federal court regarding Wounded Knee; interviews with FBI, BIA, and Department of Justice personnel regarding Wounded Knee; progress in trials of AIM leadership and others.
- 0780 File 176-2404, Section 31. December 6, 1974–January 23, 1975. 178pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Dismissal of charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means in St. Paul, Minnesota; conference with Attorney General Saxbe regarding criticism of FBI by U.S. District Judge Fred J. Nichol; cooperation with Department of Defense in Wounded Knee; investigation of AIM weaponry including AK-47; electronic surveillance of Wounded Knee.
- 0958 File 176-2404, Section 32. February 13, 1975–April 4, 1977. 178pp.  
*Major Subjects:* Petition for reconsideration of treaty issue in U.S. Supreme Court in case of *Allen Cooper v. U.S.*; 95th Congress, 1st Session, H.R. 123, A Bill to Provide for the Compensation of Innocent Persons Killed or Injured or Whose Property was Damaged in the Course of the Occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, and for Other Purposes; evidence matters in AIM leadership trials; FBI report on use of FBI special agents in a paramilitary operation in Indian country.

# SUBJECT INDEX

The following is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first Arabic number refers to the reel, and the Arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number at which an FBI file containing material on the particular subject begins. Hence 3: 0792 directs the researcher to the subject that is found in the file that begins at Frame 0792 of Reel 3.

With the exception of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, individual cities have not been indexed in this guide. Users will find entries for specific cities listed under the state name. For the convenience of the researcher, we have tried to give as much information as possible in the entry so users can identify specific incidents.

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