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**ABOUREZK, JAMES G., WOUNDED KNEE 1973 SERIES**

PAPERS, 1970-1983  
(bulk dates, 1970-1983)  
Quantity 4 linear ft.

- ACQUISITION:** James G. Abourezk donated the materials in the Wounded Knee, 1973 Series to the University of South Dakota Special Collections in October, 1996. The series has been added to the Abourezk Papers, which contains materials relating to his congressional career.
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**History****THE OCCUPATION OF WOUNDED KNEE, 1973****American Indian Movement**

The American Indian Movement (AIM) originated in 1968, arising from the concerns of Native Americans in Minneapolis, Minnesota. AIM focused on changing the life of Indians in the urban environment. Members coordinated a neighborhood patrol to circumvent unjust arrests and police mishandling of American Indian residents. AIM leaders extended their concern to include the reform of Indian and federal government relations. They believed Native Americans lacked representation in political and funding organizations. Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, Chippewa from Minnesota, assisted in the creation of AIM. Later, Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux, became one of the more aggressive leaders of the organization.

As a vehicle to highlight their concerns, AIM members sponsored the Trail of Broken Treaties. Approximately 900 people, traveling from Seattle and San Francisco, stopped at reservations throughout the west to delineate Indian grievances towards the U.S. government. The Trail of Broken Treaties ended in Washington, D.C., with the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building from 2 November through 8 November 1972. Negotiations between the White House administrators and AIM members resulted in an agreement that included a pledge to deal with economic, social, and educational grievances of Native Americans and to provide return travel money to individuals that comprised the Trail of Broken Treaties.

Following the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder in February of 1972, AIM members protested in Gordon, Nebraska because of potential discrepancies in the case. During the protest, AIM supporters took over the Gordon community hall. Leaders declared a victory after local officials proposed the establishment of a human relations board to investigate grievances. On 21 January 1973, in Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, Harold Schmidt killed Wesley Bad Heart Bull. Prosecutors charged Schmidt with involuntary manslaughter. In Custer, South Dakota, AIM members confronted local law enforcement and protested against the charges. During the protest, the courthouse and chamber of commerce burned to the ground. The U.S. government viewed AIM as a militant group and increased surveillance of its activities.

On the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota Oglala Sioux leaders requested the assistance of AIM in order to provide strength in their opposition to tribal president Richard Wilson, elected in 1972. Opponents of Wilson accused him of mishandling tribal funds, misusing authority, and disregarding rules of the tribal council. In February of 1973 the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council unsuccessfully filed impeachment proceedings against Wilson. On 25 February 1973 the U.S. Department of Justice sent out 50 U.S. Marshals to the Pine Ridge Reservation to be available in the case of a civil disturbance.

**Wounded Knee Takeover**

AIM leaders and about 200 supporters enroute to Porcupine, South Dakota, stopped at the village of Wounded Knee and took over the trading post, museum, gas station and several churches. The involved in the takeover considered Wounded Knee historically significance and deemed the village an appropriate location from which to voice the concerns of AIM and the Oglala of the Pine Ridge Reservation. The takeover, on 27 February 1973, marked the beginning of a conflict between AIM and the U.S. Government that lasted until 8 May 1973.

The goals outlined by AIM leaders included support for the reformation of tribal government as well as bringing attention to Native American grievances. Means, as an AIM spokesperson, requested congressional investigations into conditions on all

reservations and the corruption of the BIA. Means specifically wanted a hearing to take place concerning treaties and treaty rights, along with an investigation of the BIA and the Department of the Interior at all agency and reservation levels.

### **U.S. Government Reaction**

News of the takeover reached U.S. Marshals at Pine Ridge and prompted immediate action. Government security forces placed roadblocks at all entrances to Wounded Knee to prevent access to the area. U.S. Marshals and FBI agents maintained a total of six roadblocks, along with five observation points, throughout the occupation to keep people from entering or leaving Wounded Knee. AIM members and supporters entered the area by overland routes, bringing in food and supplies by backpack. Federal forces did not allow Wounded Knee property owners or residents to return to the village once they had left. Several individuals and families, displaced by this policy, found lodging in homes and churches on the Pine Ridge reservation.

The White House, the Department of Defense (DOD) and the Department of Justice (DOJ) coordinated efforts throughout the Wounded Knee occupation. The military organized weapons, personnel, and equipment supplied by the DOD. Law enforcement groups consisted of the U.S. Marshals Service (USMS), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the BIA. The federal government held jurisdiction over the reservation and therefore state and local forces did not assist in law enforcement but provided support by prohibiting unauthorized people from traveling onto the Pine Ridge Reservation, especially those suspected of carrying food and ammunition.

### **Events at Wounded Knee**

Ralph Erickson, Special Assistant to the Attorney General and the ranking DOJ official at the time, first evaluated the takeover at Wounded Knee. Wayne Colburn, Director of the United States Marshal Service, and Joseph Trimbach, an FBI agent, also provided assistance. William Clayton, the U.S. Attorney General of South Dakota, learned of the takeover while at Pine Ridge. These men determined that the primary objective included preventing injuries or deaths while arresting people violating the law and releasing any potential hostages.

Sporadic gunfire between U.S. forces and AIM security marked the first days of the occupation. AIM forces fortified the area by building trenches, setting up road blocks, and establishing foot patrols. AIM security forces developed and maintained a defensive perimeter around Wounded Knee that included a total of nine bunkers. AIM relied on the experience of several Vietnam veterans to establish security.

Within one day of the occupation, senators James Abourezk and George McGovern arrived in Wounded Knee to negotiate the release of any hostages. On the night of the occupation, while making random phone calls to Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee, Abourezk connected by chance to Russell Means. According to the senator, Means stated that the occupation would end if AIM requests were considered and a meeting took place to discuss grievances. On 1 March Abourezk and Senator McGovern, along with two aides from Senator Ted Kennedy's office, flew out to Pine Ridge and drove into Wounded Knee. Abourezk stated to the press that negotiations would not take place if potential hostages were threatened. The senators agreed that congressional committees hearings would be held on specific issues and grievances. They also assured AIM leaders that BIA officials would be transferred, specifically Stanley Lyman and Wyman Babby. Abourezk and McGovern returned to Washington believing the conflict had been resolved. At the same time Ralph Erickson developed three options for the U.S. government and forces to follow -- they could pull back, remain established with the original force of about 250 men, or increase manpower to cut off the area. Officials decided to continue roadblocks to limit entrance into the area.

AIM leaders made a statement on 4 March declaring they would leave Wounded Knee if the U.S. government would also leave and allow the Oglala to work out any conflict among themselves. Erickson countered this proposal by stating that if the occupiers would leave Wounded Knee by 8 March, abandon weapons, and identify themselves, they would not be subject to immediate arrest. Only Wounded Knee residents or property owners evacuated the village at this time. At Pine Ridge, the tribal council ordered all non-members of the Oglala tribe off the reservation. In order to implement this decision Richard Wilson organized a special police force that became known as the "goon squad." Wilson and his forces maintained several road blocks outside of the federal perimeter and participated in gunfire exchanges on several occasions.

By 10 March, both factions agreed upon and rejected a variety of negotiation settlements. Erickson and Colburn withdrew all government roadblocks. Both men assumed that occupiers would leave the village if they were given the opportunity to do so without being arrested. Instead, Aim leaders viewed the lifting of the roadblocks as a victory and stated this to the press. AIM supporters and members of the Oglala preferred not to leave without consideration of the outlined grievances. With the removal of the roadblocks, people in support of AIM entered Wounded Knee and brought supplies and food.

On 11 March four postal inspectors entered the village to inspect postal property and check for violations. AIM security confiscated their weapons and detained the workers because they believed the inspectors had entered the village to gain information. After four hours the men were allowed to leave the village in their own vehicles. Following their release all roadblocks were reinstated. On the next day, FBI agents pursued a van that attempted to enter the village. The U-Haul van had been reported as stolen. FBI and BIA police cars followed the vehicle and during the pursuit, gun shots fired from both vehicles. FBI agent Curtis Fitzgerald took a wound in the wrist. No conclusive evidence existed in regard to who fired the first shot during this incident.

In order to assist AIM and the Oglala Sioux, supporters created the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC). The WKLDOC dealt with any arrests that occurred and raised funds for AIM. On one occasion, the committee obtained a temporary restraining order that allowed six lawyers, each with a carload of food, to enter Wounded Knee each day from 26 March through 31 March. All law enforcement surrounding Wounded Knee agreed to abide by the restraining order. Richard Wilson and his police responded by placing roadblocks outside of those set up by federal forces and seizing all food from the cars.

Gun-fire exchanges between forces occurred sporadically throughout the conflict. Both sides established, violated, and reinstated cease-fires. AIM security, U.S. forces and, on occasion, the tribal police force instigated gunfire exchanges. On 26 March heavy firing occurred between the AIM and government perimeters. Wilson placed a tribal roadblock outside of the federal perimeter and his forces allegedly participated in the exchange. During this exchange, U.S. Marshal Lloyd Grimm received a wound that paralyzed him from the waist down. As a result of increased gunfire, two deaths occurred at Wounded Knee towards the end of April. During one exchange Frank Clearwater received a fatal wound while asleep on a cot in an occupied church. AIM supporters evacuated Clearwater from the village and he died in hospital on 25 April. Lawrence Lamont, a resident of Pine Ridge Reservation, received a fatal gunshot wound on 26 April. Both forces concurrently established a cease-fire after his death.

## **Negotiations**

Negotiations began during the first days of the takeover and continued throughout the 71 days that AIM occupied Wounded Knee. AIM and the U.S. government developed several proposals that were rejected by one side or the other depending on the contents. The negotiations often became stymied due to the interjection of new demands by AIM

leaders. Additional difficulties with negotiations included miscommunication between the opposing groups and between the various U.S. agencies.

The Community Relations Service (CRS), part of the DOJ, existed as an intermediary between AIM and the U.S. government throughout the Wounded Knee occupation. CRS assured AIM leaders that negotiations would not take place without the presence of AIM lawyers. Subsequently Ramon Roubideaux attended all negotiation sessions. The occupiers reiterated previous demands concerning the BIA and meetings with government administrators. AIM leaders also wanted tribal president Richard Wilson removed from office, suspension of the tribal constitution, a return to government as it existed under the Indian Reorganization Act, and negotiations based on the 1868 treaty.

On 11 March the Oglala Sioux announced the creation of the Independent Oglala Nation (ION). The ION established a provisional government and reverted to the treaty of 1868 as its basis. Leaders stated that the ION would negotiate with the United States, nation-to-nation. The ION declaration helped to unite the AIM leadership and supporters at Wounded Knee. AIM leaders, the ION and Wayne Colburn and Harlington Wood from the U.S. government made arrangements for negotiations on 13 March. Wood introduced a proposal that included meetings with Department of the Interior and Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs at Sioux Falls. Government forces hoped that once the meetings convened occupiers would leave Wounded Knee and submit to arrest. Wood included limits on bail and addressed the need for medical care at Wounded Knee. The ION rejected the new proposals and developed a counter-proposal that requested a presidential emissary to come to Wounded Knee to discuss issues. The proposals included several compromises but no resolution.

At the end of March, Kent Frizzell replaced Harlington Wood as the ranking official at Wounded Knee. Frizzell initiated contact with Dennis Banks and offered to have Justice Department personnel hear civil rights complaints. Leaders from the Civil Rights Division and six FBI agents met with AIM and Oglala leaders to discuss the misuse of tribal funds, and complaints of harassment from Wilson's forces. These negotiations lasted for several days and on 5 April, the U.S. government and AIM leaders signed a dispossession agreement. The terms of the agreement stated that Russell Means should submit himself for arrest and be taken into custody and arraigned at Rapid City. On 7 April, at 7 a.m., AIM leaders were to lay down their arms. Any individuals with an outstanding warrant would be arrested. A meeting would take place between AIM leaders and a representative of the White House to discuss the possibility of a presidential committee to look into the matter of Indian treaties. U.S. government forces arrested Means as he left Wounded Knee, after which he posted bond and left for Washington, D.C.

The 5 April agreement proved faulty as the terms had been agreed upon orally and had not been written out. Frizzell's interpretation of the dispossession agreement conflicted with the understanding held by AIM leaders. On 8 April, Means publicly stated that the Wounded Knee occupiers never agreed to lay down arms until the conclusion of a White House meeting. AIM preferred a proposal that called for disarmament rather than dispossession. AIM believed the agreement allowed for arms to be placed in a tipi with a sacred pipe across the door while government forces pulled back. Following the surrender of arms, the Washington, D.C., meeting would take place and the terms of the agreement would be initiated. The government rejected this interpretation because it did not include terms regarding dispossession. Stanley Pottinger, the ranking DOJ official, met with AIM leaders in order to salvage the effort towards a resolution. Pottinger believed that the lack of leadership at Wounded Knee caused the impasse. Pottinger returned to Washington without any further progress made toward a solution. By 24 April, Frizzell returned to Wounded Knee to head the negotiating team. The U.S. government still preferred to negotiate with AIM forces rather than resort to any aggressive action.

From 28 April through 5 May, several negotiation sessions took place between Frizzell, government officials, Oglala elders, the ION, and AIM. Frizzell focused on a presidential treaty commission and other substantive points. Colburn and Richard Hellstern attempted to arrange a dispossession. On 5 May, Leonard Garment, Consultant to the President, sent a letter to Franks Fools Crow. The letter stated that White House representatives would meet with the Teton Sioux in order to examine the 1868 treaty. This meeting would not take place until the dispossession of Wounded Knee occurred. Both forces signed the dispossession agreement on 5 May. The agreement contained specific steps to be implemented on 9 May at 7 a.m. All persons were to leave Wounded Knee and identify themselves, and those with outstanding warrants would be arrested. The government would pull back from its position as the occupiers abandoned their position and residents of Wounded Knee would be escorted back into the community. Government forces would then search the area and destroy all bunkers. A residual force would be left behind to prevent further incidents and protect militants from reprisals.

### **Dispossession**

By 8 May half of the AIM community had left Wounded Knee. According to the timetable agreed upon, CRS entered Wounded Knee to collect all weapons and transport remaining AIM supporters to the government roadblock. Defense Committee lawyers remained at the government roadblock to witness the processing procedure. Out of the 129 people processed, 110 were American Indians. Federal forces destroyed AIM security bunkers along with government bunkers and completed the evacuation of Wounded Knee by the end of the day.

Several issues influenced the AIM decision to end the occupation. Of primary importance was the lack of food, electrical power, and medical supplies. The occupation had lasted 71 days and both factions believed that morale and support were waning. The increase in the lack of support from the press as well as the general public may have influenced the decision of AIM leaders. AIM members also believed that the government attitude towards the occupation would eventually harden.

### **Aftermath**

Senator Abourezk, under the authority of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee of Indian Affairs, conducted hearings on the events and issues that lead to the confrontation and occupation at Wounded Knee. Tribal president Richard Wilson voiced his concerns at the hearing held at Pine Ridge on 16 June 1973. The following day at Kyle, South Dakota, Russell Means aired his grievances towards the tribal government. On 17 July Abourezk proposed a Senate Joint Resolution in order to establish an Indian policy review committee. Its purpose included a review the legal relationship between Native Americans and the U.S. government and to provide support for the development of more effective policies.

During 1974, Russell Means lost a campaign against Richard Wilson for the of tribal president at Pine Ridge. Means was concurrently on trial in St. Paul Minnesota on charges from the Wounded Knee incident. The trial lasted for over eight months and resulted in the dismissal of all charges against both Means and Dennis Banks. The judge ruling in the decision decided to dismiss all charges rather than declare a mistrial following the hospitalization of a member of the jury. The defense did not accept an eleven member jury.

### **Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890**

By the year 1890, American Indians living on the Great Plains no longer retained their dominance over the land. Their traditional self-reliance shifted to increasing

dependence on the U.S. government. White settlement of the west forced the Sioux nations to relinquish more and more of their land. Policies designed to "civilize" instead threatened the tribe's cultural heritage and traditional ways. The majority of the tribes lived on reservations without weapons and buffalo herds that had previously been vitally important to their existence. The tragedy at Wounded Knee marked the end of the Great Sioux Wars as well as the end of the traditional lifestyle of the Lakota and Sioux tribes.

In 1890, the teaching of an Indian holy man, Wovoka, spread throughout reservations in Dakota Territory. Wovoka's peaceful message held many precepts similar to Christian thought. When the word reached the Lakota, still smarting from their experience with the duplicity of the U.S. government, the teachings took on a more militant tone. Wovoka preached that dancing the Ghost Dance would make the Indian nations strong again -- the white man would disappear and the buffalo would return. Wovoka's teachings revitalized the Lakota while the U.S. army and agents on the reservations became increasingly concerned about its implications.

Sitting Bull supported the message of Wovoka and his people actively participated in the Ghost Dance. In order to combat the influence of dance, reservation agents decided to arrest Sitting Bull. In the process he was shot and killed. Members of his tribe, believers in the Ghost Dance, left the reservation and connected with the Minneconjou band of Big Foot. After hearing of Sitting Bull's demise, Big Foot and his band left Standing Rock reservation in northern South Dakota, and traveled towards Pine Ridge Agency in order to seek protection. Unaware of his motives the U.S. Army sent five hundred men from the Seventh Cavalry to arrest Big Foot. The cavalry intercepted the Minneconjou band, which surrendered a few miles north of Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

On the morning of 29 December 1890 military forces issued rations and counted the Minneconjou band, comprised of approximately 120 men, and 230 women and children. Colonel James Forsythe took command of the cavalry regiment. Forsythe ordered the warriors to create a semi-circle facing the cavalry camp, and requested the surrender of their weapons. Initially, the men surrendered old and unserviceable weapons as they did not want to relinquish their means to gather food. The colonel sent men to search the entire camp, which produced only a few additional weapons. Forsythe ordered that the warriors be personally searched at which point a rifle fired. Immediately soldiers and warriors stood face-to-face and fired at each other. Terrified Indians remaining in the camp, including woman and children, fled from the area. The cavalry used Hotchkiss guns, which had been stationed above the camp the night before, to eliminate firing from the camp. Women and children, along with warriors, ran from the camp and towards a ravine for protection. The cavalry chased down and killed those fleeing.

After all gun fire ended, those involved in the tragedy stood surrounded by the dead and wounded. Survivors transported Indians and soldiers still living to make-shift hospitals in Pine Ridge. The bodies of those killed were left on the ground and covered by a blizzard that night. On 1 January 1891, army officials at Pine Ridge sent a civilian detail to recover and bury the dead. Although an exact count of the total Indian casualties could not be ascertained, the detail buried approximately 146 bodies at Wounded Knee, including men, women and children. The cavalry regiment lost about 25 men.

The tragedy that occurred at Wounded Knee irrevocably affected the Lakota and the Sioux people. The event's significance and memory has not diminished throughout the hundred and more years since it occurred.

### **Scope and Content Note**

The Wounded Knee, 1973 Series, consists of correspondence, interviews, photocopied and printed materials extending from 1972-1983. The bulk of the collection concerns the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973 and the actions of the American Indian Movement and the U.S. government during the period of the occupation. Additional materials relate to the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 and the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building, in Washington, 1972

### **Series Description**

Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 1-2

Personal and general correspondence, organized chronologically.

Manuscripts: Box 1, Folder 3-16

Draft and printed copies of Wounded Knee 1973 manuscripts, includes introduction and several chapters, also research sources.

Interviews: Box 1, Folder 17-29

Original transcripts of interviews with AIM leaders and U.S. Government representatives, participants in the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation.

Documents: Box 1, Folder 30-49, Box 2, Folder 1-35

FBI, U.S. Government, Department of Justice, U.S. Army documents including copies of exhibits, memorandums, and other items resulting from the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation. Maintained in original file order and subject headings.

Court Transcripts: Box 2, Folder 36-41, Box 4, Folder 1-13

Copies of several volumes of trial transcripts from the trial of Dennis Banks vs. United States and Russell Means vs. United States, 1974, Jan.8-Sept. 16. Copies of Court of Claims transcripts from the Innocent Victims of the Occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota hearing in May 1980. Includes testimonies, defendant brief, plaintiff finding of fact, commissioner's opinion, and master index. Bureau of Indian Affairs Occupation Hearing, Occupation of BIA, 1972, Dec. 4.

Print Materials: Box 4, Folder 14-22

Printed copies of materials relating to Wounded Knee and the American Indian Movement.

Newspaper Clippings: Box 4, Folder 23-37

Copies of newspaper articles and clippings from 1972-1973, including South Dakota newspapers, national newspapers, and article chronologies from the New York Times and Lexis-Nexis.

**Subjects**

Abourezk, James  
American Indian International Tribunal.  
American Indian Movement.  
American Indian Movement -- History -- Sources -- Bibliography --  
Apache Indians -- History.  
Banks, Dennis.  
Banks, Dennis-Trials, litigation, etc  
Bellecourt, Vernon.  
Bissonnette, Gladys -- Trials, litigation, etc.  
Butler, Darrel.  
Church charities -- South Dakota.  
Civil rights -- Societies, etc.  
Civil rights -- United States.  
Civil rights movements -- United States.  
Consolidated Wounded Knee Cases, defendants.  
Custer (S.D.) -- Riots.  
Dakota Indians.  
Dakota Indians -- Religion.  
Dakota Indians -- Religion and mythology..  
Dennis Banks Defense Committee.  
D-Q University.  
Farmers -- South Dakota.  
Fort Peck Indian Reservation (Mont.)  
Indians of North America -- Civil rights.  
Indians of North America -- Claims.  
Indians of North America -- Crime.  
Indians of North America -- Education (Higher) -- California.  
Indians of North America -- Ethnic Identity.  
Indians of North America -- Government relations  
Indians of North America -- Government relations -- 1934-  
Indians of North America -- Great Plains.  
Indians of North America -- History.  
Indians of North America -- Land tenure.  
Indians of North America -- Legal status, laws, etc.  
Indians of North America -- Politics and government.  
Indians of North America -- Religious aspects.  
Indians of North America -- Societies, etc.  
Indians of North America -- South Dakota.  
Indians of North America -- Treaties.  
Indians of North America -- United States -- Claims.  
Indians of North America -- United States -- Government  
Indigenous peoples -- Legal status, laws, etc.  
Indigenous peoples -- Legal status, laws, etc. -- North America.  
Insurgency -- North America.  
Law and politics.

Leadership -- Religious aspects.  
Legislators-United States  
Leonard Peltier Defense Committee.  
Leonard Peltier Support Group.  
Lutheran Social Services (S.D.)  
Lyman, Stanley David, -- 1913-1979 -- Diaries.  
Means, Russell, 1939-  
Means, Russell, -- 1939- -- Trials, litigation, etc.  
Minorities -- Discrimination.  
Minorities -- Economic conditions.  
Mohawk Indians -- Government relations.  
Oglala Indians -- Government relations.  
Oglala Indians -- History.  
Oglala Indians -- Religion.  
Peltier, Leonard F.  
Pine Ridge Indian Reservation (S.D.)  
Protest movements -- South Dakota.  
Public welfare -- South Dakota.  
Riots -- South Dakota.  
Robideau, Robert E.  
Rosebud Agency and Reservation.  
Sioux Falls (S.D.) -- Charitable and social work -- Public  
Sioux Falls (S.D.) -- Churches and religious affairs -- Lutheran.  
Sioux Falls (S.D.) -- Legal affairs -- Trials, litigation, etc.  
South Dakota -- Agriculture -- Farms and farming.  
South Dakota -- Charitable and social work -- Public welfare.  
South Dakota -- Churches and religious affairs -- Lutheran.  
South Dakota -- Indians.  
South Dakota -- Legal affairs -- Trials, litigation, etc.  
South Dakota -- Riots.  
South Dakota -- Societies, etc.  
South Dakota. -- Dept. of Public Welfare. -- Division of Research  
South Dakota-History  
South Dakota-Politics and government  
Treaties.  
Trials (Conspiracy) -- United States.  
Trials (Murder) -- North Dakota.  
Trials (Political crimes and offenses) -- South Dakota.  
Trials (Riots) -- South Dakota.  
United States. -- Bureau of Indian Affairs.  
United States. Congress.  
United States. Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States. -- Federal Bureau of Investigation -- Archives --  
United States -- Politics and government -- 1969-1974.  
Wounded Knee (S.D.) -- History  
Wounded Knee (S.D.) -- History -- Indian occupation, 1973 --

Wounded Knee Creek, Battle of, 1890.  
Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.  
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### Additional Resources

Selected resources for further research

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Wells, Natalie P. *Television news coverage of the American Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota : an analysis of network newscasts, February - May, 1973.* Thesis, San Francisco State University, 1982. 131 leaves

LOCATION: San Francisco State University

Why Wounded Knee? Coordination and Information Committee. *Why Wounded Knee? : a report.* Minneapolis, MN : The Committee, 1974. 18 pp.

LOCATION: Minnesota Historical Society

Zimmerman, Bill. *Airlift to Wounded Knee.* Chicago : Swallow Press, 1976. 348pp.

LOCATION: University of South Dakota, Sturgis Public Library

## **Manuscripts**

Chamberlain, Fern L. (Fern Louise), 1934 1976. 5 in.

NOTES: In part, photocopies. Correspondence and reports relating to Chamberlain's work as chief of the South Dakota Dept. of Public Welfare's Research and Statistical Service (later Division of Research and Statistics) and with Lutheran Social Services, *The South Dakota Farmer in the Period of the Depression: Industrial Problems (1934)* by Chamberlain, photocopy of scrapbook entitled *The South Dakota Public Welfare Rumble: 1966-1967*, and clippings concerning trials (1974) of Native Americans in Sioux Falls, S.D., resulting from the Custer, S.D., riot and the occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D. Social worker, of Sioux Falls, S.D.

LOCATION: Augustana College, CWS Manuscripts

Cole, Kay Papers, 1971-1992. 9 boxes (7.83 cu. ft.) + 1 oversize folder

NOTES: Photographs housed in Photoarchives. Related collections at the Center for Southwest Research: Robert Robideau Papers, and Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Documents. The majority of this collection presents Kay Cole's involvement with Dennis Banks and American Indian issues. Series I contains material related to D-Q (Deganawidah Quetzacoatl) University in Davis, Calif. These materials include general information about the institution as well as news clippings, correspondence and other materials regarding legal issues and events involving D-Q University. Series II brings

together materials from the First American Indian International Tribunal. materials from the First American Indian International Tribunal. The bulk consists of the testimony, statements, and related notes from the proceedings covering social and economic effects of the U.S. foreign and domestic policies on indigenous peoples, and strategies for change. Series III focuses on legal issues and projects of Dennis Banks. Correspondence, news clippings, legal materials, etc. document Banks' acquittal of charges stemming from the occupation of Wounded Knee, and his other judicial battles. Correspondence, reports and other printed materials document the American Indian struggle for land rights, religious and spiritual freedom, and against discrimination. Sub-themes include the arms race, military and nuclear issues, criminal justice, prison reform, Indian grave desecration, women, and the Navajo-Hopi land dispute. Materials relating to the Long Walk for Survival, the Jim Thorpe Run and several Sacred Runs, initiated and organized by Dennis Banks, are also included. Series V contains the Dennis Banks Defense Committee's records, correspondence from and to the Committee, and their meeting minutes and agendas. Series VI includes publications, narratives, and media projects by or about Dennis Banks. Issues of Freedom notes, the publication of the Dennis Banks Defense Committee, are included. Series VII focuses on financial records and activity reports of the Dennis Banks Defense Committee and other organizations. Some of the materials include bank statements, receipts, invoices, checks, etc. The oversize folder contains posters and printed materials relating to AIM (American Indian Movement), the arms race, and the Sacred Run. Born on June 11, 1911 in Salt Lake City, Utah. Involved with American Indian issues. In 1982 formed the Dennis Banks Defense Committee. LOCATION: University of New Mexico

Dakota American Indian Movement, 1973-1991. .5 linear ft.

NOTES: Publications and other materials (1973-1974, 1977, 1980-1983) including 3 pamphlets pertaining to 1973 Wounded Knee civil disturbance, Oglala Indians, and American Indian Movement, informational brochure on 1983 activities of Dakota American Indian Movement, letter (1983) soliciting financial contributions, and copies of Oyate Wicho, the official periodical. Includes papers from International Indian Treaty Council. Lakota political action organization.

LOCATION: Oglala Lakota College

Legg, Jim. 1972-1973. 447 items, 1 sound recording, and 2 microfilm reels.

NOTES: Booklets, reports, and other papers, collected by Legg while working with Oglala Indians of Pine Ridge Reservation, relating to 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D.; photos and slides of Wounded Knee after the occupation; and recording of Legg's account of the occupation.

LOCATION: Augustana College

Robideau, Robert E. American Indian Movement papers, 1975-1994. 29 boxes (27.9 cu. ft.)

LOCATION: University of New Mexico

Peltier, Leonard F. Collection, 1981-1983. 16 items.

NOTES: Various pamphlets and newspaper clippings, issued by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee of Rapid City, S.D., that maintain Peltier's innocence, allege wrongful extradition, contains references to the deaths of other AIM members and the

1973 protest at Wounded Knee, S.D. Former resident of Grand Forks, N.D. Leader of American Indian Movement, convicted of killing two F.B.I. agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975.

LOCATION: North Dakota State University Library

Wounded Knee Indian Occupation, 1973 : file of clippings and miscellanea. 1970. 1 portfolio; 25 x 38 cm.

NOTES: Collected at Michigan State University Libraries in the Special Collections Division's American Radicalism Vertical File (ARVF).

LOCATION: Michigan State University

Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee : file of clippings and miscellanea. 1970-9999. 1 portfolio; 25 x 38 cm.

NOTES: Collected at Michigan State University Libraries in the Special Collections Division's American Radicalism Vertical File (ARVF).

LOCATION: Michigan State University

Wounded Knee occupation clipping file, 1973-1974. 1 box : ill., ports. ; 27 x 32 x 7 cm.

NOTES: Newspaper clippings from Minneapolis/St. Paul papers (some photocopied), newsletters, and articles about the trials following the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973.

LOCATION: University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

### **Microfilm**

*Dewing, Rolland, ed., The FBI files on the American Indian Movement and Wounded Knee.* Publisher: Frederick, MD : University Publications of America, c1986. 26 microfilm reels ; 35 mm.

LOCATION: University of South Dakota

Schipper, Martin Paul. *A guide to the microfilm edition of the FBI files on the American Indian Movement and Wounded Knee* / edited by Rolland Dewing ; guide compiled by Martin Schipper. Frederick, MD : University Publications of America, c1986. 49 pp

LOCATION: University of South Dakota

### **Audio-Visual**

Adams, John. *The Role of the FBI in the Wounded Knee Incident.* St. Paul, Minn. : Minnesota Public Radio, 1974. 1 sound cassette (47 min.) : analog.

NOTES: An interview with Reverend John Adams from the United Methodist Church, designated by the National Council of Churches as a chief mediator at Wounded Knee.

LOCATION: Minot State University, Gordon B. Olson Library

*American Indian social activism.* Los Angeles : Pacifica Tape Library, 1974. 1 sound cassette (65 min.) : 1 7/8 ips.

Summary: Clyde Bellecourt, one of the original founders of the American Indian Movement, puts the occupation of Wounded Knee into the context of the history of American Indian social activism, which he suggests began in 1968.

LOCATION: University of South Dakota

Belcourt, Vernon. *Vernon Belcourt interview*. Los Angeles, Calif. : Pacifica Tape Library, ? 1970 1979. 1 sound tape reel (35 min.) : analog, 3 3/4 ips. ; 5 in.

NOTES: An Indian leader describes the significance of the occupation of Wounded Knee, the history of AIM, and the treatment of the Native American by the U.S. government.

LOCATION: Illinois State University

*Conditions at Pine Ridge*. Los Angeles, Calif. : Pacifica Radio Archive, 1986. 1 sound cassette (50 min.) : analog.

LOCATION: Minneapolis Public Library and Information Center

Deloria, Vine. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties : an Indian declaration of independence*. New York : Delacorte Press, 1974. 2 cassettes : C-90 ; 1516 ips. ; 4 track.

LOCATION: South Dakota State Library

Four Vietnam veterans at Wounded Knee. Rooseveltown, NY . Distributed by Akwesasne Notes, 1973. 1 sound cassette (45 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Produced by The Rest of the News. Interview with four Vietnam veterans who came to support the Wounded Knee occupation. Discusses the political similarities of the two events. Akwesasne notes.

LOCATION: University of Illinois at Springfield

*Frontline*. United States : WETA-TV, WETA-TV, YEAR: 1990. 1 videocassette of 1 (ca. 60 min.) : sd., col. ; 3/4 in.

NOTES: Copyright: WGBH Education Foundation. DCR 1990; PUB 18Dec90; REG 6Mar92; PA555-112. Episode no. 908. Source used: WETA advance program schedule. Correspondent, Milo Yellow Hair ; original script by Kevin McKiernan ; voice of interviewer, Kevin McKiernan. One hundred years after the battle at Wounded Knee, the history of the Lakota Sioux's struggle to retain their culture and their lands in the Black Hills is examined.

LOCATION: Library of Congress

*Geronimo and the Apache resistance* . Alexandria, VA.: Los Angeles :PBS Home Video ; Distributed by The Pacific Arts Corporation, 1992. 1 videodisc (120 min.) : sd., col. with b&w sequences ; 12 in.

NOTES: Geronimo originally broadcast on a 1988 episode of the television program The American Experience. Crazy Horse originally broadcast on a 1990 episode of Frontline. "PBS LD 1004." Geronimo and the Apache resistance (60 min.) -- The Spirit of Crazy Horse (58 min.) Narrators for the programs are Neil Goodwin and Milo Yellow Hair. These two programs offer a personal perspective on Native Americans dealing with the continuing struggle to maintain their cultural identity. CLV extended play format.

LOCATION: University of Virginia

*Indictments for the innocent*. Los Angeles, Calif. : Pacifica Radio Archive, 1983. 1 sound cassette (69 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Excerpts from a presentation delivered by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee at the College of St. Scholastica in Duluth, Minn., on Jan.

23, 1974.

LOCATION: Minneapolis Public Library and Information Center

Kunstler, William Moses. [William Kunstler tells the history of the Wounded Knee struggle.] 1974. 1 sound tape reel : 7.5 ips, mono. ; 7 in, 1/4 in. tape.

NOTES: Broadcast on National Public Radio, November 7, 1974.

LOCATION: Michigan State University

Kunstler, William Moses. *The implications of Wounded Knee*. Los Angeles, Calif. : Pacifica Radio Archive, 1983. 1 sound cassette (51 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Speech delivered by William Kunstler, Jan. 23, 1974 at the Univ.

LOCATION: Augustana College

Lane, Mark. *A tribute to Gladys Bissonette*. Rooseveltown, NY : Akwesasne Notes, 1974. 1 sound cassette (15 min.) : analog.

Recorded Aug. 19, 1974. Mark Lane in conversation with Kanatakeniate describes the defense testimony of Gladys Bissonette during the trial resulting from the occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D.

LOCATION: University of Illinois at Springfield

Means, Russell. [*Russell Means tells of the religious sources of his fight at Wounded Knee*] 1974. 1 sound tape reel : 7.5 ips, mono. ; 7 in, 1/4 in. tape.

NOTES: Broadcast in November, 1974.

LOCATION: Michigan State University

*The Road to Wounded Knee*. N. Hollywood, CA : Pacifica Radio Archive, 1973. 5 sound cassettes : analog

NOTES: Conditions at Pine Ridge -- Chronology of events --History and the philosophy of AIM -- An interview with Crow Dog -- An interview with Tom Cook.

LOCATION: Multnomah County Library

*Second battle of Wounded Knee*. Rooseveltown, NY : Akwesasne Notes, 1973. 1 sound cassette (45 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Radio documentary. Produced by The Rest of the News. Akwesasne notes.

LOCATION: University of Illinois at Springfield

Severt Young Bear. Rooseveltown, N.Y. : Akwesasne Notes, 1974. 1 sound cassette (45 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Oglala leader Severt Young Bear tells of broken treaties and land rip-offs at Pine Ridge, and the events leading to the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D.

LOCATION: University of Illinois at Springfield

Short interviews on Wounded Knee. Rooseveltown, N.Y. : Distributed by Akwesasne Notes, 1973. 1 sound cassette (60 min.) : analog.

NOTES: Interviews with Carter Camp, Ellen Moves Camp, Stan Holder and Matthew King recorded by the Rest of the News.

LOCATION: University of Illinois at Springfield

*Siege at Wounded Knee.* Minneapolis, Mn. : WCCO-TV, YEAR: 1982-1973. 1 videocassette (22 min.) : sd., col. ; 3/4 in.

LOCATION: Anoka-Ramsey Community College, Minnesota

*Sit in at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.* 1976. 1 videocassette (ca. 45 min.) : sd., col. ; 3/4 in.

NOTES: Lecture at California State University, Long Beach, on March 5, 1976.

*The Spirit of Crazy Horse.* [Alexandria, VA] : Beverly Hills, CA : PBS Home Video ; Distributed by Pacific Arts Video, 1991 1990. 1 videocassette (60 min.) : sd., col with b&w sequences ; 1/2 in.

NOTES: Originally shown on the television program entitled: Frontline. "PBS 274"--Cassette. Photographer, James Locker ; editor, Nathaniel Dorsky ; music, Kevin Locke, William Horn Cloud, William Good Voice Elk. Milo Yellow Hair. Milo Yellow Hair recounts the story of the Lakota Sioux Indian's struggle to reclaim their ancestral homeland and their continuing struggle to maintain their cultural identity. The program investigates the simmering conflict of recent decades and offers a perspective on the choices that lie ahead. VHS format.

LOCATION: University of South Dakota, University of Sioux Falls

*Why Wounded Knee?* Pacifica Tape Library AZ 0075A. 1976. 2 cassettes. mono. 2-track.

LOCATION: Augustana College

*Wounded Knee epilogue.* St. Paul, Minnesota Public Radio, 1974. 1 cassette. 2-track. mono.

NOTES: Kevin McKiernan puts together a comprehensive overview compiled from his coverage of the Wounded Knee controversy, beginning with reports from the occupied village, through the trial, and concluding with interviews with individuals important to the controversy; portions refer to the Indian Solidarity Day, a year after the occupation, and the Sundance ritual.

LOCATION: Brookings Public Library

Yellowbird, Bob. *{Bob Yellowbird tells the origins of the American Indian movement and of the Wounded Knee struggle and asks for support, at Michigan State University}* 1975.

1 sound tape reel : 7.5 ips, mono. ; 7 in, 1/4 in. tape.

NOTES: Broadcast on WKAR, February 4, 1975.

LOCATION: Michigan State University

## **OTHER**

Deloria, Vine. "The new activism." *Dialogue* ; vol. 6, no. 2 (1973). Washington, D.C. : U.S. Information Agency, 1973. 12pp.

LOCATION: University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

*Wounded Knee news.* New York : Wounded Knee Communications, 1973-. Serial: v. : ill. ; 28 cm. NUMBERING: No. 1 (July 1973)-

LOCATION: Michigan State University

<u>Box No.</u>	<u>Description</u>
<b>Box 1</b>	
	CORRESPONDENCE (2 folders)
	MANUSCRIPTS
	Book Outline
	AIM Chronology, manuscript
	Book, printed copy, Chapter 1
	Book manuscript
	Fitzgerald Chapters
	Chapter V
	Chapter VI
	Chapter VII
	Chapter
	The Day Crazy Horse Died - printed copy, Book Outline, Chapters 1, 7 & 10; Aim Chronology, 1962-1973
	File inventory, AIM
	Clipping index
	Wounded Knee Massacre victims
	Research, Chuck Raasch
	Resources, books
	Publications
	INTERVIEWS
	Abourezk, Bellecourt, Means, Thomas (2 folders)
	John Adams
	Dennis Banks
	Dennis Banks, copy 2
	Clyde Bellecourt
	Bill Hall
	Russell Means
	Stan Pottinger
	Stan Pottinger, copy 2
	Madonna Thunderhawk
	John Trudell
	Bill Zimmerman
	DOCUMENTS
	AIM Chronology I
	AIM Chronology II
	DeSera, Aaron
	Wilson, Richard
	Maps, diagrams
	Personnel authorities
	Trail of Broken Treaties, BIA Occupation
	Wounded Knee, take-over eve
	Wounded Knee, First Week, March
	Wounded Knee, Second Week, March
	Wounded Knee, life inside
	Oglala Sovereignty, Independent Oglala Nation
	Durham, Douglas
	Negotiations, April 1973
	Means, Russell, April 1973, Travel Documents
	FBI Shooting Reports; 1973, Mar. 9, 11, 12, 21, 26
	United States Government Memos, 1973, Mar 4, 11 25
	U.S. Government Memos, 1973, Apr. 23-24

Box No. Description

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**Box 1, cont.**

DOCUMENTS, cont.

U.S. Government Memos, Apr. 19, 22, 23, 24; 1973, May 3  
Warner, Volney F., U.S. Court of Claims; U.S. Army Memos 1973,  
Mar. 3; 1973, May 23;

**Box 2**

DOCUMENTS, cont.

White House Optioning  
AIM Memos, dissension  
White House, Army Relations  
DOMS Watch Team  
Wounded Knee Airlift  
U.S. Army, Military Support of WK Operations  
Garment, Leonard  
Erickson, Ralph, Deputy Assistant Attorney General  
Harlington Wood, Jr., Court of Claims  
Frizzell, Kent, Court of Claims (2 folders)  
Dispossession  
AIM Injuries  
Jackson, Henry  
BIA takeover, USMS log 1973, Feb. 14-Mar. 1  
BIA takeover, Government Exhibits  
Wounded Knee, Government Summary of Events  
FBI interviews, post-Wounded Knee  
AIM Demands  
After Action Reports, U.S. Army  
AIM, FIOA documents (2 folders)  
United States Senate, Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Report 101-  
216  
Report, United States Senate, Subcommittee to Investigate the  
Administration of the Internal Security Act and other internal  
Security Laws; Revolutionary Activities within the United States  
FBI documents (6 folders)  
U.S. Government documents (2 folders)  
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 1973, Mar. 26  
Wounded Knee, outside appraisals  
U.S. Army, inside retrospectives

COURT TRANSCRIPTS

United States vs. Dennis Banks, United States vs. Russell Means (6  
folders)

**BOX 3**

COURT TRANSCRIPTS, cont.

United States vs. Dennis Banks, United States vs. Russell Means, cont.  
(7 folders)  
Indictment  
Court of Claims  
Innocent Victims  
1980, May 6 (14 folders)  
Defendants Requested Findings of Fact no. 1-637 (2 folders)  
Defendants Requested Findings of Fact no. 638-1057 (2 folders)  
Plaintiff's Proposed Findings of Fact 1980, Nov. 3 (2 folders)

Box No. Description

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**BOX 3, cont.**

COURT TRANSCRIPTS, cont.  
Court of Claims, cont.  
Innocent Victims, cont.  
Plaintiff's Proposed Findings of Fact 1980, Nov. 3  
Plaintiff's Brief on Liability, 1980, Nov. 3

**BOX 4**

COURT TRANSCRIPTS, cont.  
Court of Claims, cont.  
Defendant's Brief to the Trial Commissioner, No. 4-76 (2 folders)  
Commissioner's Opinion, No.4-76, 1981, June 10  
Findings of Fact and Recommended Conclusions to Accompany the  
Opinion of the Trial Commission, No.4-76, 1981, June 10 (4  
folder)  
Innocent Victims, 1980, exhibits  
Master Index, 1980, May 6-May 20  
Hearing, Occupation of BIA, 1972, Dec. 4 (4 folders)

PRINTED MATERIALS

Alcatraz, interview  
American Indian Journal  
Big Mountain Dispute  
17 Country Songs  
Evergreen Foundation Film  
Indians Civil Rights Act  
Screenplay, *Airlift to Wounded Knee*, Bill Zimmerman  
*Teaching on the Reservation*, Jeanne Smith  
Yellowthunder Camp

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

Lexis-Nexis Chronology 1970-1979  
New York Times Chronology, 1973-1975  
Newspaper Chronology, 1971-1972 (2 folders)  
Newspaper article  
Arizona Republic  
Rapid City Journal (4 folders)  
Wesley Bad Heart Bull  
Pine Ridge Shooting  
South Dakota Newspapers  
General (5 folders)