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conversation, in the reading of ethnographies, in the observation of museum objects, in classroom teaching. By developing a paradigm that demonstrates the constructed nature of all scholarly understanding and the importance of linking personal experience with critical thinking, Sarris provides us with ethnographic instruction and an analytical framework. He demonstrates convincingly that keeping *Slug Woman* alive is crucial not only for Native American listeners but also for broader critical intellectual practice.

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Loud Hawk: The United States versus the American Indian Movement. By Kenneth S. Stern. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. 350 pages. \$24.95 cloth.

The oddity of *Loud Hawk* began in November 1975 on a lonely stretch of Oregon highway near Ontario, when Oregon State Police officers intercepted a 1969 Dodge Explorer motor home and a white station wagon occupied by American Indian Movement (AIM) members Dennis Banks, Leonard Peltier, Russell Redner, Anna Mae Aquash, KaMook Banks, eighteen-month-old Tasina Banks, and Kenny Loud Hawk. The motor home and the station wagon were en route to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation; along with its AIM occupants, it contained eight unregistered automatic weapons and seven cases of dynamite. The Indian people in the two vehicles considered themselves at war with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and were on a mission: to protect Banks and Peltier and to get the unregistered weapons safely to Pine Ridge. The FBI, utilizing skills perfected in the late 1960s and early 1970s under the FBI counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), knew in advance of the group's movement and, according to author Kenneth Stern, were watching and waiting. It is Stern's contention that a roadblock was being set up where the occupants of the vehicles probably would have been killed. Although an FBI all points bulletin had been issued identifying the group as federal fugitives attempting to reach the Idaho border and stating that no one was to stop the vehicles, Oregon State Police did stop the caravan. This inadvertent stop fouled the FBI's plan to rid itself of the troublesome leaders of the American Indian

Movement, who had been thorns in their side beginning with the occupation of the Washington, D.C., office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972 and continuing through the occupation of Wounded Knee II in 1973 and, most recently, the killing of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation on 26 June 1975.

At the time of the initial arrest, Leonard Peltier was wanted by the FBI for murder in connection with the June 1975 shooting death of two FBI agents, Jack Coler and Ronald Williams, on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Dennis Banks was wanted for fleeing sentencing after being found guilty for his part in a 1972 protest, turned riot, in Custer, South Dakota. Kenneth Loud Hawk, suspected of involvement in the Pine Ridge shooting, was charged with possessing explosives and harboring a fugitive. Thus began the thirteen-year pretrial criminal case *Loud Hawk: The United States versus the American Indian Movement*, the longest pretrial criminal case in U.S. history.

In November 1975, the author, twenty-two-year-old Kenneth Stern, was a first-year law student at Oregon's Willamette University. Tortured by the strictures of law school and "passionately political," Stern viewed the case as interesting law—three-dimensional law unfolding before him. He stopped attending classes and became a student volunteer for the defense attorneys in *United States v. Loud Hawk et al.* After receiving his law degree, Stern became the lead defense counsel in *Loud Hawk*. In 1976, 1980, 1983, and 1986, *Loud Hawk* was dismissed for constitutional violations, including destruction of evidence, vindictive prosecution, government misconduct, FBI spying, and illegal wiretaps. On 12 November 1985, Kenneth Stern argued the case before the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1988, thirteen years after the initial arrest, Dennis Banks was given formal probation as the result of a plea bargain agreement that allowed all of the remaining defendants to continue their lives, free from the many years of prosecution. After the case was over, Banks asked Stern if he would write about the *Loud Hawk* case. This book is the fulfillment of Stern's promise to Banks.

The prosecution of the *Loud Hawk* case for thirteen years, despite having been dismissed on four different occasions, was a part of the war being waged against the entire Indian community. Stern correctly identifies this as a real war going on against Indian people on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He provides a cogent discussion of FBI intimidation and harassment, and the murder of Indian people simply because they were Indian. Cases in point

are the killings of an Indian man, Joe Stuntz, which the FBI refused to investigate, and an Indian woman, Anna Mae Aquash, whose cause of death was reported as exposure, even though she had been shot in the back of the head.

Early issues of *Loud Hawk* provide an insight into AIM leader Dennis Banks's dread of extradition to South Dakota; his fear for his life was so real that the state of California and the Onondaga Nation in New York refused extradition requests from South Dakota. Stern provides an accurate picture of modern-day Indian activists, victims of FBI lawlessness, fighting both individually and in groups for the survival of a way of life under siege. In many instances, they were literally fighting for their lives. On Pine Ridge, the battle was against tribal chairman Dicky Wilson and his Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOON squad), backed and financed by the federal government. Those opposed to the murder, harassment, and intimidation considered themselves modern-day warriors; the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee was their battleground, and all other roads led from Wounded Knee.

Loud Hawk is an addition to the genre of Indian activist writing in the tradition of Peter Matthiessen's *In The Spirit of Crazy Horse* (Viking Press, initially published in 1983 but suppressed until 1991); Rex Weyler's *Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement* (Vintage Books, 1984); Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall's *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret War against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (South End Press, 1988); and Edward Lazurus's *Black Hills, White Justice: The Sioux Nation versus the United States: 1775 to the Present* (Harper Collins, 1991). These books share a common theme with *Loud Hawk*: exposure of the overt racial discrimination against American Indian people and suppression of civil rights, on both a personal and tribal level, by state and federal governmental bureaucracy. The agencies most commonly identified are state and local police forces, state and local court systems, and, more specifically, the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Although *Loud Hawk* is an excellent contribution to the genre of Indian activist writing, the book is not without its problems. It should be noted, however, that Kenneth Stern is an attorney, not a historian. His research into legal issues is exacting, but his examination of historical events is somewhat problematic. I suspect that the errors are primarily the result of having relied on

secondary materials, which often repeat and thus perpetuate incorrect information or interpretations of events.

Since the main thesis of *Loud Hawk* centers around the battle between the U.S. government and AIM, the AIM founders should have been identified correctly. In one instance, Stern states that AIM was founded by Dennis Banks. On another occasion, he refers to Clyde Bellecourt as a leader of AIM. In fact, the American Indian Movement was founded on 28 July 1968, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, and Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt. All of these Indian leaders should have been recognized. Stern also states that the FBI vendetta against AIM started with Alcatraz and accelerated with the BIA takeover. AIM was not involved in the 1969–71 occupation of Alcatraz Island. Alcatraz was occupied by a group of urban Indian youth, primarily college students, initially known as Alcatraz Indians and, later, Indians of All Tribes, Inc. A small group of AIM members did visit Alcatraz in the summer of 1970, but they were on the island for only a brief period of time and were observers only. It should also be noted that the FBI did not get involved in the Alcatraz occupation. The White House specifically instructed the FBI not to go to Alcatraz Island. Additionally, the final removal of the Indian people from Alcatraz Island in June 1971 was not for fear of the implications it would have for the November 1972 presidential elections, but because of an accumulation of concerns, the paramount one being the lack of navigational aids and the danger to shipping in San Francisco Bay, as evidenced by the January 1971 collision of two oil tankers beneath the Golden Gate Bridge. Stern also states that one of the early leaders of the Alcatraz occupation, Richard Oaks (sic), was shot to death by a white man and no charges were filed. In fact, the non-Indian man who shot Oakes was charged, but not convicted, of involuntary manslaughter. Although this may be small compensation for what many consider to be murder, a monetary settlement was made with the Oakes family.

My final comments concern Stern's references to the Nixon administration. He writes of his visit to the Nixon Presidential Archives and sets out clearly the criticisms that Indian people had against the federal government. Stern is correct in his portrayal of the statistics and reports regarding the health, the suicide rate, the inefficiency of the BIA, and the uninvestigated homicides against Indians. But he closes his evaluation with the statement that the Nixon administration knew of the situation, "Yet nothing was

done." It should be noted that, during the Nixon administration, in addition to the return of Blue Lake and forty-eight thousand acres of land to the Taos Indians, other land returned to Indian people included forty million acres to the Navajo in June 1970; twenty-one thousand acres of Mount Adams in Washington State to the Yakima tribe in July 1972; eighty acres to the Washoe tribe in California in October 1970; and some sixty thousand acres to the Warm Springs tribes of Oregon. Additionally, the Nixon administration introduced twenty-two legislative proposals to the 91st Congress on behalf of American Indian people. These proposals were designed to support tribal self-rule, foster cultural survival as distinct people, and encourage and support economic development on Indian reservations. Six of the twenty-two proposals were passed into law by the 91st Congress. The following year, the 92nd Congress passed into public law forty-six pieces of Indian legislation. Public Law 92-22 established within the Department of the Interior the position of an additional assistant secretary of the interior; Public Law 92-265 extended the life of the Indian Claims Commission; Public Law 92-189 established the Navajo Community College; and Public Law 92-209 established the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

In addition to bills introduced, President Nixon increased the budget of the BIA by 224 percent, doubled the funds for Indian health, established the first special Office of Indian Water Rights, and made special provisions for presenting to any federal court the trustee's position defending Indian natural resources rights. New "Indian desks" were created in each of the government's human resource departments to help coordinate and accelerate Indian programs. Indian education efforts were expanded, including an increase of \$848,000 in scholarships for Indian college students and the establishment of Navajo Community College, the first college in America planned, developed, and operated by and for Indians. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) doubled its funds for Indian economic development and tripled its expenditures for alcoholism treatment and recovery programs. In areas such as housing, home improvement, health care, emergency food, legal services, and education, OEO programs were also significantly expanded. Altogether, obligational authority for Indian programs increased from \$598 million in fiscal year 1970 to \$626 million in fiscal year 1971. It is simply incorrect to state that the Nixon administration did nothing to improve the lives of Indian people.

Despite the problems highlighted above, *Loud Hawk* is worthwhile reading for those who are interested in American Indian activism, the FBI, and the American Indian Movement, and, specifically, for readers interested in the treatment of Indian people by the court systems in the 1970s.

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The Mohican of Stockbridge. By Patrick Frazier. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. 307 pages. \$12.95 paper.

The Mohican of Stockbridge is a meticulously researched and detailed account of the history of the Indians at the Stockbridge mission. The author, Patrick Frazier, attempts to paint a picture of Mohican history from varied perspectives by incorporating views from Indians, colonists, missionaries, militia, and government officials. The picture that emerges is, as Frazier states, "a sometimes tragic but ultimately triumphant story of a people who were nearly last of the Mohicans."

The book covers the Mohican or Mahican Indians, a number of small interconnected groups who lived between the Hudson River in eastern New York and western Connecticut. Frazier clarifies the term *Mohican* in his preface by indicating that it is the traditional English label, while the term *Mahican* is the Dutch label and subsequent ethnological identification for these Indians.

Although Frazier prefaces his Mohican history with a discussion of the contact period and the Indians' encounter with Henry Hudson in 1609, most of the story takes place in the eighteenth century between the years 1734 and 1785. During this time, the Mohican were heavily missionized, and the Christian community of Stockbridge was established in western Massachusetts. Frazier begins the narrative with a 1734 council meeting between several Mohican villages and their leaders, Konkapot and Umpachenee. The meeting was called to consider the new religion and whether the Mohican would adopt Christianity. By this time, the Mohican already had been devastated by intermittent wars with the Mohawk, the French Canadians, and their allied Indians. Land loss and disease had also taken its toll.

The Mohican people turned to Christianity because they felt squeezed by competing European and Indian powers, and Chris-