

AIMing for a Diplomatic Future:

The American Indian Movement's Occupation of the BIA and Fight for Tribal Sovereignty

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Group Documentary

Process Paper: 500 words

Process Paper

We realized the historic significance of the 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) federal building while exploring archival resources at the Mitchell Museum of the American Indian in Evanston, Illinois. Our inquiry initially focused on the role of the U.S. federal government in violating land agreements with Indigenous communities. We knew that a breakdown in federal-tribal relations led Native Americans to converge on Washington, D.C. in the Trail of Broken Treaties, a 1972 caravan and protest march joined by 200 tribes. However, it became evident to us that the subsequent seven-day takeover of the federal BIA building was the pivotal event that brought the debate over tribal sovereignty onto the national stage. By creating this documentary, we sought to amplify the story of Native Americans to reflect their experiences of physical, economic and cultural neglect. The American Indian Movement's occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972 was a watershed moment in the debate over indigenous self-determination. AIM activists demanded that the Bureau of Indian Affairs abandon its focus on Native assimilation and treat tribal governments as sovereign nations. AIM used diplomatic approaches, debate, and direct action to pressure President Richard Nixon to affirm tribal self-governance.

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

Creating a documentary allowed us to share compelling personal statements, photographs, and news clips about the BIA occupation. We found many photographs in Laura Waterman Wittstock's *We Are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement*, a critically important visual resource containing the work of Dick Bancroft, the official photographer of the American Indian

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

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

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources, Annotated

Periodicals

Collins, John. "Trail of Broken Treaties." *Ann Arbor Sun*. December 1, 1972.
https://aadl.org/aa_sun_19721201_p015-trail_of_broken_treaties.

This article contributed to our understanding of the history behind and the justification for the Trail of Broken Treaties. The contextual information we gleaned from this source as well as the series of quotes retrieved allowed us to establish a strong historical foundation for our documentary.

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

Published during the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this newspaper article offered insight into public opinion toward the American Indian Movement and their controversial protest tactics. This article was one of the only sources we identified that offered detailed accounts of the specific events that unfolded on November 2-4, 1972, rather than broad overviews of the BIA takeover.

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

This article, published three days after the end of the Bureau of Indian Affairs takeover, is about the events that ensued during the seven days of occupation as well as the state of the overall Indigenous rights movement. This was one of the sole sources that offered quotes from AIM protest participants, and allowed us to hear through their own words the intent and motivation behind the Trail of Broken Treaties and subsequent AIM actions .

Maufix, Joan. "BIA Occupation Draws Mixed Reaction Here." *Idaho State Journal*, November 2, 1972, p. 2. *Newspapers.com*. <https://bit.ly/3FSSRek>.

This newspaper article appeared in a major Idaho newspaper and discusses local reaction to AIM's occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972. Posted on the online database Newspapers.com, which collects and digitizes newspaper clippings and magazine articles, the article helped us understand the response of rural communities to the Native American fight for sovereignty and how quickly the occupation overtook national headlines.

Audiovisuals

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

This official documentary created by the American Indian movement contains invaluable primary footage of Native American activists during the 1960s and 1970s, including Native Americans engaging in traditional cultural activities and religious ceremonies, interviews with Native Americans about their experiences during termination, and footage from the 1973 Wounded Knee Occupation. We viewed this footage to gain greater insight into the perspectives of those who were persecuted and who protested in response.

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

This video clip contains footage of an interview with Vernon Bellecourt, a prominent leader of the American Indian Movement and brother of AIM founder Clyde Bellecourt. It gave us the opportunity to hear the opinions of a significant movement figure on topics such as the founding, mission, and essence of AIM, as well as the political changes that AIM was able to achieve on a national scale.

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

This visual source provided an example of Nixon's advocacy for Native Americans and the impact of the laws that he passed, such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). The passage of the ANCSA made the front page of the *Tundra Times*, which was a bi-weekly newspaper published in Fairbanks, Alaska from 1962 to 1997 for Alaskan Indigenous communities.

Arizona and the West. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Factories on Reservations: The Industrial Development Programs of Commissioner Glenn Emmons 1953-1960." Larry W. Burt. *Arizona and the West* 19, no. 4 (1977): 327. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40168825>.

While this overall article was not critical to our documentary, we used this image of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn Emmons to visualize the face behind the 1948 Relocation Program.

Associated Press. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: "Column: Indigenous Tribes Took Over Alcatraz 51 Years Ago. Read the 'Holy Grail' of the Occupation." Carolina A. Miranda. November 19, 2020. *Los Angeles Times*.

<https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2020-11-19/alcatraz-occupation-indigenous-tribes-astry-museum>.

This photograph, depicting AIM activists at Alcatraz during their nineteen-month occupation of the island, helped us get a better understanding of the commitment and determination of many Native American activists; they believed their ancestral lands to be theirs alone and wanted this to be known by all who ventured onto them. This photo invites the documentary viewer to view Native American struggles with greater empathy and understanding for the overall cause of the American Indian Movement.

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

This photo captures Leonard Garment, Special Assistant to President Nixon, during a press conference in May 1973 discussing Nixon’s official response to the Watergate affair. Garment played a central role in the White House management strategy for AIM and influenced Nixon’s Native policy in ways that contributed to the BIA occupation.

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

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

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

We found the archival collections of the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library to be incredibly valuable in our creation of this documentary. This image in particular was used to illustrate Nixon’s diplomatic initiatives toward Native Americans and his desire to find diplomatic resolutions to centuries of federal neglect.

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

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

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

This book is a rich visual archive of primary photographs of leaders and members of the American Indian Movement throughout the 1960s and 1970s, including images of Native Americans protesting during the Trail of Broken Treaties and demonstrating outside the Bureau of Indian Affairs building, making this book a valuable source of visual images for our documentary. It also includes explanatory text with information about the context of each photograph that helped us understand the timeline of American Indian Movement events.

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

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

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

This is a photograph of a Native American woman painting the words, “Indian American Land” during the protest on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco, where Native Americans staged a nineteen month occupation of Alcatraz Island. We used this photo to show the frustrations that Indigenous communities experienced regarding the series of broken land treaties with the United States federal government.

Ceneta, Manuel Balce. *Untitled*. March 2017. Photograph. In: “He Needs To Listen To Us.’ Protesters Call On Trump To Respect Native Sovereignty.” Maya Fitzpatrick. March 10, 2017. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/03/10/519628736/he-needs-to-listen-to-us-protesters-call-on-trump-to-respect-native-sovereignty>.

This photograph of protestors marching in response to a lack of acknowledgement of Native sovereignty by the Trump administration serves as a modern-day example of the fight for Native sovereignty. It is used as a demonstration of the continuation of this fight from decades ago to the present day.

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

This photograph, which depicts Native American protestors marching on the BIA in 1972 provided a specific example of the discontent that was common in Native communities at the time. The messages depicted on the protestors’ signs give the viewer a clearer understanding of the specific complaints related to the BI, like its focus on assimilation, that many Native Americans shared.

Dion, Larry. *Untitled*. Photograph. 1966. Native Knowledge 360°, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.
<https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/pnw-fish-wars-tactics/#>.

This image depicting a protest over fishing rights is used to provide an example of Native Americans taking a stand against both state and federal government agencies to protect their rights. It allowed our group to visually represent the discontent of Native Americans and the fight for sovereignty in the time leading up to the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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

This photo shows Frank C. Carlucci, who was the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget during the time period of our documentary as well as one of the three representatives sent to negotiate with the AIM protestors. This visual was used in our brief mention of Carlucci towards the end of our discussion of the occupation of the BIA.

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

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

in establishing diplomacy with Indigenous communities, although his record of accomplishments was ultimately mixed.

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

This is a photograph of a protest led by the Red Power Movement in Gallup, New Mexico at an event which appropriated Native culture. It shows Native Americans protesting with signs that say “Give it back to the Indians,” calling for the return of stolen land and providing us with another example of the sentiments of Native Americans and the tactics they developed to respond to those who disrespected their cultures and land rights.

Leffler, Warren K. *Tipi with Sign "American Indian Movement" on the Grounds of the Washington Monument, Washington, D.C., during the "Longest walk"*. Photograph. Library of Congress. July 11, 1978. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ds.00753/>.

This image depicts a teepee erected in front of the Washington Monument in 1978 during AIM’s “The Longest Walk” march for Native Rights. This image helped us show the various protests and demonstrations held by Native American activists throughout the 1960s and 70s in demand of better Indian conditions.

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

Found from the U.S. Department of the Interior’s website, this photo captures members of the Blackfoot Indian tribe meeting with John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in 1934. The photograph will be used to accompany visuals of Native Americans interacting with the BIA in both diplomatic and non-diplomatic ways.

Marshall, MarBrooke. “Trail of Broken Treaties” YouTube Video. 5:44.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXqh_gQyCiU.

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

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

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

Miller, Francis. *Untitled*. 1952. Photograph. In: "How Richard Nixon Owned the Campaign Trail." Eliza Berman. January 7, 2016. *Time*.
<https://time.com/4154139/richard-nixon-campaign-photos/photo/00957778-jpg/>.

We used this picture of President Richard Nixon speaking to a large crowd while on the campaign trail as Dwight Eisenhower's running mate in the 1952 presidential election to provide the audience with an example of his public presence. The image allowed us to visualize Nixon's ability to command large audiences and speak passionately on a topic that he personally was invested in—a critical skill when evaluating his work with Native Americans and the American Indian Movement.

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

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

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

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

National Congress of American Indians Charter Members at the Constitutional Convention Cosmopolitan Hotel, Denver, Colorado, November 15-18, 1944. November 1944. Photograph. In: "Mission & History." National Congress of American Indians.
<https://www.ncai.org/about-ncai/mission-history>.

President Nixon presented his native policy for the first time to The National Congress of American Indians during a campaign speech in 1968. This photo allows us to share a pivotal moment in the fight for self-determination, as Nixon criticizes the Bureau of Indian Affairs for being too “tradition-bound” and emphasizes the need to reverse termination policies.

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

This is an image of a pamphlet from a Chicago Relocation Office created by the BIA to justify Native American relocation to Americans who did not want to live alongside Indigenous people. This pamphlet details the BIA’s reasoning behind relocation and argues that relocation policies were to the benefit of Native Americans.

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

This photograph depicting a Native American woman pushing a stroller with a white woman and a Native American man and a white man working together in a factory were meant to show the successful assimilation of Native Americans into white society. They were produced by the Chicago Relocation Office, and are examples of BIA materials that promoted the relocation of Native Americans in the 1950s.

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

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

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

This is a photograph of Dennis Banks that was taken in 1974 during a speech in which he discussed the abuses that Native Americans had endured since the time of westward

expansion. It is in this speech that Banks expresses the dismay we reflect in our documentary by sharing his powerful words: “We had reached a point in history where we could not tolerate the abuse any longer, where mothers could not tolerate the mistreatment that goes on on the reservations any longer.”

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

This is a photograph of Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt speaking in Washington DC in 1972 about their work with the American Indian Movement. We used this image because the solemn look on their faces illustrates the gravity of their movement and the traditional clothes they are wearing demonstrate their close ties to their Native American heritage and customs.

Poolaw, Horace. *Untitled*. Photograph. In: “The Remarkable and Complex Legacy of Native American Military Service.” Alicia Alut. November 11, 2020. *Smithsonian Magazine*.
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/remarkable-and-complex-legacy-native-american-military-service-180976264/>.

This is a photograph of Horace Poolaw and Gus Palmer, two Native Americans who fought during the Vietnam War. This is an important image to demonstrate the influence the Vietnam War had on young Native Activists who would go on to advocate for Native self-determination and reparations for social and cultural injustices.

Pratt, Ranny. *Untitled*. 1963. Photograph. In: “The Remarkable and Complex Legacy of Native American Military Service.” Alicia Alut. November 11, 2020. *Smithsonian Magazine*.
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/remarkable-and-complex-legacy-native-american-military-service-180976264/>.

This photograph captures Harvey Pratt, a Native American man who served in Vietnam and designed the National Native Americans Veterans Memorial. We used this photograph to illustrate the devoted service that members of Indigenous Communities provided to the United States during the Vietnam War despite their own struggles for rights and freedom.

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

This photograph shows Dennis Banks with former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and novelist Alice Walker arriving in Havana to deliver medical aid to Cubans. The photograph is important to the documentary because it illustrates that Banks had

influence over federal policy beyond the American Indian Movement because he became an important face for justice for minority groups other than Native Americans.

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

President Richard Nixon is pictured in this photo housed on the Richard Nixon Foundation website surrounded by other high-level government officials, and the accompanying article discusses Nixon’s plans for foreign policy. We used this photo to showcase Nixon’s strong reputation for diplomatic efforts with foreign nations like China and the USSR.

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

We used this photo of Richard Nixon signing a bill to illustrate his abilities to conduct diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The article accompanying the photograph discusses Nixon’s record championing nuclear policy as he uses debate and diplomacy to implement a policy of détente to ease tensions between the US and the USSR during the Cold War.

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

This photograph was used to show Nixon’s diplomatic efforts toward Native Americans. It appeared in an article from the Nixon Foundation that describes President Nixon as a hero to Native Americans and recounts his many successes at establishing diplomacy with Native tribes, showing him shaking hands with a Native American man dressed in traditional tribal clothing.

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

This photograph shows Richard Nixon in a meeting with Native American leaders from Taos Pueblo on July 8, 1970. We used this photograph to provide an example of Nixon’s ongoing advocacy for Native Americans; on the same day he delivered a speech to Congress in which he criticized the failing federal programs meant to assist Indigenous communities.

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

We used this photograph to depict two major leaders of the American Indian Movement. Dennis Banks and Russel Means, two of the founders of AIM, are shown seated at a news conference in July 1973.

United States, Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Chicago Story*. 1968; Chicago, IL: Newberry Library. 16mm Film Reel. https://archive.org/details/ayer_mms_bia_relocation_box_004.

This film reel contains footage of Native Americans during the period of relocation and forced urbanization as they are moved from reservations into American urban centers. We used clips from this reel in our documentary to illustrate the pressures of forced relocation in accordance with the Termination policies of the 1950s.

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

This online collection from the Washington State Office of the Secretary of State explores the question “Who Are We” by looking at influential citizens of the state. We used this image to depict Hank Adams, one of these descendants who has a page dedicated to his work for the American Indian Movement.

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

This image shows four young Native American activists giving the Red Power Salute, a symbol of the Native American fight for justice throughout the 1960s and 1970s. We used this photograph to show the growing sense of unity among young Natives during the founding of the American Indian Movement.

Additional Sources

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

The 20-point Position Paper was the center of AIM’s cross-country caravan, and thus is a crucial source for understanding AIM’s frustrations and motives behind their protests. The paper details the various demands of the American Indian Movement and describes the direct action Native Americans expected from the federal government to address inequalities in Native communities.

“Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Relocation Records 1936-1975, (bulk 1956-1958)”, 1956.

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

Clippings: American Indian Movement (AIM). Wounded Knee Occupation from the *Minnesota Tribune* and *The Free Press* (Mankato). August - September 1971. Box: 1, Folder: 3. Modern Manuscripts, The Newberry Library.

This folder is part of a larger series of around 1,000 photocopied newspaper articles from the 1970s that helped us understand both the American Indian Movement and their occupation of Wounded Knee. This particular folder contained newspaper articles that gave us insight into the native perspective throughout the 1970s through primarily quotes.

Clippings: American Indian Movement (AIM). Wounded Knee Occupation from the *Minnesota Tribune* and *The Free Press* (Mankato). January - July 1971. Box: 1, Folder: 2. Modern Manuscripts, The Newberry Library.

This source is part of a series of documents and newspaper articles from the 1970s about the American Indian Movement's occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1973. With over 1,000 photocopied newspaper clippings, this source from the Newberry Library allowed us to understand the varying perspectives of Native Americans on AIM's protests and calls for justice.

Clippings: American Indian Movement (AIM). Wounded Knee Occupation from the *Minnesota Tribune* and *The Free Press* (Mankato). March 1973. Box: 1, Folder: 5. Modern Manuscripts, The Newberry Library.

This source, which is from a collection of articles from Native American newspapers from the 1970s about the American Indian Movement occupation of Wounded Knee 1973, provided our group with an understanding of this occupation from the Native American perspective. This perspective, along with the closeness in time between the writing of these articles and the Wounded Knee occupation allowed us to view the event in the most relevant context possible.

Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, Revolutionary Activities Within the United States. 1976.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31210010498648?urlappend=%3Bseq=1%3Bownerid=114103993-0>.

This source is a government hearing from the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate that investigated revolutionary activities within the American Indian Movement. We used this 1976 manuscript to demonstrate the continued lack of diplomacy between Native Americans and the federal government years after the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan.

Franky Abbott. The American Indian Movement, 1968-1978. 2016. Retrieved from the Digital Public Library of America, <http://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-american-indian-movement-1968-1978>. (Accessed January 15, 2022.)

This is an invaluable set of fourteen primary documents from the years 1970-2000 about the journey of the American Indian Movement that we used to get an understanding of the history of AIM. It includes photographs of major leaders like Russel Means, images and prints and symbols that were displayed on flags and the sides of the Trail of Broken Treaties caravans, and news footage of the trial of Dennis Banks and Russel Means indicted on charges related to the Wounded Knee occupation.

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act Implementation: Hearings before the United States Senate, Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Ninety-Fifth Congress, First Session on Implementation of Public Law 93-638, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, June 7, and 24, 1977. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Found in the Newberry Library, these hearings before Congress were conducted to survey the implementation of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. On top of providing general information on the reasons behind the passing of this act and its intended purpose, this source provided our group with an understanding of the reality behind the effects the act had after it was passed, all of this information from a wide range of perspectives, including the United States Congress and members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Jensen, Toni. *Carry: A Memoir of Survival on Stolen Land*. New York: Ballantine, 2020.

This is a moving memoir told by the author Toni Jensen, who is a Native American woman who shares snapshots of her encounters with gun violence as a way to express her experiences in America. This was incredibly useful due to her weaving narratives of contemporary Native American oppression and protest together with historical narratives reflecting the events that led to the Trail of Broken Treaties.

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

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

Memorandum from Gerald R. Gereau to Jerry T. Verkler Regarding Major Issues at Wounded Knee; 5/9/1973; Special Action Files of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for the 93rd Congress; Special Project Files, 1951 - 1968; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. [Online Version, <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/memorandum-regarding-major-issues-with-the-wounded-knee-occupation>, January 15, 2022].

This is a government memorandum from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs about the major issues at Wounded Knee in 1973. It reports gun fire, protest, fighting, and major tension from Native Americans at the historic site of the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 and makes the failures in diplomacy extremely clear, as it shows government officials referring to Native protesters as radicals and threats to national security.

Mohawk Nation. *Trail of Broken Treaties: B.I.A., I'm Not Your Indian Anymore*. Rooseveltown, N.Y.: Akwesasne Notes, 1974.

This book is a collection of primary sources contributed by members of the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It includes photographs, personal memoirs, newspaper articles, and other sources that tell the story of the occupation of the BIA and the journey of Native Americans who participated in the Trail of Broken Treaties caravans.

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

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

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

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

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

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States violated through Westward Expansion. We used this image in the documentary's

section on historical context to provide a visual example of the government's empty promises to Native Americans.

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

This is an image of one of the 350 treaties made with tribal governments that the United States violated through Westward Expansion. We used this image to visually depict the federal government's disregard for its own signed Indian land treaties and the ensuing erosion of tribal sovereignty.

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

This is another image of one of the 350 Indian land treaties made between the United States and tribal governments. We used this image to illustrate how the United States federal government made and subsequently broke its promises to tribal nations.

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

This image illustrates one of the 350 broken Indian land treaties and helped us demonstrate the failed diplomatic relationship between Native Americans and the United States federal government. We used these treaties to explain how Native Americans were mistreated and betrayed by the federal government, and how this led to the founding of the American Indian Movement and its series of protests.

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Recovering America's Wildlife Act of 2021*. S 2372. 117th Cong., 1st sess. Introduced in the Senate July 15, 2021. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/2372/text>.

This bill was used as an example of current diplomatic action being taken by the United States federal government to work with tribal nations. In this particular act, there is an entire Title (Title II) dedicated to tribal wildlife conservation.

Wax, Murray Lionel, Rosalie H. Wax, Robert. Breunig, Robert V. Dumont, Stephen E. Feraca, Marilyn Jadene Henning, Roselyn. Holy Rock, and Sol Tax. "Murray L. Wax Papers 1944-1992 (bulk 1962-1969)", 1962.

These papers are a collection of federal relocation and termination documents that we discovered at the Newberry Library. The documents include papers like urban relocation

pamphlets that encouraged Native Americans to move from reservations to American cities with the promise of employment and housing opportunities, which proved to be unavailable to Native people.

Secondary Sources, Annotated

Interviews

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

Debbie Ho is the founder and an active member of the Mapetsi Policy Group, an organization that lobbies for tribal governments and is dedicated to fostering diplomacy with the federal government to preserve native sovereignty. She spoke about her involvement with Native Americans and added to our understanding of the modern-day push for greater tribal autonomy.

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

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

Audiovisuals

“American Indian Movement History,” *PBS* video, 11:09, June 14, 2013, <https://www.pbs.org/video/american-indian-movement-history-24592/>.

We used this clip, which is from an episode of a history show called *Almanac*, not to present clips shown in it in our own documentary, but for informational purposes. The interviews it holds helped us understand more about the occupation of the BIA from the perspective of people who were involved in various capacities such as Dick Bancroft, a photographer who took many pictures of the American Indian Movement.

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

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

CGTN America. “This is why Native Americans are marching on Washington” YouTube Video. 3:45. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2mH0r79D6g>.

This clip of a news network covering Native Americans protesting in Washington, D.C. in 2019 helps us demonstrate AIM's role in inspiring generations of Native American activists to protest and demand justice. The image captures Indigenous people in traditional clothing marching while chanting tribal chants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“What was the American Indian Movement?,” *PBS* video, 0:38, May 11, 2009, <https://www.pbs.org/video/american-experience-what-was-american-indian-movement/>.

We used this clip, which is from an episode of a history show called American Experience, to learn about the American Indian Movement and to showcase primary source footage from a protest. It provides information about the specific locations at which AIM has demonstrated and describes how the use of these locations increased its publicity.

Additional Sources

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

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

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

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

Bleir, Garet and Anya Zoledziowski. “Murdered and Missing Native American Women Challenge Police and Courts.” *The Center for Public Integrity*. August 27, 2018. <https://publicintegrity.org/politics/murdered-and-missing-native-american-women-challenge-police-and-courts/>.

Wanting to bring a modern relevance to our topic, this article was used to help both our group and our audience think about the importance of voicing the Native American experience as discrimination and racially-motivated hate crimes still plague our modern society.

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

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

Chavez, Nicole and Tiffany Anthony. "A South Dakota Hotel Denied Service to Native Americans, Lawsuit Says." *CNN*. March 25, 2022.
<https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/25/us/south-dakota-hotel-lawsuit-native-americans/index.html>.

This article, which is about the filing of a lawsuit against a hotel for refusing service to Native Americans, allowed us to gain an understanding of the modern-day struggle of Native Americans. It provided an example of this struggle, which allowed us to portray the similarities between it and the struggle of the past.

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

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

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

This keynote was used to frame our discussion on the founding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is important since the BIA is a central aspect of our documentary. Kevin Gover, the former Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs, gave us this exact content through his address.

Hilleary, Cecily. "Rise in Hate Crimes Alarms Native American Communities." *VOA*. June 5, 2017.
<https://www.voanews.com/a/rise-in-hate-crimes-alarms-native-american-communities/3887303.html>.

Although a focal point of our group's topic discusses tribal sovereignty, the generational fight for indigenous justice was a driving force of the American Indian Movement. Our group used this particular headline to illustrate the importance of learning about the Red

Power Movement, AIM, and the history of the federal government's abrogation of treaties.

Long, Claudia. "Urban Indians in Oregon." In *Oregon Encyclopedia*. Portland State University, 2021. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/urban_indians/.

This source describes native sovereignty and urbanization along with laws in Oregon related to those topics. We used this to get a better understanding of Native urbanization in the twentieth century.

National Geographic Society. *Native American Removal From the Southeast*. In: "May 28, 1830 CE: Indian Removal Act." Caryl-Sue. Last modified April 6, 2020. https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/may28/indian-removal-act/?utm_source=BiblioRCM_Row.

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

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

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

Salam, Maya. "Native American Women Are Facing a Crisis." *The New York Times*. April 12, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/12/us/native-american-women-violence.html>.

Today, indigneous communities are still facing discrimination and, more specifically, an ignored epidemic on missing women. Our group used this article to demonstrate the importance of indigenous justice today to bring modern relevance to our topic.

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

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

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

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

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

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