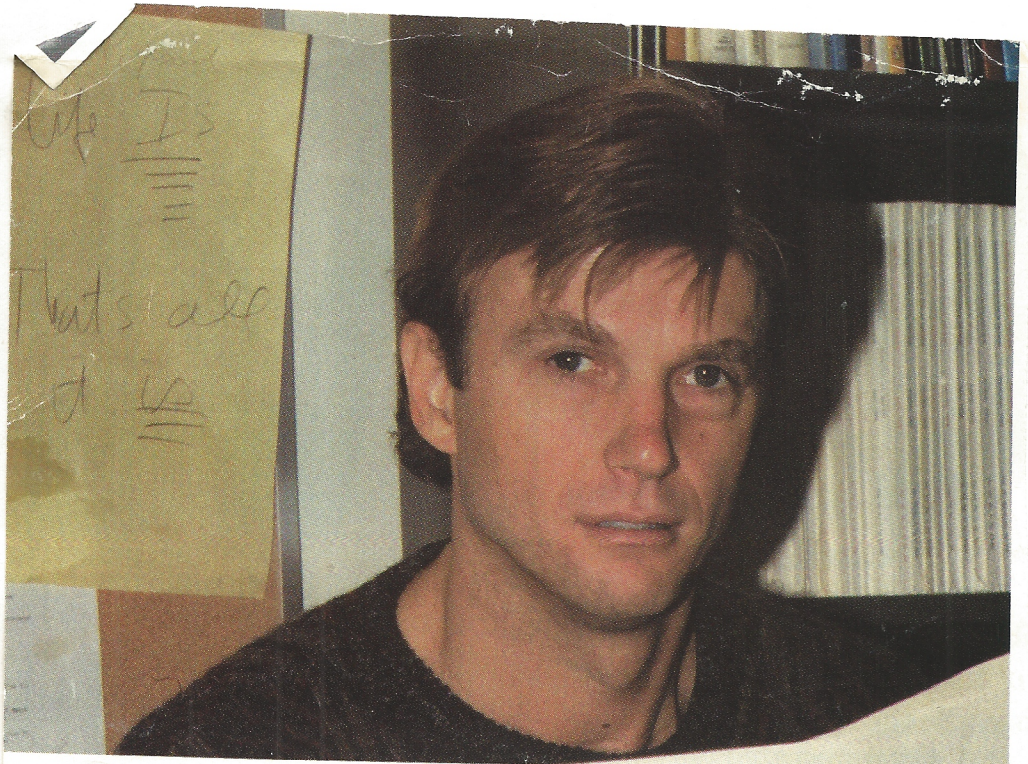


POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT
A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

BOB DIAZ
5-8-84



Doug McAdam

Jon Alquist Photo

Hear how the bargain was made for the West,
With her shivering children in zero degrees,
"Blankets for your land," so the treaties attest,
Oh well, blankets for land is a bargain indeed--
But the blankets were those Uncle Sam had collected,
From smallpox diseased dying soldiers that day,
And the tribes were wiped out and the history books censored,
A hundred years of your statesmen
Have felt its better this way,
Yet a few of the conquered have somehow survived,
Their blood runs the redder though genes have been paled,
From the Grand Canyon's caverns to Craven's sad hills,
The wounded, the losers, the robbed sing their tale,
From Los Angeles County to upstate New York,
The white nation fattens while others grow lean,
Oh the tricked and evicted, they know what **I** mean!
My country 'tis of thy people you're dying!

Buffy Sainte-Marie
c 1966

Since Columbus landed on the shores of North America, the plight of the indigenous people of this continent has been a sad one indeed. North America's Indian population, since the coming of the white man, has suffered countless atrocities, including massacres, forced migration, and above all, land theft. In ^{short} regards to this, the history of the United States is one of the most incredibly brutal epics that exists, yet it is shrouded in the myths of the fight for democracy and freedom. But for ^{whom} who? One need only to study the treatment of Indians to realize that they have never really been dealt with fairly or democratically. For over two hundred years Indians have been fighting for their land and for their sovereignty. This research proposal deals with the contemporary battles that the Indians face, which include these age old struggles. In particular, I intend to study the American Indian Movement (AIM), its emergence, development, and eventual decline. Using McAdam's political process model of social movements, I hope to ^{show} prove that AIM emerged as a result of the social and political context of the 1950's and 1960's. Before anything else, however, a brief synopsis of U.S.-Indian relations over the past two hundred years will help one gain an understanding of the contemporary picture.

Indians once ruled and lived on all the land that is now the U.S., but as more and more Europeans arrived, the struggle to survive became increasingly difficult. It became even more difficult as the United States became a nation, swallowing up the land and eliminating most of the tribes that were in the way. Those who were fortunate enough to survive were forced westward, away from all that had been theirs for thousands of years. Treaties were signed early on, between the many tribes and the U.S., but this form of diplomacy later proved to be worthless, as the hunger for gold and land on the part of the white man superceded any of these agreements. The vast majority of these treaties viewed the various Indian tribes as autonomous and sovereign nations. Such documents, supposedly made in good faith, were held to be irrefutable acts of agreement between the U.S. and such nations. Because the amount of literature is so voluminous on these treaties, I will not deal with them in this paper. For an interesting account of U.S.- Indian relations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Helen Hunt Jackson's book, A Century of Dishonor.

should have treated this as a footnote

a single research project or paper never "proves" anything

is this really true? Most eastern tribes did not successfully migrate westward. Virtually all eastern tribes were driven to extinction. For all intent and purpose the only tribes to survive were from the West.

since

nicely put

yes! as Marx noted, there is almost always a "material logic" to the ruling ideologies.

footnote

In the 1800's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, originally a branch of the U.S. War Department, was the main agency that dealt with the Indians. It was formed in 1834, and its main purpose was to negotiate with the various tribes. However, relations between the two camps worsened. The U.S. continued to drive the natives from their lands whenever it was deemed necessary. When force wasn't used, the pen became the primary instrument of theft. Many people rationalized the theft of land by arguing that the Indians were savages who had no right to impede the course of progress that God had bestowed upon the white man. It was in this century that the popular doctrines of Manifest Destiny and social Darwinism gained acceptance throughout the country. Yet, Indians continued to fight valiantly against the usurpation of their land. Sometimes they were successful, as in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Most of the time, however, they failed, succumbing to the white man's bullets and diseases. Those who survived were placed on reservations, on the great American Desert, land that at the time was viewed as unusable, and of little value. Since the formation of the BIA, and throughout the Indian Wars, the native North Americans have been viewed as wards of the state, with all their affairs dealt with and controlled by the BIA. With the passage of several Congressional acts, including the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, Indians have been continually lied to, misled, mistreated, and ripped off of the little land that was left to them after the wars of the nineteenth century. They have also been systematically denied their rights to sovereignty, self-determination, their cultures and their languages. In my reading on Indian relations with the U.S. in the 19th century, I came across two very vivid accounts of some of the battles that were fought between the U.S. and the various Indian nations. They are Dee Brown's, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, and Custer's Fall, by David Humphreys Miller. I recommend them to the interested reader.

much

The twentieth century hasn't been any better for Indians than the previous one. Much of the land that they owned communally had been divided up during the allotment phase of the 1880's and 1890's. Most of it fell into white men's hands. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, and it was supposed to allow Indians the right to self rule, but little autonomy was allowed the various tribes, and the BIA conti-

nued to control the resources and the affairs of each tribe. Though the Indians have been fighting back all the while, organized efforts on the part of more than a handful of tribes to combat the white man have rarely occurred. That is because there exist so many different tribes, each with their own cultures and languages. This began to change in the 1940's, however, with the formation of the National Congress of American Indians. Formed in 1944 along pan-tribal lines, this group acts as a lobbyist organization, pressuring Congressmen to listen to the concerns of the Indian people. During the 1950's it lobbied against the termination and re-location policies espoused by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

These policies, which drove many Indians to urban areas such as Los Angeles, Chicago and Minneapolis, became the impetus for more Indian pan-tribal organization throughout the following decades.

The decade of the sixties was one of the most explosive eras in American history. Politically, the U.S. experienced some of the greatest challenges ever. Not only ^{was the political system} politics was attacked, however; institutions of culture and the American value system began to crumble, as new ones were forged by America's youth. Several social movements arose in this period, including the civil rights movement, the student movement and the anti-war movement. American Indians also began to organize in large numbers. The National Indian Youth Council, for example, was formed in 1961 in Chicago, modeling itself along the lines of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which practiced non-violent resistance. As thousands of Indians flooded the urban areas, life became an even harder struggle, and Indians began to demand a voice. There was much to gripe about. For example, the unemployment rate for this group at this time was nearly forty percent, about ten times the national average; the suicide rate for Indian teenagers was one hundred times that of whites; and life expectancy for Indians was 63.9 years, compared to one of 70 years for all other Americans.¹ In addition, the continuing struggle to maintain their land and rights remained in the forefront of protest. Here and there young Indians began to use the tactics of confrontation and resistance. Fish-ins were held in Washington and Oregon states, protesting the governments interference with the Indians' legal fishing rights, and in New York and Ontario the six nations of the Iroquois engaged in land protests, demanding the return of stolen lands and ^{fighting} the building of the

nice

isn't this a bit strange
Conservative values certainly seem alive & well in 1984.

interesting

yes!

Kinzua Dam, which flooded Indian land and forced many families to re-locate. In California, the term Red Power became increasingly popular. Its advocates, according to Alvin M. Josephy, demanded, rather than pleaded for self determination; "the right of Indians to decide programs and policies for themselves, to manage their own affairs, and to control their land and resources, while at the same time insisting on the inviolability of their land and on the strict observance and protection of obligations and rights guaranteed the Indians by treaties with the federal government."² Using tactics borrowed from the Chicano and Black Power Movements, these activists began to raise the consciousness of many young people and sympathetic leftists. Adding to this, several musicians and writers began to popularize the plight of the red man. Peter LaFarge and Buffy Sainte-Marie, for example, used folk music as a vehicle to get the word out. Buffy's work, which includes Now That The Buffalo's Gone and My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying, is so moving and inspiring it has brought many a fan to tears and rage. Other writers, including Josephy and Vine Deloria, Jr., began to produce scholarly works on Indians which further aided the Indians' cause. The federal government at this time was not as harsh on Indians as in the past, but little substantial action was taken to pay heed to rectifying any broken treaties or inequities. The BIA continued to run the show. Clyde Bellecourt, founder of the American Indian Movement, was one leader who tried to work within the 'system.' "I tried to work within the system for four years," he told Peter Mathiessen, "demanding a fair share of it for my people, but all the money was controlled by the churches and bureaucracies, and they weren't interested in any programs that might have led toward real economic independence for Indians."³ Bellecourt, who had been in and out of the Minnesota prison system throughout the sixties, along with Dennis Banks and a few others, formed an organization in 1968 initially called Concerned Indians-Americans, which shortly thereafter became the American Indian Movement.

Initially, AIM's goals were to battle police brutality and racism against Indians in the 'red ghetto' of Minneapolis. AIM members would monitor police calls concerning Indians and arrive at the scene of the incident, videotaping the whole thing, to make sure that Indians were treated fairly by the police. This tactic, borrowed from the Black

was AIM ever as strong as the reservation as BIA off? weren't there in fact factions on the reservations opposed to AIM?

Panthers proved to be very successful. However, Bellecourt was beaten at least thirty times by outraged law enforcement officers, and jailed on numerous occasions because of such actions. AIM also attacked the white stereotypes of Indians, and it helped the people of the red ghetto with housing, health problems, and education. It set up the first survival schools, which took Indian youth who did not make it through the public school systems, and offered them alternative schooling, which placed emphasis on Indian history, customs and languages. It also taught the young people how to cope with the larger society, all the while instilling a sense of pride in them regarding their Indianness.

Organizing urban Indians was no easy task for AIM, however. As was mentioned earlier, there exist several hundred different tribes, many with their own languages and customs. In order to develop a greater sense of solidarity among all tribes, AIM was forced to search for a unifying factor that would unite the Indians along pan-tribal lines. Help came when Leonard Crow Dog, a Lakota Sioux medicine man from South Dakota, urged the members of AIM to focus their movement on the spiritual ties to the land that all Indians had before the coming of the white man. AIM did this, and within a few years, became a national organization with chapters in every state of the union. Along with such growth occurred the spread to the reservations of AIM's popularity and success.

Since its inception AIM became very controversial because of the tactics that it used. Considered militant by many assimilationist Indians, these tactics included sit-ins, boycotts, occupations and confrontation. As a national organization, the goals of AIM were very similar to those set forth by the red power advocates. Primarily AIM called for the honoring of some 371 broken treaties by the U.S., the right to self-determination, sovereignty, and the abolition of the BIA. Beginning with the takeover of Alcatraz island in 1969, and culminating in the 1975 shootout at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, AIM has been in the limelight of confrontational politics. Because of such goals and tactics, AIM was attacked by the FBI in its Counterintelligence program, more popularly known as COINTELPRO, throughout the seventies. AIM leaders have been repeatedly harrassed, jailed, and murdered, and the organization itself has suffered countless setbacks, yet, it continues to exist to this very day. Because I have barely scratched the surface regarding the history and actions taken by AIM, there are several books that may be consulted

but in reality was ever truly a mass membership organization? How many members did it have at its peak? How many chapters? To do any systematic study of the development of the movement you really need to know this info

strong statement. What is your evidence for it?

which offer in depth analyses of the organization. These include Peter Mathiessen's In The Spirit of Crazy Horse, which deals primarily with the shootout at Wounded Knee and the Leonard Peltier trials, Rex Weyler's, The Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement, Vine Deloria's, Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties, and Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars, by Bruce Johansen and Roberto Maestas. All these works are engaging and informative. Though I have presented a very brief outline of AIM so far, my intention in this proposal is obviously to study the organization in more detail. As was mentioned earlier, what I'd like to do is to argue and prove that AIM arose out of the political and social context of the fifties and sixties. Using the political process model of social movements outlined by McAdam in his work, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970, I shall attempt to refute both the classical and resource mobilization models of social movements. First, however, I shall review the basic tenets of each model, then propose ways in which to argue and prove that the American Indian Movement arose according to the principles developed in McAdam's model.

your statement suggests a problem that runs throughout the entire proposal. In a proposal you don't actually study anything; rather you sketch

not for studying something. Here you do a little of both, to the detriment of both goals.

??

According to McAdam, there are three basic types of models of social movements in the social science literature. The first type, generically called the classical model, posits that social movements generally emerge in a threefold process. The first stage in this process occurs when there is a shift in society, like war or mass migration, for example, which causes strain in people. This strain, the second process, is relieved when people converge together and form a social movement to change the perceived source of the problem. The strain in this model is viewed as psychological, and is experienced on an individual level. Participants of social movements, in this model are often viewed as maladjusted social isolates whose psychological imbalance leads them to participate in mass movements. Though this is a simplified version of the different classical theories, most of them follow the following pattern:

perhaps a bit of an overstatement

Structural strain--- Disruptive psychological state-- social movement.

Explaining the emergence of AIM using the above model, would, in my view, present several problems. First of all, Indians

have always experienced the structural strain imposed on them by the white man. The sixties were no different for Indians than any other time period. One could conceivably argue that the increased urbanization experienced by Indians prior to the sixties constituted a structural shift, but as I hope to prove, this was not sufficient cause for the occurrence of the movement, because I don't believe that the various Indian leaders who founded AIM were moved to do so by an imbalance in their psychological makeup. I believe that AIM emerged as a political response to repression. In order to prove this, I intend to study personality profiles of the leaders of AIM and compare them to a control group to test the assertion that those who converge to create social movements are psychologically confused. It is my contention that the leaders of AIM were among the most integrated members of their societies, and that they were forced to engage in non-institutionalized protest precisely because the American political system has virtually ignored their cries for justice.

The second model, the theory of resource mobilization, emerged in the early 1970's. Its strongest advocates, McCarthy and Zald, view social movements in an entirely different manner than do the classical theorists. In their framework, social movements are viewed as "tactical responses to the harsh realities of a closed and coercive political system, and are in addition, rational attempts to pursue collective interests."⁴ The two key tenets of the research mobilization perspective are one, that strain in society is constant, and therefore an insufficient cause for the generation of social movements, and two, that accordingly what varies are the amount of social resources available to unorganized, but aggrieved groups. Social movements emerge in this model when there exists enough of these resources to finance organized insurgency. The social resources mentioned are usually supplied by sympathetic elites, such as church groups, foundations and sometimes even the federal government. This assumes that the mass base of a movement is too poorly equipped to organize and sustain itself on its own. Joanne Nagel has recently argued that AIM arose precisely because the Great Society Programs and the War on Poverty, initiated by the Johnson administration in the mid-60's, provided funding for the formation of various pan-tribal organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council and AIM.

Why not?
On the face of it, this version would seem to fit the classical model very well. To improve it you would have to show that AIM men were likely to live on reservations or that initial AIM activity was reservation based.

you're putting words in the classical theorists' mouths!
but repression has been constant so why 1969 and not 59?
o.k. but ha do you intend to show this?

While it is true that the U.S. government did provide funding for various Indian programs, the American Indian Movement, in my view, arose from a wider series of factors, and not solely because the resources were made available by sympathetic elites. The resource mobilization model has been critiqued by McAdam on several grounds. Among these, two are of prime importance in the discussion of AIM's emergence and development. First of all, as McAdam points out, elites tend to sponsor reform activities over revolutionary ones, because they strengthen the status quo, but when challengers question the basic assumptions of institutionalized power, the elite shies away from any support. Elite funding occurs mainly as a strategy to divert potential mass action, and it attempts to co-opt radical leaning movements in hopes of keeping the existing political system intact. The second criticism ^{offered} by McAdam ^{is that} the adherents of the resource mobilization model fail to acknowledge the importance of the mass base of a movement. Too much importance is granted to elite institutions and too little is granted to the aggrieved population. The mass base has what McAdam calls structural power, and it can potentially exercise it in the form of negative inducements, such as mass demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, and strikes. In reviewing AIM's ideology and strategy, one finds that their policies called for a fundamental redistribution of wealth and power, including recognition of the various Indian tribes as sovereign nations, the right of the Indians to self determination, and the honoring of the many now broken treaties. Their tactics included fish-ins, sit-ins, land takeovers and direct confrontation. Its clear that if the American elite honored even three broken treaties, there would be an incredible uproar among those who now occupy the stolen land. Such is the case right now in the state of Maine, where the Passamaquoddy and Pebbscot Indians have sued for 12.5 million acres of land, or 58% of the state.⁵ Such activity sends the American elite up the wall. Thus, I believe that elite funding cannot totally account for the emergence and development of AIM because as AIM became more vociferous, the more challenging it became to the elite. However, in order to prove this scientifically, I intend to examine the finances of AIM over a ten year period. If I am correct in my assertion I think I will be able to prove that the mass base was instrumental in keeping the organization alive.

fair enough, but how do you propose to empirically assess the accuracy of your contention?

but res. mob. theorists don't necessarily argue that elite groups consciously sponsor movements. McAd & Zalt seem to argue for a kind of "trickle down" theory, in which during prosperous eras some elite -9- monies find their way into activist hands. Perhaps you could make this case in regard to AIM.

too vague. How will you study AIM finances? Where will you get data from? What empirical evidence would satisfy you that elite support did not trigger AIM??

It is my contention that the American Indian Movement emerged as a result of the set of processes outlined in McAdam's political process model of social movements. Two ideas of key importance are contained within the phrase 'political process'. As McAdam points out, in contradiction to the classical model of social movements, his version views social movements as above all, 'political' rather than 'psychological' phenomena, and that a movement represents a continuous 'process' from generation to decline, rather than as a discrete series of developmental stages. In addition, in contrast to the classical model, which is based on pluralist assumptions of political power, and the resource mobilization model, which is based on the power elite theory, McAdams model is based on Marxist tenets. Specifically, the insurgent potential of ag-grieved groups comes from the structural power that their location in various politico-economic structures affords them. Another important Marxist idea utilized by McAdam is that of the subjective transformation of consciousness, which is viewed in this model as critical to the generation of insurgency. According to McAdam, "movements develop in response to an ongoing process of interaction between movement groups and the larger socio-political environment they seek to change." In regards to AIM, I shall use the political process model to show how and why AIM emerged and developed when it did. First, however, I shall go over the model, which I have divided into two parts. The first deals with the generation of insurgency, and the second with the development/decline of insurgency.

reference
There are, according to McAdam, three main factors that are crucial to the generation of insurgency. These are: 1) the level of organization within the aggrieved population, or more aptly the level of organizational readiness; 2) the collective assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency within that same population, simply referred to as the level of insurgent consciousness; and 3) the political alignment of groups within the larger political environment, or the structure of political opportunities available to insurgent groups. I shall first describe the structure of political opportunities in more detail, then describe the political and social context in which AIM emerged. After this, I shall describe each succeeding factor and interject the speci-

urbanization → disorientation → soc. move.

fics relating to AIM after each point.

According to the political process model, "the opportunities for a challenger to engage in successful collective action vary greatly over time, and these variations are held to be related to the ebb and flow of movement activity." Furthermore, Eisinger states that "the shifts in the structure of political opportunities signify changes not only among previously quiescent or conventionally oriented groups, but also in the political system itself. Any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured occasions a shift in political opportunities." In regards to AIM, the American political system experienced profound changes in the sixties. Various social processes occurred that directly affected the generation of insurgency among American Indians.

First of all, with the re-location and termination programs of the fifties and sixties, many more Indians settled in large urban areas, such as Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Chicago. I hope to show in my research that this shift was important because it disoriented many Indians, leaving them without adequate housing or employment. AIM itself was formed in such an area by Indians who were fed up with being discriminated against. Other shifts in the political and social system included the increased movement activity of other groups such as blacks, students, and pacifists. Politically, the U.S. experienced incredible strain at home and abroad. The war in Viet Nam further angered liberals and radicals, adding to increased organized movement activity. The outcries of these aggrieved groups forced President Johnson to implement his War on Poverty and the Great Society programs, which yielded badly needed funding to many organizations representing the poor, including Indians. By the latter part of the sixties, the civil rights movement had changed its course, and many activists were proclaiming Black power, and employing violent tactics. I propose to show in my research that the movement activity that preceeded AIM was a necessary precursor to it, and I hope to prove this by studying the tactics and policies of AIM, and comparing them to those used and proclaimed by the earlier movements.

The second important factor in the generation of insurgency is what McAdam calls organizational readiness or indigenous organizational strength. As he points out, "a conducive political environment only affords the aggrieved population the opportunity for successful insurgent

boy, this sure seems to fit. a classic account of social movements (see above)

you've never convincingly related the emergence of AIM to this let factor? What new pol. opp. were open to indians in + ball + net weren't available previously?

yes, but what significance did this have for indians?

how will you do this?

action; it is the resources of the minority community that enable insurgent groups to exploit these opportunities." ⁸ As was mentioned earlier, the Office for Economic Opportunity created by the Johnson administration, provided funding for various Indian organizations in urban areas. This funding was intended for housing and education. When AIM was founded in 1968, it in fact did apply for education funding with which it opened its survival schools. At the time of AIM's emergence, there already existed numerous Indian organizations. In Minneapolis-St Paul, for example, thirty organizations were already in operation which dealt with Indian problems. Across the country various Indian groups were also engaged in activities which were movement oriented. It took AIM just a few years to develop a broad national base of support. In my research I want to study the various organizations that worked with or merged with AIM. I intend to show through this study that there already existed an organizational network which had access to funding and other resources. I also would like to prove that many of AIM members and supporters came from the ranks of these organizations. Furthermore I intend to show that AIM provided a strong sense of belonging for its members by advocating pan-Indianism and pride in the spiritual connections to the land that was so important to many traditional Indians. Finally, I'd like to examine the roles that the various leaders held, to compare the power structure that existed within the organization with the activities of the mass base.

The final crucial factor in McAdam's model is that of cognitive liberation, the collective assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency. As Piven and Cloward point out, "when a change in consciousness occurs, the system loses legitimacy, people who are ordinarily fatalistic begin to assert rights that imply demands for change, and a sense of power or efficacy exists among the aggrieved group." ⁹ In my work, I intend to show that the sixties and all that happened in that time period did in fact raise the consciousness of many Indians. As was mentioned earlier a wealth of material was produced that aided such a process. I propose to interview members of AIM to find out if they felt that their consciousness was raised during this time, and how it occurred. I also want to examine the amount of popular and scholastic works that were produced in this time period, and compare them to others, in order

now we seem to have a resource mob account of AIM.

good discussion

retrospective accounts are always problematic

to show that more information on the plight of the Indian was available which aided in the process of cognitive liberation.

To summarize, I intend to show that AIM emerged because there existed a favorable confluence of three sets of factors. Expanding political opportunities that occurred in the sixties combined with the indigenous organizations of the Indian community to afford AIM the structural potential for collective action. The third factor, cognitive liberation, in turn transformed the insurgent potential of this group into concerted organized collective action.

My interest in studying AIM not only concerns how it began, but also how it developed into a national organization. According to McAdam, for a movement organization to survive, it must be able to create a more enduring organizational structure to sustain insurgency. I intend to study the process of growth that AIM underwent, and also the structure and dynamics of the organization over time. McAdam has pointed out that an organization may succumb to three sets of negative developments as it grows. First, movement organizations are in danger of becoming oligarchized, that is, sustenance of the organization may become more important than the initial goals of the movement. Secondly, such organizations are in danger of co-optation over time by their financial backers. Finally, dissolution of indigenous support may occur if outside sponsors are relied upon too heavily. I want to study these factors in relation to the ongoing development of AIM. In addition I am interested in examining the social control response to AIM. Because its goals were revolutionary and its tactics non-institutionalized, rather than reformist and institutionalized, AIM became the focus of a huge counterintelligence program set up and pursued by the FBI. I intend to examine how the FBI went about its program of dismantling the organization, and how AIM reacted to such actions. Last but not least, I want to look at AIM as it exists today, to compare it to its strength before the FBI came on the scene, and to examine any changes in the internal dynamics of the organization that may have occurred.

There are several hypotheses within this proposal that I would like to test. First, I intend to show that the classical model of social movements is inadequate in explaining the emergence of AIM. Because the main focus of this model deals with psychological variables, asserting that movement participants are unadjusted social isolates, I want to

No, too strong.

prove that the leaders and members of AIM were among the most well-adjusted, integrated members of their society. I hope to substantiate my claim by issuing personality profile questionnaires to AIM members and to a sample of the general population, comparing these profiles to see if any differences in personal adjustment existed in AIM members. Secondly, in dismissing the resource mobilization model, I must prove that elite funding was not the sole causative factor in AIM's emergence and development. I intend to disprove Joanne Nagel's hypothesis that resources received from the federal government was instrumental to the emergence of AIM by reviewing and comparing finances and membership of AIM over a ten year period, from 1968 to 1978. Hopefully, my results will prove that AIM's survival was not solely dependent on such elite funding.

In proving my contention that AIM emerged according to the principles outlined in the political process model, I intend to content code speeches and statements made by AIM members with those made by civil rights, student, anti-war, and Black power leaders. I hope to show that a positive correlation exists between the tactics, goals and ideology of AIM and these various movements, in order to support the claim that AIM emerged as a result of the historical and social context of the time, and that there existed a favorable structure of political opportunities. Various sources are available to do such a comparison, including several volumes of speeches made by Black leaders, such as The Black Panthers Speak, and several newsletters and publications published by other movement groups. There also exists an incredible amount of information in a publication called Akwasasne Notes, a quarterly journal that is put out by the Mohawk Nation, which has followed AIM's development rather closely. Other publications on Indian speeches and statements are available, including a volume entitled, Contemporary Native American Address.

In order to substantiate my claim that increased Indian urbanization added to a favorable structure of political opportunities, I want to examine the membership list of AIM, to see where it got most of its constituents. A breakdown of tribal membership would also be interesting to study which tribes were represented in the organization. In order to further the above assertion, I intend to interview AIM leaders, in order to obtain oral histories of their development of interest in Indian rights, and to find out what they view were their main influences which caused them to organize. Hopefully, through these interviews

What! What you would need to do this is psych. data on activists & non-activists from the early days of the movement rather than now.

↑ you hint at some nice methodological ideas here without developing them clearly or completely.

what is specific will you be looking for in this analysis

this will show that the movements that preceded AIM were instrumental in raising the consciousness of AIM's leaders, and were models that these leaders followed. In addition, I would like to examine the different organizations that existed before AIM emerged, to show that an organizational infrastructure was already in existence across the country. Finally I want to compare the amount of popular literature that existed at the time of AIM's emergence with that of the fifties, to show that the process of cognitive liberation was enhanced by an increase in such literature.

In conclusion, in this research proposal, I intend to study the emergence and development of the American Indian Movement. I want to show that AIM arose in accordance with the threefold process outlined in McAdam's political process model of social movements. While doing this, I intend to refute both the classical and resource mobilization models.

B

Bob,

I share your sense of the movement and applaud the broad theoretical & methodological outlines of the proposal. Its also extremely well written.

At the same time you never clearly make up your mind as to whether you're writing a proposal or a general course paper. Clearly I was expecting the former. As such the paper is too generally theoretical and not specific enough methodologically to be a real strong proposal. You only vaguely suggest the types of analysis you would undertake and the kinds of evidence you would need to "test" the various theories you outline.

On an unrelated note, thanks so much for the tape. It is beautiful!! Many of the songs I'd never heard. If I can ever be of any help to you, holler. I'll keep in touch ^{if you do the same.} I still want to come down to the station. Keep the faith

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Alvin M. Josephy, Red Power: The American Indians Fight For Freedom,
p. 3
- 2) Josephy, p. 5
- 3) Peter Mathiessen, In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, p.40
- 4) Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgen-
cy: 1930-1970, p.20
- 5) Josephy, Now That The Buffalo's Gone, p.32.
- 6) McAdam, p. 41
- 7) McAdam, p. 41
- 8) McAdam, p. 43
- 9) McAdam, p. 49-50