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# Remembering Alcatraz: Twenty-five Years After

**TROY JOHNSON AND JOANE NAGEL**

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In the early morning hours of 20 November 1969, eighty-nine American Indians landed on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. Identifying themselves as "Indians of All Tribes," the group claimed the island by "right of discovery" and by the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie which gave Indians the right to unused federal property that had been Indian land previously. Except for a small caretaking staff, Alcatraz Island had been abandoned by the federal government since the early 1960s, when the federal penitentiary was closed. In a press statement, Indians of All Tribes set the tone of the occupation and the agenda for negotiations during the nineteen-month occupation:

We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians . . . [W]e plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions: 1. A CENTER FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES . . . 2. AN AMERICAN INDIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER . . . 3. AN INDIAN CENTER OF ECOLOGY . . . 4. A GREAT INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL . . . [and] an AMERICAN INDIAN MUSEUM . . . . In the name of all Indians, therefore, we reclaim this island for our Indian nations . . . . We feel this claim is just and proper, and that this land should rightfully be granted to us for as long as the rivers shall run and the sun shall shine. Signed, INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES.<sup>1</sup>

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In the months that followed, thousands of protesters and visitors spent time on Alcatraz Island. They came from a large number of Indian tribes, including the Sioux, Navajo, Cherokee, Mohawk, Puyallup, Yakima, Hoopa, Omaha. The months of occupation were marked by proclamations, news conferences, powwows, celebrations, "assaults" with arrows on passing vessels, and negotiations with federal officials. In the beginning months of the occupation, workers from the San Francisco Indian Center gathered food and supplies on the mainland and transported them to Alcatraz. However, as time went by, the occupying force, which generally numbered around one hundred, confronted increasing hardships as federal officials interfered with delivery boats and cut off the supply of water and electricity to the island, and as tensions on the island grew.

The negotiations between Indians of All Tribes and the federal government eventually collapsed, and Alcatraz Island was never developed in accordance with the goals of the Indian protesters. In June 1971, the dozen or so remaining protesters were removed by federal marshals, more than a year-and-a-half after Indians of All Tribes first took over the island. Despite their failure to achieve their demands, Alcatraz represented a watershed moment in Native American protest and resulted in an escalation of Indian activism around the country.

The occupation, which caught the attention of the entire country, provided a forum for airing long-standing Indian grievances and for the expression of Indian pride. Vine Deloria noted its importance, referring to the occupation as a "master stroke of Indian activism"<sup>2</sup> and recognizing its impact on Indian ethnic self-awareness and identity:

"Indianness" was judged on whether or not one was present at Alcatraz, Fort Lawson, Mt. Rushmore, Detroit, Sheep Mountain, Plymouth Rock, or Pitt River . . . . The activists controlled the language, the issues, and the attention.<sup>3</sup>

The Alcatraz occupation and the activist events that followed it offered firm evidence to counter commonly held views of Indians as powerless in the face of history, as weakened remnants of disappearing cultures and communities. In contrast, the events on Alcatraz and the activism that spread in its wake fueled American Indian ethnic pride and strengthened native individuals' sense of personal empowerment and community membership.

For example, Wilma Mankiller, now principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, visited the island many times during the months of occupation. She describes the personal impact of the event as “an awakening that ultimately changed the course of my life.”<sup>4</sup> The life-changing impact of the Alcatraz occupation emerged as a recurrent theme in our interviews with Native Americans who participated in or observed the protests of that period:

**George Horse Capture.** In World War II, the marines were island-hopping; they’d do the groundwork, and then the army and the civilians would come in and build things. Without the first wave, nothing would happen. Alcatraz and the militants were like that. They put themselves at risk, could be arrested or killed. You have to give them their due. We were in the second wave. In the regular Indian world, we’re very complacent; it takes leadership to get things moving. But scratch a real Indian since then, and you’re going to find a militant. Alcatraz tapped into something. It was the lance that burst the boil.<sup>5</sup>

**John Echohawk.** Alcatraz just seemed to be kind of another event—what a lot of people had been thinking, wanting to do. We were studying Indian law for the first time. We had a lot of frustration and anger. People were fed up with the status quo. That’s just what we were thinking. Starting in 1967 at the University of New Mexico Law School, we read treaties, Indian legal history. It was just astounding how unfair it was, how wrong it was. It [Alcatraz] was the kind of thing we needed.<sup>6</sup>

**Leonard Peltier.** I was in Seattle when Alcatraz happened. It was the first event that received such publicity. In Seattle, we were in solidarity with the demands of Alcatraz. We were inspired and encouraged by Alcatraz. I realized their goals were mine. The Indian organizations I was working with shared the same needs: an Indian college to keep students from dropping out, a cultural center to keep Indian traditions. We were all really encouraged—not only those who were active, but those who were not active as well.<sup>7</sup>

**Frances Wise.** The Alcatraz takeover had an enormous impact. I was living in Waco, Texas, at the time. I would see little blurbs on TV. I thought, These Indians are really doing something at Alcatraz . . . . And when they called for the land back, I realized that, finally, what Indian people have gone through is finally being recognized . . . . It affected how I think of myself. If someone asks me who I am, I say, well, I have a name, but Waco/Caddo—that’s who I *am*. I have a good

feeling about who I am now. And you need this in the presence of all this negative stuff, for example, celebrating the Oklahoma Land Run.<sup>8</sup>

**Rosalie McKay-Want.** In the final analysis, however, the occupation of this small territory could be considered a victory for the cause of Indian activism and one of the most noteworthy expressions of patriotism and self-determination by Indian people in the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

**Grace Thorpe.** Alcatraz was the catalyst and the most important event in the Indian movement to date. It made me put my furniture into storage and spend my life savings.<sup>10</sup>

These voices speak to the central importance of the Alcatraz occupation as the symbol of long-standing Indian grievances and increasing impatience with a political system slow to respond to native rights. They also express the feelings of empowerment that witnessing and participating in protest can foster. Loretta Flores did not become an activist herself until several years after the events on Alcatraz, but she eloquently describes the sense of self and community that activism can produce:

The night before the protest, I was talking to a younger person who had never been in a march before. I told her, "Tomorrow when we get through with this march, you're going to have a feeling like you've never had before. It's going to change your life." Those kids from Haskell (Indian Nations University) will never forget this. The spirits of our ancestors were looking down on us smiling.

The impact of the Alcatraz occupation went beyond the individual lives and consciousnesses it helped to reshape. The events on Alcatraz marked the beginning of a national Indian activist movement, sometimes referred to as "Red Power," that kept national attention on Indian rights and grievances. The founding of D-Q University in California, the Trail of Broken Treaties, the takeovers of the BIA, the siege at Wounded Knee, the Longest Walk: All of these followed in the wake of Alcatraz.

Despite its influence, the occupation of Alcatraz Island has largely been overlooked by those who write or speak today of American Indian activism. Much has been written about the battles fought by Indian people for their rights regarding access to hunting and fishing areas reserved by treaties in the states of Washington and Oregon, the continuing struggles for those same rights in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the efforts of the Six

Nations to secure guaranteed treaty rights in the northeastern United States. The 1972 takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee are well known as well, as is the killing of an Indian man, Joseph Stuntz, and two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. Yet it is to the occupation of Alcatraz Island twenty-five years ago that one must look to find the genesis of modern-day American Indian activism. The movement began in 1969 and continues to this day.

A large number of occupations began shortly after the 20 November 1969 landing on Alcatraz Island. Most scholars and the general public who follow Indian issues frequently and incorrectly credit this new Indian activism to the American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM was founded on 28 July 1968 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, and Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt. Although AIM became a central actor in and organizer of much Native American protest during the 1970s and after, in 1969, at the time of the Alcatraz occupation, AIM was largely an urban movement concerned with overcoming discrimination and pervasive abuse by police, and its membership was not directly involved in the Alcatraz occupation. Only after visiting the Indians on Alcatraz Island and realizing the possibilities available through demonstration and seizure of federal facilities did AIM actually enter into a national activist role.

AIM leaders recognized the opportunities when they met with the Indian occupiers on Alcatraz Island during the summer of 1970 and were caught up in the momentum of the occupation. On a broader scale, they realized the possibilities of a national activist movement. Additionally, AIM leaders had seen firsthand, during their visit to Alcatraz, that the bureaucracy inherent in the federal government had resulted in immobility: No punitive action had been taken against the Indian people on the island. This provided an additional impetus for AIM's kind of national Indian activism and was congruent with the rising tide of national unrest, particularly among young college students. AIM's first attempt at a national protest action came on Thanksgiving Day 1970, when AIM members seized the *Mayflower II* in Plymouth, Massachusetts, to challenge a celebration of colonial expansion into what then was mistakenly considered to be a "new world." During this action, AIM leaders acknowledged the occupation of Alcatraz Island as the symbol of a newly awakened desire among Indians for unity and authority in a white world.

## BACKGROUND OF THE ALCATRAZ OCCUPATION

The 1960s and early 1970s was a time of urban unrest across the nation. The United States was deeply involved in an unpopular war in Vietnam. The civil rights movement, Black Power, the rise of LaRaza, the Latino movement, the stirring of the new feminism, the rise of the New Left, and the Third World strikes were sweeping the nation, particularly college campuses. While U.S. armed forces were involved in the clandestine invasion and bombing of Cambodia, the announcement of the massacre of innocent civilians in a hamlet in My Lai, Vietnam, burned across the front pages of American newspapers.<sup>11</sup> Ubiquitous campus demonstrations raised the level of consciousness of college students. People of all ages were becoming sensitized to the unrest among emerging minority and gender groups, who were staging demonstrations and proclaiming their points of view, many of which were incorporated by student activists. White students faced with the draft and an “unjust” war ultimately empathized with minority populations, thus adding numbers and support to their causes. Sit-ins, sleep-ins, teach-ins, lock-outs, and boycotts became everyday occurrences on college campuses. And from these college campuses—specifically the University of California, Santa Cruz; San Francisco State; the University of California, Berkeley; and the University of California, Los Angeles—emerged the Native Americans who would comprise the first occupation force on Alcatraz Island.

Latino, Black, white, and native protests each had different sources and goals. The roots of American Indian activism were buried in centuries of mistreatment of Indian people. The latest was the federal government’s relocation program of the 1950s and 1960s, which promised to move reservation residents to major urban areas for vocational training and to assist them in finding jobs, adequate housing, and financial assistance while training was underway. More than one hundred thousand Indian people were relocated as a result of this process. The training, which generally was supposed to last three months, often lasted only three weeks; the job assistance was usually one referral, at best; the housing was 1950s and 1960s skid row; and the financial support ran out long before the training was started or any hope of a job was realized. The history of the San Francisco Bay Area relocation effort is replete with examples of Indian people—men, women, boys, and young girls—who sat for days and weeks at

bus stations, waiting for the government representative who was to meet them and start them on the road to a new, successful urban life.<sup>12</sup>

Another group of Indian people who relocated to the Bay Area were those who had served in the military during World War II and then chose to settle in urban areas after the war. These veterans often brought their families with them. The majority of the thirty thousand Indians who served in the armed forces during the war had left the reservation for the first time in their lives to join up. During the war, they got used to regular employment and regular paychecks; in addition, they became accustomed to living with electricity, modern appliances, and hot and cold running water. These conveniences, taken for granted in non-Indian homes, were rare or nonexistent on Indian reservations. It was only natural that, once exposed to such basic services, Indian veterans would want to establish a more modern lifestyle for themselves and their families. Their relatives, too, sought the “good life” offered in the urban areas. Many Indian people wanted to see what was available in the cities that older brothers or uncles talked about as a part of their military experience. With relatives now living in urban areas such as New York, San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, many relocated and some found employment, but most returned home to the reservation.

Still other Indian people migrated to the Bay Area in the war years to work in defense industries, and they remained there. Because of the industrial need fed by the war and in keeping with the policy of termination of tribal groups and assimilation of Indians into non-Indian society, the government also relocated thousands of Indian workers to San Francisco.

In the Bay Area—one of the largest of more than a dozen relocation sites—the newly urban Indians formed their own organizations to provide the support that the government had promised but failed to provide. Generally, these groups were known by tribal names such as the Sioux Club and the Navajo Club, but there were also sports clubs, dance clubs, and the very early urban powwow clubs. Eventually, some thirty social clubs were formed to meet the needs of the urban Indians and their children—children who would, in the 1960s, want the opportunity to go to college and better themselves.<sup>13</sup>

By the early 1960s, a growing and increasingly organized urban Indian population, dissatisfied with the federal relocation program and with conditions both on the reservations and in the city,



began to search for a means to communicate their concerns and grievances. Alcatraz Island appeared to be a promising site for launching an information and protest campaign.

### THE OCCUPATIONS

In actuality, there were three separate occupations of Alcatraz Island. The first was a brief, four-hour occupation on 9 March 1964, during which five Sioux Indians, representing the urban Indians of the Bay Area, occupied the island. The event was planned by Belva Cottier, the wife of one of the occupiers. The federal penitentiary on the island had been closed in 1963, and the government was in the process of transferring the island to the city of San Francisco for development. Meanwhile, Belva Cottier and her Sioux cousin developed plans of their own. They recalled having heard of a provision in the 1868 Sioux treaty with the federal government that stated that all abandoned federal lands reverted to ownership by the Sioux people. Using this interpretation of the treaty, they encouraged five Sioux men to occupy Alcatraz Island and claim it for the Sioux people. They issued press releases claiming the island in accordance with the 1868 Sioux treaty and demanded better treatment for urban Indians. Richard McKenzie, the most outspoken of the group, pressed the claim for title to the island through the court system, only to have the courts rule against him. More importantly, however, the Indians of the Bay Area were becoming vocal and united in their efforts to improve their lives.

The 1964 occupation of Alcatraz Island was a forewarning of the unrest that was fermenting, quietly but surely, in the urban Indian population. Prior to the 1964 occupation, the Bay Area newspapers contained a large number of articles about the federal government's abandonment of the urban Indian and the state and local government's refusal to meet their needs. The social clubs that had been formed for support became meeting places for Indian people to discuss the discrimination they were facing in schools, housing, employment, and health care. They also talked about the police, who, like law officers in other areas of the country, would wait outside of Indian bars at closing time to harass, beat, and arrest Indian patrons. Indian centers began to appear in all the urban relocation areas and became nesting grounds for new pan-Indian, and eventually activist, organization.

The second Alcatraz occupation came out of the Bay Area colleges and universities and other California college campuses where young, educated Indian students joined with other minority groups during the 1969 Third World Liberation Front strike and began demanding that colleges offer courses that were relevant to Indian students. Indian history written and taught by non-Indian instructors was no longer acceptable to these young students, who were awakened to the possibility of social protest to bring attention to the shameful treatment of Indian people.

Among the Indian students at San Francisco State was a young Mohawk named Richard Oakes. Oakes came from the St. Regis Reservation, had worked on high steel in New York, and had traveled across the United States, visiting various Indian reservations. He eventually had wound up in California, where he married a Kashia Pomo woman, Anne, who had five children from a previous marriage. Oakes worked in an Indian bar in Oakland for a period of time and eventually was admitted to San Francisco State. In September 1969, he and several other Indian students began discussing the possibility of occupying Alcatraz Island as a symbolic protest, a call for Indian self-determination. Preliminary plans were made for a symbolic occupation to take place in the summer of 1970, but other events caused an earlier execution of the plan.

The catalyst for the occupation was the destruction of the San Francisco Indian Center by fire in late October 1969. The center had become the meeting place for the Bay Area Indian organizations and the newly formed United Bay Area Indian Council, which had brought the thirty private clubs together into one large council headed by Adam Nordwall (later to be known as Adam Fortunate Eagle). The destruction of the Indian center united the council and the American Indian student organizations as never before. The council needed a new meeting place, and the students needed a forum for their new activist voice.

After the fire, the second occupation of Alcatraz Island was planned for 9 November 1969. Richard Oakes and the other Indian college students, along with a group of people from the San Francisco Indian Center, chartered a boat and headed for Alcatraz Island. Since many different tribes were represented, the name *Indians of All Tribes* was adopted for the group.

The initial plan was to circle the island and symbolically claim it for Indian people. During the circling maneuver, however, Richard and four others jumped from the boat and swam to the

island. They claimed Alcatraz in the name of Indians of All Tribes and left the island after meeting with the caretaker, who asked them to leave. Later that same evening, Oakes and fourteen others returned to the island with sleeping bags and food sufficient for two or three days; they left the island the following morning without incident.

In meetings following the 9 November occupation, Oakes and his fellow students realized that a prolonged occupation was possible. It was clear that the federal government had only a token force on the island and that no physical harm had come to anyone involved. A new plan began to emerge.

Following the brief 9 November occupation, Oakes traveled to UCLA, where he met with Ray Spang and Edward Castillo and asked for their assistance in recruiting Indian students for what would become the longest Indian occupation of a federal facility to this very day. Spang, Castillo, and Oakes met in UCLA's Campbell Hall, now the home of the American Indian Studies Center and the editorial offices of the American Indian Culture and Research Journal, in private homes, and in Indian bars in Los Angeles. On 20 November 1969, the eighty Indian people who occupied Alcatraz Island included seventy Indian students from UCLA.

The occupation of Alcatraz would last nineteen months and would bring together Indian people from across the United States, Alaska, Canada, Mexico, and South America. Most importantly, Alcatraz would force the federal government to take a new look at the situation faced by urban Indian people, the long-forgotten victims of a failed relocation program.

### LIFE ON THE ROCK

Once on the island, the people began to organize themselves immediately. An elected council was put into place. Everyone was assigned a job: security, sanitation, day-care, housing, cooking, laundry. All decisions were made by unanimous consent of the people. Sometimes meetings were held five, six, seven times per day to discuss the rapidly developing occupation.

The federal government, for its part, insisted that the Indian people leave and placed an ineffective coast guard barricade around the island. Eventually, the government agreed to the Indian council's demands for formal negotiations. But, from the

Indians' side, the demands were nonnegotiable. They wanted the deed to the island; they wanted to establish an Indian university, a cultural center, and a museum; and they wanted federal funding to establish all of these. The government negotiators turned down their demands and insisted that they leave the island.

It is important to remember that, while the urban Indian population supported the concept of an occupation and provided the logistical support, the occupation force itself was made up initially of young, urban Indian college students. The most inspiring person, if not the recognized leader, was Richard Oakes, who is described as handsome, charismatic, a talented orator, and a natural leader. Oakes was strongly influenced by an Iroquois organization known as the White Roots of Peace, which had been revitalized by a Mohawk, Ray Fadden, and an Iroquois holy man, Mad Bear Anderson. The White Roots of Peace was an old Iroquois organization that taught Iroquois traditions and attempted to influence Mohawk youths to take up leadership roles in the Mohawk Longhouse. This was an effort to revive and preserve Iroquois traditional life.

In the autumn of 1969, Jerry Gambill, a counselor for White Roots of Peace, visited the campus of San Francisco State and inspired many of the students, none more than Oakes, with whom he stayed. Gambill found a willing student and later a student leader in Richard Oakes. But Oakes's position as leader on the island, a title he himself never claimed, quickly created a problem. Not all of the students knew Oakes, and, in keeping with the true concepts underlying the occupation, many wanted an egalitarian society on the island, with no one as their leader. Although this may have been a workable form of organization on the island, it was not comprehensible to the non-Indian media. Newspapers, magazines, and television and radio stations across the nation sent reporters to the island to interview those in charge. They wanted to know who the leaders were. Oakes was the most knowledgeable about the landing and the most often sought out and identified as the leader, the "chief," the "mayor of Alcatraz."

By the end of 1969, the Indian organization on the island began to fall into disarray. Two groups rose in opposition to Richard Oakes, and, as the Indian students began returning to school in January 1970, they were replaced by Indian people from urban areas and reservations who had not been involved in the initial occupation. Where Oakes and the other students claimed title to

the island by right of discovery, the new arrivals harked back to the rhetoric of the 1964 occupation and the Sioux treaty, a claim that had been pressed through the court system by Richard McKenzie and had been found invalid. Additionally, some non-Indians now began taking up residency on the island, many from the San Francisco hippie and drug culture. Drugs and liquor had been banned from the island by the original occupiers, but they now became commonplace.

The final blow to the early student occupation occurred on 5 January 1970, when Richard Oakes's twelve-year-old stepdaughter fell three floors down a stairwell to her death. Yvonne Oakes and some other children apparently had been playing unsupervised near an open stairwell when she slipped and fell. Following Yvonne's death, the Oakes family left the island, and the two remaining groups maneuvered back and forth for leadership. Despite changes of leadership, however, the demands of the occupiers remained consistent: title to Alcatraz Island, the development of an Indian university, and the construction of a museum and cultural center that would display and teach the valuable contributions of Indian people to the non-Indian society.

By this time, the attention of the federal government had shifted from negotiations with the island occupants to restoration of navigational aids to the Bay Area—aids that had been discontinued as the result of a fire on Alcatraz Island and the discontinuance of electrical service. The government's inability to restore the navigational aids brought criticism from the coast guard, the Bay Area Pilot's Association, and local newspapers. The federal government now became impatient. On 11 June 1971, the message went out to end the occupation of Alcatraz Island, which had begun on 20 November 1969.

The success or failure of the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island should not be judged by whether the demands for title to the island and the establishment of educational and cultural institutions were realized. If one were to make such a judgment, the only possible answer would be that the occupation was a failure. Such is not the case, however. The underlying goals of the Indians on Alcatraz were to awaken the American public to the reality of the plight of the first Americans and to assert the need for Indian self-determination. In this they were indeed successful. Additionally, the occupation of Alcatraz Island was a springboard for Indian activism, inspiring the large number of takeovers and demonstrations that began shortly after the 20 November

1969 landing and continued into the late 1970s. These included the Trail of Broken Treaties, the BIA headquarters takeover in 1972, and Wounded Knee II in 1973. Many of the approximately seventy-four occupations that followed Alcatraz were either planned by or included people who had been involved in the Alcatraz occupation or who certainly had gained their strength from the new "Indianness" that grew out of that movement.

## REMEMBERING ALCATRAZ

This special edition of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Alcatraz occupation and presents a unique collection of articles focusing on Alcatraz as a watershed in contemporary American Indian history. Alcatraz was a defining moment in the lives of the American Indian people who participated either directly or in support of those on the island. Many of the individuals who were involved in the occupation have gone on to become prominent leaders in Indian education, law, and tribal government. The articles in this collection are authored by some of those people. The first six papers are written by persons who were directly involved with the occupation, including LaNada Boyer, the only person who was involved in the occupation from the first day until the last. The next three articles present reflections and analyses of the occupation itself and of Indian activism as a broader social movement. They include a recollection and assessment by Vine Deloria, Jr., and John Garvey's detailed examination of the federal government's reaction to the Alcatraz occupation. The final four authors focus on long-term assessments and consequences of the occupation and the activist period, including Karren Baird-Olson's focus on American Indian activism in the mid-1970s and Zug Standing Bear's discussion of the community reconstruction and cultural renewal that have occurred in the decades since the occupation.

Alcatraz Island remains a strong symbol of Indian activism and self-determination, and a rallying point for unified Indian political activities. On 11 February 1978, Indian participants began the "Longest Walk" to Washington, D.C. to protest the government's ill treatment of Indian people. That walk began on Alcatraz Island. On 11 February 1994, AIM leaders Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, and Mary Wilson met with Indian people to begin the

nationwide "Walk for Justice." The walk was organized to protest the continuing imprisonment of Leonard Peltier as a result of the 26 June 1975 shootout between AIM members and FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. That walk also began on Alcatraz Island. On Thanksgiving Day of each year since 1969, Indian people have gathered on Alcatraz Island to honor those who participated in the occupation and those who continue the struggle for Indian self-determination. In the final analysis, the occupation of Alcatraz Island was a major victory for the cause of Indian activism and remains one of the most noteworthy expressions of renewed ethnic pride and self-determination by Indian people in this century.

## NOTES

1. Peter Blue Cloud, ed., *Alcatraz Is Not an Island* (Berkeley, CA: Wingbow Press, 1972), 40–42.

2. Vine Deloria, Jr., "The Rise of Indian Activism," in *The Social Reality of Ethnic America*, ed. R. Gomez, C. Collingham, R. Endo, and K. Jackson (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1974), 184–85.

3. *Ibid.* In 1993, Deloria reflected on the longer-term impact of the Red Power movement:

This era will probably always be dominated by the images and slogans of the AIM people. The real accomplishments in land restoration, however, were made by quiet determined tribal leaders . . . . In reviewing the period we should understand the frenzy of the time and link it to the definite accomplishments made by tribal governments (correspondence with the editors, 1993).

4. Telephone interview, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, 27 November 1991.

5. Telephone interview, Fort Belknap, Montana, 24 May 1994; see also George Horse Capture, *An American Indian Perspective*.

6. Telephone interview, Boulder, Colorado, 9 July 1993.

7. Telephone interview, Leavenworth, Kansas, 1 June 1993.

8. Telephone interview, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 24 August 1993.

9. Rosalie McKay-Want, "The Meaning of Alcatraz," quoted in Judith Antell, "American Indian Women Activists" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), 58–60.

10. Grace Thorpe, interview by John Trudell, *Radio Free Alcatraz*, 12 December 1969.

11. The Nixon presidential archives make no mention of the invasion of Cambodia, since it was largely a secret operation (though poorly kept) at this time. President Nixon and his staff make direct analogies between the Indian people on Alcatraz and My Lai and the shootings at Kent State. It was agreed

that the American people would not stand by and see Indian people massacred and taken off Alcatraz in body bags.

12. Native American Research Group, *American Indian Socialization to Urban Life Final Report* (San Francisco, CA: Institute for Scientific Analysis, revised 1975).

13. Joan Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area: Social Interaction and Indian Identity, in *Human Origination* 23 (Winter 1964): 297.

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