

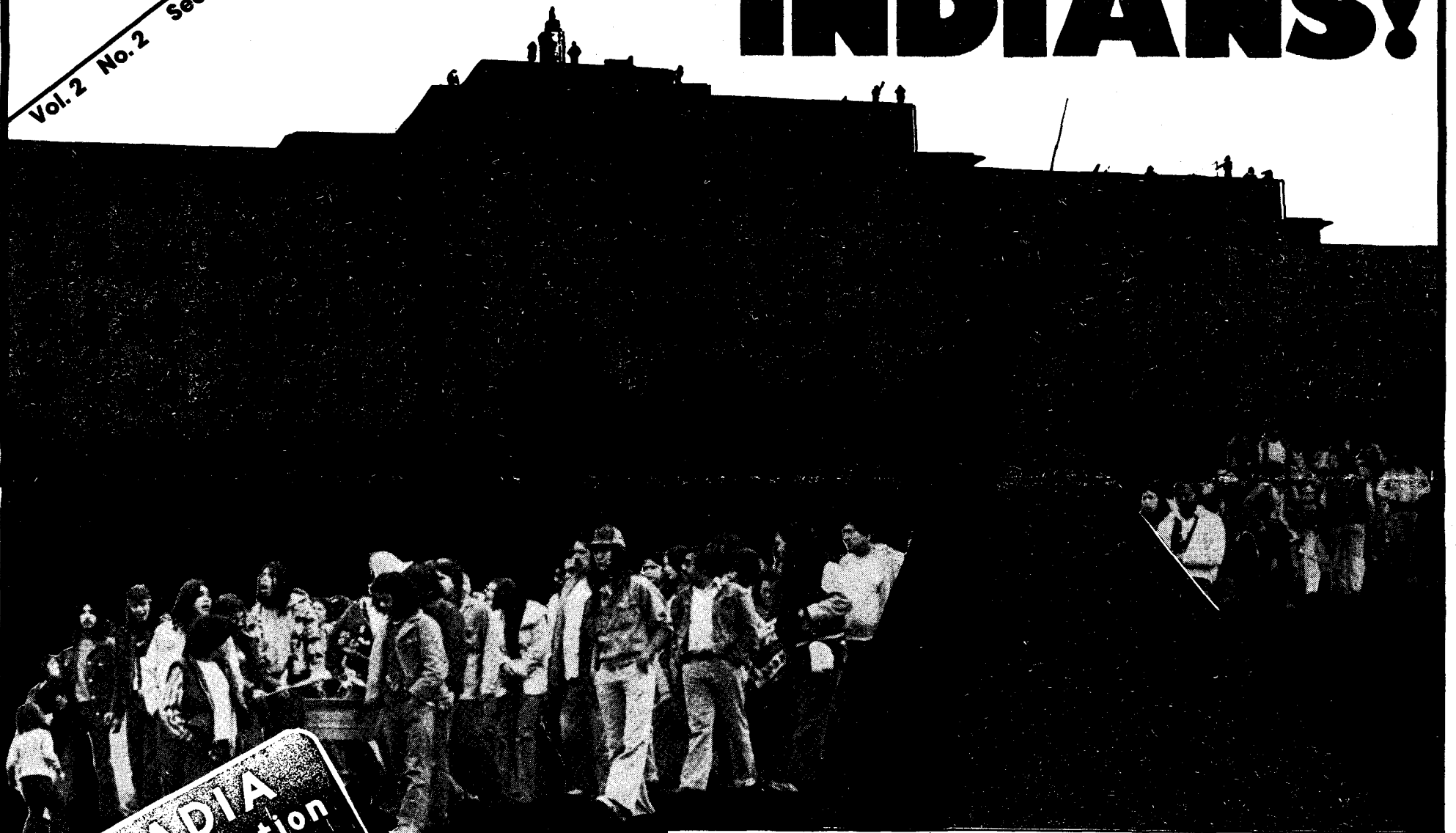
Special
NATIVE AMERICAN
Issue

Freedom Socialist

25¢

Vol. 2 No. 2 Seattle, WA Voice of the Freedom Socialist Party Fall, 1976

Return Cascadia to the INDIANS!



CASCADIA
Juvenile Reception
Diagnostic Center
Department of Social
and Health Services
State of Washington

THIS IS INDIAN LAND
WE ARE
NOT LEAVING

Insurrection Puyallups Evict State From Tribal Property

by Sam Deaderick

A small but daring group of Pacific Northwest Indians, the Puyallups, electrified the nation on the evening of October 23 when the courageous tribe suddenly and efficiently took control of Cascadia Juvenile Reception and Diagnostic Center—beautiful land and buildings on the Puyallup River that once were theirs but had been lost for years to the thieving and deceitful federal and State governments.

For seven eventful days after the stunning takeover, the entire Northwest held its breath as the Puyallups coolly consolidated their occupation of the premises. Cascadia Center, once the Cushman Indian Hospital, is just outside the city of Tacoma in Pierce County, Washington, thirty miles from Seattle. And for a solid week it hosted hundreds of Indians and their supporters, nervous State and federal bureaucrats forced into negotiations, and an excited press corps.

The surprise uprising resulted in a substantial victory for the Puyallups. An official agreement between the tribe, the State and the federal government was

finally hammered out at the eleventh hour, virtually guaranteeing the return of Cascadia to the trusteeship of the United States for use by the Puyallup Tribe as a medical and social welfare center for its people.

This reporter joined the tribal forces on Sunday, the day after the successful takeover, and I remained with them until the Agreement was signed and everybody departed from Cascadia.

What follows is the actual, almost totally eyewitness, account of one heroic week in October when local Native Americans, bitter over years of neglect of their claim for reversion of Cascadia to tribal control, startled the State of Washington by taking the offensive against it and pressuring both State and federal governments into far-reaching concessions.

The intrepid Puyallups have added yet another historic chapter to the saga of the long and agonizing war of survival by Indians against the American ruling class, and I am proud and grateful that I was

continued on next page

NOTICE TO ALL CONCERNED
THAT THIS PROPERTY OWNED BY THE SOVEREIGN PUYALLUP TRIBE AND BEING A PART OF THE PUYALLUP INDIAN RESERVATION,
Known by Native Americans as the Cushman Hospital, and by the State of Washington as Cascadia Juvenile Diagnostic Center,
IS HEREBY TAKEN INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE PUYALLUP TRIBE OF INDIANS AS ITS SOVEREIGN AND RIGHTFUL OWNERS.

**PUYALLUP TRIBAL COUNCIL
RESOLUTION NO. 76-10-23**

WHEREAS the Puyallup Tribal Council is the governing body of the Puyallup Tribe in accordance with the authority of its Constitution and By-Laws, as amended, approved by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior on the 1st day of June, 1970; and

continued on page 5



The killer whale, symbol of the Puyallups, swims within the sun's circle of unity and the four great winds.

Indian

Leschi

Chief

Lenore and I spent a great deal of time working in this giant-sized institutional kitchen. Very few of us had ever cooked, served, or cleaned on such a massive scale, but necessity quickly taught us how. Nobody went hungry. One night we cooked a delicious Indian dinner of fresh salmon brought in by Indian fishermen and broiled with buttered onions, corn-on-the-cob and fried bread. From the appetites of the hungry diners, it was more than obvious that occupying forces, like armies, march on their stomachs.

A complex security system was maintained, including appropriated State autos utilized as mobile units. Sentries were posted at the entry gate, on the rooftops and throughout the site, maintaining communications via a walkie-talkie radio network. Lenore and I were also able to work within the security system, watching the entrances to the facility from the roof and from the ground.

One day we were assigned to check people in and out of the clinic, which was still in operation. I had the opportunity to discuss the occupation with two white construction workers entering the clinic to talk to the director. After I explained why I had to take their names, they asked if the Indians had occupied the entire 30 acres. When I said, "They sure have!" they responded, "Good for them. It's about time!"

Childcare was organized, the switchboard operated, supplies were purchased and distributed, floors were mopped, and friendly visitors, after clearance from the gate patrol, were welcomed.

A skeleton crew from the previous Cascadia staff was invited inside to evacuate the juvenile residents, and State authorities agreed to transfer the inmates. The State has consistently maintained that it would take up to two years to arrange new facilities for the juveniles, yet all the young people were evacuated within 48 hours of the dramatic takeover. As the kids left, many of them shoved upraised fists out of the bus windows, shouting "Indian Power!" and "Where have you been so long?"

Cascadia is a notorious prison warehouse for delinquent youth. (*Editor's Note:* For more on this subject, see Clara Fraser's interview of Ramona Bennett on page 9).

During the week-long occupation, supplies and money were continually

for Indians. But the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) illegally closed the hospital in 1959 and then transferred ownership to the State in 1961.

The Puyallups had been tricked out of their land and their own hospital. And now, ironically, they were "celebrating" the State's miserly concession of an extremely limited medical service on the very site once dedicated completely to Indian health care.

But the Puyallups had plans for a greater celebration later that evening. At 6:15 p.m., after 150 juvenile prisoners incarcerated in detention units finished dinner, a band of 50 Indians descended from their 5th floor open house and casually swarmed through the huge main building. Accompanied by their tribal police, who are always uniformed and armed while on duty, they firmly served a previously prepared eviction notice on the assistant shift officer, seized the switchboard and assumed control of the building.

In a calm but decisive act of revolutionary transformation of property relations, they completed the expropriation by announcing that the entire institution was, in the words of Resolution #76-10-23 of the Puyallup Tribal Council, "in the possession of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians as its sovereign and rightful owners."

"We've been involved in the legislative process for the past several years and have now decided to act," said Ramona Bennett, tribal chairwoman. "The hospital is ours and we have it. We are the Puyallup nation."

Anatomy of an Expropriation

For the next week, the Indians administered the facility. Puyallups and supporters from other tribes ran the huge kitchen, serving three meals a day to as many as 200 people.

...Puyallups Evict State

continued from preceding page
permitted to share this stirring experience with them.

Lenore Norrgard, my FSP comrade and a member of Radical Women, also joined the occupation. Many of the Indians there knew her from her long involvement with Native American struggles through the Evergreen State College, where she is a student and activist. Her excellent photographs, taken during her breaks from the work we were all engaged in, are featured throughout the pages of this issue of the **Freedom Socialist**.

On Saturday evening, October 23, about 200 members and guests of the Puyallup Tribe were at the Cascadia detention facility celebrating the opening of a new Indian clinic on the grounds.

The Puyallups vividly recalled the time when the sprawling institution was the Cushman Indian Hospital, serving Native Americans from Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Alaska. The Puyallups had relinquished the land to the federal government for \$228,000 in return for a promise that the site would be used to supply desperately needed medical care

In this Issue:

	Page
Clara Fraser Interviews Ramona Bennett, Puyallup Chairwoman	9
War in the Pacific: Fishing Rights Under Attack	14
Native American Women in Action: Many Fronts, One Struggle	18
Indian Supporters Confront Pres. Ford on Seattle Waterfront	8
Yvonne Wanrow— Colville Indian Faces a Murder Indictment	6
National Roundup of Indian Affairs	13
Editorial: The Return of the Native, 1976	16

Building!

Medical

donated by supporters on the outside. Reporters and photographers, restricted to the lobby, milled about, awaiting a break in the story. The lobby lounge boasts an overpowering mural of an Indian woman curing skins at her riverside campground—a fitting backdrop for the labor expended during the occupation. Grim-faced government negotiators, trying to look folksy, scurried in and out, strange figures against the rural beauty of the mural. Meanwhile, phone calls and telegrams of support and enthusiasm poured in from all over the country.

Throughout the day the building echoed with the triumphant high-pitched chant of the AIM (American Indian Movement) anthem resounding against the throbbing beat of a large drum decorated with the symbol of the Trail of Self-Determination.

People worked tirelessly, and behind the apparent chaos an atmosphere of order, dignity and humor prevailed. The mood was one of watchful high spirits. Federal marshals and troops with overkill fire power could arrive at any moment and everyone knew it, yet the entire occupation force was quietly prepared to stay through to the end.

By the third day of the occupation, a fifty-foot banner created by Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women members draped the outside upper corner of the massive building. Visible for a mile down the freeway which passes Cascadia, the banner blazed out in scarlet letters on a brilliant yellow background the new name of the center—Chief Leschi Indian

Medical Building. The first letters of each word were emphasized to reveal the acronym: CLIMB!

Backdrop: Another Trail of Tears

The decision to occupy Cascadia was not made lightly. The Puyallups had been requesting the return of the facility ever since HEW declared it "surplus to Indian health needs" and simply handed it over to the State behind the backs of the tribal owners. The State promptly put the land to use for a freeway and a juvenile prison.

The history of the Puyallup struggle for decent health care, supposedly guaranteed them by the federal government, is long, bitter and still unresolved.

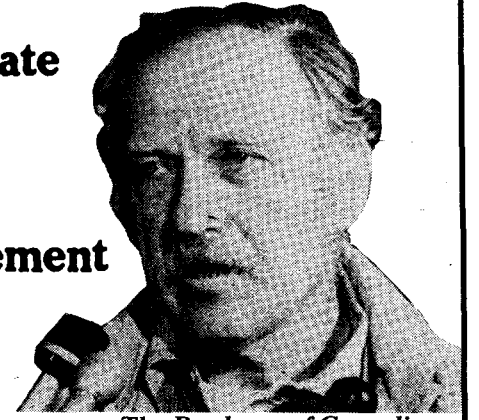
In 1871, a Puyallup Elder who occupied the acreage now known as Cascadia, agreed to the use of the 38 acres of tribal land for a trade school for Indians, and such a school operated from 1871 until 1920. Medical treatment for the students was handled by the students themselves, assisted by a travelling physician. In 1878, a resident doctor was installed and care was extended to all Northwest Indians. In 1929, a tuberculosis sanatorium, Cushman Hospital, began operation on the premises. TB, an infection transmitted to the Indians by whites, had become a major medical problem for the native population.

It soon became clear that Cushman Hospital was hopelessly inadequate to deal with the growing problem of TB. The Puyallups entered into negotiations with the U.S., hoping to sell the land to the

continued on next page

FORKED TONGUE DEPARTMENT

Washington State Plots to Sue Puyallups and Violate Agreement



The Burdman of Cascadia

The State of Washington has already unleashed a triple-barrelled counter-offensive against the victorious Puyallups. Since the Agreement ending the occupation stipulated only that no *criminal* charges would be filed, the State is now viciously threatening a *civil* suit to recover alleged damages to the facility sustained during the occupation.

And if this isn't treachery enough, a special legislative subcommittee of notorious conservatives and big business-dominated figures has been appointed ostensibly to "probe" all aspects of the takeover. But even before the investigation has begun, key subcommittee members have released public announcements of their intent to retain ownership of Cascadia and dishonor the Agreement signed by the State of Washington, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the Puyallup Tribe.

"I think it is wrong and I'll tell Ramona Bennett so," said A.L. Rasmussen, (D). "It seems foolish to turn such a valuable facility over to a tribe consisting of 450 people."

It just happens that the Indian population of Pierce County is over 7,000, and the Puyallups have never insinuated that the services of CLIMB! would be open only to Puyallups. In fact, when the facility was operating as Cushman Indian Hospital, it served Native Americans from Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Alaska.

As part of the backlash being instigated so that the State can more easily renege on the Agreement, officials are currently undertaking a massive inventory at Cascadia, clearly designed to be used punitively against the Indians.

When State authorities demanded an inventory from the Indians during the takeover, Ramona Bennett said to them, "When this was an Indian hospital, it was packed with stuff for Indians. Where did it all go? I wanted an inventory of all of our kids who have been put up for adoption. I wanted an inventory of all of our people who have been locked in prison. There is a lot of inventorying to do!"

The man behind these multi-pronged reprisals is Milton Burdman, the Governor's man, who is Director of the State Department of Social and Health Services and the State's signatory on the Agreement ending the takeover. He was chief negotiator for the State during the occupation.

The trail of broken treaties is swiftly developing into a super-highway.



A Puyallup security patrol blocks the main entrance of Cascadia/Cushman. A newly-liberated State auto, repainted to indicate a transfer of ownership, is a prominent aspect of the barricade.



...Puyallups Evict State

continued from preceding page
 government, which would hold it in trust for the Puyallups for the *express purpose* of constructing an Indian Hospital that would furnish both expert health care and employment for Northwest Indians.

Congress appropriated the purchase price of \$282,525 in 1939, and construction of the present facilities was completed in 1941. The Cushman Indian Hospital was born, housing both inpatients and a medical and dental clinic for Indian outpatients.

Suddenly, in 1954, HEW began phasing out the Indian health facilities, and the State of Washington was unexpectedly enriched by the gift of a multi-million dollar property. This callous bureaucratic robbery, added to centuries of broken treaties, land theft and genocide, provoked an immediate multi-tribal protest. For the past five years, the Puyallups have tried to negotiate through the maze of interlocking bureaucracies—the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State, HEW, Congress, the Department of the Interior, the executive branch, etc.—in a concerted effort to reclaim their property legally.

The primary roadblock was the State's refusal to budge unless it was "reimbursed" \$1.719 million for its "capital investment" in equipment, a demand which the federal government refused.

Negotiations threatened to drag on for decades more when the tribe simply got fed up, cried "Enough!" and proceeded to take back, in their own way, what was theirs all the time.

And one extremely meaningful by-product of the takeover was the public attention focused on the inhuman conditions faced by the imprisoned children of Cascadia.

From Indian Health to Child Abuse

The State of Washington has operated Cascadia as a juvenile jail for over fifteen years, contradicting the high-sounding name of the institution—Cascadia Reception and Diagnostic Center. Youngsters aged 13 to 18 who are delinquent in any way, from running away to murder, are placed here to be "observed."

The staff watches them and makes a judgment on their fate, based on the child's progress and stability *under prison conditions*.

Some of the kids are returned to their homes, others assigned to foster parents, some shipped to other institutions, and some simply detained indefinitely. When the Puyallups occupied the buildings, they freed three children from medieval isolation cells in the basement—small, unheated, windowless rooms buzzing with mosquitos and furnished only with an open toilet and a blanket thrown on a piece of mattress-like material covering the bare

metal bedframe. One adolescent had sat handcuffed in one of these dungeons for three days when the Indians released him.

A Fateful Decision by Women

No story of the Cascadia takeover can be authentic unless it pinpoints the leadership role of the remarkable women in the Puyallup Tribe, exciting testimony to its matriarchal tradition.

The Tribal Council has been led for years by its dynamic chairwoman, Ramona Bennett. Bennett was in the forefront of the occupation and subsequent negotiations. She was consistently calm and articulate, eloquently expressing the determination of a desperate people to achieve justice and self-determination. Her clear and incisive statements, frequently tinged with sarcasm and always packing an emotional wallop, instantly captured the respect and attention of the media and the support of a large segment of the public.

Never during the occupation did Bennett play the role of aloof executive issuing decrees from above. She was constantly with her people, soliciting their ideas and judgments, participating in many of the routine tasks, socializing with the children and conducting herself as an intrinsic part of the tribe. She was accessible, responsive and unpretentious.

Women comprise the leadership of the Puyallup Tribal Council and these women,

along with the Tribal Elders, are held in the highest esteem by the entire tribe and by Indian supporters from other tribes.

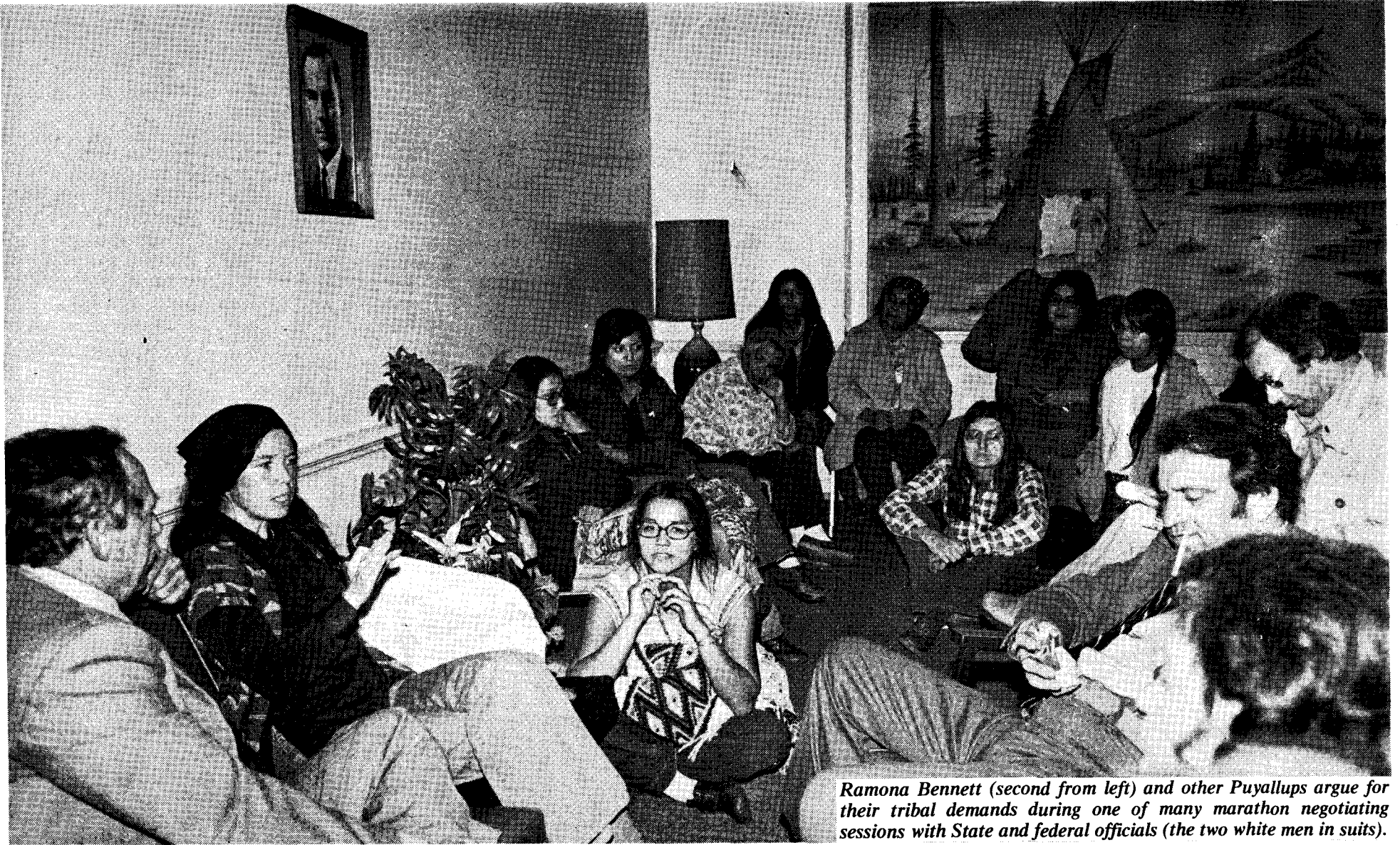
It was essentially women who organized and led the takeover, coordinated the occupation activities, appeared before the media, conducted the government negotiations, and mobilized outside support and assistance.

Indian men viewed the women with respect, generally working together with the women on terms of mutual consideration, their joint concern focusing on the welfare of the tribe as a total entity.

A Groundswell of Support

The liberation of Cascadia-Cushman elicited an immediate rallying of support. Indians from tribes all over the country came to Tacoma to join the insurrection—Duwamish, Steilacoom, Blackfoot, Sioux, Clallam, Cowlitz, Cheyenne, Ojibway, Colville, Chippewa, and Muckleshoot. Chicanos, Blacks and whites from neighboring cities journeyed to Pierce County to express support or join in the work and the risks. Delegates from militant Seattle-based organizations were prominent in the ranks of sympathizers, representing such groups as El Centro de la Raza, the Native American Solidarity Committee, Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women.

Outside supporters responded quickly to the situation and secured funds, food,



Ramona Bennett (second from left) and other Puyallups argue for their tribal demands during one of many marathon negotiating sessions with State and federal officials (the two white men in suits).



supplies and favorable publicity for the takeover. Over 700 telegrams in support of the Puyallup were sent to government officials as a result of this public defense activity.

Provisions were collected by many individuals and groups, including The Little Bread Company, CC Grains, Community Produce, Seattle Counseling Service for Sexual Minorities and many more.

Seattle adherents held a press conference to demand the return of Cushman-Cascadia to the Puyallups. Speakers called on government officials to act in a sensitive and restrained manner and avoid unleashing of violence against the Indians. Over 35 individuals and organizations endorsed the statement, including the National Lawyers Guild, United Farmworkers of America, United Workers Union-Independent, American Friends Service Committee, Council of Churches of Greater Seattle, La Raza Law Forum, Radical Arab-Jewish Alliance, Union of Sexual Minorities, Action Childcare Coalition, Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, Rescate Press, Seize the Time for Oppressed People, El Centro de la Raza, International Socialists and Native American Solidarity Committee.

By exposing the imminent threat of Wounded Knee-style massacre by government troops, the community support groups along with a remarkably sympathetic Seattle press corps were instrumental in restraining the trigger-happy, hawk mentality of the Governor and related officials, and bolstering the Puyallups' bargaining power with the government.

Very little opposition to the takeover was evident to those of us inside the facility. There were reports of shots fired on the building a few times during the week, and once there was a run-in with an irate, drunken white man.

Two of the Indian security people and I went over to check on a car sitting near the back gate. When we approached it, the man inside immediately began shouting and threatening, screaming "You goddamn Indians! You all ought to be shot!" His wife had just returned from an appointment at the health clinic on the Cascadia grounds and tried frantically to shut him up. My Indian companions, with dignity and restraint, explained to him why they had to check out all the cars in the area. He spun out of the lot, cursing and swerving as he sped off.

Negotiations, Government Style

The moment Cascadia's "normal" operations were disrupted by the Indian occupation, the State got down to serious negotiations. Discussions with the Director of the State's Department of

Social and Health Services (DSHS) began the day after the seizure of the facility and continued steadily until agreement was reached.

At one point in the negotiations, after DSHS Director Milton Burdman reneged on a tentative agreement, Ramona Bennett refused to negotiate privately and transferred the talks to the main floor lounge, where tribal members, supporters and the press could witness the State's hypocrisy and trickery. While the State negotiators spoke in deliberately low voices, Ramona talked loudly so that everyone could hear what was going on.

During one session, Burdman said that the State of Washington was certainly willing to give the Indians the facility eventually, but he wouldn't "give it up with a gun." Said Bennett, "He's trying to get the federal marshals in on us but he's talking about no guns!" Everybody laughed—everybody except Burdman.

The Injunction Cometh

The State went into federal court on Tuesday, October 26 to seek an injunction against the Indian occupation. The judge couldn't decide if the uproar was a federal or State matter, but on Wednesday, Federal Judge Morell Sharp said he would issue a restraining order enforceable by federal marshals that would be effective at 4:00 p.m. the next day.

Judge Sharp called the Puyallups' action "high-handed, foolish and irresponsible."

"I can't conceive of a situation more self-defeating to the Indians' cause than this situation," he opined. He had no comment whatsoever on HEW's illegal gift of Indian land and buildings to Washington State, or the criminal neglect of Indian health care for the past 17 years.

He admitted that a substantial federal question was involved in the ownership dispute, but he righteously refused to consider the matter so long as the Indians occupied the buildings. His opinions clearly demonstrated that the federal court system, the supposed protector of Indian rights against violation by the states, stood firmly with the State against the Puyallups.

Judge Sharp signed the restraining order on Thursday, but extended the deadline to noon Saturday, October 30 to allow time for negotiations with federal representatives flying in from Washington, DC.

continued on back page

... Puyallup Tribe Proclamation

continued from front page

WHEREAS in 1939 the sovereign Puyallup Tribe transferred the land known as the Cushman Indian Hospital and its grounds to the United States Government for the sole and express purpose of building a new Indian Hospital, which would always be an Indian Hospital fulfilling the obligation of the United States of America, under the Treaty of Medicine Creek, to provide Health Care to our People; and

WHEREAS the promises to always use this land as an Indian Hospital made by the United States through its BIA agents and duly and officially recorded by those agents, was also reaffirmed and expressed in the federal legislation that enabled the United States purchase of our land to build a new hospital; and

WHEREAS the United States broke its promises and contract obligations to the Puyallup Tribe when it closed the Cushman Indian Hospital in 1959, which the Puyallup Tribal Council believes and recognizes, as effectively and legally reverting this land to Tribal ownership; and

WHEREAS the United States was in possession of land stolen from the Puyallup Tribe when it refused to stop the Hospital's closure and then did not give the land back to the Puyallup Tribe; and

WHEREAS the United States, when it transferred the Cushman land and facility to the State of Washington in 1961, transferring by quit-claim deed, could transfer no right in title to the property since it then had none; and

WHEREAS the Puyallup Tribal Council has tried, for the past five years, to arrange peacefully and smoothly for the transfer of possession of Cushman back to the Puyallup Tribe, making requests to the State, the U.S. Congress, and the executive branch through its responsible agencies, with no success and meeting constantly with advice that we should be trying in another way to get our land back; therefore

BE IT KNOWN BY ALL PERSONS, BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND BY THE STATE OF WASHINGTON That the PUYALLUP TRIBAL COUNCIL, being unable to succeed through these other routes of action, HEREBY RESORTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND EXERCISES ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF OWNERSHIP BY TAKING BACK INTO TRIBAL POSSESSION The Property and facility known as CUSHMAN INDIAN HOSPITAL and known by the State as CASCADIA JUVENILE DIAGNOSTIC CENTER; and further

BE IT KNOWN by the State of Washington that any protest of Tribal POSSESSION of the Cushman (Cascadia) lands and facility may be made to the Puyallup Tribal Council, at the Cushman Hospital, and that such protests will be carefully and duly considered.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the above resolution was duly enacted at a meeting of the Puyallup Tribal Council held at Tacoma, Washington on the 22nd day of October, 1976, a quorum being present, with a vote of 3 for and 0 against and 2 abstaining.

SUZETTE MILLS, ACTING SECRETARY OF THE PUYALLUP TRIBE OF INDIANS

ATTEST:
RAMONA BENNETT, CHAIRWOMAN OF THE PUYALLUP TRIBE OF INDIANS

Freedom Socialist Party Representatives Join Occupation Forces

Reporter Sam Deaderick (second from right) and photographer Lenore Norrgard (far right) take a break from their duties. Note security guard operating walkie-talkie.



Convicted on Mother's Day

YVONNE WANROW'S FIGHT FOR LIFE

by Yolanda Alaniz

First there was Joan Little, a jailed Black woman. Then came Inez Garcia, an angry Chicana. And now the name of Yvonne Wanrow, an Indian from the Colville Tribe, has been added to the roster of minority women forced to resort to a deadly weapon in defence of themselves or their children against the violent crime of rape.

All three women refused to be victims in the time-honored tradition of female passivity. And because they fought back, they were all charged with murder.

On Mother's Day three years ago, an all-white jury in Spokane, Washington, found Wanrow, the mother of three children guilty of second-degree murder for killing a deranged male who tried to sexually molest her 11-year-old son. Since that day, her energetic and determined fight to vindicate herself has elevated her to a heroic symbol of resistance to the sexist and racist criminal justice system.

Wanrow's appeal is presently under consideration by the Washington State Supreme Court. Nine white, middle-class male judges will either entitle her to a new trial or condemn her to prison for as long as 25 years.

"Any day the court may reach its decision, or it could be six or eight months," Wanrow said. "Nobody knows for sure. It scares me. No matter what the decision is, we will have to be ready."

This young mother's desperate battle for justice began on the night of August 11, 1972 when she fatally shot William Wesler, a previously convicted child molester. Wanrow's children were being cared for at the home of a friend, who called Wanrow to inform her that Wesler was bothering the boy, Darren. Wanrow rushed to her children while her brother-in-law located and confronted Wesler, who had left the vicinity. Later, however, a drunken and abusive Wesler barged into the house. When he refused to leave, Wanrow took her gun from her purse and shot him. The bullet went straight through his heart.

The state prosecution based its case on a tape recording of her phone call to the Spokane Police reporting the shooting. This recording was made without Wanrow's knowledge or consent. The prosecutor claimed that she had acted calmly and coldly, not in fear or outrage, as evidenced by her voice on the phone, which was controlled and free of hysteria.

To Wanrow, such an accusation is a product of the rankest racism, attesting to the ignorance and arrogance of whites who cannot conceive of another culture that breeds self-control instead of hysterics in a time of stress.

The all-white jury readily agreed with the state, and she was sentenced to serve two concurrent 20-year prison terms for murder and assault, plus one 5-year term for use of a deadly weapon.

Before the trial, Wanrow was a quiet, retiring person, devoted to her family, to poetry and to art. Since her conviction, she has become an eloquent speaker, assiduous journalist, and proficient organizer. She has travelled across the country and to Europe to build public support and raise the funds so urgently needed for her legal defense.

If the Court rules in her favor, she will be entitled to a retrial, but she prefers not to have to undergo another trial. The prosecutor will decide whether or not to appeal that decision. If she loses the appeal, pressure can be put on the prosecutor for a change or reduction of sentence.

But she is worried and apprehensive. "I need people to help organize my defense efforts, concentrating on asking the prosecutor to stop any further proceedings when the decision finally comes down," she says.

Aided by her sisters, whom she calls "the little people," Wanrow publishes a newsletter, *The News*, to fuel and coordinate defense efforts. Working out of her home in Inchelium, Washington, the family publicizes



Wanrow and her sisters publish The News to inform the interested public about developments in her case and the progress of defense committees. Funds are urgently needed to sustain this valuable newsletter.



their need for immediate funds in order to maintain this newsletter.

Wanrow will travel anywhere to speak, so long as her expenses, including fee, are covered. On October 22, she was a featured speaker at the Native American Women's Forum presented by the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women at the University of Washington in Seattle. From November 15 through 18, she will appear in Phoenix, Tucson and Tepee, Arizona; the Tucson engagement is co-sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild, ACLU and Native American Solidarity Committee. She flies to New York on December 9 for the 10th Anniversary meeting of the Center for Constitutional Rights, which is coordinating her legal case.

Joan Little's experience is extremely meaningful to Wanrow. "People have come to help me as they did Joan Little," she says. "If Little had not had national support, she could not have won. That is why I am asking people from all over to help me now."

Like Little and Garcia, Wanrow's crusade for freedom embodies the struggle of all women to protect themselves and their loved ones from the injury and brutality stalking them in a decadent society rife with torment for non-whites, women, and young people. In their desperate fight for survival and emancipation, Wanrow, Little and Garcia strike at the very underpinnings of a system that survives because of the free labor, culturally-imposed submissiveness and sex-object status of women.

The capitalist class and its legal lackeys are extremely hostile to uppity minority women who take unilateral action against male prerogatives, and Wanrow sorely needs increased public notice, support, and technical assistance.

Letters of support and funds should be sent to: Yvonne Wanrow, Indian Defense Committee, P.O. Box 49, Inchelium, WA 99138.

Yolanda Alaniz is a Chicana feminist and radical, member of the Seattle Women's Commission and president of United Workers Union-Independent.

Help Yvonne uit de gevangenis te blijven

Tegen Yvonne Wanrow wordt 25 jaar gevangenisstraf geëist
Zij schoot een man neer die haar kinderen bedreigde
en een 7 jarig meisje verkrachtte

Stort voor haar verdediging op gironummer 2248473
tnv Wil Wiggelman, Amsterdam

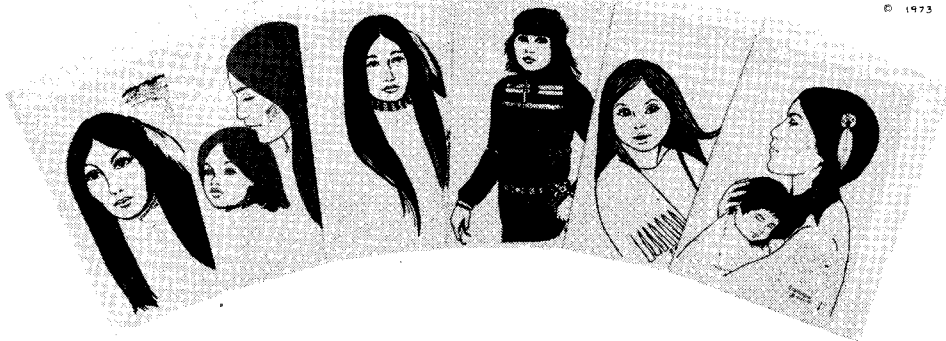


Supporters of Yvonne Wanrow's cause in Holland produced and circulated this striking poster in the Dutch language.



*As a human being, I am ignored
As a woman, I am ridiculed
As an Indian woman, I am hated
As a mother, I am condemned*

*There was a travesty of justice
on Mother's Day.*



GRAPHICS AND POETRY by Yvonne Wanrow

Examples of drawings and poems created by Wanrow as her only source of income. The drawings grace the covers of beautiful greeting cards (shown above). A Coloring Book and poetry volume will be available soon. Selections may be ordered directly from her.

DURING THE TRIAL

Between the lines
in the daily newspapers
I saw my sisters suffering
in Wounded Knee,
I heard the war cries of my brothers
as they fought for freedom
and their rights,
I felt the hunger pains
of the little children
And the cold wind
surrounding the camp
freezing the old people,
I heard the curses of the aspiring American heroes
striving for a trophy
And I hated the greed,

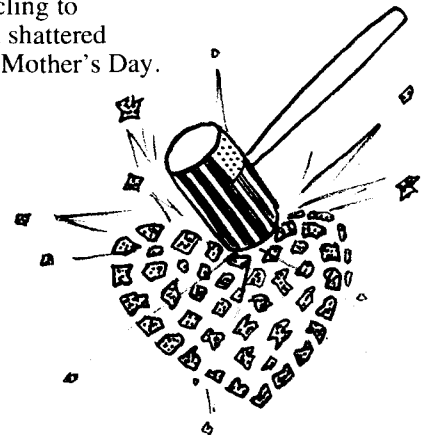
The government captivated many men
in their lust for gold
and brass
and medals
and built-up egos
and money,

It materialized before me
in the courtroom

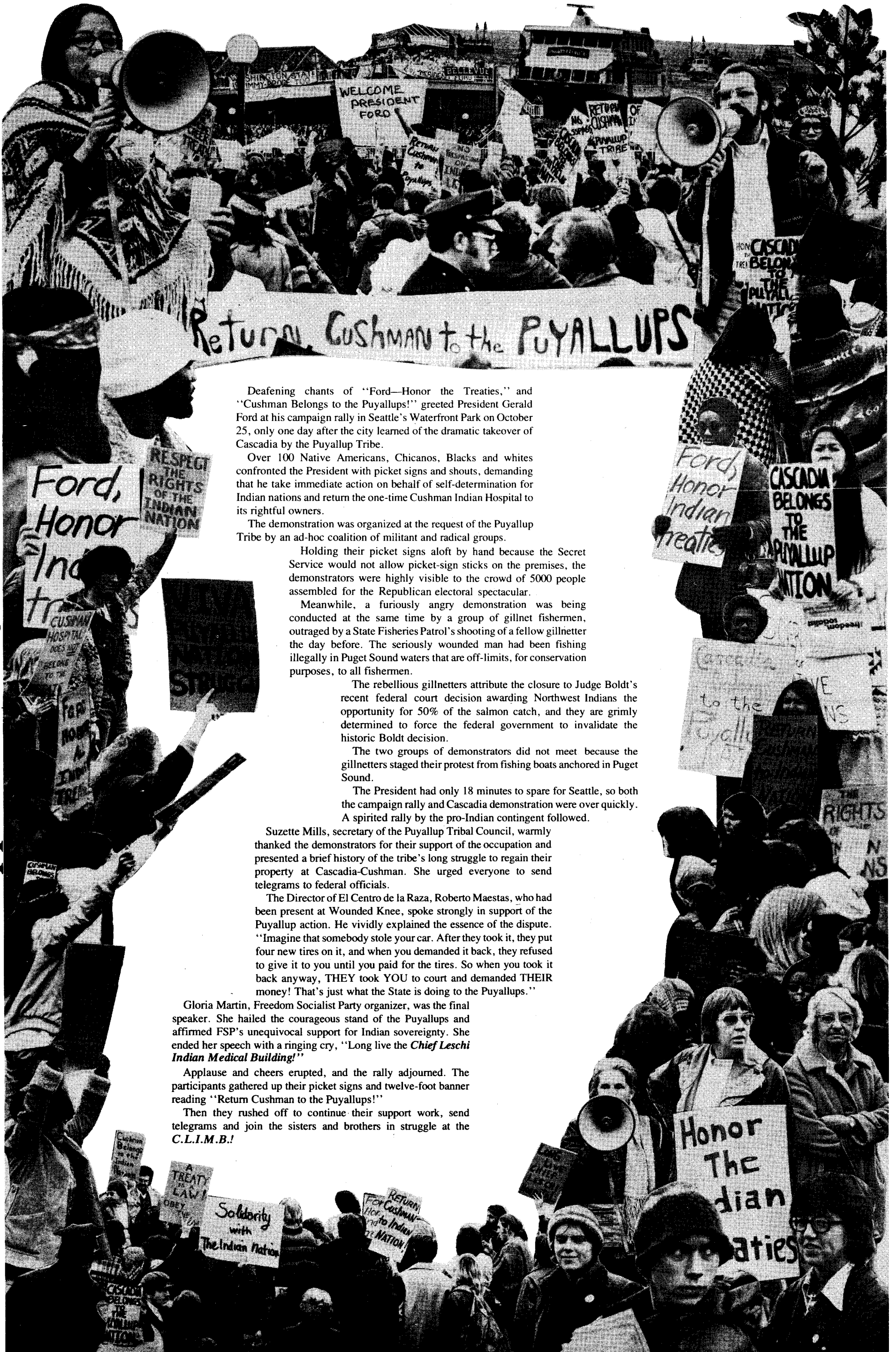
And I was moved to continue fighting
for my rights
my freedom,

Following the tradition
I prayed to the Indian Spirit
to help me ward off the forces of hatred
that surrounded me
So that I would have strength to endure,
The voice of prosecutor Brockett
and the pointing of his finger
Persuaded the all-white jury
to misinterpret my silence
as coldbloodedness,

I was denied an interpreter of my heritage
I was instructed to tone down the Indian dress,
The atmosphere was non-Indian all the way
except for my family and close friends
behind me,
They threw me a thread of hope and strength
to cling to
But it shattered
on Mother's Day.



On the Waterfront: Indian Supporters Confront President Ford in Seattle



Deafening chants of "Ford—Honor the Treaties," and "Cushman Belongs to the Puyallups!" greeted President Gerald Ford at his campaign rally in Seattle's Waterfront Park on October 25, only one day after the city learned of the dramatic takeover of Cascadia by the Puyallup Tribe.

Over 100 Native Americans, Chicanos, Blacks and whites confronted the President with picket signs and shouts, demanding that he take immediate action on behalf of self-determination for Indian nations and return the one-time Cushman Indian Hospital to its rightful owners.

The demonstration was organized at the request of the Puyallup Tribe by an ad-hoc coalition of militant and radical groups.

Holding their picket signs aloft by hand because the Secret Service would not allow picket-sign sticks on the premises, the demonstrators were highly visible to the crowd of 5000 people assembled for the Republican electoral spectacular.

Meanwhile, a furiously angry demonstration was being conducted at the same time by a group of gillnet fishermen, outraged by a State Fisheries Patrol's shooting of a fellow gillnetter the day before. The seriously wounded man had been fishing illegally in Puget Sound waters that are off-limits, for conservation purposes, to all fishermen.

The rebellious gillnetters attribute the closure to Judge Boldt's recent federal court decision awarding Northwest Indians the opportunity for 50% of the salmon catch, and they are grimly determined to force the federal government to invalidate the historic Boldt decision.

The two groups of demonstrators did not meet because the gillnetters staged their protest from fishing boats anchored in Puget Sound.

The President had only 18 minutes to spare for Seattle, so both the campaign rally and Cascadia demonstration were over quickly. A spirited rally by the pro-Indian contingent followed.

Suzette Mills, secretary of the Puyallup Tribal Council, warmly thanked the demonstrators for their support of the occupation and presented a brief history of the tribe's long struggle to regain their property at Cascadia-Cushman. She urged everyone to send telegrams to federal officials.

The Director of El Centro de la Raza, Roberto Maestas, who had been present at Wounded Knee, spoke strongly in support of the Puyallup action. He vividly explained the essence of the dispute. "Imagine that somebody stole your car. After they took it, they put four new tires on it, and when you demanded it back, they refused to give it to you until you paid for the tires. So when you took it back anyway, THEY took YOU to court and demanded THEIR money! That's just what the State is doing to the Puyallups."

Gloria Martin, Freedom Socialist Party organizer, was the final speaker. She hailed the courageous stand of the Puyallups and affirmed FSP's unequivocal support for Indian sovereignty. She ended her speech with a ringing cry, "Long live the *Chief Leschi Indian Medical Building!*"

Applause and cheers erupted, and the rally adjourned. The participants gathered up their picket signs and twelve-foot banner reading "Return Cushman to the Puyallups!"

Then they rushed off to continue their support work, send telegrams and join the sisters and brothers in struggle at the C.L.I.M.B.!

EXCLUSIVE

Ramona Bennett, the leader of the Puyallup Tribe and chief organizer of the Cascadia Center takeover, granted an hour-long interview on October 25 to Clara Fraser, a *Freedom Socialist* editor, FSP founder and spokesperson, and longtime activist in support of the struggle for Native American rights.

The interview took place in the lounge of the newly liberated center, renamed the Chief Leschi Indian Medical Building (CLIMB!). Frequently interrupted by reports from tribal

staffworkers, and once by reporters from a Seattle television station (whom Ms. Bennett asked to wait until the interview was concluded), the two women militants discussed topics ranging from federal and state duplicity to the juvenile justice system and the matriarchal tradition of Northwest Indians.

The *Freedom Socialist* takes great pride in presenting highlights of this illuminating dialogue between two experienced fighters for social justice.

Fraser: Ramona, I'm not going to ask you to "explain" your action here at Cascadia. I am familiar with the background of broken promises by the federal and state authorities and you know that the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women strongly endorse your taking back what is yours.

When your leaders asked for our assistance, we were happy to help organize the support rally in front of President Ford today, and we are doing all we can to furnish you with personnel and supplies. So I'd like to skip the "what in the world are you doing by occupying Cascadia" bit and go on to related issues.

Bennett: Good, good. I'm so tired of trying to talk to media people who only think in terms of how many guns do you have and why did you decide to take such violent action and so on. We're not violent and haven't engaged in any violence, but that's where their minds are.

Fraser: Yes, their reports all start out, "No violence has erupted yet today at Cascadia." A very positive lead. Have you had any chance to read the press accounts of your takeover here or to see the television coverage?

Bennett: I haven't seen anything on television. I have been able to see some of the very early papers.

Fraser: What is your impression of the media coverage? And what needs to be said about the meaning of what you're doing that the press isn't reporting?

Bennett: There are two very important things that are not being adequately explained. One is that we have for the past several years objected to the program that has been called Cascadia Diagnostic Service. We have believed for a long time that this is a real Dark Ages program.

The issue is that the state knows they have been operating here on stolen property for seventeen years and they haven't done a damn thing about it.

I resent the process the state uses. There is

just this one facility servicing the entire state, with the exception of Kitsap County that has its own diagnostic program. And I've had an opportunity to go around this facility when the kids were here and to talk to them. They were from all over the state. I talked to them about what that means, and I already knew what it meant. I'd had an opportunity to see the Kitsap County program and to compare the two.

The kids in Kitsap will go before the judge, and when the state doesn't know what to do with them, they are put into a diagnostic program right there in their own region. The kids have the continuity of the same case workers, court workers, dependency workers, parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents. They're as close to their normal, natural environment as can be provided.

But what I see happening here at Cascadia is a removal, an isolation, a loss of emotional support. The kids who are already in trauma are being further traumatized by their sudden rip, the jolt of losing what little they've got in their home communities. And that hurts.

continued on next page

Clara Fraser Interviews

Ramona Bennett

**Puyallup
Tribal
Chairwoman**



...Fraser Interviews Bennett

continued from preceding page

It really hurts the kids who are already in trouble. that sense of removal.

To me, it's like taking a little wild mouse that lives in the woods, that has its little nest, that gathers food, that does its little things for amusement. You take that little mouse and you put it in an aquarium with a concrete floor and you watch it bounce off the floor and you say, gee, that's a defective mouse! Look how crazy it is, running around hurting itself.

To me, that's what this program is like. It's inhumane.

Fraser: I'm sure you've communicated your objections to the DSHS (Department of Social and Health Services) bureaucrats.

Bennett: Of course. The state has known for a long time that it needed to move to regional programs. They are aware of this. It is their goal, something that they mean to pursue. For at least the last three years, they have been telling me they are aware of the problem and—well, hello!

Indian man: Hello! We are from Montana and we've come to help.

Bennett: Gee, it's so good to see you brothers and sisters coming here . . .

... we have for the past several years objected to the program that has been called Cascadia Diagnostic Service.

The state told us that it would take them a year to find alternatives to the use of this facility and you've just seen that within a period of 48 hours they decided that it was in the best interests of their children to get them out of here. Before, they used a lot of stalling tactics.

Fraser: American capitalism seems to hate children in general, and delinquent or depen-

dent kids are lost in our correction systems. It's barbaric.

Bennett: The only reason the children were here was because the judges just didn't know what to do with them, just don't know if they're stable enough to go into a foster home or a group situation. *But this is no place to prove stability.* This is not a natural situation. There's no way of observing these kids and getting any kind of a feeling of what their behavior is in a more natural situation. How would you react if you were jerked two hundred miles away from your friends and family and put in with a whole bunch of strangers in a concrete isolation center?

Fraser: I know I wouldn't react favorably. I've been in jail enough to know my reaction to concrete isolation, and my disposition in jail is not exactly normal.

Bennett: I'm certain I would not react favorably.

Now, the other main problem with the press is that we stated our purposes and our needs over and over, but *I don't think any of the regular press understands how critical our social needs really are. We have the highest arrest rate, the highest teenage suicide rates, the highest unemployment rates, the highest infant mortality rates. Our elders have the highest rate of tuberculosis, diabetes, disease.*

The press also repeatedly makes the removal of the kids at Cascadia the main issue, when the real issue is the property question and the illegal action of the state in denying us our property. The issue is that the state knows they have been operating here on stolen property for seventeen years and they haven't done a damn thing about it.

All the state is willing to do is stall us. They did break a promise to us. The promise was that no matter what happened, they would be co-seeking relief, seeking the 1.7 million dollars (demanded by the state) jointly with us. Milt Burdman himself (Director of State Department of Social and Health Services) made a commitment that he would be going back to Washington, D.C. with me this week to jointly secure those dollars. He says now that he never meant to imply that he was going; he was only



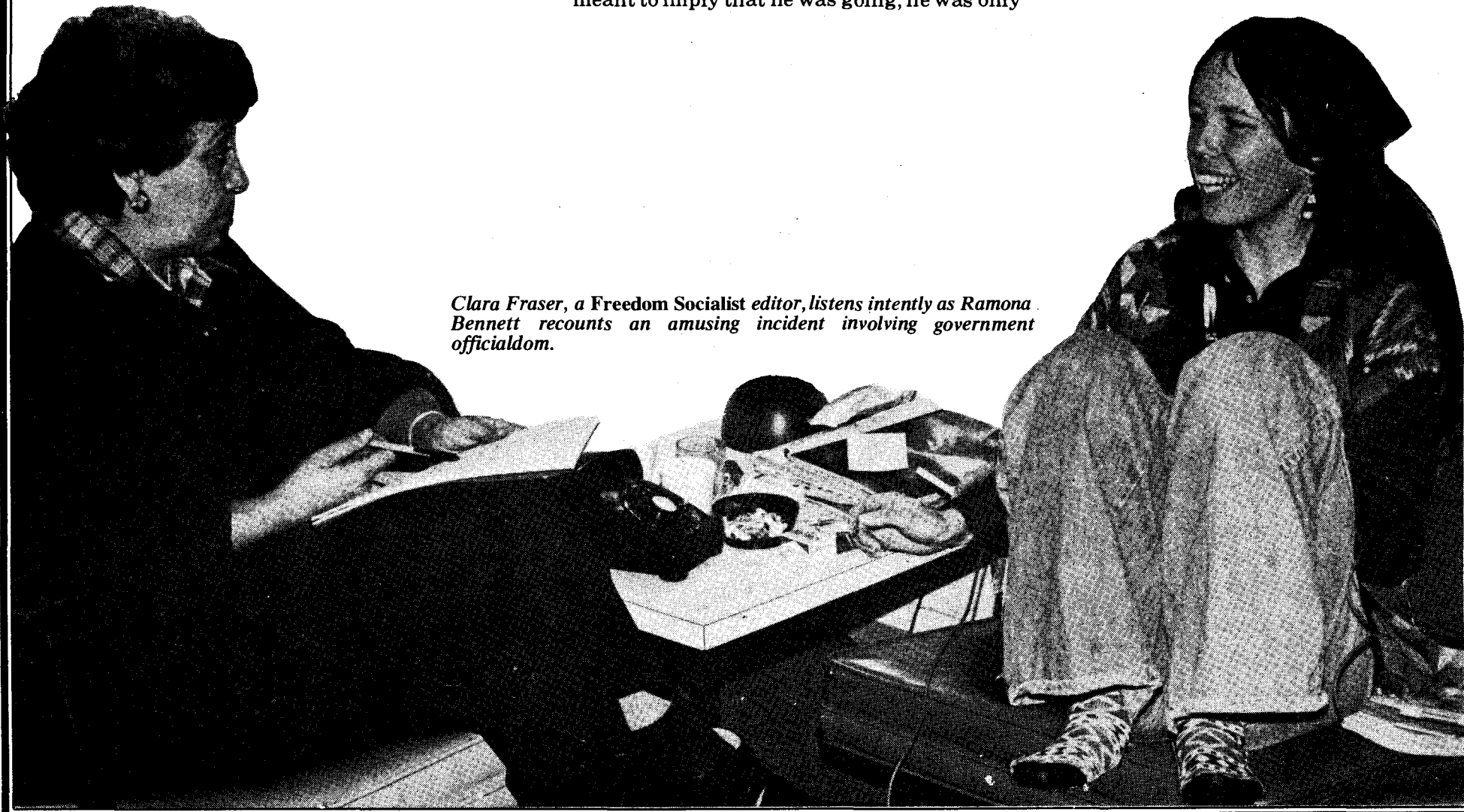
going if we moved out of this building and that this was an agreement.

I told him we've had treaties before, we know how good they are. The deed and the lease—THAT was our agreement.

Fraser: The state claims it won't transfer ownership to you until it is reimbursed almost 2 million dollars. Why do you consider it your responsibility to help raise that money from the feds?

You take that little mouse and you put it in an aquarium with a concrete floor and you watch it bounce off the floor and you say, gee, that's a defective mouse! Look how crazy it is, running around hurting itself.

Bennett: It's not my responsibility. But I am a foster parent myself and most of our Indian people here have been involved with foster homes or have been in institutions or are foster



Clara Fraser, a Freedom Socialist editor, listens intently as Ramona Bennett recounts an amusing incident involving government officialdom.

parents themselves. We are directly involved in the juvenile justice system. 25 to 35% of our children are adopted, in foster homes, in institutions, or incarcerated. So we are real, real sensitive to the whole juvenile justice system and its processes, and we want good facilities for the kids.

Also, the whites mess up with their own kids, the future citizens of their nation, and we have to live with that result, you and I both. I give a damn about it. I care enough about it that I do think raising the money is worth the investment of time on my part.

Fraser: The state is, in theory, legally obligated to create appropriate facilities for diagnosing disturbed or delinquent children. Don't you think they will have to construct substitute facilities whether or not they are reimbursed by the federal government?

Bennett: The citizens of this state have tolerated the existence of this Cascadia



program for two decades. The people have known that this was a juvenile storage unit, a warehouse for kids the system doesn't know what to do with. The Legislature has known it. We've talked to them.

And I'll tell you something else that you may be interested in knowing. Doc Adams, who is a sensitive man, the head of the House DSHS Committee, said it's one of his dreams to move into a modern and protective system for juveniles. But the head of the Senate DSHS Committee looked at me blankly when I told him about our needs, our goals, our problems. The man was completely insensitive to the subjects of poverty, dependency, aging, rehabilitation, etc.

I know now why State Senator Day refused to be sensitive. The man is sick. He's a sick, lecherous man. And he is in a position to control what happens to our little babies, our preschool children, our young children who are lost and separated from their families, our young public assistance mothers, our old people.

State Senator Day is a man who is in a critical position to help people in this state, and he is running around propositioning teenagers. He is a sick, lecherous creep. If the citizens of this state will put up with a piece of shit like that man, then they're probably not going to move on behalf of their children.

25 to 35% of our children are adopted, in foster homes, in institutions, or incarcerated.

Fraser: It figures. Day was one of our main opponents in the fight for legal abortions in Washington State. I understand he has a strong Catholic constituency.

Bennett: He ought to be removed. *He* ought to be institutionalized.

Fraser: Preferably in one of those horrible cells downstairs that the kids were condemned to! But suppose the feds say that they cannot or will not reimburse the state for Cascadia?

Bennett: If the state addresses themselves to these issues, jointly with us, there should be no problem. We've already spent many weeks and several trips to D.C. laying the groundwork.

Fraser: What if the state does not cooperate?

Bennett: I don't know. I hope the state will be controlled by the citizens, although in many ways it isn't. I think there will be people



delegated to make this decision who are going to work on behalf of the best interests of everybody.

Fraser: I'm confused. You say you're going to stay here until the deed is transferred over to you—

Bennett: *We're going to stay here PERIOD.*

Fraser: Even if the feds refuse to reimburse the state?

Bennett: Yes.

Fraser: Even if the state doesn't get its money back from any source?

Bennett: Yes.

The kids who are already in trauma are being further traumatized by that sudden rip, the jolt of losing what little they've got in their home communities. And that really hurts.

Fraser: So you're not making the existence of your new medical center contingent on the state getting its blood money?

Bennett: No! We just meant to help them, all along. The Puyallups help them that help themselves, but the state has got to be involved in the creation of their own services.

Fraser: You know, Ramona, there's an old socialist tradition, a revolutionary practice, relating to this issue. It's called nationalization without compensation, a policy for taking back lands and property from the capitalists or government who stole them without paying them one red cent, so to speak. That's what Mexico did with the oil fields, what happened in Cuba and in—

Bennett: Sure—but this is a federal faux pas to begin with! HEW played a major role in this. The Bureau of Indian Affairs should have asserted its responsibilities. It's been one hell of an inconvenience to us, and it's now an inconvenience to the state, too. The feds have got to assume some responsibility.

Fraser: We both know what Governor Evans

and DSHS are like—what does Roberto Maestas (Director of Centro de la Raza) call him? Dirty Dan?

Bennett: Dirty Dan Evans.

Fraser: So even if the state got the money, they could still allocate it to something completely different than an adequate juvenile facility. Those jokers could appropriate the money to highways!

Bennett: Yes, they could. But it's up to us as parents and citizens to remain vigilant, to stay on them . . . we've got a cute staff here, don't we?

Fraser: They're fantastic. Great. Are any of the kids still here?

Bennett: Yes, there is one boy that we liberated—he's a Puyallup.

Fraser: That's marvelous, to be freed by your own people.

Bennett: He's scheduled to go to Detox (alcohol detoxification) on Thursday and we'll just make sure he gets there.

Fraser: As a socialist feminist, I am excited about the high quality and participation of Puyallup women in tribal affairs, about the strong and skillful leadership of the women.



How do you see the relationship of feminism with the Native American struggle?

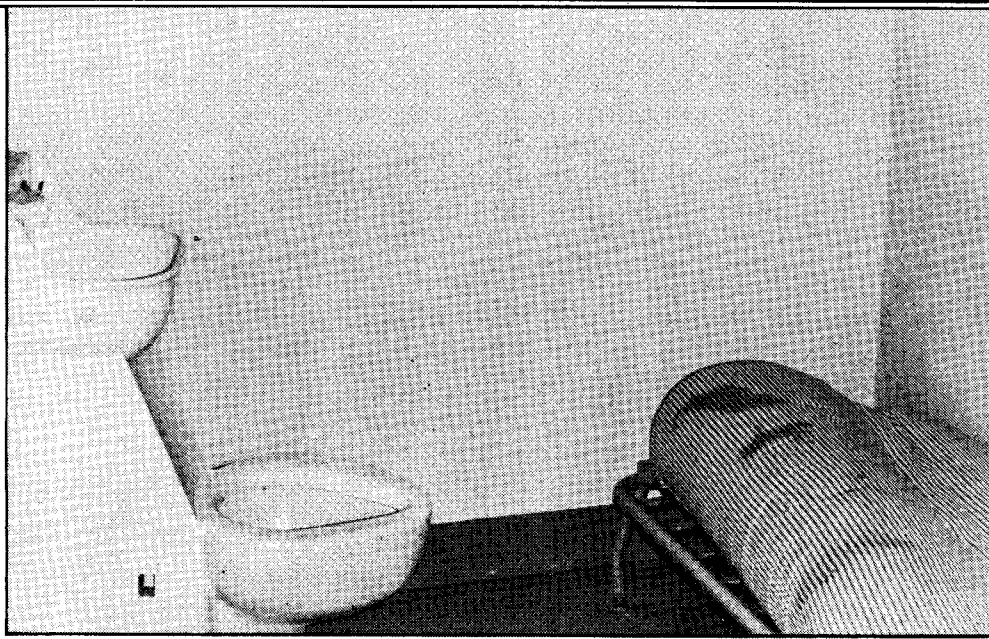
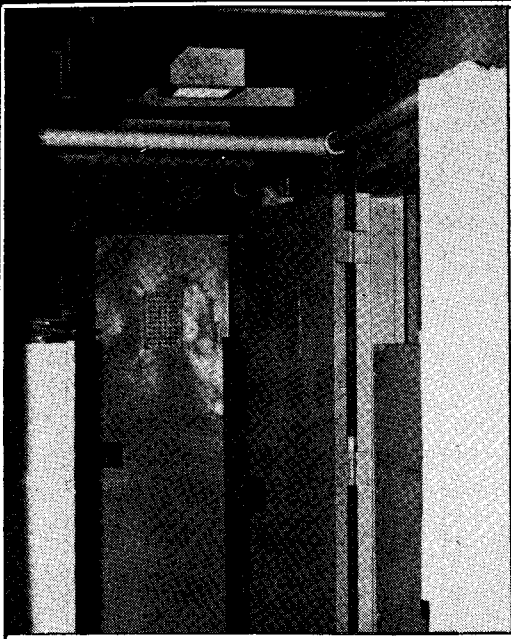
Bennett: I have quite a few feelings on that subject. I don't believe any women can be totally liberated until their society is liberated, until their families are liberated, and we have no liberated citizens so long as my people are suffering and dying. This is my condition. We are moving for the liberation of our whole community. we are moving for economic and social liberation.

The men are supportive to us and they know we are working to build them into leaders alongside us.

We have four women on a tribal council of five, and the reason I see for our success is that we are a non-drinking council, and we also have a very high level of awareness of the needs of our people. So our tribe is advancing more rapidly than other tribes.

Fraser: Women generally are more aware than men of social needs because we're closer to them. And your women are very strong to be able to resist alcohol and alcoholism. But how do you explain the fact that so many women actually came to constitute the tribal council leadership?

continued on next page



Left: Entrance to one of the forbidding and windowless segregation cells for teenagers in the Cascadia basement. The grill in the metal door is the only source of air. Right: The interior of an isolation cell. Dots on the open toilet are mosquitos and flies, which infest the prison.

...Fraser Interviews Bennett

continued from preceding page

Bennett: Well, our societies were always matriarchal and women were always important. Our men built the longhouses and the canoes, did the fishing, and controlled many of the social aspects of our society. But the women were involved with medicine, justice, education, decisions. Now, the male occupations have been removed from our community and the men are deprived of their traditional work. The women have been able to retain many of their roles, so the women have stayed strong. It used to be that all of our people were strong, but the men had an advantage. The women have managed to remain strong.

Fraser: And your goal is to rebuild total strength?

Bennett: Yes. In areas where the men had opportunity to work side by side, they have remained strong. But where the men have been knocked down and the women continue to be strong, we give a helping hand to the men. Our ex-offender program, for instance, is damned important to us, because of the high rate of unemployment and incarceration of our people. We want those men to learn from us what a community is and what mutual help is because we'll be looking to them for leadership in the future. We need them, because when they're side by side with us, working as our partners, we can be liberated to do some neat things. Like see our children, for instance.

I have half a dozen children and a 94-year-old man, they are my family. And if we get some more men working with us, giving us a hand, I could even do things with my family. They need me, too. I have three children of my own and three foster children. I would add for any DSHS employees who might read this article that my foster children aren't here!

Fraser: The state can be vicious about foster children.

Bennett: Yes. I have them and I love them and I don't want to lose them. *They're not here.*

Fraser: You're the sole support of your family?

Bennett: Yes.

Fraser: And you work fulltime for the Puyallup Tribe?

Bennett: Yes, that's my work.

Fraser: Have you encountered any resistance or antagonism from the men to the female leadership?

Bennett: No, not in the Northwest. The men are supportive to us and they know we are working to build them into leaders alongside us.

Fraser: Are the women supportive also?

Bennett: Oh, yes!

Fraser: You have it a lot easier than Black women, who are still being put down hard by Black males who equate liberation with freedom for the Black Man! You remember Stokely Carmichael's infamous quote, "The proper position of women in the movement is prone?"

Bennett: Our men are with us. Let me ask — what he thinks. Do you resent the big-mouthed little women from Puyallup who run around here?

Indian man: No! Why should I?

Bennett: She's asking if the men resent the positions that women assume here.

Indian man (forcefully): No way. It's a big improvement. Indian men know that we need real strong women's leadership. That's important to the whole family unit; everybody is in this together.

Bennett: When the women and the men are both working, then you've got twice as many people working on our issues, and you get it done four times as fast.

Fraser: All poor people and radicals need all the leaders we can get.

Bennett: Yes, we do. And another thing. In the Indian community, there really aren't any 'leaders' in the usual sense. There have never been any Indian followers. If we had had a pattern of following, we'd have all gotten bunched up in one place at one time and there wouldn't be any survivors. The Indian people really do think for themselves. There's no blind following. Everybody in this place is doing their own thinking. We ask each other for help, but all these people are on their own, doing their own thinking.

I don't believe any women can be totally liberated until their society is liberated . . .

Fraser: It's amazing how bosses and politicians always complain about agitators and ascribe all protests to sinister figures who apparently hypnotize people into action, against their will and better judgment. It's always assumed that the ranks have no militancy or intelligence of their own.

Bennett: That's right. A lot of people don't understand that. They believe that we really do have followers and leaders. But we're not into that at all.

Fraser: You're not into blind or passive followership. But you do have leaders—you are the public spokesperson and organizer.

Bennett: Right, right.

Fraser: I know you need money, food and supplies.

Bennett: Yes, yes.

Fraser: What kind of food? I know what kind of money.

Bennett: Canned, in sealed containers. The reason I'm stressing canned things is because we have a lot of crazies in this community who could be poisoning food and sending it in. We're not the most popular segment of the population, you know. People will be leaving food at the gate for us and not coming in themselves, so we don't know them, and someone could whip us up a batch of

strychnine cookies or any damn thing. If we receive any fresh or homemade food directly from people we don't know, we won't eat it.

I'm also seeing an awful lot of soda pop and I'd like to see some fruit juice coming in.

The Cowlitz tribe brought us toothbrushes yesterday. A lot of people have just come in without bringing an extra pair of socks or underwear or deodorant, razors, shaving cream, things like that. People outside need to understand that supplies can be brought in to us.

The Muckleshoots are just coming over and the Cowlitz tribe has been here all day. *There are Indian people here from a number of tribes.* A lot of people think we're just barricaded in here, so we are letting them know that our friends are going in and out of here. It's OUR place.

Fraser: You are requesting supporters to come and join you?

Bennett: Yes, whoever is authorized and recommended by our people. We especially need people who can identify any finks or plants who may have slipped in. FBI types.

Fraser: Ramona, I've seen many social programs ruined when the recipients of the funds became cautious and conservative, anxious to hang on to the grants. Now your tribe has received a lot of federal dollars for services and programs. Could your funds be jeopardized because of your occupation of the building? And does this worry you?

Bennett: Not at all. The money is to serve our community and that's what we are doing. We'll not be bought off or bribed to become goodie-goodies. Anyway, they owe us the money—they robbed us of it. If we stay on their asses, we'll keep getting the money. And we'll keep this land and this building, too.

It's all ours, and you fight for what's yours.



National Roundup of Indian News

Oregon:

Butler and Robideau

Two FBI agents, part of a huge federal armed invasion of Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1973, were found dead on June 26, 1975. An armada of 350 FBI agents, state troopers and BIA police, backed up by tanks and airplanes, swept through the Indian reservation in Pine Ridge, completely violating the civil rights of residents. The cops ransacked houses and grilled suspects.

Several months later, two Oregon members of the American Indian Movement, Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, were charged with aiding and abetting first degree murder. Also indicted were Jimmy Eagle (these charges have since been dropped because of lack of evidence) and Leonard Peltier.

"The government is trying to make scapegoats out of Bob and me," Butler said during the trial. But on July 16, 1976, Butler and Robideau were acquitted. A crack legal defense team, headed by William Kunstler, effectively turned the case upside-down, using it to expose FBI harassment of AIM. Even FBI Director Clarence Kelly was forced to testify.

By the time the trial was over, all government evidence had been completely discredited and a verdict of innocence was read to the crowd of relieved spectators.

British Columbia:

Leonard Peltier

The federal government still seeks to make Leonard Peltier a scapegoat for the death of the two FBI agents.

Peltier is incarcerated in Vancouver, B.C., Canada, conducting a fight against U.S. government attempts to extradite him.

Funds are needed to continue the defense of Indian victims of the Wounded Knee occupation. Donations should be sent to Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P.O. Box 4287, Omaha, Nebraska 68104, or to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, 1855 Vine St., Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Letters and telegrams supporting Peltier's attempt to gain political asylum in Canada should be sent to the Hon. Ron Basford, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.



Indiana:

Leonard Crow Dog

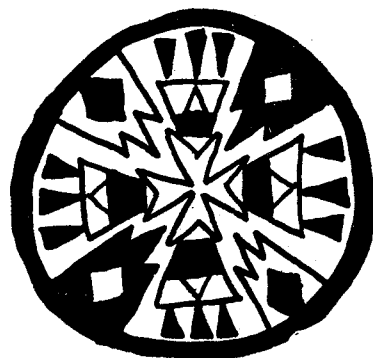
A courageous Sioux medicine man, Leonard Crow Dog, is imprisoned in the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana, victim of a series of vicious frame-ups.

Convicted of assault, he has been refused permission by the U.S. Supreme Court to remain free pending an appeal.

Like many Native American leaders, Crow Dog has been systematically set up and convicted of false crimes in an attempt to discredit him with his people.

The first charge against him was "interfering with federal officers" during the occupation of Wounded Knee. Crow Dog escorted four postal inspectors from the area after they were arrested by Indian-occupation security forces. Although all four inspectors testified that he had protected them, he was put on trial, convicted and sentenced to eleven years in prison.

Put on probation, he soon found himself facing another concocted charge. Two drunken and belligerent trespassers, suspects in the brutal beating of one of his nephews and the murder of another, drove through log barriers set up at his home. Friends repulsed the trespassers while Crow Dog only watched, yet he was promptly convicted of assault by an all-white jury and sentenced to two five-year terms.



Last January, he was again spuriously charged with assaulting a provocateur who entered his house without permission. Another all-white jury found him guilty and sentenced him to five years.

Early last summer, he was freed briefly as he sought a U.S. Supreme Court appeal. But the Court, which ordinarily takes months to answer an appeal, took only a few days to deny his appeal and order him to surrender within 24 hours.

Crow Dog now waits in a maximum security prison for an appeal hearing.

Who Says There's No Equal Employment Opportunity?

D 10 · The Seattle Times
Thursday, November 11, 1976

Woman fined for illegal gillnetting

Karen Reed, 27, a Puyallup Indian convicted of unlawful gillnet fishing in closed waters, has been fined \$250, suspended on condition of no more fishing violations.

Superior Court Judge Francis E. Holman also ordered Miss Reed to pay court costs, and confirmed that the state has the right to proceeds from selling fish confiscated when she was cited October 4, 1975.

Miss Reed had appealed a District Court conviction. She had a prior conviction for fishing in closed waters the previous year.

The unlawful fishing last year was about a half mile west of West-point Light in Puget Sound.



Sally Fixico

California:

Skyhorse and Mohawk

Paul Skyhorse, a Minnesota Chippewa, and Richard Mohawk, a Tuscarora/Mohawk, have already spent two years in a Ventura, California jail reputed to be the worst in the state.

The charge is murder of a non-political, uninvolved cab driver, yet all available evidence points to the fact that the actual murder was engineered by the FBI.

A number of problems, including the influence of provocateurs inside AIM who kept the organization from defending the two men, have prevented more than minimal public information about the case. It is becoming abundantly clear, however, that the trial may reveal the incredible lengths to which the FBI will go to frame up Indian militancy.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are conducting their own defense, amassing considerable evidence against the government, informers and government agents. They are still in the pre-trial discovery stage of their case.

Help is needed badly. Contributions should be sent to Skyhorse/Mohawk Judicial Liberation Committee, c/o Attorney Andrew Marsh, 326 S. "A" St., Oxnard, CA 93030.

South Dakota:

Russell Means

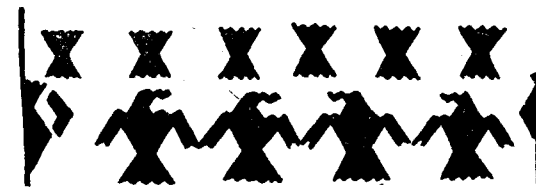
"Since Wounded Knee, I have been arrested twelve times—an average of once every two months," said Russell Means at a press conference last June.

For the past four years, the U.S. government has unmercifully harassed the national AIM leader, forcing him to trial on a long string of phony charges ranging from carrying a concealed weapon to assault and murder.

This war of attrition is a typical federal government attempt to exhaust Means with constant legal battles that prevent him from actively participating in the Native American movement.

The persecution against Means was capped on June 7 when he was shot in the back and seriously wounded by a BIA police officer. Means faces a continual threat of assassination and is forced to use bodyguards at many of his public appearances.

A fund has been established to assist Russell Means in his determined resistance to physical and legal attacks. Donations should be sent to the Russell Means Defense Fund, P.O. Box 30116, St. Paul, MN 55168.





Violence in the Wake WAR IN THE PACIFIC

by Fred Hyde

The spectacle of the blood-splattered gillnet boat "Alaska Revenge," tied empty to its dock, serves as a grim reminder of the inevitable outbreak of violence that erupted on October 24 when a shotgun blast from the gun of a State Fisheries Patrol officer shattered the window of the vessel's pilot house and seriously wounded the boat's skipper, William Carlson.

Infuriated gillnetters lay the blame on Federal Judge George Boldt's 1974 ruling in support of Pacific Northwest Indian treaty rights—the "taking of fish at all usual and accustomed grounds in common with citizens of the territory." Boldt's decision directed the State to provide Indians the opportunity to harvest 50% of Puget Sound salmon runs, and white gillnetters hate him.

The State blandly insists that the issue is not race but "conservation" and a surplus of fishermen.

Only the Indians and the radicals seem to know that the real culprit in the fishing war is the severe depletion of the salmon itself, caused primarily by the depredations of large fish-packing corporations whose giant ocean-going trollers harvest the lion's share of the salmon catch.

Three other factors contribute to the alarming salmon shortage: (1) the enormous salmon catch from commercial charter boats hired by tens of thousands of avid sports fisherpeople, (2) the fatal effects of industrial pollution on salmon-spawning rivers, and (3) the blockage of salmon runs by hydroelectric dams, making breeding impossible.

The truth is that *both* gillnetters and Indians have been deprived of their fair share of existing fish by the completely unregulated excesses of trollers and commercial charter boats, which catch far more than their legal share of salmon long before the fish ever reach Puget Sound, where both Indians and independent white fishermen seek their prey. Packing companies and charter boats together have already harvested over two million salmon this year—an all-time record catch!

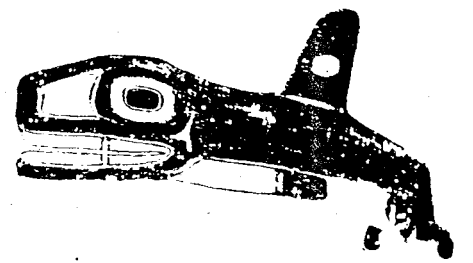
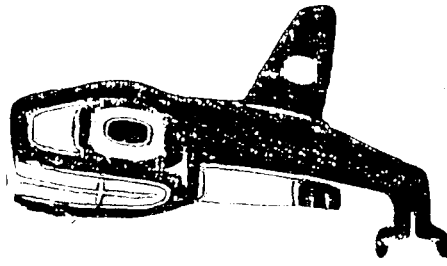
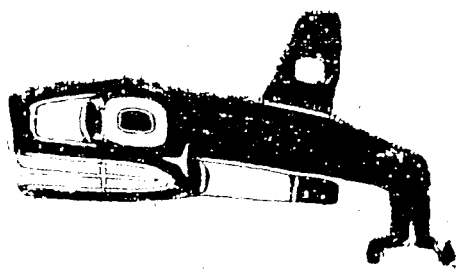
Almost everything and everybody, *except* the truly conservation-minded Indians, bear responsibility for the disastrous dwindling of Northwest salmon. Yet Washington State officials are insolently provoking the small-businessmen gillnetters to vent their rage on the hapless Indians.

The State Serves Big Business

Washington State bureaucrats deliberately foster and exploit racist sentiment in order to obscure the obvious fact that large capitalist firms and well-heeled sportspeople, not Judge Boldt or the Indians, are the villains. To exacerbate the situation after the Boldt decision, the State callously doubled the number of fishing licenses issued and deliberately instigated the current financial crisis among gillnetters. But it is hardly to be expected that the State Department of

Fishing Rights Under Attack





of the Boldt Decision

Fisheries, created expressly to serve the special interests of fishing and canning entrepreneurs, charter boat owners and bigtime sportsmen, would act otherwise.

The State of Washington has always persecuted Native Americans. Prior to 1974, State Fish and Game officers carried out a concerted effort to prevent Indians from exercising treaty rights to fish off the reservation. Indians were continually beaten, jailed and harassed, and their fishing gear confiscated and destroyed.

When Judge Boldt upheld the Indians' claim, he also granted the State emergency powers to close fishing areas for conservation purposes. The State has arbitrarily exploited this closure power to prevent Indians as well as non-Indian gillnetters from achieving their quotas.

Indian fishermen are hardly better off now than before the Boldt decision. They have been unable to obtain more than 10% to 12% of the total salmon run this year. And, Indians caught violating closure orders are often arrested, thrown in jail or fined, and their boats and gear confiscated, just as before.

Non-Indian gillnetters still attempt to ram and sink Indian vessels. Whites have vandalized Indian equipment and boats, and are wont to open fire in order to drive Indian fishermen out of legal fishing areas.

The State has never protected the Indians from the white fishermen. Indeed, Assistant State Attorney General James Johnson of the Fisheries Department was guest speaker at a gillnetters' protest rally at the State Capitol. He was roundly cheered for denouncing the Boldt decision as "morally reprehensible and unconstitutional."

Injured Gillnetter Attacked State Boat

The near-murder of gillnetter Carlson by State Fisheries officers was neither a show of government independence in the fishing wars, nor an example of concern with law and order. All evidence points to the fact that it was a simple act of self-defense.

During the week preceding the shooting, gillnetters conducted a terror campaign of high speed passes at patrol boats, attempting to swamp them and drown the officers. And the State Patrolman who opened fire was simply trying to prevent Carlson from ramming his 35-foot gillnet boat into the smaller patrol skiff and slicing it in half.

The duel took place at Foulweather Bluff, a choice fishing site closed to all gillnetting, and the scene of increasingly hostile confrontations between Fisheries officials and non-Indian gillnetters. Carlson was one of thirty gillnetters fishing in defiance of State closure of the area; the fleet's stated purpose was to focus attention on the despised Boldt decision.

Two days after Carlson was shot, gillnetter boats flying black flags met President Ford's hydrofoil vessel when he arrived in Seattle for a waterfront election rally. More gillnetters approached him on the shore, waving signs decrying the fate of their new martyr and proclaiming their "Revolt against Boldt."

Later that week, hundreds of incensed gillnetters and their families marched on the State Capitol, demanding that Governor Evans and the legislature stop the closures and disarm the Fisheries patrols. The angry crowd denounced the closures as the product of a scheme to allocate fish to the Indians, blind to the fact that the State also closes off waters to Indians, prohibits fishing by anybody at certain sites for conservation purposes, and generally prevents both the Indians and non-

Indians from interfering with fish slated for the deep-sea corporate fisheries and charter boats.

The gillnetters have been driven to desperation measures by economic pressure. They claim they are going broke, and there is no question but that the system isn't working for the small fishermen—white and Indian alike. But the whites want the return of affluence at the expense of their even poorer and much longer oppressed Indian colleagues.

Given their current shortsighted and frenzied course, the white gillnetters cannot achieve their goal of open fishing. Until they are prepared to take on their real enemies—large-scale commercial fisheries and their government agents—they have nowhere to go but away from the sea. Or else towards escalated violence.

The Long Fishing-Rights Voyage

Indian tribal leaders fear further bloodshed and expect to be the next victims. Their frustration with the lack of State protection, and apprehension over increased violent attacks, have led them to call on the FBI to intervene and protect their civil rights. Dismayed by the media's fascination with the novel problems of newly-impooverished white fishermen, and the tacit support and encouragement of illegal acts by white gillnetters, the tribes associated with the Point Elliott Treaty Conference called a news conference to demand swift government action in their defense. But most Indian leaders expect little help from the very FBI agents who, as servants of America's ruling class, are harassing and persecuting Native Americans across the nation.

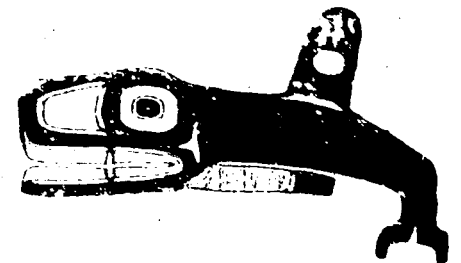
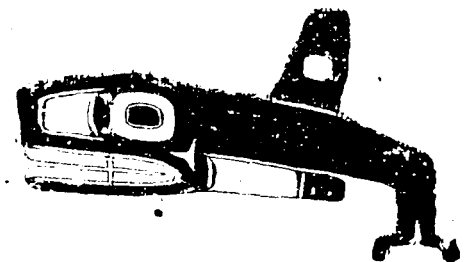
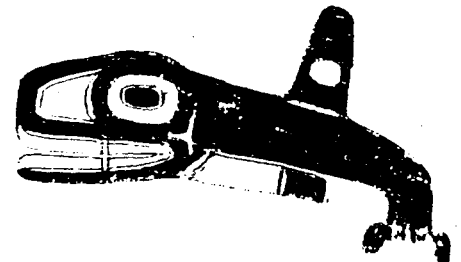
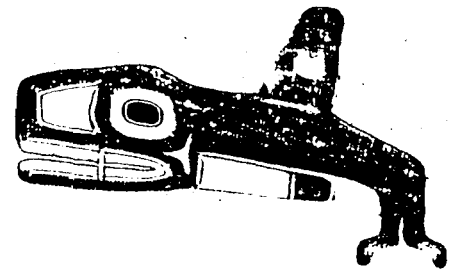
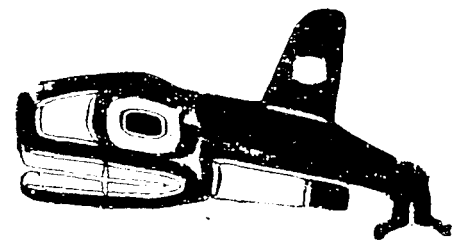
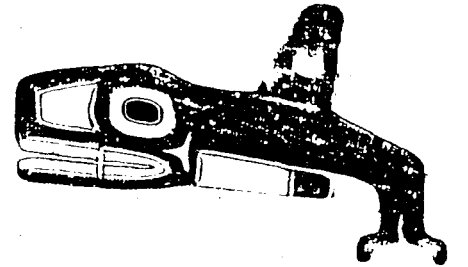
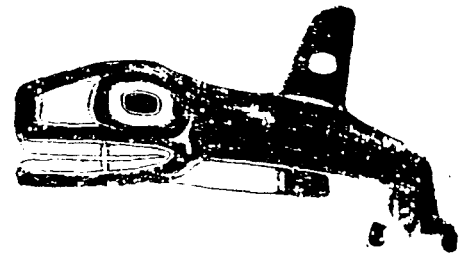
Local Indian leaders have always relied on themselves and their supporters to exert pressure against the government. Militant demonstrations, rallies, fish-ins, protest picket lines, extensive legal action, and well-publicized, deliberate flaunting of State-imposed closures have marked the decades-long campaign of Pacific Northwest Indians to draw local, nationwide and international attention to their plight in Washington State.

Western Washington Indians are fishers; they can barely survive without access to their traditional source of food and chief occupation, and that is why the Indian fishing rights movement in Washington State has been so protracted and insistent, winning media notice, extensive community support and, eventually, the Boldt decision itself.

The gillnetters learned their propaganda tactics directly from their Indian competitors. But it will be the Indians, undoubtedly, not the white fishermen, who will be the first to offer a united front in order to launch a concerted drive against their common opponents. Only in this way will the workers and concerned segment of the public come to understand the *class-war* character of the fishing conflict.

.....

At a time when physical and political assaults on Indian rights are exploding from all directions, it is vital that radicals, feminists, minorities and class-conscious working people join with the Indian Tribes of Washington in defense of their treaty rights, their sovereignty as autonomous nations, and such tenuous victories as the Boldt decision. It is only through solidarity on a vastly increased scale that further violence can be averted, the war in the Pacific between two deprived sectors of working fishermen brought to a welcome halt, and the salmon run rescued from extinction.



Fred Hyde is a Seattle attorney who is well-versed in Indian treaty law. Involved in Indian legal defense work and in civil rights cases, he is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and an active socialist.



Editorial

Return of the Native, 1976

Before issuing the injunction ordering the Puyallups to leave Cascadia, Judge Morrell Sharp lashed out at the tribe with classic petty bourgeois indignation over its "aggression" against the State of Washington.

"It's like taking over your neighbor's house and then telling them that they'll have to sue you to get it back," intoned this dignitary.

Now just wait a minute, Judge. Who stole what from whom? Who are the real aggressors? Whose house is it?

We are reminded of the delicious statement made recently by S.I. Hayakawa, Senator-elect from California: "I think we should keep the Panama Canal. We stole it fair and square."

In its insatiable lust for wealth and privilege, the American capitalist class stole three million square miles of territory from the Indians, carving its empire out of the unspoiled homeland of the original inhabitants of this continent. Racism and "Manifest Destiny" were the primary ideological weapons of the conquest, and the roots of imperialism spring from the corpses and sacked civilizations of the native tribes.

America was not "discovered" but invaded, and "fair and square" genocide followed swiftly in the shadows of this greatest land grab in history.

When white Europeans first came to this land, approximately six million natives flourished here. Today, perhaps one million have survived the carnage.

This wholesale slaughter is rivalled in history only by the Nazi holocaust against the Jews and America's latest war of extermination against the Vietnamese.

Strong parallels exist between the Vietnamese fight for liberation and the struggle of the Native American. Janet McCloud, a Pacific Northwest Indian leader, once remarked that the Vietnamese need only look at the Indians to see what their future would be should they lose the war.

The drive for Indian liberation is basically one of national self-determination—the right to live as an independent and autonomous nation. The various Indian nations and tribes possess every attribute of a classic nation: a common geography, language, culture, tradition and distinctive

mode of production. Every truly national struggle involves a primary fight for land—a fight to regain lost territory and re-establish political hegemony over it. This is the crux of the matter.

But men like Hayakawa and Judge Sharp are seriously worried about something even more dangerous than Indian self-determination and sovereignty. Indian demands pose an explicit threat to the most sacred of all capitalist fetishes—*private property*.

Private ownership of the land, a concept totally alien to the Indian communalistic society, is a cornerstone of capitalist property relations. By occupying land that is rightfully theirs, Indians strike a blow at the very foundation of the entire capitalist system.

So it is unlikely that the white government which stole the land in the first place will return it without bloody contention. For in the final analysis, only a complete transformation of the economic system by means of social revolution will guarantee the right of Native Americans to nationhood and freedom. The ruling class knows this, and properly fears the implicit and logical connection between Indian nationalism and revolutionary internationalism.

Indians want independence and then some. They want what amounts to a socialist transformation of their lands, which is bound to have a wonderfully contagious effect on workers in the white private-property sector.

The ruling class is not anxious to aid and abet such subversion.

The Puyallups occupied Cascadia and proclaimed to the world that "This is Indian land—we're not leaving!" This was a revolutionary act. In a simple but profound act of elementary social self-defense, they expropriated the expropriators. If this be "aggression," let all revolutionaries throw a gala potlach in its honor.

The United States IS Indian land. We cannot undo the past or mitigate its horrors, but all who profess belief in justice and fair play can rise to the defense of Native Americans' historic right to a free and secure future on their own soil.

It is the ineradicable human right of the Indian nations to determine their own fate and manifest their own destiny, fair and square.

FSP Conference Resolution on Native Americans

The April, 1976 Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Freedom Socialist Party featured an extensive discussion of the Native American movement for self-determination. The last issue of the *Freedom Socialist* contained a brief summary of the major point of that discussion. The summary expresses the FSP's basic programmatic approach to the Indian struggle and reaffirms its longstanding support to Native American militants. —Editors.

A life-and-death battle against the extermination tactics of the federal government is being waged by American Indians as they mobilize to resist an unending wave of attacks and political murders. This is a people deprived of their homelands, traditional means of livelihood, communal lifestyle, culture of naturalism and humanism, and basic pride and dignity. They are struggling desperately for their very survival as a people.

Lenore Norrgard, who has been working with Native Americans for two years, told the FSP Conference that "we must thoroughly recognize the Native American struggle as

one of national self-determination, and pay particular attention to the key role of women in their movement."

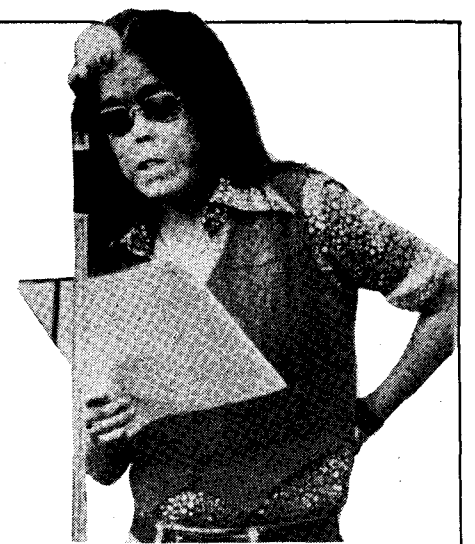
Said Marcel Hatch, "The American radical movement must prepare for the defense of the Indians from full-scale attack by the government and vigilante groups."

The heroic resistance of the Native American to capitalist genocide is not slackening and the fight for freedom is intensifying all over the country. This land is **their** land, and their right to a secure future in it must be confirmed.

Victory to the struggle for Indian liberation!



Yvonne Wanrow



Diane Didrickson, Alaskan Tlinget, addresses a Women's Rights Day audience, recounting the little-known career of Princess Angeline, daughter of Chief Sealth (Seattle). Angeline's generous help to the white settlers was never understood or respected, and her humanity was abused, scorned and exploited.

Ms. Didrickson is a member of Radical Women.

Money, Anyone?

FSP Fund Drive Scoreboard

The FSP's Publications and Travel fund drive has raised \$8,125, roughly \$2,000 short of our \$10,000 goal which must be reached by the end of this year.

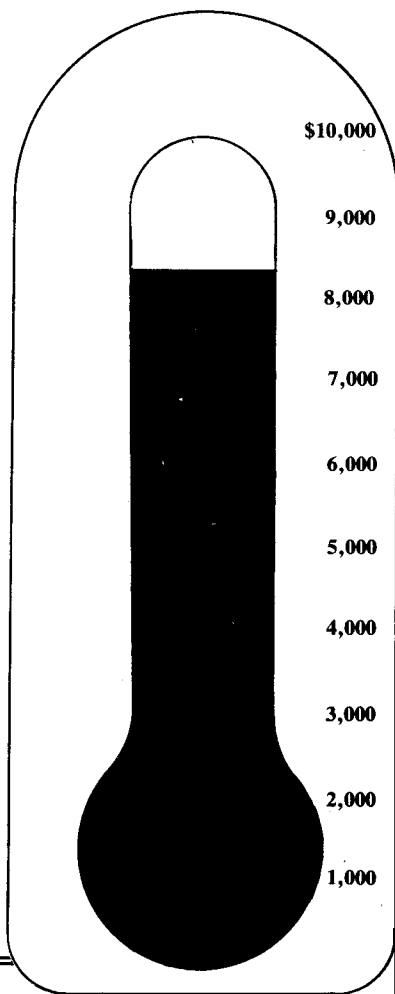
Publications and travel are enormously expensive, but decisive in spreading the word—presenting our revolutionary program to working people and concerned students all over the country.

Publishing a newspaper, printing and reprinting basic documents, attending regional conferences and conducting speaking tours demand money, dinero, rubles and bread, man. **So we need your help!**

We are all workers who give as much as we can, but we depend greatly on the generosity and support of our readers and friends.

Please help put us over the top. Your contributions, large or small, enable us to sustain our growing movement for socialist feminism and working class power.

You can mail checks and money orders to us at Freeway Hall.



No Hablamos Español En Esta Edición

Un Desculpe a Nuestros Leédores de Español

Porque estabamos cortos de tiempo, desafortunadamente no podimos traducir a español ninguno de los articulos en esta edición especial del **Freedom Socialist**.

Los desarrollos recientes en la lucha de los Indios nos han forzado a publicar esta edición adelante de nuestro plan de realización.

Nuestros traductores estan ocupados trabajando en nuestra próxima publicación que si tendra una grande seccion en español.

Gracias por su paciencia. Sabemos de que estan decepcionados tambien nosotros lo estamos. ¡Hasta mañana!

Where to Find the FSP

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: P.O. Box 29471, Los Angeles, CA 90029.

San Francisco/Berkeley: 2326 Castro St., San Francisco, CA 94131. Call (415) 826-2730.

Santa Barbara: 36 E. Sola St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101. Call (805) 649-1503.

Ventura: 8220 Edison Dr., Casitos Springs, Ventura, CA 93001. Call (805) 649-1503.

NEW YORK

New York City: 158 W. 94th St., #B, New York, NY 10025. Call (212) 850-4867.

OREGON

Portland: 2136 N.E. 15th, #2, Portland, OR 97212. Call (503) 288-4598.

WASHINGTON

Olympia: 503 N. Puget, #8, Olympia, WA 98502. Call (206) 352-8135.

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. Call (206) 632-7449. *Seattle Branch*, (206) 632-7468. *Radical Women*, (206) 632-1815.

Tacoma: 3205 S. 10th, Tacoma, WA 98407.

THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST Volume 2, No. 2 Fall, 1976

Published by the Freedom Socialist Party. Editorial and production office: Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Second Floor, Seattle, WA 98105. Phone (206) 632-7449.

Staff

Art and Design: Marcel Hatch
Editors: Clara Fraser, Ed Rader
Writers: Yolanda Alaniz, Sam Deaderick, Monica Hill, Fred Hyde
Photography: Lenore Norrgard
Research and Proofreading: Tamara Turner
Production: Doug Barnes, Helen Gilbert
Typing: Harriet Husbands, Pat Day
Business Manager: Melba Windoffer
Printed by Union Labor

From the Bookstore

**Public Forum
Native American Women In Action
Many Fronts, One Struggle**

Speakers:
Sally Fixico
Member of various Indian and Third World organizations
Janet McCloud
Steering committee member, Native American Rights Fund
Barbara Means
Founding member, Ogala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, Pine Ridge
Yvonne Wanrow
Mother facing prison for defending her children
**Chairperson:
Madlyne Scott**

Friday 22 Oct.
8 p.m. Hub Auditorium
University of Washington,
Seattle
Door donation: \$2.00

For information call or visit:
3815 5th Ave
(206) 632-7449

Auspices:
Campus Radical Women and
Freedom Socialist Party

Freedom Socialist Publications

1. Introducing the Freedom Socialist Party \$.15
2. A Victory for Socialist Feminism: Organizer's Report to the 1969 Freedom Socialist Party Conference \$2.00
3. History, Perspectives and Tasks: Organizer's Report to the 1976 Freedom Socialist Party Conference by Gloria Martin \$3.00
4. Crisis and Leadership (Theoretical Basis of FSP Program) \$2.00
5. Revolutionary Integration (Black Liberation in the USA) \$2.00

Minority Struggles

6. The Road to Wounded Knee by Burnette and Koster \$1.95
7. Indian Women of the Western Morning by John and Donna Terrell \$2.95
8. The Black Woman edited by Toni Cade \$1.25
9. The Chicanos: Life and Struggles of the Mexican Minority in the U.S. by Gilberto Lopez y Rivas \$3.25
10. The Early Homosexual Rights Movement by Lauritsen and Thorstad \$2.75

A New Era for Women Workers, Minority Women and Lesbians

- Women in the Labor Movement
- Feminism and the Minority Woman
- Gays and the Class Struggle

Annual Con
Sat. & Sun., Octo
University of Wash
Student Union
Registration
Dinner & Party, Saturday



Radical Women Publications

11. Radical Women Manifesto: Theory, Program and Structure \$.50
12. Race and Sex, 1972 (revised) by Dorothy Mejia Chambliss \$.35
13. Lesbianism: A Socialist Feminist Perspective by Susan Williams \$.35

Marxist Classics

14. Woman As Leader: Double Jeopardy on Account of Sex by Clara Fraser \$.35
15. The Women's Movement and the Class Struggle by Cindy Gipple \$.25
16. Capital (three volumes) by Karl Marx \$13.50
17. Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State by F. Engels \$2.25
18. History of the Russian Revolution (three volumes, boxed) by Leon Trotsky \$5.00
19. The Revolution Betrayed by Leon Trotsky \$3.25
20. The Emancipation of Women by V.I. Lenin \$1.65
21. Ancient Society by Lewis Henry Morgan \$4.95

Order Form

To: Freedom Socialist
3815 5th Ave. N.E.
Seattle, WA 98105

Telephone: 1-206-632-1815
or 632-7449

Enclosed is a check money order for the amount of \$ _____ to cover the following items:

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23.

Enclosed is \$ _____ as a contribution to your work.

I am interested in your organization: Please contact me.

Please add my name to your mailing list.

Name (please print) _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

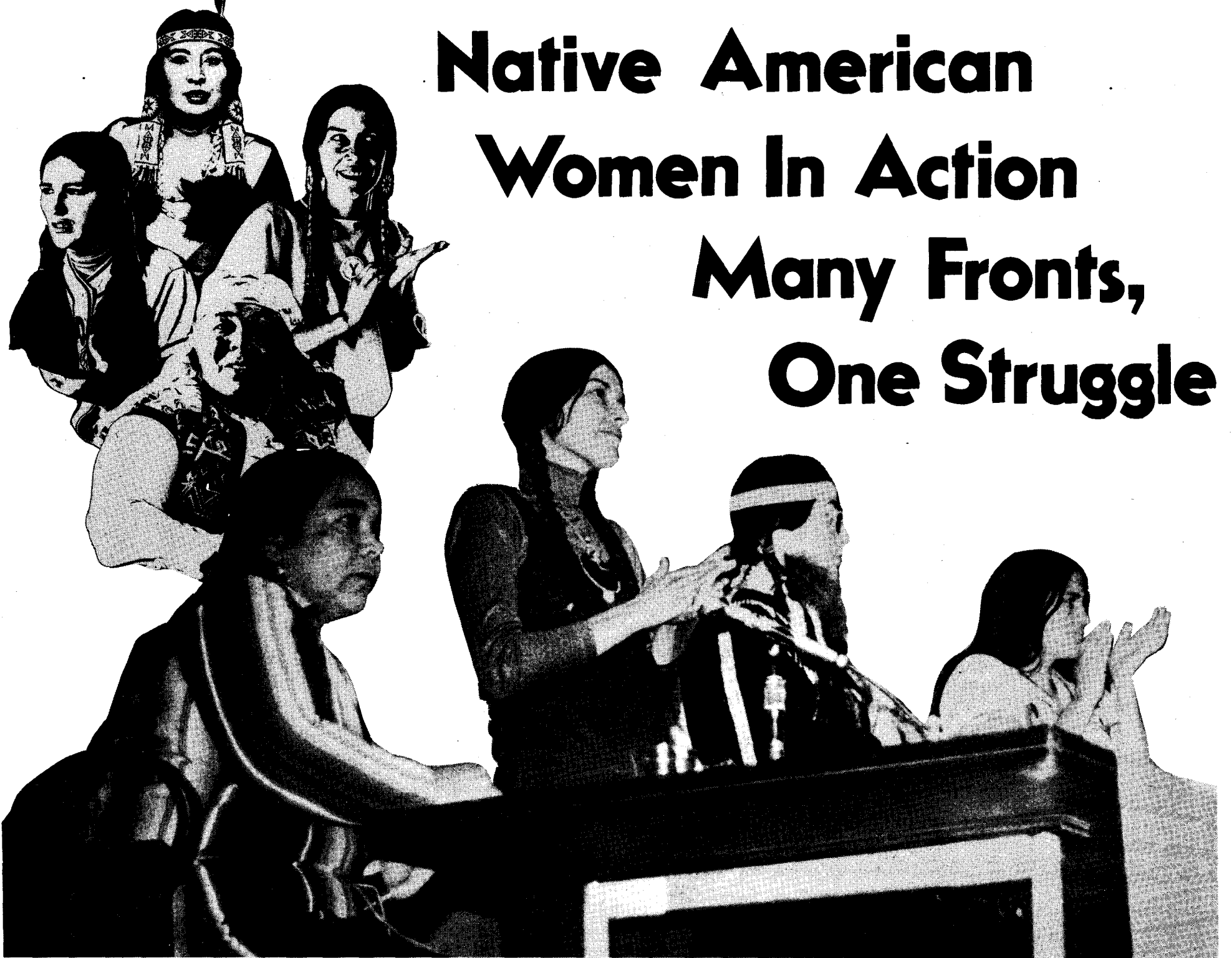
Zip _____

Phone(s) _____

Collector's Items: Original Posters

22. Native American Women's Forum (full color—vivid burgundy and rose) \$2.50
23. Radical Women Conference (full color—copper, gold and tangerine) \$3.00

Native American Women In Action Many Fronts, One Struggle



by Monica Hill

I don't want to come here just to entertain you. I'm not here to stimulate you. If it had been anybody else but the Radical Women group that asked me to speak, I wouldn't have come.

Does it do any good to open up our wounds and speak to you from our hearts, not only about our future, but your future? How many of you feel secure in your future? How many of you feel you have rights or a real choice in elections?

How many of you believe Chief Seattle, who warned, 'Nation follows nation, like waves upon the sea. Even your nation, now on top of the heap, will decay. And then in the future we may find out we may be sisters and brothers after all.'

We shall see.

The speaker is Janet McCloud of the Tulalip tribe, superb orator, incorruptible Indian rights leader, and eloquent tribune for her people.

Appearing on a large stage together with three other courageous Native American women activists—Yvonne Wanrow, Sally Fixico and Barbara Means—she is addressing a rapt audience of 400 who have come to the University of Washington HUB Auditorium on October 22 to attend a unique public forum on "Native American Women in Action: Many Fronts, One Struggle."

The historic forum has attracted Indians from Canada, Oregon and Eastern Washington, as well as Blacks, Chicanos, Asians and whites from Seattle, Tacoma, Everett and Olympia, Washington. Sponsored by U.W. Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, the forum graphically demonstrates the keen affinity and fervent sense of solidarity of radicals,

militants and humanitarians with the Indian cause.

When Janet McCloud says, "Whites are here by treaty, not by discovery, not by conquest. One can't build on stolen property!" the audience cheers, applauding the woman who radiates so much pride, dignity, bitterness and passion as she relates the terrible story of her aggrieved and tortured people.

McCloud, and the sisters on the platform like her, personally symbolize the enduring strength, intelligence and nobility of character that endow the struggle of Native Americans with its dynamic. Their discussion ranges widely and knowledgeably over the many battlefields of the war for survival: fishing rights; legal defense; the police; health; housing and education; welfare officials; civil rights; jobs; the B.I.A.

And through it all runs the red thread of their encompassing love for children—all

children—and family, plus their commitment to recovering, preserving and bequeathing their singular native culture.

McCloud and the Fishing-Rights Struggle

Janet McCloud, mother of eight, grandmother of seven, and frequent leader of thousands, is suffused with compassion and anger. She has spent her life resisting racism, capitalism, sexist courts and customs, cultural annihilation, poverty, broken treaties, and the harassment and murder of family members, friends and co-fighters.

She was instrumental in focusing public attention on Indian fishing rights. She interested both Dick Gregory, the Black comedian and social activist, and Jane Fonda, the actress, in the fishing struggle, and they came to Washington frequently to help her. She has organized innumerable civil rights and welfare demonstrations and is currently in the forefront of the Native American Rights Fund movement to uphold the landmark Boldt decision on Indian fishing in Washington State.

But McCloud takes care not to over-emphasize the significance of this legal decision.

"The salmon run was once thick enough for people to walk across the stream on the backs of the fish," she says. "And now it is devastated. When fish first became non-perishable through the freezing process in the early 1900's, commercial fishing companies broke treaties with impunity—treaties that permitted white citizens to fish only for

survival needs, not companies and governments to plunder for profit. Now there is not enough fish left for Indians to make a living.

"A racist system deprives us of schooling, job training and jobs, and we face the loss of the one source of livelihood remaining to us. But the Boldt decision, even if it were enforced, and it is not, does not protect Indian rights to scientifically replenish the fish stock. All the decision does is preserve our rights to fifty per cent of nothing, which is nothing."

Indians first demonstrated against wholesale decimation of the salmon run by big business in 1915, McCloud informs her listeners. "Many fought, many died. If it weren't for our ancestors' struggles, we wouldn't have any of the rights we have today."

McCloud's closing remarks engendered a standing ovation. "I don't want to waste a minute of my life. I want to live it to its fullest extent, despite all the negative things. For I can still feel joy in my heart when I see my grandchildren take their first steps or say their first word. Indian people's inherent love of freedom and life is so strong it stands under the worst threats. But life is threatened. It is time to fight and win together—now!"

Yvonne Wanrow: Murder Conviction

Anyone who resists the system, including its stifling and sexist legal mores, will be persecuted. Yvonne Wanrow is a Native American mother of three who faces prison for killing a convicted child molester who threatened

her young son, and she vividly recounts the plight of a fighting woman, as it happened to her.

She prefaces her speech with an Indian prayer for the unity of all races. "Come together like beadwork, for I am not the only mother suffering from the threat of being separated from my children."

Condemning the racist courts, Wanrow tells how a 7-year-old victim of the child molester was not allowed to testify at her trial, although a 3-year-old child was permitted to testify in another case of rape of a white child. "I believe children have some rights," she says. "My children believe they have rights. And that includes the right to testify in their own defense."

Sentenced to 25 years in prison, Wanrow's conviction was later overturned by the Spokane, Wa. Court of Appeals, which ruled that a secret tape recording of her initial report to the police was inadmissible evidence. The state prosecutor appealed the reversal and Wanrow now awaits a State Supreme Court decision.

"Any minute now those nine men seated on the Supreme Court will decide whether or not I serve the 25-year jail term. But I'm not going to let them scare me," she says quietly but fiercely. "I can't."

This compelling woman sees her legal fight as closely linked to the striving of every Native American for independence. She believes that nothing less than her abiding right to Indian culture, heritage, and land is at stake.

She relates a story of going camping with her children on land given to her by her mother. Two white men threatened her and actually drove her off the land. "It's one thing to feel misjudged and misplaced, pushed around, disgraced and disrespected in one's own country. It's another thing to have it happen to you on the land of your grandfather, right where you were born and raised," she says.

Composed, deliberate and tired when she begins, Wanrow quickly develops audience rapport and engages the sympathy of her hearers. At the close of her presentation, she is excited by the interest and warm response, and she sparkles.

Wounded Knee: The Horror of a Government Massacre

The violence of the two white males violating Yvonne Wanrow's land is a microcosm of the outrage perpetrated on Barbara Mean's Pine Ridge, South Dakota reservation at Wounded Knee.

In 1890, the U.S. Army massacred 350 unarmed Native Americans there. In 1973, the government again moved on Wounded Knee. "This time," says Means, "with 16 armored personnel carriers, 6 helicopters, 2 Phantom jets,

120 sniper rifles, 20 grenade launchers, 400,000 rounds of ammunition and hundreds of U.S. Marshals and FBI agents."

Thirty-five people died at Wounded Knee that time. "But only the Indians who took up arms in self-defense are being forced to defend themselves in court," says Means. "The FBI agents and marshals got off scot free."

Janet McCloud later challenges the audience about the retaliatory murders, harassment and prison sentences proliferating at Pine Ridge. "How many of you know about Gladys Bissenette's 14-year-old daughter who was raped, sexually tortured and murdered in Pine Ridge? How many of you know, how many of you care?"

Barbara Means, a University of Washington graduate student and researcher in Indian history, stresses the need for appropriate education relevant to Indian life and talks about recent research project data illuminating the unusual learning capacity of Indian children. Means hopes to become an historian of her people's deeds and culture.

Education for Indians: Out of Sight

Sally Fixico's battle to increase Native American enrollment at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington is part and parcel of the uphill struggle of all minority students systematically denied education and vocational training.

After being promised funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, twenty Native American students were forced to leave the Evergreen campus because the BIA reneged on them, just as it has on 20,000 Indian students throughout the U.S.

"They let in just enough of us to fill their quotas, then they deprive us of the funds and faculty we need to finish," Fixico says.

Indian students recommend teachers to be hired and the Evergreen administration "loses" their resumes. Athletes and wealthy Vietnamese refugees receive tuition waivers, but the Indians who once owned *the very land that Evergreen rests on* get nothing. "I've been at Evergreen five years! It's taking me so long because I'm fighting," says Fixico, radiating pride and defiance.

Evergreen State College, ironically, is touted as a mecca for liberals. Unstructured and "progressive," it is rated as terribly avant garde. Fighting Fixico, a mother of two, doesn't think the college is so hot. In addition to her activity with the Native American Student Organization and the Third World Coalition on campus, she works with the tribal and public school systems, and the Olympia Indian Center.

Paraphrasing Chief Sitting Bull, she

explains the importance of joining forces with other oppressed groups. "It's like the fingers of your hand; if you fight with one at a time, they'll cut you down. If you meet them with one mighty fist, they can't beat you. This fist is all of us—women, Indians, Blacks, sexual minorities, Chicanos, Asian Americans—all of us!"

Fixico, like so many Indian children, spent much of her childhood in a B.I.A. school and she pays tribute to women like Janet and Edith McCloud and Maiselle Bridges who resurrected the Native American heritage for her. "Women like Janet, my main teacher, kept going on. They didn't stop, because it is not a stopping thing," she says.

Both Separate and Together

All the speakers exude a strong sense of nationhood, of dedication to their unique national culture.

"The American system is forcing us to preserve our culture in museums. I don't want my culture in a museum," says Barbara Means flatly. "I want to live it, and I want to die in it—as an Oglala Sioux."

To Janet McCloud, the boundary lines are very clear. "We are a sovereign nation, with our own ways. I cannot see any cavalry charging to protect us. And I wouldn't call the FBI on my worst enemy!"

These women are different than non-Indian women. Yet they seem to feel a sisterhood with all other concerned women. Yvonne Wanrow mourns her people who are being beaten, shot, tortured and killed. "When is it going to end?" she pleads. "When are people going to wake up and do something to help us? When are they going to be together? If I have to go to prison, I would like to think that there are people who are continuing the struggle for Native Americans, for all of us women, for our children."

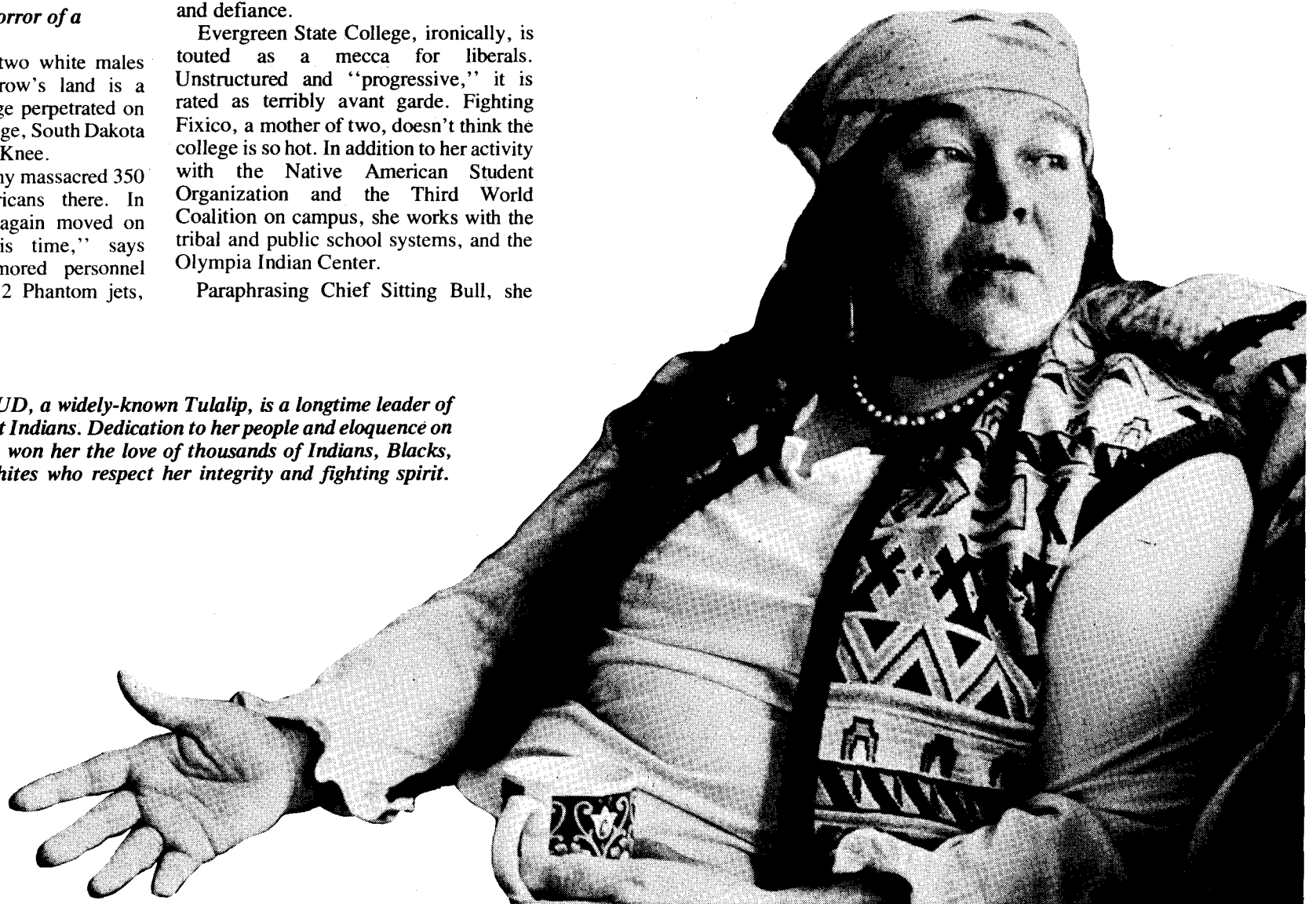
continued on next page



Top: MADLYNE SCOTT was an effective chairperson of the forum, freely and warmly expressing admiration for the panel members—her "sisters in struggle."

Above: The animated people in this photo are enjoying a Freeway Hall reception for the four guest speakers.

JANET McCLOUD, a widely-known Tulalip, is a longtime leader of Pacific Northwest Indians. Dedication to her people and eloquence on their behalf have won her the love of thousands of Indians, Blacks, Chicanos and whites who respect her integrity and fighting spirit.



...Puyallups Evict State

continued from page 5

The Undersecretary of the Department of the Interior, R. Dennis Ickes, who smiled diplomatically at the news cameras as he was greeted by the drummers at the front door of the facility, took over the negotiations. He pledged to "take appropriate action for the return of the property" to be held in trust by the U.S. government for the Puyallup Tribe. "Appropriate action," however, actually meant action according to the wishes of the State of Washington. Since the feds had already taken the "action" of stealing the land from the Tribe, and a federal restraining order was hanging over their heads, the Puyallups had little reason to trust the federal government to act in their interests.

Negotiations seemed to drag on endlessly. Minutes before a court-ordered deadline, as everyone was gearing up for marshals to come busting in, news would fly through the buildings that a postponement had been granted. People would sigh with relief and go back to work, while reporters rushed off with their hot stories.

Finally, on Saturday, minutes before the final deadline, agreement was reached.

The terms essentially provided that in return for the Puyallups and their supporters leaving the premises, one small building and a parcel of land would immediately revert to U.S. government ownership for tribal use. In addition, the Secretary of the Department of the Interior would review the claim of the State to the facility and, depending on its determination, would "take immediate and appropriate action . . . for the return of the (total) property to the trusteeship of the United States for (the) Tribe."

A Qualified Victory

Did the insurgent Indians win this battle? Yes. The outcome was not an unqualified victory, for the Puyallups were forced to leave the premises without a deed to the total property in their hands. But they held (1) a deed for a portion of the facility, and (2) a written assurance that the disputed ownership question would be speedily resolved.

The federal government, of course, is not to be trusted, but the Puyallups raised their struggle with the intertwined government bureaucracies to a new level. They demonstrated a resounding refusal to accept legalistic brushoffs and decisively

proved that if they could not *get* action, they would *take* action. And the feds know that if total victory doesn't follow from this skirmish, the Puyallup wars will erupt again.

Skillful public relations and negotiating tactics by the Indians avoided reprisals and injuries, and maintained intact all the occupying personnel. The Indians lost nothing and gained much.

After the agreement was signed, Ramona Bennett addressed her troops.

"Six to eight acres of this land will be broken away and given to us with no reservations. This will provide land for our schools. The next time we come here, we'll have the title in our hands and won't have to worry about any goddamn marshals blowing up our building.

"The Puyallup Tribe thanks all of you who have been here with us. We know this kind of courage comes from a real understanding of the link between all our needs. We offer you our deepest thanks and appreciation."

A mighty cheer rose from all the people assembled there at Cascadia, and then the low drumbeat began. Everyone moved slowly in a circle around the drummers, voices mingled in the familiar A.I.M.

anthem, fists raised in proud victory.

The siege was over.

The saga of the Puyallup invasion of Cascadia has already carved a niche in the annals of revolutionary heroism by the oppressed and outcast. The birth of Chief Leschi Indian Medical Building is an inspiration to all warriors of social justice.

It was thrilling and illuminating for me to be there. As a revolutionary socialist, a Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist, I felt that I had been swept up in a dress rehearsal for revolution, a preview of the coming main event in this country when the capitalist liars and plunderers will finally be overcome and a socialist democracy established in the spirit and tradition of the great Indian nations.

For socialism, after all, is nothing more or less than the "revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient matriarchal clans." Lewis H. Morgan, the great American anthropologist and student of Indian society, wrote this in 1877, and I have just learned this lesson through living with the Puyallups for one incredible week almost one hundred years later.

Yes, the siege is over. But make no mistake—the war goes on.

Sally Fixico

...Native American Women

continued from preceding page

Generous Audience Response

When the thunderous applause at the conclusion of the speakers panel subsides, a brief discussion from the floor ensues.

Constance Scott, President of Radical Women, refers to the deep-seated racism and sexism in America. "Radical Women's program states that only if there is recognition and mutual support among all oppressed people, especially minority women, can we truly come together with the mighty fist that Sally Fixico spoke about," she says.

The organizer of the FSP, Gloria Martin, takes the floor to salute the personal strength, courage and warmth of the panelists. She urges the audience to dig deeply into their pockets for money to support Indian struggles, and well over \$300 is speedily collected and distributed to the speakers.

After interesting remarks by a few more participants, the exciting meeting is over. Its high quality is no small tribute to the skill and impact of the chairperson, Madlyne Scott, a Black woman veteran of the civil rights, anti-war and radical movements (she started in her early teens!). Scott precedes each speaker with a carefully prepared introduction, and her chairing is laced with cordiality and wit. The mutual respect and empathy between Scott and the panelists contribute significantly to the ambience of the forum.

The crowd now browses among the many literature tables set up in the auditorium by supportive groups, including the Organization of Arab Students, the University's Minority Affairs Commission and Ethnic Cultural Center, YWCA, ERA Coalition, United Farmworkers, Native American Solidarity

Committee, the sponsoring organizations and others.

A post-forum reception for the four women speakers follows at nearby Freeway Hall, crowded far into the night with politically-minded people conducting intense discussions with the guests of honor.

The clarion call for action raised by the panelists during the forum has energized everybody, and now, fortified by well-prepared food and drink, the people are communicating to the guests and to each other their common determination to heed the call for active support of the Native American's vital and enduring crusade for sovereignty.

•••••

The summons is not long in coming.

Only 24 hours later, the Puyallup Tribe in neighboring Tacoma favors us with a midnight phone call announcing their takeover of Cascadia. "We need your help," they say.

And they got it, unstinted help, help for which the groundwork was paved by an inspiring group of Indian women of action who brilliantly motivated us to join their many embattled fronts.

All power to the Native American Nation and their beautiful women's vanguard!

Monica Hill was the leader of the first staff strike in history at the University of Washington, in 1973. As a Marxist citizen of the world, she has travelled to Europe, Asia, and Africa and is at home in many cultures.

FORUM DANCER

Gerrid Weaskus, a seven-year-old Nez Perce Indian, performs a War Dance to the accompaniment of Sioux music.

The youth, carrying on the culture of his people, was enthusiastically received by the audience at the Native American Women's Forum at the University of Washington.