Cyd-Safiad (Standing Together): The Politics of Alliance of Welsh and American Indian Rights' Movements, 1960s-Present

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Growing up, my mother instilled in me the importance of writing thank-you notes. At least twice a year, I would bring out my special writing paper, trace nice, neat pencil lines on the page, and begin composing letters to relatives who had sent me gifts. Countless drafts later, I still wouldn't be happy with what I'd written. It always sounded stilted, and I just couldn't find the right words to convey my thanks. In this regard, I haven't changed much. These acknowledgments were one of the hardest parts of the dissertation to write, as I struggled to adequately express just how thankful I am to everyone who helped me in this process. Like the activists and movements I study, my work has been shaped by interactions and conversations with many people, and I am incredibly grateful to all of you. This project would not have been possible without your support.

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As a novice interviewer, the most nerve-wracking part of the dissertation process involved contacting prolific Welsh and American Indian activists and asking them to take

the time to talk to me about their experiences. I needn't have worried. The activists I interviewed were all unbelievably kind and patient in sharing their stories and their time with me, and I learned so much from our conversations. This dissertation benefited not only from their recollections and encouragement, but also from the questions they asked me, particularly concerning my intent in taking on this project. Thanks to Mark Banks, Pat Bellanger, Clyde Bellecourt, Lord Dafydd Elis-Thomas, Gethin ap Gruffydd, Sian Ifan, Dafydd Iwan, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, Brig Oubridge, Joan Phillips, Chris Spotted Eagle, Baron Dafydd Wigley, Dafydd Williams, and Laura Waterman Wittstock. I am also grateful to Huw Lewis, Assembly Minister for Merthyr Tydfil, for writing an official letter of recommendation so that I could obtain IRB approval for international interviews. In addition, my thanks to the wonderful archivists at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the National Library of Wales, who retrieved countless boxes of material from their incredible collections.

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Dedication

To my family – diolch o galon.

Abstract

Cyd-Safiad (Standing Together): The Politics of Alliance of Welsh and American Indian Rights' Movements, 1960s-Present brings into dialogue two seemingly distinct minority nationalist movements of the late 20th century, the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Welsh nationalists. It explores how they formed mutually beneficial transnational political alliances and networks of cooperation with each other and related groups worldwide, from Australian Aborigines to Irish Republicans. In doing so, this interdisciplinary project traces the exchange of ideology and strategy between minority nationalist groups in a time of increasing globalization and how it helped activists conceptualize their own struggle as they engaged with discourses of sovereignty, independence, and human rights. During this period, worldwide concern arose about a possible decline in nation-states, caused by a global resurgence of minority nationalisms, alongside the emergence of supranational bodies such as the United Nations and European Union. Amidst this, many of these nationalist movements engaged in a 'politics of alliance,' communicating and cooperating to raise awareness and visibility of each other's causes and provide political, and sometimes financial, support. The dissertation examines the significance of these transnational political alliances, focusing on AIM and Welsh nationalists as case studies, particularly AIM's tour of Wales in 1986 to protest the US government's actions in an important land dispute concerning the Hopi-Navajo reservation at Big Mountain, Arizona. I examine what concepts such as indigenous, sovereignty, and nationhood meant to each group, how they envisioned them, and how their conception of these ideas shaped their interactions with each other.

Using interviews with movement activists, as well as extensive archival research, I argue that these networks of cooperation were significant for providing mutual support and for tangibly shaping the visions and practical tactics of these minority nationalist campaigns. This project therefore demonstrates the powerful role these global political support networks played in advancing the movements and inspiring the groups involved to continue their struggle.

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Prologue: Location, location, location

– "The only voice I represent is my own and this is where I place myself."[1]

In the summer of 2010, armed with my notebook, digital recorder, and IRB consent forms, I began a new stage of research for this project: interviews with AIM and Welsh activists. I remember being incredibly nervous and excited, but also naively confident that I was prepared for these conversations. I had read books about best practices, talked to friends who had also interviewed activists for their dissertations, and carefully considered what questions I wanted to ask. Then on a sticky July day, I sat around a kitchen table with Houma Indian Chris Spotted Eagle for my first AIM interview. He graciously answered my questions and told me wonderful and amazing stories about his travels to Europe. At the end of the interview though, he politely challenged me about my intent for this project. "I don't mean to say this unkindly," he began, "but this is an academic thing with you primarily?...what you find out, how can it add to the progression of making the public aware of Indian peoples' concerns?" Looking again at the consent form, he noted, "The way this reads is that it's internal. It's not going to get out and raise consciousness."[2] His questions surprised me and I struggled to answer them. At that point, at what was still a very early stage of the project, my quest had simply been to uncover a past and write a dissertation about it. I hadn't really considered how it could be usable to the communities involved.

As I've continued on this research journey, I've frequently reflected on the questions Chris Spotted Eagle posed about the purpose of this project and how it could

[1] Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett, "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research," in *Research As Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, ed. Leslie Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005), 99.
[2] Chris Spotted Eagle, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis MN, July 15, 2010.

contribute to the work of American Indian and Welsh activists. As I read works on indigenous methodologies, however, I realized that in order to answer his questions I had to start by considering my own positionality. As several Indigenous scholars have advocated, setting out "our own research story" is an integral part of doing research and it is "bound with community relevancy."[3] It is not only a matter of trust, of being honest about how I am connected to the story I relate here and stating outright what my intent is in sharing the knowledge contained in this dissertation. It also honors the collective aspect of Indigenous methodologies, wherein researchers have a responsibility and an accountability to the communities they study. As a woman born and raised in the former industrial town of Merthyr Tydfil in the South Wales valleys, I bring a particular set of experiences and perspectives to the narratives I tell and the work I do as a historian. I do not claim to represent the people who share my experiences or those whose histories are explored here. I speak only for myself in this work. However, as Indigenous scholars Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett have argued, "who I am mitigates what I say. I might make any number of seemingly radical statements and the reason I might say any one of those things is based in part on my personal experience."[4] My experiences have shaped how I think, the research questions I asked, how I approached this dissertation, and my purpose in writing it. Consequently, as First Nations scholar Raven Sinclair has argued, self-location is a "critical starting point."[5]

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[3] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 120, 115. For other scholarship that sets out the importance of self-locating to indigenous methodologies, see Absolon and Willett, "Putting Ourselves Forward," and R. Sinclair, "Indigenous research in social work: The challenge of operationalizing worldview," *Native Social Work Journal* 5.
[4] Absolon and Willett, 105-6.
[5] Sinclair, "Indigenous research in social work," 122, quoted in Absolon and Willett, 106.

It is no accident that I wrote a dissertation in which Welsh history plays an important role. Growing up in Wales, history seemed very much alive to me, almost inescapable in its connection to the local landscape. My town's football club plays on a pitch that is built on the remains of a Roman fort from earlier attempts at conquest, and Roman baths, roads, and an amphitheater are less than an hour's drive away. Castles built by Norman kings to subdue the Welsh dot the hillsides, forming the key feature of the local golf course. Ruins of later English efforts at economic exploitation are also a key part of the geography of my hometown, including the remains of huge furnaces where ironworkers toiled and the tiny cottages in which they lived. One of the town's high schools is even situated in a large folly castle an English ironmaster built as his home. Also, some of the sloping hillsides are actually coal tips or slag heaps, the waste from nineteenth- and twentieth-century coal mining and iron ore extraction. Two miles down the road from my village stand the rows of white gravestones in Aberfan cemetery, marking the graves of the children and adults who died in 1966 when one of those tips collapsed on the village school. The story of Welsh colonization is written on the landscape of my community, and the physical space of my hometown is its own testament to the survival of Welsh people in the face of these attempts at conquest and exploitation.

My heritage, and the use of the Welsh language within my family, is another important factor in understanding my perspective. My Nain (grandmother) was a fluent Welsh speaker whose family came from North Wales, an area where Welsh is still the first language, unlike in the south. She didn't pass on her language to my sister and me though. Instead, when we were growing up, my father and Nain were able to speak in

Welsh whenever they wanted to have a private conversation around us. I only recently acquired a decent conversational knowledge of yr hen iaith (the old language) through an intensive summer course, but my efforts to do so delighted my Nain. I have been shaped by her North Walian heritage, her views on the language, and what I understood to be her political sympathies for Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalist political party. In turn, the rest of my family's, and my own, identity as working-class South Walian has also influenced my perspective, especially growing up in an area that has a strong tradition of radical working-class politics and protest. Whether from North or South Wales, however, my family members have, overwhelmingly, identified primarily as *Welsh*. Their views on whether Wales should enjoy political autonomy have differed, but their understandings of Wales as a distinct entity from England have not. For my part, I believe that Wales has a right to self-determination.

Finally, another important part of the puzzle is my intellectual biography, particularly my college education. The professors of my British history classes often treated Wales as part of England, and consequently subsumed Welsh history under the umbrella of England. Their approach mirrored the infamous 19th century *Encyclopedia Britannica* entry that simply stated, "For Wales, see England." As a result, I pursued Welsh history on my own, writing papers for classes in order to put Wales back on the historical map. Through my discussions with my History and Literature tutor, Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks, I became interested in the comparative colonial experiences of American Indian and Welsh peoples. This culminated in my undergraduate thesis, which examined how colonizers of both internal colonies attempted to domesticate native women by teaching them domesticity and English as a means of colonization. This

dissertation therefore represents the latest step in my larger intellectual project of "researching back," to borrow Linda Tuhiwai Smith's term.[6]

Indigenous research frameworks maintain that this personal story and these objectives have to be tied to "community relevancy" and the benefit the work can have for the communities involved. Within indigenous methodology, purposeful research is "inseparable from the value of giving back."[7] Certainly I hope to draw attention to these Welsh and American Indian activists and the work they did for their own movements and for each other. I want to raise awareness of the successes and problems of these relationships, and how they not only shaped American Indian and Welsh activism, but also the larger British, American, and global political landscapes. But what will this achieve practically? How can this contribute to Wales and American Indian nations?

I have no pretensions that this project will change the daily lives of Welsh and American Indian peoples or the various struggles they face. However, in her preface to the book *Alliances*, Michi Saagiik Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson suggested that exploring alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is critically important given their significance to struggles for self-determination. She related that her elders had maintained that "creating good relations takes commitment, patience, and perseverance" and these scholarly works were an important part of that project:

> It is part of our collective responsibility to consider how we interact with our allies, how we build movements of solidarity, and how we maintain strong alliances and coalitions that are impermeable to colonialism's mantra of divide and conquer. It is our collective responsibility to share and consider each other's stories, and in doing so, to pick up our perspective ends of the

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[6] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 7.
[7] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodology*, 114-115. See also Absolon and Willett, 107.

> Friendship Wampum and forge a new journey based on peace, justice, respect, and righteousness.[8]

By sharing the stories of these Welsh and American Indian activists, how they built their networks of cooperation, and how they maintained them or not, this dissertation is a contribution to this collective responsibility to forge and sustain good relationships. It explores how these alliances and coalitions have supported and bolstered the campaigns of the respective movements. It also illustrates the important practical lessons activists have learned about tactics, sustaining the relationships, and the inspiration other movements can provide to carry on the struggle. In writing this dissertation, I therefore hope to add to this important project of strengthening these movements for self-determination through exploring the global alliances they forged and sharing the insights their activists drew from these relationships.

[8] Leanne Simpson, "First Words," in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed. Lynne Davis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), xiv.

Map 1. Map of Wales, showing major towns and cities featured in this dissertation.[9]

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[9] Map produced by author. Outline reproduced from "Wales outline map with UK," Wikipedia, accessed April 11, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Wales_outline_map_with_UK.png.

Introduction – "A Sense of Global Belonging": The American Indian Movement, Welsh Nationalists, and Their Networks of Cooperation

In June 1986, a motion came before the British government in the House of Commons in London.[1] Supported primarily by MPs from the Welsh nationalist political party, Plaid Cymru, it stated:

> This House condemns the proposal to relocate forcibly more than 10,000 Navajo and Hopi people from their ancestral homelands at Big Mountain, Arizona…recognizes the need for international support to avoid the repetition of the Wounded Knee massacre; calls upon the Government of the United States of America to rescind the 7th July relocation deadline…and calls upon Her Majesty's Government to bring pressure upon the United States of America, in order to dissuade it from the continuing campaign of state harassment of these people.[2]

The motion was one result of months of international effort on the part of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and its allies in Britain, particularly the Welsh nationalist groups Ty Cenedl and Plaid Cymru, to raise awareness of the Big Mountain Campaign. The campaign aimed to rouse international condemnation of the US Government in order to prevent its imminent relocation of Hopi and Navajo people from their homelands in Big Mountain, Arizona. The situation resulted from a dispute over who owned the land rights to the area of the reservation in which coal was discovered in 1950, known as Big Mountain, and therefore with whom the corporation Peabody Coal should be negotiating for mining rights. Congress eventually passed Public Law 93-531, which gave the people of both tribal nations who lived in the area a removal deadline of July 7, 1986. As the

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[1] This was an Early Day Motion. These types of proposals are used to attract interest in a particular issue and often circulate among sympathetic Members of Parliament with the hope that enough signatures will bring the matter to a debate in the House of Commons. However, it is rarely actually debated due to procedure. Mary Morgan, Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom, to Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 8 May 1991, Box B1, Folder 20, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

[2] Early Day Motion 976, Box CXII, Folder 6, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

date loomed, national newspapers in Britain ran articles detailing the crisis, while Mark Banks, brother of AIM leader Dennis Banks, toured England and Wales to lecture about the issue.[3] Moved by the stories they read and heard, British constituents sent passionate letters criticizing the impending removal to President Ronald Reagan, US Congressmen, and their own Members of Parliament, who in turn wrote to the Foreign Office and US Ambassador Charles Price concerning the campaign. They also demonstrated outside the US Embassy in London and the Welsh Office in Cardiff, carrying placards that expressed their solidarity with indigenous peoples half a world away.[4]

Figure 1. AIM Cymru (Wales) rally outside the Welsh Office, Cardiff, Wales, July 1986.[5]

People across Europe and the rest of the world reacted with similar fervor. Demonstrations and vigils were organized outside US Embassies in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany, along with rallies in Italy, France, Luxembourg, and Spain. Activists also coordinated a variety

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[3] Reginald Dale, "Navajos Muster for a Last Stand on Land," *Financial Times* (London, England), June 27, 1986, 4, Section 1.

[4] Big Mountain Solidarity Campaign materials, Box CXII, Folder 2, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

[5] AIM Cymru rally, photograph, courtesy of Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales. The image of an American Indian warrior is flanked by two dragons, the national symbol of Wales.

of other events in support of the Hopi and Navajo people, including benefit concerts in Austria, the broadcast of excerpts from the Big Mountain Campaign documentary "Broken Rainbow" on French national television, and a Norwegian Parliamentary discussion of the impending removal.[6] The European Parliament even added the relocation to its list of human rights concerns and passed a resolution urging the US to repeal PL 93-531.[7] In Australia, the Aboriginal Northern Land Council passed a similar declaration, while support groups in Japan arranged slideshow presentations.[8] The efforts themselves provoked mixed political reactions, as some European politicians heartily supported the protests, but others maintained they did "not approve of interfering in the internal affairs of another country." Ultimately though, the removal was averted.[9] This campaign symbolized an important component of AIM's activism: transnational networks of cooperation with activists worldwide.[10] Not only were these connections integral to the Movement's campaigns and those in which they were involved, but they also proved useful for other indigenous activists. Through these networks and contacts, indigenous peoples could mobilize Europeans to stand in solidarity with them, to hold demonstrations, raise money, write petitions, and rally politicians.

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[6] *Big Mountain Support Group International Newsletter*, #11, October 1986, Box CXII, Folder 6, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[7] *Big Mountain Support Group Newsletter*, #9, July 1986, , Box 7, Folder 15, Sacred Lands Project Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[8] *Big Mountain Support Group International Newsletter*, #11, October 1986, Box CXII, Folder 6, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[9] Letter from Mr. Ian Gow, T.D., M.P., to Miss Susan Fiddess, Eastbourne, 23rd July 1986, in author's possession (emphasis in original).
[10] In this dissertation, I consider AIM activism broadly to include actions taking by AIM members as part of the Movement's campaigns, in addition to the work of legal defense/ offense committees and support groups for those activists imprisoned as part of these campaigns. This incorporates the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee, the Dennis Banks Support Group, and the Leonard Peltier Support Group.

The story of the networks AIM forged with Welsh nationalists, and Europeans more generally, does not begin with the Big Mountain Campaign in 1986 though. The roots of the relationships and the spirit of solidarity they inspired lay in two events that occurred decades earlier. In February 1973, members of the American Indian Movement grabbed national and international headlines as they occupied the town of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota for 71 days. Drawing on the public recognition of the town as the site of the 1890 massacre and the 'end of the Indian Wars,' AIM claimed the sovereignty of the Independent Oglala Nation, demanded an investigation into the violation of treaties between the United States and Indian nations, and called for new elections for the tribal government of the Oglala nation. Eight years earlier, the Welsh-speaking village of Capel Celyn in the Tryweryn valley of North Wales was finally flooded to provide water for the English city of Liverpool, after ten years of protests ranging from peaceful marches to bombing the dam itself. The drowning caused local and national upset. Distraught villagers were forced to leave the homes and community in which they and their children had grown up and where some of their families had lived for generations. Welsh people more generally were outraged at what they saw as the bullying actions of a large English city to take a small Welsh village for their own gain and the complete lack of political recourse for Wales to prevent it from happening.

At first glance, these stories and places seem unrelated. What did a tiny Welsh-speaking village in North Wales have in common with the well-known site of a massacre or disputed reservation lands four thousand miles away? What could the flooding of that village have to do with the famous occupation of a Pine Ridge Indian reservation town

eight years later, and how did either of these relate to the transnational and international protests surrounding the removal of Hopi and Navajo peoples from their homelands over ten years after that?

Both Tryweryn and Wounded Knee function as integral events in the stories of Welsh nationalism and American Indian activism. They are episodes that shaped the movements involved and inspired a new generation of activists in these nations to fight for their land, identity, and history as distinct peoples. In doing so, they also provided a crucial foundation for the relationships both Welsh and American Indian activists forged with each other and related groups worldwide in this period, which resulted in decades of communication and cooperation. The American Indian Movement and Welsh activists, for example, exchanged information about their struggles and efforts, built networks, and carried out political activities in support of each other's campaigns. These actions were themselves part of a much larger global web of connections between activists that culminated in the Big Mountain Campaign in 1986. Juxtaposing these events and exploring these two seemingly distinct minority nationalist movements of the late twentieth century raises interesting questions about the formation of these activist networks, how they shaped the movements involved, and their long-term consequences.

This dissertation offers compelling answers. I trace the exchange of ideology and strategy between these minority nationalist groups in a time of increasing globalization, and how it helped activists conceptualize their own struggle as they engaged with discourses of sovereignty, independence, and human rights. The political aftermath of World War II created tensions between the homogeneity implicit in the creation of supranational bodies such as the United Nations, with its idea of world citizenship, and

the global resurgence of minority and Third World nationalisms. As a result, worldwide concern arose about a possible decline in nation-states, many of which tried to paper over the cracks of their diverse populations by subsuming difference through multiculturalism. Amidst this, many of these nationalist movements engaged in a 'politics of alliance,' communicating and cooperating to raise awareness and visibility of each other's causes and provide political, and sometimes financial, support. As such, these networks of cooperation navigated the tensions between the local and the global in the post-war period. While respecting the differences that were essential to the movements' assertions of distinct peoplehood, the activists involved recognized the common threads in their struggles and realized that their relationships with other movements could be a powerful engine for change, through the exchange of knowledge and simply working together. In this dissertation, I examine the significance of these transnational political alliances, focusing on AIM and Welsh nationalists as case studies. I explore what concepts such as indigeneity, sovereignty, and nationhood meant to each group, how they envisioned them, and how the transnational movement of their ideas and visions shaped these activists and their campaigns in tangible ways. I therefore demonstrate the powerful role these global political support networks played in advancing the movements and inspiring the groups involved to continue their struggle.

In doing so, this dissertation brings together insights from and contributes to the scholarly conversations in several literatures usually kept separate. This includes scholarship on: minority nationalisms and ethnic power movements, particularly works that discuss Welsh and American Indian nationalism; transnational social movements; globalization and structures for international cooperation, including the United Nations

and European Union; studies of indigeneity and sovereignty; postcolonialism; and social movements more broadly, especially those which focus on the use of story or personal narrative.

Consequently, this dissertation is important in several ways. In particular, it presents the unique opportunity to examine the relationship between movements that seem distinct and that the historiography does not usually consider in conversation with each other: indigenous peoples and European minority nationalists. While local and domestic contexts are important, the connections that these movements formed with each other and related groups shaped their activism in various, tangible ways as they provided both practical and emotional encouragement. Through these relationships, they not only shared strategies for resistance and raised awareness of each other's struggles, but also began to imagine themselves as part of a larger global community. For the activists involved, their relationships with other movements worldwide were fundamentally important in inspiring them to continue with their campaigns, as they realized they were not alone in their struggle. Therefore, I assert that we cannot fully understand either American Indian activism or Welsh nationalism without exploring the global connections that are the focus of this dissertation.

A Shared History of Oppression

These networks of cooperation were built, in part, on a shared history of colonization and the continuing struggles of American Indian and Welsh peoples against the settler colonies of the United States and England. As Patrick Wolfe has argued, settler colonialism is a distinct form, predicated on "displacing…or *re*placing" native peoples on their lands, rather than focusing on the economic expropriation of native labor.

Colonizers also "come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event." Once they successfully conquered the land and established geopolitical hegemony, settler societies developed a "logic of elimination," a strategy for effacing the continued existence of indigenous peoples.[11] This included assimilationist methods that sought to supplant native cultures and languages with that of the colonizer. As part of this process, settlers also racialized indigenous peoples, marking them out as different, as Other. This not only worked to legitimate and naturalize settlers' dominance, but also to promote the need for 'civilizing' indigenous populations through assimilation.[12]

Wales

The process of settler colonialism created the geopolitical entity of Wales. The nation did not exist, even as a "geographical expression," until 'England' came into being in the sixth century.[13] Before this, several tribes, and later separate kingdoms or princedoms, populated the area now known as Wales. The Roman invasion began in 43AD, and while the Romans established settler colonies in the "lowland zone" of Britain, particularly southeastern England, they were forced to maintain a military territory in the "highland zone" of Wales. Rather than the cities and villas they built in the lowland zone, here the Romans constructed fortresses linked by roads that meant

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[11] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: the Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (New York: Cassell, 1999), 1, 2, 27. See also, Patrick Wolfe, "Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide," in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 102-132. For more on the various ways in which U.S. settler societies have attempted to efface colonial difference and the existence of Native nations, cultures, and languages, see, for example, Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), and Phillip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[12] See, for example, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

[13] Michael G. Jarrett, "Early Roman Campaigns in Wales," rev. Peter Webster, in *Birthday of the Eagle: The Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*, ed. Richard J. Brewer (Cardiff: National Museums and Galleries of Wales, 2002), 45. See also, Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?: A History of the Welsh* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), 2, 5.

legions were not more than a one day march apart.[14] There were too many intertribal disputes to mount a pan-tribal resistance effort, but the people who lived in Roman Wales still proved formidable. While population estimates for this period are notoriously little more than “educated guesswork,” scholars have continued to ponder why “such lavish expenditure of money and man-power was necessary in a land where the population could never have been great and trouble-makers could easily have been rounded up and deported.”[15] The Silures of South Wales, in particular, used guerilla tactics to great effect, their rage provoked by the fact that this was a fight for their survival. A Roman general had ordered that “the name of the Silures ought to be blotted out” and only the death of that general saved the tribe from “extinction.”[16] While the Romans believed that they would conquer the area quickly, over thirty years later 30,000 trained and armored troops were still required to ensure control over a fighting population that probably numbered less than 50,000.[17]

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[14] Sheppard Sunderland Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge & Kegel Paul, 1987; London: Folio Society, 1999), 4-5, 88. Citations refer to the Folio Society edition.

[15] Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, 3rd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 80. Several scholars have called population estimates for Roman Britain “educated guesswork.” See, for example, John Wacher, preface to *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 14. Lloyd Robert Laing has even called population figures for Wales especially in this period “almost impossible to compute.” *The Archaeology of Celtic Britain and Ireland, C. AD 400-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21.

[16] Tacitus, *Annales* 12.39, tr. http://classics.mit.edu/Tacitus/annals.8.xii.html; Peter Salway, *A History of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, 79, both quoted in Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (Harrisonburg, VA: R.R. Donnelley, 2007), 59.

[17] Geraint H. Jenkins, *Concise History of Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21-22. In the first edition of his book, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, Sheppard Sunderland Frere estimated that the population of Roman Wales was somewhere between 50,000-100,000, although he had decreased that number to 10,000-20,000 by the third edition. *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 310; Frere, *Britannia*, 3rd ed., 304. Another noted scholar of Roman Wales, Michael G. Jarrett, argued that those of fighting age in the Welsh tribes was about half of their actual population. “Early Roman Campaigns in Wales,” *Archaeological Journal* 12 (1965): 36.

Over the next thousand years, the people who lived in the area that came to be known as Wales faced waves of invasions, as people including the Norse, Angles, and Saxons came to settle in Britain. By 1063, with the Anglo-Saxon nation of England now firmly established, the kingdoms of Wales were effectively unified in a loose confederation under one Welsh ruler. However, his death and other internal disputes laid the country open to English attempts at conquest. These began in earnest in the late eleventh century, and, in response, pan-Welsh resistance and nationalist sentiments also solidified. In 1255, for example, the supporters of Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd declared that they would rather "be slain in war for their liberty than suffer themselves to be unrighteously trampled on by foreigners.'[18] Welsh military successes led to the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, in which the English Crown recognized the existence of the principality of Wales and Llywelyn's claim to the title of Prince of Wales, in return for his homage to the English king.[19]

Frustrated by repeated Welsh rebellions and their failure to defer to the English Crown, the new King Edward I effectively ended these Welsh Wars of Independence in 1282. The emissary he sent to negotiate peace believed that Welsh law was an "abomination to God." Unsurprisingly, Llywelyn informed him that he could not accept the terms and that the Welsh would never surrender to English control since they were "unwilling to do homage to any stranger with whose language, customs and laws they are unfamiliar."[20] In response, Edward took the country by force. Llywelyn was killed in battle, while his relatives who had a legitimate claim to the throne were kept in captivity

[18] Quoted in Jenkins, 74.
[19] Jenkins, 91.
[20] Quoted in Jenkins, 93.

for the rest of their lives. Later attempts at rebellion also failed, including the national uprising or Last War of Independence led by Owain Glyndwr from 1400-1412. With the military conquest over, English dominion was legalized in 1536 under the Act of Union. This gave Wales the right to elect members to the English Parliament, but also replaced its legal system with that of England.[21]

With the hegemony of England assured, the racialization and othering of the Welsh intensified. Like the Irish, the Welsh were "Celtic Calibans," their otherness marked by their supposedly "swarthy" skin color, savage and impulsive behavior, and barbaric domestic habits.[22] In early modern England, for example, the "trope of blackness" applied to a variety of people who "needed to be marked as 'other,'" including the Welsh.[23] The English antiquarian, John Twynne, even went so far as to suggest that the Welsh were "originally a swarthy folk; but those who settled in Britain became pale as a result of our climate, and they therefore took to painting themselves with woad."[24] According to Twynne, the Welsh now had to affect their lost darkness.

This othering continued into the late nineteenth century, as a new phase of cultural and economic exploitation took place from the Industrial Revolution onwards. As English entrepreneurs exploited Welsh natural resources, such as coal and slate, anthropologists and government officials marked the Welsh as physically lower than the English on the scale of civilization. In his influential 1885 work, *The Races of Britain*, for example, anthropologist John Beddoe placed Welsh people firmly at the bottom of his

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[21] Jenkins, 103.
[22] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 52-3.
[23] Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 6-7.
[24] Quoted in Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 124.

"Index of Nigrescence," given their purported dark coloring, short stature, broad noses, and prominent cheekbones and jaws. In South Wales particularly, he noted, "the maximum of swarthiness is reached." He also suspected "the existence of some Mongoloid race in the modern population of Wales," due to the supposedly oblique shape of their eyes.[25] To other scholars, these foreign traits also manifested themselves in the "impulsive and wayward" behavior of Welsh people.[26] Beddoe's conclusions were particularly influential, and were repeated not only in British scholarly works, but also in reports from the U.S. Congress on American immigrant populations. [27]

In conjunction with the physical defects of the Welsh, British officials were also concerned with the cultural and linguistic differences, and reformers tried to extinguish the Welsh language and cultural traditions through education. For example, in the notorious British Government inquiry into the state of education in Wales in 1847, officials launched a vitriolic tirade against the Welsh people, their culture, and their language. In their *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*, also known as "Brad y Llyfrau Gleision" [Treachery of the Blue Books], the inspectors argued: "The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifest barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to overestimate its evil effects."[28] By the late nineteenth century, schoolchildren in Wales

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[25] John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1885), 145, 9-10, 268, 9. For the portion of the "Index of Nigrescence" table that refers to Wales, see 184-186.
[26] John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest,* Vol. I (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), 15.
[27] United States Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 148-9. This *Dictionary* was also reprinted in *Uncle Sam's Fact Book of the World War* (New York: C.S. Hammond & Company, Inc., 1918), 192.
[28] Royal Commission on Education in Wales, *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales…in three parts* (London: HMSO, 1847), II 309. For more on these efforts, see Kate

were overwhelmingly taught in English and there were infamous punishments for speaking Welsh in school, including the Welsh Not. Teachers often hung this marker around the necks of children caught speaking their native language and it was transferred from one offender to another throughout the day. The teacher would then cane whichever child was wearing the Not at the end of the day.[29]

This period unsurprisingly also coincided with an upsurge in organized Welsh nationalism. In the 1880s, Welsh people in London formed the Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) organization, which later expanded to Welsh cities. They asserted that "the consciousness of national existence is deeper and stronger in the Welsh people to-day than it is among any of the other populations of the British Isles." While the movement outlined problems with an English capitalist class, church, and aristocracy in Wales who were "alien in blood, ignorant of his [a Welshman's] language, and hostile to his ideals and aspirations" and called for a measure of self-government for Wales, members did not offer any substantive tactics to attain that goal. In fact, they suggested that Wales "need not be in a hurry" to achieve Home Rule.[30] Other nationalist movements were established in the years afterwards, including the political party Plaid Cymru in 1925. However, they did not gain significant attention until debates escalated over the cultural and economic imperialism that still impacted Wales in the 1950s and 1960s, including ownership of

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Williams, "Domesticating Through Domesticity: Women and Language as 'The Perfect Instruments of Empire' in 19th Century Welsh and Native American Cultures" (BA thesis, Harvard University, 2005).

[29] O.M. Edwards, "The Village School," *Illuminations: an anthology of Welsh short prose*, trans. Meic Stephens (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 1998), 5. There is some debate among historians over the scale on which this punishment existed and whether it is actually an urban legend. However, there is evidence, such as Edwards' story, that it did happen to some children.

[30] A Celt, *Cymru Fydd, Gymru Rydd, or The National Movement in Wales* (Caernarfon: Welsh National Press Company, 1895), 2, 51.

Welsh natural resources, the removal of Welsh-speaking communities to build dams to provide water for England, and campaigns for a Welsh language television channel.

American Indians

Similarly, American Indians also experienced settler colonialism and, as in Wales, this process served as the catalyst for pan-tribal resistance efforts. The numerous tribal nations who populated America experienced waves of colonization following Columbus's voyage in 1492, as people from various European nations sailed across the Atlantic to "discover" the New World and established settlements.[31] While settlers claimed land through conquest and treaties, Indians fought back and resisted in myriad ways, including warfare and diplomacy. However, with the birth of the United States in 1776, Indians now faced not only a unified opponent, but also one that had clearly decided to settle in America permanently. This period, as Gregory Dowd has argued, also marked an expansion in Native calls for a pan-Indian alliance and some success in their fulfillment.[32] Advocates of Native unity faced challenges in the years after 1790, however, including internal divisions in tribal nations over the best course of action. While there were occasionally leaders or prophets who drew Indian peoples together, such as the Shawnee visionary Tecumseh, the War of 1812 effectively ended that period of pan-Indian resistance.[33]

By the 1830s, as the US aimed to consolidate its land base, the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny translated into the large-scale removal of Indian peoples to reservations

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[31] For a more detailed survey of American Indian history, see R. David Edmunds, Frederick E. Hoxie, and Neal Salisbury, *The People: A History of Native America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2007).
[32] Gregory Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: the North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xviii, 49.
[33] Dowd, 190.

west of the Mississippi. While the Cherokee nation famously used legal measures to oppose the measures, other tribal leaders and nations such as Black Hawk in Illinois and the Florida Seminoles physically resisted in the 1830s and 1840s. Ideas of American Indian unity inspired several of these attempts.[34] However, the US government reacted to further Indian resistance to their policy of concentration with military force and the use of total warfare, which often led to horrific massacres. For example, US forces killed hundreds of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado in 1864 and a similar number of Piegan Blackfeet at the Marias River in 1870.

By the late nineteenth century, as warfare between American Indians and the US Army declined, Americans declared the closing of the West and the 'end of the Indian Wars.' US policy turned towards assimilation through boarding school education, and with the end of treaty-making in the late 1860s, the government allowed white settlers to further encroach on Indian lands through allotment. As with the Welsh, American Indians now faced more concerted attempts at economic and cultural colonization. However, this in many ways led to a new era of pan-Indian resistance. As scholars such as Brenda Child have argued, boarding schools were an important part of creating a new pan-tribal identity, as in "the process of attending these schools, Indians became more alike. They learned bits of each other's languages, and everyone learned English. Graduates married into other tribes…New political alliances were forged."[35] It is hardly surprising, then, that many of the founding members of the national pan-Indian 'Society of American Indians,'

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[34] Dowd, 191.
[35] Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 4. See also K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), xiii.

formed in 1911, had ties to these schools.[36] While the Society problematically supported assimilationist policies and had ceased to exist by 1923, it laid the groundwork for other national pan-tribal movements. One of its members founded the National Council of American Indians in 1926, for example.[37] However, in the post-war period, national pan-Indian movements had more sustained success. Facing termination and other cultural and economic challenges, Indian peoples established the National Congress of the American Indian in 1944, and the 1960s saw the proliferation of pan-tribal Red Power movements, such as the National Indian Youth Council and the American Indian Movement.[38]

There were notable differences in these histories of Wales and American Indian nations, including the challenges facing them and the forms of resistance used. For example, while there were several tribes or kingdoms that made up Wales in the Roman and Anglo-Norman periods, the Welsh nation has existed as a single geopolitical entity for centuries. In contrast, there are hundreds of different American Indian nations, and they have been and continue to be recognized as distinct units with discrete languages and traditions. While there have been tensions in Welsh nationalist movements over regional concerns and representation, these groups have therefore not faced the same challenges in attempting to stand for the concerns of their peoples as the national pan-Indian movements. Also, the Welsh, while having been termed dark-skinned and savage at various points in history, have not had to contend with racial discrimination, such as

[36] Robert Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 6.
[37] Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*, 20.
[38] For more information on these national movements, see Thomas W. Cowger, *The National Congress of the American Indian: The Founding Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Daniel Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008); Bradley Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); and Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

exploitative scientific experiments to measure intellectual capacity in the nineteenth century or signs posted in bars or restaurants in the twentieth century that proclaimed "No Indians."[39] Likewise, while there were deliberate attempts and a definite intent on the part of the British government to eradicate Welsh language and culture, there was no systematic effort. The Welsh did not endure government boarding schools or allotment, for example, unlike American Indians.

Not only did the Welsh face different challenges, but they also did not have the same resistance tactics available to them. American Indian nations, for example, have often used the distinct legal status provided by their treaty rights to assert their sovereignty. In Wales, no such treaties ever existed. However, Wales has continued to exist as a political body. A referendum on Welsh devolution from the UK Parliament was defeated in 1979, despite a significant campaign by the Welsh nationalist political party, Plaid Cymru, to persuade people to vote 'yes.' In 1997, however, Wales voted for devolution. The Welsh Assembly, the devolved government of Wales, began operating in 1999. While initially Assembly Members had to seek permission from the British government to make laws on devolved issues, Welsh people voted for greater law-making powers in a 2011 referendum. With its authority to directly create legislation regarding certain issues, including agriculture, education, the environment, and health,

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[39] For more on scientific racism and American Indians, see David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). For photographic examples of signs promoting racial discrimination against Indians, see John Vachon, "Sign in a Beer Parlor Window," and Marion Post Wolcott, "People who came to Saturday night dance around the bar" in Library of Congress, "Photographs of Signs Enforcing Racial Discrimination: Documentation by Farm Security Administration-Office of Information Photographers," accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/list/085_disc.html.

the Assembly provided another avenue for Welsh resistance.[40] Also, the most violent aspects of colonization in Wales occurred almost a thousand years ago. As such, the Welsh generally do not have the same level of awareness or historical memory of these attempts at conquest as American Indian peoples, for whom the violence of Wounded Knee, for example, is only a generation or two past. Consequently, one of the greatest challenges Welsh nationalists have faced is the apathy of their own people, and they have struggled to reconcile their aims for Wales with the delicate political maneuvering necessary to gain widespread public support. The direct action tactics of some Welsh activists therefore provoked more general condemnation than those of AIM, even from other Welsh nationalists.

Despite these differences, there were many similarities in the histories of both peoples. They had resisted the settler colonialism of their lands, but once the respective nation-states of Britain and the United States had been established, they also faced the challenge of government policies of assimilation in the 19th century and economic exploitation in the 20th century. These government policies would shape the activism of American Indian and Welsh peoples as they fought against similar general problems: the loss of land; the 'vanishing' of their language and cultural traditions; and a state narrative of history that had a vested political interest in claiming that they did not exist as a distinct people anymore. AIM and Welsh nationalists, despite their differences, therefore shared an anti-colonial struggle that became reinvigorated in the 1950s and 1960s as they

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[40] "History of Devolved Government in Wales," Welsh Government website, accessed June 30, 2012, http://wales.gov.uk/about/history/devolved/?lang=en. However, the UK Parliament still retains control over such areas as taxation, defense, and foreign affairs.

sought to remind the world that they were still here and that the challenges they faced still existed.

During these histories, American Indian and Welsh activists had looked abroad several times in their struggles to maintain their sovereignty. As theoretical models within transnational social movement theory suggest, "it is blockage in the domestic society that sends domestic social movement actors into the transnational arena. This blockage is often due to repression, authoritarianism, or both."[41] The frustrations of some American Indian and Welsh activists in failing to find a solution within the nation-state led them to establish transnational alliances in pursuit of a global solution. They puzzled over the best strategies, concepts, and language of nationhood to use to achieve their goals. As historian Hugh Heclo has argued about nation-state governments: "Politics finds its sources not only in power, but also in uncertainty – men collectively wondering what to do…Governments not only 'power'…they also puzzle."[42] In this dissertation I argue that it is not only governments who 'puzzle" before they 'power.' Minority nationalists who sought self-determination or sovereignty for their peoples also had to puzzle in various ways and collectively wonder what to do. They considered different concepts in understanding their struggle, including internal colonialism, indigeneity, self-government, self-determination, sovereignty, and peoplehood, as well as different strategies to achieve these goals.

[41] Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, "Introduction," *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, ed. Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, No. 14, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 19.
[42] Hugh Heclo, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 305.

American Indian activists have drawn on global networks in their diplomatic efforts for centuries. For example, several American Indian nations sent diplomatic envoys to London in the 1700s in order to strengthen their ties with the Crown and to raise awareness of their concerns.[43] With the end of the British Empire in America and the rise of the United States, Native peoples had to find new political sites for diplomacy. In 1923, Iroquois leader Deskaheh petitioned the League of Nations in Geneva. Based on a 17th century agreement with the Netherlands to provide mutual aid, Deskaheh persuaded them to place the Six Nations' petition before the League. When that fell through, he petitioned for the Six Nations to be granted formal membership as a state, a bid that, while eventually unsuccessful, was supported by Ireland, Panama, Persia, and Estonia.[44] With the rise of Red Power in the 1960s, Indian activists still looked globally for inspiration, although, as Robert Warrior has argued, they were careful to "define their own ideology from the specific history and experiences of American Indian people."[45] As scholar Paul Rosier argued in his article, "'They Are Ancestral Homelands,'" termination and the Cold War "fostered an international perspective among Native American activists," and Daniel Cobb has emphasized this in his studies of 1960s Native activism.[46] In his article "Talking the Language of the Larger World," he explored how American Indian activists' involvement in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's Campaign introduced them to the language of decolonization

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[43] See Timothy J. Shannon, "Four Kings and a Queen," in *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Penguin, 2009), and Jace Weaver, "Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges," *American Indian Quarterly* 35, no.3 (Summer 2011): 418-463.
[44] Joëlle Rostowski, "The Redman's Appeal for Justice: Deskaheh and the League of Nations," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen, Germany: Rader Verlag, 1987), 435-453.
[45] Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*, 30.
[46]Paul C. Rosier, "'They Are Ancestral Homelands': Race, Place, and Politics in Cold War Native America, 1945-1961," *Journal of American History* (March 2006): 1302.

and the similarities between their problems and those of others around the world.[47] Alyosha Goldstein has similarly examined how the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) made proposals that drew on the United States' post-World War II Point Four program, which was designed to provide assistance to underdeveloped foreign countries.[48] Given this history, AIM's forging of European support networks should not be understood as a case of "Indians in unexpected places," as Native activists maintained an international perspective centuries before termination and the Cold War. Instead, these Indians sought out political support and inspiration in precisely the global arenas this history would suggest: European countries, many of which had a former treaty relationship with Native peoples, and the United Nations, the supranational body that had effectively filled the space left by the demise of the League of Nations.

Similarly, Welsh nationalists had also developed an international perspective in their campaigns, although the tools they used differed. In the mid 19th century, with increasing industrial unrest and the efforts of the British government to extinguish the Welsh language, several nonconformist ministers began promoting the idea of establishing a new Welsh nation abroad to preserve the language and culture of Wales. They established settlements in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Tennessee, and a few hundred Welsh emigrants also settled in a region of Patagonia in South America, although their dreams of establishing a bastion of Welsh nationhood went unrealized.[49] While some scholars have argued that this history of colonialism in some ways nullifies any Welsh

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[47] Daniel M. Cobb, "Talking the Language of the Larger World: Politics in Cold War (Native) America," in *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism Since 1900*, ed. Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 161-177.
[48] Alyosha Goldstein, "On the Internal Border: Colonial Difference, the Cold War, and the Locations of 'Underdevelopment'," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 1 (2008): 27.
[49] Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 16-17.

claim to a postcolonial status, others have pointed out that a more complicated understanding of the binaries of colonizer and colonized is needed in order to understand the ways in which "the Welsh have been subjected to a form of imperialism over a long period of time, while also acknowledging the way the Welsh have been complicit in their own subjugation and in the colonization of others."[50] Certainly, while the Welsh nationalists I interviewed for this dissertation noted the need to acknowledge this history, they did not see it as mitigating Wales's own claims to being colonized.[51] They would in fact draw on these diasporas for support in the mid 20th century. In addition to establishing settlements in the United States and Patagonia, Welsh activists have also fought passionately for international recognition of Wales's nationhood. The Welsh Home Rule Army, for example, which would later become Plaid Cymru, campaigned for Welsh membership in the League of Nations.[52] In the post-war period, Welsh nationalists were also inspired by the decolonization struggles and successes of movements in former British colonies, such as the Kenya Africa Union.[53] Like American Indian activists, Welsh nationalists had looked globally for a solution to their struggle for self-government long before the 1960s and 1970s.

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[50] Kirsti Bohata, *Postcolonialism Revisited: Writing Wales in English* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 5. For examples of scholars who argue that Welsh people's participation in empire disqualifies them from being considered postcolonial, see *The Empire Writes Back*. Authors Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin contended: "While it is possible to argue that these societies [Wales, Scotland, and Ireland] were the first victims of English expansion, their subsequent complicity in the British imperial enterprise makes it difficult for colonized peoples outside Britain to accept their status as post-colonial." *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 33.

[51] Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, interview by Kate Williams, Swansea, Wales, January 8, 2010.

[52] Peter Barberis, John McHugh, Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups, and Movements of the Twentieth Century* (London; New York: Pinter, 2000), 449.

[53] "Money for African Leader in Kenya," *Y Gweriniaethwr*, quoted in Y Gweriniathwr, *The Young Republicans: A Record of the Welsh Republican Movement – Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru* (Llanrwst, Gwynedd: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1996), 96.

Relational Kinship Networks

While both American Indian and Welsh peoples have an extensive history of forging global networks, this particular historical moment in the 1960s and 1970s represented a beginning in a new chapter of these interactions. In this period, as American Indian and Welsh peoples faced new challenges to their sovereignty, culture, and land, some activists argued that the status quo of their resistance was not working and they needed to find a different approach. In puzzling, these movements looked globally for inspiration and ideas and saw relationships with other movements, as well as possibly the language and tactics, as useful. The theory of stateless nations suggests that the rise of globalization in this period provided a perfect context for these networks. In her work, *Nations Without States*, Montserrat Guibernau argues that the rise of "nations without states is closely connected to…the intensification of globalization processes," which "opens the possibility of establishing contact with, or at least being aware of, the existence of other communities suffering similar problems in other parts of the world."[54] This suggests that alliances increased as communication with other groups became easier, an assertion supported by John McGarry and Michael Keating's work. In the introduction to *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*, Keating and McGarry challenge the assertions of earlier theorists, such as Karl Deutsch and Eric Hobsbawm, by arguing that globalization and access to communications helps explain the rise in minority nationalisms in the last fifty years.[55] In this dissertation, I explore the particular historical moment in which transatlantic communication was becoming easier, which made it

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[54] Montserrat Guibernau, *Nations Without States: Political Communities in the Global World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 17, 69.
[55] Michael Keating and John McGarry, ed, *European Integration and the Nationalities Question* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

possible for the American Indian Movement and Welsh nationalists to look to each other and see similarities in their shared histories of oppression.

The crucial difference in the global networks Welsh and American Indian activists forged with each other and related movements worldwide in this period is that they identified with each other's struggles. They therefore recognized a kinship of sorts based on a shared history of oppression through land, identity, and history, markers of "Indianness" or indigeneity that AIM had set out in their stories of Wounded Knee in 1973. As Jodi Byrd has contended in her work, *Transit of Empire*, there is an "interconnectedness and grievability embodied within and among relational kinships created by histories of oppressions."[56] Drawing on LeAnne Howe's story "Chaos of Angels," she discussed the haksuba or chaos that occurs when Indians and non-Indians "bang their heads together in search of cross-cultural understanding."[57] In particular, Byrd explored the relational kinships created in settler colonies between colonized and colonizer through their shared histories, and she contended that the time has come for "settler, arrivant, and native to…grieve together the violences of U.S. empire."[58] I argue that these concepts are also productive way of understanding the significance of AIM's relationships with European peoples, especially those who identified as 'native,' rather than 'settler.' The networks of cooperation AIM forged with some non-Indians in Europe can be viewed as relational kinships between peoples who shared a history of being oppressed by others and who grieved the violences of empire, represented by the loss of their minority cultures and languages, sometimes stretching back to the Romans. In the

[56] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xxviii.
[57] LeAnne Howe, "Chaos of Angels," quoted in Byrd, xxvii.
[58] Byrd, 229.

aftermath of the Wounded Knee trials in 1973, AIM looked to Europe for financial and moral support, but unexpectedly found that their narratives had intersected with those of European ethnic minorities and those with a tribal heritage, including the Welsh. These peoples were grieving the 'vanishing' of their tribal and minority cultures and languages, especially with the fairly recent rise of nation-states, and, in this particular moment, AIM's activism inspired them. They identified with the struggles of Native peoples and considered Indianness or indigeneity, not as a political identity, but as a cultural identity and a strategy for taking a stand against their own loss.

Pragmatism shaped the Welsh nationalist response to AIM's campaigns. Recognizing the similarities between their narratives of colonization, Plaid had contacts with AIM and met with representatives. Given their political strategy and need to appeal to the electorate, however, they could not use indigeneity as a tactic because generally Welsh people did not understand themselves to be oppressed in that way. As such, they could only help indigenous peoples, but were again constrained by their choice to engage in the British political system. Ironically, despite the party's commitment to decolonization, Plaid could do more to help those in countries still within the British Empire and Commonwealth. In contrast, Welsh grassroots movements not only recognized the relational kinship with American Indians, but also drew on AIM's tactics and in turn used American Indian struggles to "wake up Wales" to its own colonization. In puzzling over the best strategies to achieve their goals and searching for an alternative to Plaid's method of working within the system, these movements looked to American Indians and AIM. In this moment, they, like other European ethnic minorities, considered indigeneity as both an inspiration and a practical strategy.

In turn, AIM was inspired by these networks as they realized that people worldwide had shared their experiences and were dedicated to helping them in this common struggle. Consequently, the ultimate significance of these networks lies in the mutual inspiration they engendered as these movements realized they were not alone in their struggle and so were motivated to continue in their campaigns. As historian Robin Kelley has argued, scholars have often evaluated social movements such as AIM and Welsh nationalists based on "whether or not they 'succeeded' in realizing their visions rather than on the merits or power of the visions themselves." He suggests that this way of understanding success is deficient because while many movements may not have succeeded in their ambitious goals to change basic power relations, they and their aspirations may have had a significant impact on later generations.[59] While Kelley's expanded definition of success is useful, my work illustrates that the visions of social movements traveled horizontally in space, as well as vertically through time, creating an exchange of ideas between movements. Through exploring the transnational networks of cooperation AIM and Welsh nationalists forged with each other and with a variety of people around the world, I demonstrate the ways in which their visions and campaigns shaped contemporaries across different social movements, in addition to successive generations, and also show how they were in turn influenced and inspired by these contacts.

Concepts of Indigeneity and Community

Concepts of Indianness and indigeneity proved key to these networks. Defining indigeneity has proved contentious, however, and the United Nations' Working Group on

[59] Robin Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003), ix.

Indigenous Peoples has resisted providing a definition "in order to prevent nation-states from policing the category."[60] In this dissertation, when discussing indigenous peoples, I am using the description outlined in Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel's essay, "Being Indigenous":

> Indigenousness is an identity constructed, shaped, and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism. The communities, clans, nations and tribes we call *Indigenous peoples* are just that: Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire. It is this oppositional, place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples, that fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous peoples from other peoples of the world.[61]

Scholars within Indigenous Studies have argued for the need to pay attention to "local specificities, histories, and geographies that inform the concept of indigeneity."[62] They have also pointed out that ideas of indigeneity are "always transforming…always in process" or "in transit."[63] My work complicates these discussions of indigenous identity by exploring a moment in which indigeneity was working as a process in changing identities in a locally specific way within Europe. While racialization and colonization have worked together to mark out indigeneity as also non-white, exploring the kinship networks AIM forged in Europe reveals that many of these people understood the markers of indigeneity set out by AIM to also apply to them in various ways, despite their whiteness. In this period, several minority nationalist movements in Europe, as well as

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[60] Byrd, xxix.
[61] Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): 597.
[62] Byrd, xxix.
[63] Robin Maria Delugan, "Indigeneity Across Borders: Hemispheric Migrations and Cosmopolitan Encounters," *American Ethnologist* 37, no. 1 (February 2010): 83-97, 84; Byrd, xii.

ethnic minorities more generally, found themselves engaged in what Alfred and Corntassel have described as "determined acts of survival against colonizing states' efforts to eradicate them culturally, politically and physically," as well as a struggle to maintain their identity as distinct peoples.[64] Therefore, while these Europeans are not usually considered indigenous, I argue that in this particular historical moment many white Europeans saw a relational kinship with American Indians as they grieved for the loss of their lands, languages, and cultures. As they puzzled over the best way to face these challenges, they considered identifying as indigenous, not necessarily politically, but culturally.

Other important frameworks for this dissertation are that of imagination and community. Some scholars have critiqued nationalism as falsely creating nations where they do not exist. Others, however, such as Benedict Anderson and Partha Chatterjee, have championed the imagination and creativity of various nationalisms.[65] As Bill Rolstan has argued, while nationalism can be limiting, subaltern nationalists have "from time to time been able to look around the world and imagine a connection to others who likewise experience imperialism, colonialism, and state repression, or who struggle for national self-determination, independence, and socialism. In this sense, nationalism is inclusive."[66] In looking to other movements, the minority nationalist groups explored in this dissertation often recognized similar struggles and envisioned themselves as part of a larger community based on these shared histories of oppression. Ironically, as some

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[64] Alfred and Corntassel, 597-598.
[65] Bill Rolstan, "'The Brothers on the Walls': International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 3 (January 2009): 446-470, 448; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 13.
[66] Rolstan, 448-449.

Welsh nationalists have argued, while they were portrayed as insular and inward-looking in the British media, they were often the political party and movements with the broadest international perspective and contacts.

Recent works in indigenous studies have also explored the connected expanding meanings of community and indigeneity. Thomas Biolsi has discussed what he terms "indigenous cosmopolitanism" and how it has led to "thinking expansively about Native space," which in turn has "opened up a transnational, continental, or hemispheric perspective among many Indian people."[67] Likewise, Mark Goodale has argued that indigeneity has promoted a "new sense of global belonging," while Robin Delugan has explored how indigenous migration has brought together "members of diverse indigenous ethnic communities, who participate in meaning making that consolidates a certain view of global belonging."[68] In her book, *From Tribal Village to Global Village*, Alison Brysk has also documented the intertwined expansion of community and indigeneity. As she noted, "the postmodern global order has become more local and more tribal at the same time as it has become more connected: the fourth 'c' of globalization is *community*." While these transnational actors' primary concern is that of their local village, through increasing connections they have begun to imagine a broader community, what Brysk terms a "global village," which has in turn mobilized support in global and transnational spaces.[69] My work builds on this scholarship by illustrating that AIM and Welsh nationalists' networks of cooperation also stimulated imaginings of a global community

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[67] Thomas Biolsi, "Imagined Geographies: Sovereignty, Indigenous Space, and American Indian Struggle," *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 2 (May 2005): 249.
[68] Mark Goodale, "Reclaiming Modernity: Indigenous Cosmopolitanism and the Coming of the Second Revolution in Bolivia," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 4 (November 2006): 635; Delugan, 84.
[69] Alison Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 15-17.

between Europeans and American Indians. Both AIM and the Welsh nationalist movements explored in this dissertation focused their efforts on the defense of local communities. Through their connections to others engaged in similar struggles, they began to envision themselves as part of this larger transnational community. This not only formed the basis of financial and moral support for these movements, but also contributed towards a process of identification and understandings of a shared struggle.

Ethnic Power

The historiography of the 1960s and 1970s ethnic power movements has already begun to examine the larger context of these groups' global actions. Black Power and Civil Rights Movement scholars have started to analyze those movements' transnational connections and expressions of solidarity and the ways that they inspired others globally, including indigenous peoples in Australia, for example.[70] Red Power historians, such as Daniel Cobb and Bradley Shreve, have also begun the important work of placing Native activists in an international context, tracing how they saw American Indian problems as

[70] See, for example, Robin D.G. Kelley, " 'But a local phase of a world problem': Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1045-1077; Melani McAlister, "On Black Allah: The Middle East in the Cultural Politics of African American Liberation, 1955-1960," *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (September 1999): 622-656; Jennifer B. Smith, *An International History of the Black Panther Party* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999); Michael L. Clemons and Charles E. Jones, "Global Solidarity: The Black Panther Party in the International Arena" in *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party*, ed. K. Cleaver & G. Katsiaficas (New York: Routledge, 2001), 20-39; Kathy Lothian, "Seizing the Time: Australian Aborigines and the Influence of the Black Panther Party, 1969-1972," *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4 (Mar. 2005): 179-200; John Maynard, "Transcultural/ transnational interaction and influences on Aboriginal Australia," in *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, 2005), 195-208; Bill Rolston, "'The Brothers on the Walls': International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 3 (Jan 2009): 446-470; Anne-Marie Angelo, "The Black Panthers in London, 1967-1972: A Diasporic Struggle Navigates the Black Atlantic," *Radical History Review* 103 (Winter 2009): 17-35; Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012). For more on Civil Rights Movement leaders understanding their struggle as part of a larger, global fight, see Thomas Borstellman, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2001), 97.

part of larger global struggles in the 1960s.[71] Other scholars have also considered more recent global indigenous connections, including those of the International Indian Treaty Council in which AIM activists were and continue to be involved.[72]

However, most of the studies on AIM, many of which were published before these historiographical developments, have focused on domestic events. While they acknowledge the contemporary power of AIM's work, these scholars have questioned the importance and impact of the Movement's actions after Wounded Knee. For example, in their seminal work on AIM, *Like a Hurricane*, Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior recognize the successes of the Movement in raising national awareness of Native concerns but assert that "Wounded Knee proved to be the final performance of AIM's daring brand of political theater."[73] Other historians have explored the domestic alliances formed by Red Power movements, including AIM, in the 1960s and 1970s, but these often employ the same declension narrative as Warrior and Smith and suggest that the relationships, while successful in the short-term, were not sustained.[74] Scholars have also

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[71] For example, see Cobb, "Talking the Language of the Larger World"; Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America*; Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Cent*ury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Shreve, *Red Power Rising*; Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*. Margaret Connell Szasz has also explored the similarities between the increase in cultural nationalism in American Indian and Celtic nations in the late twentieth century. However, she does not discuss the relationships that developed or the exchanges that occurred between these movements. "The Cultural Renaissance in Native American and Celtic Worlds, 1040-2000," in *The American West in 2000: Essays in Honor of Gerald D. Nash*, ed. Richard W. Etulain and Ferenc M. Szasz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).
[72] See Sheryl R. Lightfoot, "Indigenous Global Politics" (PhD Diss., University of Minnesota, 2009).
[73] Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 269.
[74] See, for example, Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America*; Cobb, "Talking the Language of the Larger World"; Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*, 211, 215; Sherry L. Smith, "Indians, the Counterculture, and the New Left," in *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900*, ed. Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007). In her valuable book, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*, Smith does briefly explore the European economic support of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Committee in the mid-1970s. However, since her focus is on the domestic counterculture movements and their alliances with Red Power groups, she still presents a declension narrative.

briefly examined AIM's European networks of support in the 1970s, but much of this work dismisses the significance of these connections by focusing on Indian culture groups and their romanticization of Indians, rather than on the political roots of their support.[75] By exploring AIM's networks of cooperation with European activists in the 1970s and beyond, my work joins these studies by illustrating how we can think about the Movement in a different way. While Wounded Knee undoubtedly marked a turning point for the Movement and the end of a chapter in AIM's story, as Smith and Warrior demonstrate, I show that by looking beyond AIM's domestic activities we can see Wounded Knee as the beginning in a new chapter. Challenging the standard declension narrative, I show that the Movement forged mutually beneficial transnational networks of cooperation and support with European activists that had a tangible impact on those involved. In addition, while these connections have changed, they have been sustained.

To date, the scholarship on Welsh nationalism has not examined Welsh movements' global presence or networks in any significant way.[76] It has primarily focused on political activism, specifically the campaigns of the Welsh nationalist political party Plaid Cymru, and therefore elided the efforts of those nationalists who searched for an alternative means of protest to Plaid. Even works that purport to be about Welsh nationalism in general, such as Charlotte Aull Davies's *Welsh Nationalism in the*

[75] For instance, see essays in Colin Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, ed., *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) and in Christian F. Feest, ed. *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), as well as Christian F. Feest, "Europe's Indians," *Society (*May/June 1990): 46-51.

[76] Daniel G. Williams's work, *Black Skin, Blue Books: African Americans and Wales, 1845-1945*, will be published in Fall 2012. However, its end date of 1945 suggests that there will be little exploration of the numerous Welsh nationalist movements that were established in the 1960s and 1970s or their transnational connections. *Black Skin, Blue Books: African Americans and Wales, 1845-1945* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

Twentieth Century, focus mainly on Plaid's initiatives.[77] In their seminal works on the history of Wales, such respected historians as Geraint H. Jenkins and John Davies have also dismissed these grassroots movements in a sentence or less, calling them "a gimcrack outfit with a reputation for flamboyant gestures rather than military prowess" and labeling their actions "shenanigans."[78] Recent works, such as John Humphries' *Freedom Fighters* and the reprint of Roy Clews' *To Dream of Freedom*, have begun to trace the history of these alternative groups, such as Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymu and Free Wales Army, and argued for their significance and inclusion in the larger historical narrative of Welsh nationalism.[79]

The scholarship on the transnational and international connections formed by Welsh nationalists is therefore also at an early stage. The histories of Plaid have argued for the significance of their international outlook, contending that "an alternative agenda of cooperative small-nation politics had become deeply ingrained in Plaid's political thinking," but focused on their connections within Europe, specifically their participation in the European Free Alliance within the European Parliament.[80] John Humphries and

[77] Charlotte Aull Davies, *Welsh Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: The Ethnic Option and the Modern State* (New York: Praeger, 1989).
[78] Jenkins, *Concise History of Wales*, 294; John Davies, *History of Wales* (London: Viking Penguin, 2007), 670.
[79] See John Humphries, *Freedom Fighters: Wales's Forgotten 'War,' 1963-1993* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008); Roy Clews, *To Dream of Freedom: The Story of MAC and the Free Wales Army* 2nd rev. ed. (1980; repr., Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2001); Peter Barberis, John McHugh, and Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups, and Movements of the Twentieth Century* London; New York: Pinter, 2000), 431-453; and Y Gweriniathwr, *The Young Republicans: A Record of the Welsh Republican Movement – Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru* (Llanrwst, Gwynedd: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1996).
[80] Anwen Elias, "From 'full national status' to 'independence' in Europe – The case of Plaid Cymru – the Party of Wales" in *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*, ed. Michael Keating and John McGarry (New York: Routledge, 2006), 195, 211; Anwen Elias, *Minority Nationalist Parties and European Integration: A Comparative Study,* Contemporary European Studies (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Roy Clews briefly mentioned the influence of other groups on Welsh tactics, such as the Freedom for Quebec movement, as well as other European groups who reached out to MAC. My work adds to this scholarship in several ways. First, it contributes to the efforts to broaden the narrative of Welsh nationalism beyond the political party of Plaid Cymru. Second, it illustrates the diversity of transnational connections Welsh nationalists established in this period, within and outside Europe. I argue that these global networks of cooperation shaped Welsh nationalism in this period in tangible ways, providing both inspiration and tactical ideas as these movements puzzled over the best way to achieve freedom for Wales, and that they continue to do so. The diverse global connections forged by a variety of Welsh nationalist movements are therefore significant in understanding the directions of Welsh nationalism in this period.

Overwhelmingly, the scholarship on activism and minority nationalism in America and Britain has followed a standard declension narrative that has framed these movements as "a progressive regression from hope to anger and chaos."[81] Certainly, the histories on AIM and Welsh nationalism have maintained that those groups who favored direct action burst onto the scene in the mid to late Sixties, blazed brightly, and then burned out due to government infiltration or arrests and imprisonment.[82] By exploring the global connections between Welsh nationalists, the American Indian Movement, and other related groups, my approach overturns this declension narrative and instead asserts that the networking and rethinking of tactics that accompanied their relationships

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[81] Peniel E. Joseph, "Introduction: Toward a Historiography of the Black Power Movement" in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel E. Joseph (New York: Routledge, 2006), 21.

[82] See, for example, Timothy John Baylor, "Modern Warriors: Mobilization and Decline of the American Indian Movement (AIM), 1968-1979" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill, 1994); Clews, *To Dream of Freedom*.

continued through the events I analyze in the 1970s and 1980s and into the present. As such, while the structure of the networks and connections has undoubtedly changed in the four decades since they were forged, they have not descended into "anger and chaos." Instead, as this dissertation illustrates, the story of these networks is far from over.

Methodology

This dissertation is fundamentally interdisciplinary and, as such, it draws from various methodologies and methods, particularly those that scholars have termed emancipatory, such as indigenous and postcolonial theories.[83] This dissertation is innovative in its use of these frameworks as a lens through which to explore Welsh nationalism. At the center of these "methodologies from the margins" is the contention that "those who live their lives in marginal places of society experience silencing and injustice."[84] Of particular importance to these theoretical frameworks is addressing the silencing that occurs within research and the historical narratives. This dissertation draws on these methodologies to address these silences and to examine the challenges posed to them by American Indian and Welsh activists. These are threefold: the movements themselves passionately campaigned against the state narratives told about the history of their peoples and their colonization; Welsh and American Indian activists' continued work on behalf of their peoples challenges the standard historiographical declension narrative of minority nationalism and activism; and the dissertation itself more broadly

[83] Margaret Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies" in *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, ed. Leslie Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005), 21. For more on indigenous methodologies, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999); Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett, "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research," in *Research As Resistance*; and Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[84] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins," 33, 21.

challenges the historical narratives about these movements, as it includes smaller grassroots groups, uses a longer chronology, and takes a global perspective. In this dissertation, I contend that these 'silences' need to be filled in order to understand these movements fully.

Therefore, an integral part of indigenous methodologies is incorporating the voices of the peoples being researched and providing them a space in which to tell their story.[85] This gives primacy to these peoples' experiences, how they understand them, and the significance they draw from them. Narrative inquiry provides a valuable framework for this, as it focuses on the interconnectedness between human experience and the stories we relate.[86] Through exploring the stories and narratives that Welsh and American Indian activists tell and have told about their experiences, I examine the meanings that they drew from their transnational networks and how these relationships shaped their understandings of their struggle.

In this dissertation, the theoretical underpinnings of indigenous methodologies have guided the research methods and sources used.[87] Therefore, while I have consulted government reports and national newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, *London Times*, and *Le Monde*, the most important sources for this dissertation have been the archival records of the movements studied and interviews with activists themselves. The archival research for this project included work in Wales, New Mexico, and Minnesota. I have examined organizational records at the National Library of Wales, including those

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[85] See, for example, Margaret Kovach, "Story as Indigenous Methodology" in *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[86] Leonard Webster and Patricie Mertova, "Introduction: Why narrative?" in *Using Narrative Inquiry as a Research Method: An Introduction to Using Narrative Analysis in Research on Learning and Teaching*, eds. Leonard Webster and Patricie Mertova (New York: Routledge, 2007).
[87] Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins," 29.

of Cofiwn/ Ty Cenedl, which contained all the material relating to the arrangements of Mark Banks's visit, posters, press releases and newspaper articles, as well as a recording of an interview with Mark Banks himself. The Plaid Cymru archive included papers relating to various party publications, the correspondence of key members, and the international affairs of the party. The personal papers of several Welsh nationalist activists and politicians, which are located in the Welsh Political archives at the National Library of Wales, also proved valuable.

While AIM is beginning to establish an archive, there is currently no cohesive collection of materials. I therefore consulted papers at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, including the Kay Cole Papers, the Robert L. Anderson American Indian Movement Papers, the Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, and the Roger A. Finzel American Indian Movement Papers. All of these contained correspondence between AIM members or their Defense Committees and European activists concerning fundraising, dissemination of information, and other logistical concerns. The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee papers at the Minnesota Historical Center also provided invaluable insight into relationships with European activists, including financial records, postcards, and letters.

The Welsh and American Indian activists I interviewed also provided fascinating and significant perspectives on their experiences. Participants included Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan (Ty Cenedl), Dafydd Elis-Thomas, Dafydd Iwan, Dafydd Wigley, and Dafydd Williams (Plaid Cymru), and AIM members such as Mark Banks, Pat Bellanger, Clyde Bellecourt, Chris Spotted Eagle, and Laura Waterman Wittstock. I used

an in-depth interview method in these conversations.[88] I asked broad questions to generally guide the interview, but gave participants space to go off-topic and share whatever stories they wished. I also later provided them with transcripts of the interviews and allowed editing. In keeping with indigenous methodologies' intent of repairing the silences and injustices of past research, this ensured that the "power lies with the research participant, the storyteller" in choosing which knowledge to share.[89]

Terminology

This study treats American Indian and Welsh collaborations as a reflection of larger trends in twentieth century transnationalism and cultural globalization. I use transnationalism, rather than internationalism, because the former suggests a flow of ideas and visions between individuals or organizations not constrained by nation-states. Internationalism, in contrast, implies a relationship between nation-states and their governments. However, given the nationalist assertions of both AIM and Welsh activists, this study will complicate ideas about transnationalism, the scholarship of which focuses on immigrants and non-governmental organizations.

Also, in exploring these issues, there are challenges in utilizing the language of the actors, since it reflects the leading intellectual ideas of the period. As Lynne Davis has contended in her work on indigenous and non-indigenous alliances, each movement "has its own theories and languages for talking about these relationships," which is further complicated by the fact that within these organizations "language is fluid and is

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[88] For more on these methods, see Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 99, 124-5.
[89] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 125.

continually being defined and contested."[90] In their puzzling, American Indian and Welsh activists in the late twentieth century have considered many terms, depending on the context, to describe their aims, including: sovereignty, nationhood, independence, self-determination, full national status, home rule, devolution, commonwealth status, federalism, confederalism, and freedom. Consequently, there were differences in the rhetoric of each group that cannot be neatly resolved. In addition, some terms that the American Indian Movement and Welsh nationalists used in the 1970s and 1980s are either understood differently now or have fallen out of use. For example, while I argue that their networks of cooperation are transnational actions, American Indians and Welsh consistently used the term "international," since transnationalism had not gained recognition at that point. Also, while both American Indian and Welsh nationalists utilized the concept of internal colonialism in understanding their struggle, this term has since been replaced in the social sciences by the scholarship on European stateless nations and minority nationalisms, settler colonialism, and global indigeneity and sovereignty. As a result, I have tried to be as precise as possible about the terms I have used in articulating the goals of these movements and reflect their own language. I have also called these networks "transnational" when the relationship is between non-state actors and international when it is between nations, unless quoting the words of the activists themselves.

In terms of identifying American Indian activists, I have used the designation of their own tribal nation wherever possible. Otherwise, especially when talking about all the indigenous peoples of the United States as a whole, I have employed the terms

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[90] Lynne Davis, "Introduction" in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed. Lynne Davis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 7.

"American Indian," "Native American," "Indian," and "Native" more or less interchangeably. When referring to indigenous peoples, I have used "First Nations" or "Aboriginal" for those from Canada, and "Aboriginal" and "Maori" when discussing Australia and New Zealand respectively.

Finally, I have chosen to give Welsh words primacy in this text when that was the language in which the source was written, rather than only using the translation. I have provided the English meaning immediately following the phrase or sentence. In addition, the Welsh language is not italicized, inspired by recent indigenous scholarship and its determination to "resist making the native tongue appear foreign in writing produced in and about a native land and people."[91]

Narrating the Story

Historians tell stories. It is, William Cronon argues, "fundamental to the way we humans organize our experience," and consequently we partition the narrative into "events, with their implied beginnings, middles, and ends."[92] As the literature on social movement stories has argued, the plot of these narratives consists of a challenge, a choice, and an outcome.[93] Reflecting the stories that American Indian Movement and Welsh nationalist activists have told me, this is how I have chosen to organize the dissertation. Facing similar challenges and puzzling over their strategies, these movements chose to forge connections with other related groups and also the ways in which they learned from each other, which shaped their campaigns in various ways.

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[91] Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.
[92] William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (March 1992): 1368.
[93] Marshall Ganz, "Public Narrative, Collective Action, and Power," in *Accountability Through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*, ed. Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2011), 281.

Chapter 1 sets out the challenges, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 explore the choices, and the Conclusion discusses the outcomes.

Challenges

In Chapter 1, I explore the narratives activists have told about Tryweryn and Wounded Knee, the two events that served as catalysts for a more confrontational stand against the challenges these peoples faced, as well as providing the basis for the transnational networks forged by Welsh nationalists and AIM respectively in this period. In telling their story about Wounded Knee, AIM activists delineated three challenges they faced – land, identity, and history – and, in doing so, set out markers of indigeneity. As these narratives circulated in Europe through the media, some Europeans, as well as other indigenous people worldwide, responded to these in ways AIM did not expect. They identified with these struggles and it was these markers of "Indianness" that formed the basis of their solidarity with AIM. In particular, these themes played a prominent role in Welsh nationalists' stories about Tryweryn, the deliberate flooding of a Welsh-speaking village in North Wales to provide water for an English city. Consequently, I argue, the narratives AIM members told about Wounded Knee intersected with the stories Welsh nationalists told about their own defining event and provided the basis for their connection. The way the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn were told and understood therefore allowed moments of "great crisis" to become "new beginnings."

Choices

Chapter 2 builds on this by focusing on AIM's networks of cooperation in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, and illustrates how these connections were significant in several ways, particularly in how Europeans interpreted AIM's narrative through their own

political situations and understandings of their own oppression. I argue that these Europeans saw commonalities between their campaigns and that of AIM and were inspired by these connections in their activism. While some proclaimed an indigenous solidarity, others, including Irish nationalists, went further, gaining tactical inspiration as well as viewing the connections as mutually beneficial. Consequently, while AIM initially formed networks to gain financial and political support, I contend that the results were beyond what they expected. The Movement contributed to activism in many European countries as various European ethnic minorities and minority nationalists identified with the struggle AIM articulated in their Wounded Knee narratives and were inspired by their actions.

Chapter 3 continues to explore how the markers of indigeneity AIM set out in their Wounded Knee stories translated into political action, but concentrates more specifically on the ways in which the grassroots Welsh nationalist movements Cofiwn and Ty Cenedl were influenced by AIM, especially through activist Mark Banks's tour of Wales in 1986. I contend that these activists, while inspired by what they considered to be a shared history of oppression with American Indians, as well as a common desire for self-determination and language revitalization, identified with AIM's struggles and protests primarily because they understood the Movement and the Indian rights they were fighting for to be urban and working class in character. Consequently, Cofiwn and Ty Cenedl activists thought that AIM's methods were more relevant to them than those of other European minority nationalist movements. In this chapter, I trace the process and development of how these activists adapted AIM's ideas, moving from simply using the

Movement's tactics to also employing AIM's struggle as a strategy to inspire Welsh people in protest.

In contrast, Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalist political party, did not, as a whole, take inspiration from AIM's struggles or tactics, despite their work in the British Parliament on behalf of indigenous causes. The fourth chapter therefore explores Plaid's efforts in helping forward the causes of indigenous peoples, from Australian Aborigines to David Sohappy Jr. and the issue of treaty rights in Washington state to allying with the National Indian Brotherhood to obstruct the passage of the Canadian constitution through Parliament. I argue that Plaid, which by the 1970s was an established party with three Members of Parliament, sought a political solution to Wales' struggle, and saw it as one of civic nationalism, rather than ethnic. Therefore, despite their work and overtures from AIM in the 1970s, Plaid did not consider their cause as similar to that of American Indians or indigenous people, unlike Cofiwn activists, and they distanced themselves from the language of sovereignty, self-determination, or independence.

Outcomes

In the conclusion, I contend that a global perspective recasts the narratives of short-term triumph usually told about AIM and grassroots Welsh nationalist movements. Both AIM and Welsh nationalists have continued to campaign on behalf of their people, invoking the stories of Tryweryn and Wounded Knee to inspire new action. I also explore the ways in which the networks of cooperation forged by these movements continue to shape the landscape of American Indian and Welsh activism. While AIM has built on these in their work with the International Indian Treaty Council, their network of European support groups still exists to help other Native and First Nations' activists.

Plaid Cymru has also achieved success through the establishment of the Welsh Assembly, a devolved government, and they continue to forge links with indigenous peoples as they puzzle over how to power. Finally, former Ty Cenedl activists have moved their campaigns online, where they still raise awareness of AIM and American Indian struggles in their blog posts, as well as draw on the strategies of American Indians and the American Indian Movement in their contemporary activism. Consequently, I argue that not only have these networks of cooperation shaped the landscape of American Indian and Welsh activism in tangible ways, but they also continue to do so.

The narrative I tell in this dissertation therefore has two important themes at its core: remembering, and celebrating survival. These issues consistently featured in the stories Welsh and American Indian activists told me about themselves, their movements, and their peoples. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued, they are also integral to indigenous research projects. Remembering a past of colonization is, in itself, a form of resistance to the larger nation-state's project of assimilation and the forgetting of difference. Likewise, celebrating the survival of these distinct nations, cultures, languages, and peoples is important because "they celebrate our resistances at an ordinary human level."[94] The story related in this dissertation therefore challenges not only the narratives of short-term triumph that scholars have written about Welsh grassroots nationalism and AIM activism, but also the larger British and American national narratives of the inevitable assimilation of Welsh and American Indian peoples into those nation-states.

[94] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 145-6.

These themes have also formed an important part of the larger narratives Welsh and American Indian peoples have told and continue to tell of their own nations' histories. In 1194, for example, the famous medieval historian Gerald of Wales warned his readers about the continued rebelliousness of the Welsh due to their remembering: "The memory which they will never lose of their former greatness may well kindle a spark of hatred in the Welsh and encourage them to rebel from time to time." He then related a story from 1163, of an old man from Pencader in south-west Wales who was asked by the invading Anglo-Norman king, Henry II, what he thought of the royal army and their chances of defeating the Welsh troops. The old man replied, "My Lord King…this nation may now be harassed, weakened and decimated by your soldiery, as it has so often been by others in former times; but it will never be totally destroyed by the wrath of man." Reminding the king that, even by the twelfth century, the Welsh had a long history of surviving attempts at conquering them, the old man of Pencader stressed their strength of spirit. Going further, he declared: "Whatever else may come to pass, I do not think that on the Day of Direst Judgment any race other than the Welsh, or any other language, will give answer to the Supreme Judge of all for this small corner of the earth."[95] The Welsh, having faced several waves of conquering armies in the past two millenia, therefore often emphasize their survival, what one famous twentieth-century Welsh historian has called "one of the minor miracles of history."[96]

Many histories of American Indian peoples also echo these ideas, of remembering a distinct past and of survival in the face of colonization. One of the most famous

[95] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/ The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin, 1978), 274.
[96] Williams, *When Was Wales?*, 5.

examples, which recently inspired the title of PBS's series on American Indian history "We Shall Remain," was the Shawnee leader Tecumseh's speech in 1810. As he declared, "These lands are ours. No one has the right to remove us, because we were the first owners. The Great Spirit above has appointed this place for us, on which to light our fires, and here we will remain."[97] This defiance of simply surviving, of resisting attempts at eradicating them as distinct peoples, has therefore provided a thematic continuity between the earlier narratives of American Indians told of their history and those they tell today.

Despite the repeated assertions of Welsh and American Indian peoples that they will continue to survive in the face of assimilationist and colonial campaigns, the historical narrative has often ignored their distinct histories. Scholars have also located the "end" of their resistance at various times. By the 1950s however, it was becoming harder to claim these "endings" as Welsh and American Indian activism experienced a more public resurgence. In 1955, the English playwright J.B. Priestley toured the United States. In his book about that journey, he commented on the struggle of American Indians and drew comparisons with that of the Welsh. Priestley implied that a new era was dawning: "Most people tell me that the Indians cannot hold out much longer. Another generation at most they say. I am not so sure. There is in the world today some spirit moving against the huge forces of uniformity. Who, a century ago, would have imagined the revival of self-consciousness among the Welsh, the renewal of language and their

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[97] Quoted in Duane Champagne, *Chronology of Native North American History* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994), 504.

desire for self-determination."[98] That spirit of survival in the face of the "huge forces of uniformity" would prove the foundation of decades of cooperation between Welsh and American Indians, and it is in the dawning of this new era that that story begins.

[98] J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes, *Journey Down a Rainbow* (London: Heinemann-Cresset, 1955), 193.

Chapter 1 – New Beginnings: The Stories of Tryweryn and Wounded Knee

> "Well-told stories help turn moments of great crises into moments of 'new beginnings.'"[1] – Marshall Ganz

My conversations with the Welsh and American Indian activists I've interviewed have often begun the same way, no matter the gender, political leaning, or nationality. After the requisite consent forms were signed and the recorder switched on, they invited me to ask my questions. I started with a deliberately broad query, commenting that transnational networks between activists worldwide seemed to increase in the 1970s and 1980s and then asking how important these connections were to their work and movement. Overwhelmingly, the activists thoughtfully considered my question and then said something along the lines of, "Well, let me start by giving you a brief history of AIM," "I like to start out with a little background first," or "I'll give you some background first to float some thoughts your way."[2] To them, the story of their transnational connections did not begin with the forging of the networks themselves, but were rooted in earlier events and so our conversations needed to start there. The stories of Tryweryn and Wounded Knee formed a key component of these background narratives and, as such, activists often located a beginning of their transnational connections in these events.[3] As Edward Said has argued, beginnings are usually "designated in order to indicate, clarify, or define a *later* time, place, or action." In making sense of a later event,

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[1] Marshall Ganz, "Public Narrative, Collective Action, and Power," in Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee eds., *Accountability Through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2011), 288.

[2] Mark Banks, interview by Kate Williams, Monument, CO, July 13, 2010; Clyde Bellecourt, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, October 4, 2011; Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, interview by Kate Williams, Swansea, Wales, January 8, 2010.

[3] In her book, *It Was Like a Fever*, Francesca Polletta explains that many social movement stories operate at multiple levels, including the "*kernel* story" or shorthand, like Wounded Knee or Tryweryn, and the background story or fuller narrative. *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 20.

people reflect on their experiences to define a beginning and, as such, beginnings are the primary step in the "intentional production of meaning" of those later moments.[4] In contemplating their experiences, these activists identified Tryweryn and Wounded Knee as turning points, as beginnings of a new chapter in Welsh and American Indian nationalism respectively and central to understanding what happened afterward.

The narratives told about these places and events also share similarities beyond their roles in larger stories about the movements. They involve activists who have come to realize that they need to make a stand, campaigns that focus on struggles of local communities against the loss of land and cultural identity, and the idea that these events are simply the latest in the longer and broader history of the fight against their nations' colonization. Most importantly, both Tryweryn and Wounded Knee are integral metonymies in this history of Welsh nationalism and the American Indian Movement respectively. In these movements, Tryweryn and Wounded Knee serve as multi-layered terms, as "kernel stories."[5] To those who know the narratives, these place names symbolize not only the events that happened there, but also centuries of colonization and loss, in terms of land, cultural identity, and history, and the beginning of a more confrontational fight against that.

In recent decades, sociologists have argued for the importance of studying narrative or storytelling in social movements, not only the stories themselves, but also how they are told. Narratives are integral to comprehending activists' sense of identity, how they see their place in the movement, and how they understand their struggle. These stories and the way they are interpreted by the audience also serve as a basis for garnering

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[4] Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 5.
[5] For more on kernel stories, see page 60 of this chapter.

support and creating solidarity.[6] As scholars Francesca Polletta and Joseph E. Davis contend, tracing the narratives social activists tell about key events can reveal how those events are "interpreted and made the basis for action through stories."[7] So what can this approach bring to the histories of the American Indian Movement and Welsh nationalism? What does a narrative analysis of the stories activists tell about Wounded Knee and Tryweryn give us?

By looking at the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn, by tracing the way they get told, retold, and understood, a new narrative of these struggles emerges. By exploring the stories of Wounded Knee and the way they are interpreted by American and European audiences, I illustrate how AIM recast the usual narrative of Wounded Knee 1890 and 1973. Rather than stories of endings, they and European audiences suggested that the injustices against Indian peoples continued past 1890, as did Natives' struggles against them. The 1973 protest was also a beginning of a more defiant stand for Indian peoples and a new phase of forging networks of cooperation with European activists. In this chapter, I focus on the narratives AIM constructed about Wounded Knee, how they got retold in the European media, and the ways in which they served as the basis of AIM's European alliances through moral and plot. For the most part, white Europeans responded to the narrative of injustice perpetrated by white people against Indians and lent their support for that reason. However, as part of the plot, AIM set out the three

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[6] See, for example, Joseph E. Davis, "Narrative and Social Movements: The Power of Stories," in Joseph E. Davis ed. *Stories of Change: Narratives and Social Movements* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 3-29; Sharon Erickson Nepstad, "Creating Transnational Solidarity: The Use of Narrative in the U.S.-Central America Peace Movement" in Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, ed., *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 133-150; and Francesca Polletta, *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 12, 21.
[7] Davis, 27.

particular challenges facing Indian peoples – land, identity, and history – and, in doing so, delineated markers of "Indianness" and indigeneity.[8] Some Europeans, as well as other indigenous people worldwide, responded to these in ways AIM did not expect. They identified with the specific struggles of land, identity, and history in their own stories, and it was these markers of "Indianness" that formed the basis of their solidarity with AIM. In particular, these themes played prominent roles in the stories Welsh activists had already constructed about the earlier events at Tryweryn. As such, the way AIM activists told the story of Wounded Knee intersected with Welsh activists' narratives about their own defining event. In turn, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4, how Welsh activists understood the choices and outcomes in the story of Tryweryn shaped their responses to AIM. As the quote at the beginning of the chapter suggests, the way the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn were told and understood allowed moments of "great crisis" to become "new beginnings" in the narratives of the movements involved.

Note on Methodology

For the purposes of this chapter, I use the terms 'story' and 'narrative' interchangeably.[9] The narratives of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn that I examine are broadly defined. I consider not only the personal stories activists tell (the *stories* of Wounded Knee) and the larger narrative that emerged (*the story* of Wounded Knee), but also the ways in which both of these illuminate how activists have made sense of the

[8] As Chadwick Allen has argued in his examination of related themes, what he terms the blood/ land/ memory complex, these three issues are "primary and interrelated sites in the struggle over defining indigenous minority identities." As such, "it is imperative that we contextualize the discursive appeal and symbolic power of these emblematic figures." *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identities in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 15-16.
[9] This is based on Francesca Polletta's use of the terms in *It Was Like a Fever*. Polletta, 8, 192 fn.9. For a larger discussion on sociologists' debates over the use of the terms, see Polletta, 179-182.

critical plot markers of that broader narrative: the challenges they faced, the choices they made, and the outcomes of both. As such, the sources consulted are similarly broad, including speeches and political documents, newspaper accounts, interviews, autobiographies, and newspaper reports. These sources illuminate the ways in which activists constructed their narratives of these pivotal moments. While the stories told by activists during personal interviews are later reflections on the events, rather than the words they used at the time, I interweave them with the sources from the period in this chapter. As public speakers, American Indian and Welsh activists not only told their stories at the time, but they have also continued to tell them in the decades since, in the United States, in Europe, and around the world. They are rehearsed narratives and consequently they illustrate the same themes and basic narratives as their speeches from 1973. This is not to say that these later narratives are somehow less true as a result, but rather that activists have consistently told these stories during their campaigns and that very little has changed in how they tell them. They continue to highlight the same issues of land, identity, and history in their narratives now as they did then. That the same issues appear in stories from the time and in the reflections of activists now emphasizes the significance of these themes to the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn and in how activists make sense of those events in the present.

Movement Stories

As the literature on social movement narratives suggests, stories are distinct in several ways from the other discursive tools available to movements, such as facts and analysis. They have a clearly demarcated beginning, middle, and end, and are

purposefully crafted, through plot and moral, to convey a particular message.[10] Consequently, in order to inspire action and create transnational solidarity, movement stories have to "persuasively present […] information about unjust conditions, key issues, and the central parties in the struggle."[11] The plot and moral of the story are crucial to this. As Sharon Nepstad has noted, "moral clarity is essential in building transnational solidarity movements since European and North American audiences will not make an emotional investment in a distant conflict unless there is a despicable enemy who commits egregious offenses against innocent victims."[12] Consequently, movement stories often identify heroes and villains in familiar binaries, such as American Indians and the US government at Wounded Knee or Welsh people and the English government at Tryweryn. It is this, according to Polletta, that makes them so influential: "they mesh with other familiar stories that navigate similarly between the culturally privileged and denigrated poles of well-known oppositions."[13] Through clearly defining the familiar heroes and villains in the three elements of the plot (challenge, choice, and outcome), activists' stories can be more effective in educating and mobilizing people in support than the dry facts and figures, especially when they coincide with stories already familiar to the audience, such as Tryweryn.[14]

Another important factor in the effectiveness of movement stories are "their openness to interpretation."[15] Narratives can be ambiguous in various ways, from the multiple meanings of words and events, to whose story the narrator is telling. In the

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[10] Polletta, 7; William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* (Mar 1992): 1367.
[11] Nepstad, 137.
[12] Nepstad, 137.
[13] Polletta, 15.
[14] Nepstad, 137.
[15] Polletta, 10.

Wounded Knee and Tryweryn stories, for example, the events and issues could be interpreted in several ways, as could their significance as victories or losses. In addition, there is sometimes slippage regarding whether the storyteller is relating his or her own story, the story of their people, or both at the same time. As Polletta makes clear, this ambiguity helps movements to "forge coalitions across difference" since "the possibility of interpreting the story in different ways allowed groups with different stakes in the issue to sign on to a common project of reform."[16] The ambiguities in the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn therefore allowed multiple interpretations, regardless of the original intentions of the storyteller. Depending on the perspective of the audience, Wounded Knee, for example, could be seen as a beginning or an end. It could be interpreted as a battle between Indians and white people, Indians and white Americans, Indians and the US government, the proletarian and capitalist classes, or an oppressed ethnic minority and a privileged majority. It could also be understood as a campaign for treaty rights, civil rights, or human rights. The variety of possible interpretations in these stories therefore allowed audiences to make sense of the narratives based on their own experiences. This, in turn, enabled AIM to build global networks of cooperation with diverse people who had assorted goals as they responded in ways AIM did not always anticipate.

Kernel stories or metonymies are the other significant literary concepts useful in understanding the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn and their strategic deployment by American Indian and Welsh activists. In her article on personal narratives in women's rap groups in the 1970s, part of the larger movement of Consciousness Raising groups,

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[16] Polletta 178.

Susan Kolcik describes the use of what she terms “kernel stories.” She defines them as “a brief reference to the subject, the central action, or an important piece of dialogue from a longer story.” Kernel stories can be especially concise if the audience is familiar with the reference, an allusion to the larger narrative. In Kolcik’s article, for example, the phrase “like X’s student” represented a longer story of a student who was unhappy with her A grade because her boyfriend had threatened to end their relationship over her high marks. In group discussions, it became shorthand for how “men do not like women to display their intelligence.”[17] Understanding the way that these kernel stories or metonymies function within movement stories is essential, although methodologically difficult, as Polletta outlines. The stories that activists tell set out the urgency of problems they face, the conditions that are responsible, the reforms that are necessary, and the appropriate and essential course of action. However, these are “rarely told in full.” Instead, metonymies “function as a causal thread” in activists’ stories, evoking the audience’s understandings of the challenges, choices, and outcomes with a brief word or reference.[18] As I outlined at the beginning of this chapter, Wounded Knee and Tryweryn function in similar ways in the larger histories of AIM and Welsh nationalists. It is therefore crucial to understand what larger narratives these kernel stories evoked in order to comprehend how and why different audiences reacted to AIM’s campaigns in the ways they did, which I explore in later chapters.

[17] Susan Kalcik, “…like Ann’s gynecologist or the time I was almost raped”: Personal Narratives in Women’s Rap Groups,” *Journal of American Folklore* 88, no. 347 (Jan.-Mar. 1975): 7, 9.
[18] Polletta, 61-2.

Stories of Wounded Knee

The stories of the siege at Wounded Knee in 1973 have all these elements. To briefly summarize, AIM had previously been involved in protesting murders on the Pine Ridge reservation, where their actions brought them into conflict with the tribal chairman and Bureau of Indian Affairs sympathizer, Dick Wilson. These tensions erupted into violence in early 1973. While the exact chronology of events is disputed, AIM seized control of the town of Wounded Knee on February 27, 1973, with support from some Oglala residents. US military and government officials, including the FBI, surrounded it the same day.[19] A bloody standoff ensued, in which the sides traded bullets for over seventy days. Eventually, both sides agreed to disarm on May 5th, 1973, but not before two people had been killed, twelve wounded, and hundreds arrested.

During the siege, it became clear to both the American Indian Movement and federal officials that success in the court of public opinion would depend on getting their respective narratives heard, especially through the media, which gave AIM a national platform for their cause. Before this, AIM had been involved in the takeover at Alcatraz in 1969 and with the Trail of Broken Treaties, a march from the West Coast to Washington, D.C. that ended in the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in 1972. However, the events at Wounded Knee, and the subsequent trials of members involved, brought the Movement significant media attention and made them synonymous with Red Power in Americans' consciousness.[20] As Robert Warrior has noted: "Although

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[19] AIM and the FBI dispute who instigated the siege. AIM claim that the FBI surrounded the town while the Movement was conducting a meeting and that their takeover was a response to this, whereas the FBI claim they reacted in response to AIM's aggression.

[20] As historians such as Daniel Cobb have argued, in the historiography, Red Power and American Indian activism in general in the period has been synonymous with AIM. Yet, as his work illustrates, American

Wounded Knee climaxed a series of actions by American Indian activists…it was really the first moment to which the press devoted sustained attention to Native issues."[21] John Sayer also contended in his book, *Ghost Dancing the Law*, that Wounded Knee and the resulting trials provided a unique opportunity for AIM to "voice their concerns to a wider audience." The majority of the public would get their information from the news, making the media an important channel for telling AIM's story.[22]

Certainly, AIM leaders had hoped that the siege would raise awareness of their causes and, as AIM's National Director Vernon Bellecourt remarked, "provide an opportunity for the United States government, American society, and the world to bring about acts that will change…conditions for our people."[23] It was not only the US media, but also reporters from at least twelve other countries who covered the story.[24] AIM was clearly aware of the potential of the Wounded Knee occupation to reach a wider audience than previous protests, not just domestically, but also internationally.

Given the media attention, the siege at Wounded Knee became a battle of narratives. As scholar Casey Kelly has argued, the FBI employed what he termed "rhetorical counterinsurgency" to suppress AIM at Wounded Knee. In their bulletins and propaganda, they used particular themes of "communist infiltration, guerrilla enemies,

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Indian activism in the 1960s and 1970s included a far broader array of peoples, events, causes, and tactics than those usually associated with the Movement. *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

[21] Robert Warrior, "Past and Present at Wounded Knee," in *Defining Moments in Journalism*, ed. Nancy J. Woodhull and Robert W. Snyder (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998), 47.

[22] John William Sayer, *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 3, 9.

[23] Pamphlet on Wounded Knee, published by INCOMINDIOS, Geneva 1974, (146.H.13.9B, Box 100, "Foreign Publications") Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[24] Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 266.

and irrational or unjustified violence" on the part of AIM to discredit the goals of the movement and justify FBI action.[25] Alternately, depending on who was telling the story, the event was "a site of Communist insurgency, a re-creation of Vietnam, or a new sovereign Indian space," or the story of "the outgunned, indigenous people in an occupied zone asserting a moral right against the material might of the United States, a reversal of the compelling narrative of the United States airlifting food to a Berlin besieged by communist forces."[26] In particular, the Vietnam conflict provided an important context in both U.S. and European media, as it was becoming increasingly common to compare the "contemporary imperialism" of Vietnam with the "past imperialism" suffered by American Indians.[27] This was especially true in media narratives in Europe, where anti-Vietnam protests had been escalating since the mid-1960s.[28]

Initially, the US media was sympathetic to AIM's narrative. Wounded Knee "was a fixture on the national evening news for weeks" and initially that media coverage resulted in concrete gains for AIM. A Harris poll showed that 93 percent of Americans were aware of the protest and that 51 percent of those were sympathetic to the Native people involved.[29] There were also concrete links between media coverage of the occupation and European support. As Mark Banks, a charismatic Ojibwe activist, media personality, and the older brother of AIM leader Dennis Banks, recalled, Wounded Knee

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[25] Casey Ryan Kelly, "Rhetorical Counterinsurgency: The FBI and the American Indian Movement," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 10 (2007): 235.
[26] Rosier, 269.
[27] Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 100.
[28] For more on anti-Vietnam protests in Europe, see Andreas W. Daum, Lloyd C. Gardner, and Wilfried Mausbach, ed., *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
[29] Warrior, "Past and Present at Wounded Knee," 50, 49.

"was news…all over the world and Europeans picked up on it. And it [the support] just grew and grew and grew."[30] Also, according to Houma Indian Chris Spotted Eagle, a filmmaker, radio show host, and AIM activist: "There was support out there because it was in the German papers, it was in the French papers. The reporting on Wounded Knee was…a big interest to the French, to the Germans, and some of the English. I think some of the Italians too."[31] As one Italian student wrote in her letter to the radical Mohawk newsletter, *Akwesasne Notes*, "Here in Italy very little is known about the American Indian…though the recent events at Wounded Knee helped clear ideas a bit."[32] As AIM had hoped, the events at Wounded Knee made national and international headlines and brought their story to the world's attention.

That the narratives being conveyed through the media were important to the potential success of this campaign is evident in federal officials' reaction to the public opinion poll. Once they realized that their story was not being told as effectively, the FBI began to limit media access to the AIM activists inside Wounded Knee. Mark Banks recalled: "the Harris poll…showed that the vast majority of white Americans favored the position of the American Indians and AIM…so they [the FBI] said that, 'From now on, no one is allowed free access into inside of Wounded Knee. If you want to find out what's happening, you come to us and we'll give you the news.' Well, of course, that news is biased in favor of the FBI and the US Marshals."[33]

Media coverage waned as the siege wore on, as did the support from the majority of the American public. In part, this was due to reporters' lack of access, but also the

[30] Mark Banks, interview.
[31] Spotted Eagle, interview.
[32] Letter from Paola Ludovici, Rome, Italy, *Akwesasne Notes* 5, no. 5 (Early Autumn 1973): 46.
[33] Mark Banks, interview.

proliferation of a different narrative in the news reports. Early stories depicted a romantic view of AIM leaders as heroic warriors with a just cause, one that, according to Mark Banks, encouraged the public to think, "The Indians have a right to take up a gun against us because of the way we've treated them, the way we've cheated them, and the way we've tried to exterminate them and made all these treaties and broke them. No wonder they're angry."[34] Later reports, however, depicted the activists as "renegade" or "hostile" Indians, in imagery straight out of a Hollywood western.[35] In turn, certain newspapers reported that these were not "real" Indians since they hardly knew how to act like warriors. In one notorious and oft-repeated anecdote, a reporter watched "several Indians shoot a cow for food." When the cow did not die, "the Indians [were] mystified" and the reporter had to not only demonstrate to these 'warriors' how to kill an animal, but also how to butcher the carcass.[36] Clearly, the mainstream media argued, if AIMsters could not hunt properly, they were only pretenders and therefore not deserving of the public sympathy they had been developing. It is evident in these news reports that AIM's narrative of a just struggle against government oppression had been replaced by the FBI's story of "pretend" Indians from the cities disrupting the peaceful life of Pine Ridge residents.

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[34] Mark Banks, interview.

[35] Mary Ann Weston, *Native Americans in the news: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 142-8. For a more detailed examination of the changing rhetoric of newspapers covering the Wounded Knee siege, see Mavis Ione Richardson, "Constructing Two Cultural Realities: Newspaper Coverage of Two American Indian Protest Events" (PhD Diss., University of Minnesota, 2005); Miranda J. Brady, "The Occupation of Wounded Knee: Press Coverage of the American Indian Movement" (MSc Thesis, San Jose State University, 2003); and Robert Warrior, "Past and Present at Wounded Knee."

[36] Terri Schultz, "Bamboozle Me Not at Wounded Knee," *Harper's Magazine* 246 (June 1973): 48, (147.I.11.10F, Box 225, "Wounded Knee Case: Correspondence and Related Papers,") Gerald W. Heaney Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

American reporters seemed very aware of how these narratives were being constructed. The *Chicago Tribune*'s March 25th story, for example, suggested that the melodramatics of the narrative obscured the reality of the protest with its title, "Theatrics Overwhelm the Uprising." The report emphasized this with a story of a young AIM sentry who "had to be reminded that he didn't look very mean or warlike with an expensive camera dangling next to his rifle."[37] Clearly, the reporters had an interest in portraying AIM as 'real' Indians for the public, but, in a scene reminiscent of Edward Curtis erasing telegraph wires or bringing costumes with him, they were aware that a camera had no place in that image of 'warlike" Sioux on the rampage again.

Figure 2. Associated Press photo, "A Member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) at Wounded Knee, SD. (1973).[38]

Likewise, reporter Desmond Smith of *The Nation* stated at the time: "Wounded Knee was an example of a new and expanding strategy of political manipulation that neatly

[37] "Theatrics Overwhelm the Uprising," *Chicago Tribune*, March 25, 1973.
[38] Associated Press, "A Member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) at Wounded Knee, SD. (1973)," courtesy of AP/ Wide World, "America's History in the Making – Resource Archive," accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.learner.org/courses/amerhistory/resource_archive/resource.php?unitChoice=20&ThemeNum=1&resourceType=1&resourceID=10112.

circumvents the ordinary processes of government. Its essential element is that it makes a direct and powerful appeal to the public through the mass media."[39] US reporters were not only aware of how these narratives were being constructed to gain support through the media, but also resented the ways in which it manipulated them and their reporting.

Interestingly, some American journalists also expressed their anger and frustration at being exploited by both sides in this narrative battle and unable to tell the "truth" about what was happening. In her *Harper's Magazine* article, "Bamboozle Me Not at Wounded Knee," Terri Schultz claimed that "the story of Wounded Knee II had everything: the pathos of cruel injustice, the heroism of bold rebellion, the mystic chords of America's myths and memories. All it lacked was truth."[40] She maintained that Wounded Knee was a "pseudo-event" and that "both sides of the dispute…lied enthusiastically to compensate for an overwhelming mediocrity."[41] After exploring a number of different perspectives, including white people in Custer and Gordon, Dick Wilson and his family, the FBI, and AIM members, she harshly concluded that the stories of Wounded Knee were "stories of battles without glory, heroes without bravery, romance without vision…We wrote good cowboy-and-Indian stories because we thought it was what the public wanted, and they were harmless, even if they were not all true."[42] Written before the FBI barred the press from the scene, this analysis highlights again that some reporters were already becoming aware of the ways in which these narratives were being crafted and the purposes they served in not only drawing attention to the "pseudo-event," but also in attracting sympathy for each side. Given the description of the story of Wounded Knee at the

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[39] Desmond Smith, *The Nation*, June 25, 1973.
[40] Schultz, "Bamboozle Me Not at Wounded Knee," 46.
[41] Schultz, 46, 48.
[42] Schultz, 56.

beginning of the article, it appeared that AIM's narrative had been particularly effective in portraying themselves as heroes and Indians as victims of injustice, as well as drawing on national memories of Wounded Knee in 1890. That this was the narrative Schultz aimed to undermine in her piece suggests that this was the popular story of what was happening on Pine Ridge. Finally, it is interesting to note that whatever narratives were coming out of Wounded Knee, the media was tailoring them to the public taste, "what the public wanted," rather than what AIM perhaps intended. However, they were not as "harmless" as Schultz suggested, given the media backlash when AIM members did not act as the "good cowboy-and-Indian stories" delineated.

The US news media was ultimately not a helpful medium through which AIM could tell their story. Timothy Baylor noted that they often used familiar frames in reports, focusing on such issues as civil rights and violence, which obfuscated AIM's narrative of treaty rights. Consequently, "there were few, if any, long term advantages gained by AIM and the Indian movement from the visibility provided by the media."[43] This is typical of movements whose experiences might be unfamiliar to the majority of their audience. Their narratives are often "assimilated to canonical plot lines and misheard as a result."[44] In this case, American audiences were already familiar with, and possibly had personal experience of, the tropes of civil rights and violent protest, given the media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Panthers and other dissident groups. However, very few had any understanding of treaty rights.

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[43] Timothy Baylor, "Media Framing of Movement Protest: The Case of American Indian Protest," *The Social Science Journal* 33, no. 3 (July 1996): 248.
[44] Polletta, 141.

Consequently, AIM's story of Wounded Knee became assimilated to fit already familiar discourses.

As previously suggested by Mark Banks and Chris Spotted Eagle, the media also played a role in conveying AIM's story to European audiences. European newspapers used news copy from their own reporters, either at Wounded Knee or in Washington, D.C., as well as from the Associated Press, Reuters, and the AFP (Agence France-Presse). In doing so, the international media conveyed some of the negative features of the FBI's narrative. For example, some West German newspapers used such terms as "'rebel Indians' ('rebellische Indianer'), 'insurgent Sioux' ('aufrührerische Sioux'), or 'Indian War' ('Indianerkrieg')."[45] Also, reporters drew attention to FBI reports of divisions between AIM activists and Pine Ridge residents, as well as within AIM itself.[46] In a March 9, 1973 article, the French newspaper *Le Monde* described the conflict as not "a simple confrontation between, on one side the rebelling Indians, and, on the other, the authorities of the former winners, the Whites." The reporter commented that the majority of AIM activists at Wounded Knee were not from Pine Ridge and that they were in fact mostly urban Indians.[47] Likewise, an April 5th report in the *London Times* remarked that an agreement was being signed between AIM and federal officials, in part due to "dissensions among the Indians and the calmness of federal marshals."[48] Neither were these reports immune from using stereotypical images or phrases. For example, on March 5th, the *London Times* ran a report titled "Smoke Signals from the Sioux" and a month

[45] Aribert Schroeder, "'They Lived Together With their Dogs and Horses': 'Indian Copy' in West German Newspapers 1968-1982," in Christian F. Feest, ed. *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), 531.
[46] Schroeder, 533.
[47] Jacques Amalric, "La tension monte a Wounded Knee après la rupture des négociations entre les Indiens et les autorités," *Le Monde*, March 9, 1973, 7.
[48] "Pipes of Peace ready at Wounded Knee," *Times* (London), April 5, 1973, 6.

later, their April 5th report was titled "Pipes of Peace ready at Wounded Knee." In many ways, the narrative about Wounded Knee that appeared in European newspapers suffered from the same deficiencies as in their US counterparts; after the FBI limited media access, the federal narrative gained more attention and the coverage of Wounded Knee itself also decreased as Watergate took center stage.[49]

Despite this, it is evident that AIM's narrative, particularly concerning land, identity, and history, was more successful in gaining coverage in European newspapers than in the US media. While domestic support declined as these negative images increased, support in Europe rarely wavered, and successful storytelling appeared to be key to this. In the articles of the *London Times*, the *Guardian*, and *Le Monde*, for example, treaty rights, the poor living conditions of Indian peoples, and the unbalanced construction of the historical narrative of US History garnered considerable attention. Consequently, despite some negative portrayals of AIM's position in these media reports, the overall impression was that the Movement activists were the heroes and the US Government was the villain of the story. This would ultimately provide AIM with a crucial basis for European support.

Land

Land played an important role in the stories AIM activists told about their stand at Wounded Knee, particularly through treaty rights. As Mark Banks related:

> the United States government signed 389 separate and distinct treaties with various Indian nations, and I say nations because treaties are never signed between nations and tribes. These treaties are signed as equal partners, nation to nation, and sadly the United States government broke 371 of these 389 treaties. And Congress, with a stroke of a pen, abrogated hundreds of treaties, saying

[49] Rosier, 270.

> “these treaties no longer exist,” and just erased them from the record. This kind of action was unprecedented in the world…single treaties were challenged or single treaties were attacked or altered or changed, but for Congress of the United States just to, by the stroke of a pen, wipe out and erase hundreds of treaties, with no redress, it was unheard of in the world.[50]

This story of violations of treaty rights by the US government emphasized several issues important to AIM’s larger narrative. First, it set out the sovereignty of Indian nations in their treaty making. As Vine Deloria Jr. has argued, this claim had larger reverberations in a Europe whose empires were in the midst of decolonization, where “the community of nations had become a community in which even the smallest nation had rights which could not be violated.”[51] As Oglala activists Russell Means and Lorelai DeCora suggested at the time, the international media coverage meant that the world was becoming aware of the sovereign status of American Indian nations and the U.S. government’s violation of treaty rights. DeCora noted of the struggle: “Everybody that's ever had a fight for freedom is watching this…People even across the world are watching the credibility of American treaties. They never realized - I don't think people in other countries realized - there were treaties with Indian tribes here, and nothing was being done about them.” Consequently, Means maintained, the United States was “going to have to answer to our treaty rights, not only to the Indian people of America, but to all the countries of the world.”[52] Other important Oglala leaders, such as Gladys Bissonnette and

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[50] Mark Banks, interview.
[51] Quoted in Rosier, 267.
[52] Quoted in Robert Anderson et al., ed., *Voices from Wounded Knee, 1973: In the Words of the Participants* (New York: Akwesasne Notes, 1974), 56.

Ellen Moves Camp, also drew attention to the sovereignty of the Independent Oglala Nation inherent in the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.[53]

The abrogation of treaty responsibilities as a result of mineral rights was also a popular theme in this story. Hobart Keith, who served as a tribal court judge and council member on the Pine Ridge reservation, argued that the root of Indians' problems lay in U.S. capitalists' desire to exploit Native energy resources: "That's why they have this cluster housing…to get the Indian off his land so they can take the rest of it. I know there's got to be gas and oil there and that big money's ready to go after it." Likewise, Mark Banks reflected that often control over natural resources was the basis for the taking of Indian land without any protest from Congress.[54] In AIM's narrative, the bureaucracy of Washington had proven itself very capable of violating nations' rights and there was no political recourse for American Indians.

Unlike in the US media, where Timothy Baylor has identified treaty rights as the least used media frame for the Wounded Knee conflict, treaty rights took center stage in European newspaper reports. In *Le Monde* on March 3, 1973, the reporter clearly stated the importance of these claims to the Movement: "They are asking in particular for an investigation on the application of treaties between the Indian peoples and the federal government at the end of the last century."[55] The paper highlighted this demand again on March 6th and March 9th, explaining more specifically that AIM activists wanted an investigation into "the application of 371 treaties," reflecting the exact number quoted by AIM members. They also detailed a longer history of the Sioux nations in their March

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[53] Quoted in Anderson et al., 57.
[54] Mark Banks, interview.
[55] "Les Indiens de Wounded-Knee ont Libéré Leurs Otages," *Le Monde*, March 3, 1973, 4.

11-12 March, which included a short history of the treaties made with and broken by the US government in the nineteenth century. Likewise, the *London Times* op-ed on March 5th emphasized that any government policy or attempt at reconciliation, "must start by respecting their [Indian peoples'] very deep feelings about the lands that were taken from them."[56] The *Manchester Guardian* further suggested that getting Indians to trust those sorts of promises might be tough for the federal government, given their long history of breaking them "since 1789 when George Washington appointed George Knox as the first administrator of Federal Indian policies."[57] These European newspaper reports therefore not only identified Indian treaty rights as an important challenge faced by Indian peoples, but also often commented on the US government's role in circumventing the agreements.

Mineral rights issues were also mentioned, including the discovery of gold in the Black Hills as a reason for the violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868. *Le Monde* described the violations as concerning "the diversions of rivers and the stealing of land." The narrative became even clearer when the paper reprinted statements from Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Carter Camp in its almost full-page report on the siege on March 29th. According to Banks: "We need to impress an image of the Indian who won't permit the racist senators of Arizona, Nevada, or Utah to divert the waters of the Colorado and give us in exchange their empty waters any more."[58] In these European newspapers' discussions of treaty rights, they emphasized similar aspects to AIM's narrative. They focused on the violation of those treaties by Congress and suggested that

[56] "Smoke Signals from the Sioux," *Times* (London), March 5, 1973, 13.
[57] Linda Christmas, "Bended Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 2, 1973, 14.
[58] Jacques Amalric, "La tension monte a Wounded Knee après la rupture des négociations entre les Indiens et les autorités," *Le Monde*, March 9, 1973, 7; Pierre Dommergues, "DENNIS BANKS: respecter les norms indiennes," *Le Monde*, March 29, 1973, 2.

American Indians had little recourse, given that US politicians were the perpetrators of these problems and had been since the beginning of the relationship.

Identity

Another key feature of AIM's stories of the challenges facing American Indians was the threat to their identity, particularly language and culture. In their narratives, Indians suffered from the oppression of their language and culture, especially through assimilationist education, and had been left without pride in their own identity. As such, AIM activists were needed to take a stand and address these issues. For example, Ojibwe activist Clyde Bellecourt, a founding member of AIM, has talked about his mother being punished for "speaking Indian" while at boarding school. He recalled being able to hear her speak a language he didn't understand with neighbors late at night. When he confronted her about it and asked her to teach him, she responded: "Oh, shush, forget about that. Go to school. Study hard. Who knows, you might be President someday, you know?"[59] Dennis Banks, a co-founder of AIM and member of the Leech Lake Ojibwe nation, has also spoken at length about the detrimental effects of the boarding schools on his community.[60] To Bellecourt, the boarding schools were part of a larger experience of loss suffered by Indian peoples: "I had nothing. No language, no culture. Everything was oppressed with the oppression of this government against Indian people."[61] In narrating these challenges, AIM implied the desperate situation of their peoples had resulted in the loss of pride and the fear of reprisals, and suggested that urgent action was needed.

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[59] Clyde Bellecourt, interview, October 4, 2011.
[60] See for example, his autobiography, *Ojiwba Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), and his interview with the Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy, http://griid.org/2009/11/15/interview-with-dennis-banks/.
[61] Clyde Bellecourt, interview, October 4, 2011.

Interestingly, this facet of the narrative gained less attention in European newspapers than the other two. On March 2, the *Guardian* commented: "there's no such thing as Indian education. It is an American education…Not surprisingly, their dropout rate is incredibly high."[62] On the same day, *Le Monde* also discussed the problems of high mortality rates and high dropout rates faced by Indian peoples, but that represented the sum total of discussions about assimilationist education and loss of culture.[63] In fact, there were several reports that suggested Indians had not in any way lost their culture, describing the Pine Ridge reservation as one where the 'Sioux' language was almost exclusively spoken and cultural practices were being revived.[64] Yet, at least one of these newspapers still related AIM's viewpoint that the loss of cultural pride and the dejection of Indian peoples justified them taking a stand at Wounded Knee. As the *London Times* remarked on April 30th, while Richard Wilson claimed that the Movement activists were intruders, "it is the militants' argument that reservation Indians have…lost all dignity and all individuality. They claim that only militant action can restore the Indians to their dignity and their rights."[65] Even when a particular narrative theme was not as ubiquitous, some European newspapers still told the story and suggested that AIM's actions might be reasonable.

History

Wounded Knee was not just a battle of narratives, but also a battle over historical narratives. AIM's story often centered on correcting the history being told and reminding Euro-Americans that Indian peoples had not vanished, despite centuries of mistreatment.

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[62] Linda Christmas, "Bended Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 2, 1973, 14.
[63] "Plus de deux cents Indiens occupent un village du Dakota du Sud," *Le Monde*, March 2, 1973, 2.
[64] See, for example, Linda Christmas, "Bended Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 2, 1973, 14.
[65] Patrick Brogan,"Wounded Knee tense after two Indians die," *Times* (London), April 30, 1973, 4.

As Mark Banks reflected, “By and large, the story’s been untold and there’s a complete lack of knowledge about the history of what happened to the Native Americans in their dealings with the United States government…It’s a story of tyranny, a story of subjugation, a story of genocide.”[66] This theme was also clear in the stories of Clyde Bellecourt, who spoke of how “nothing was being taught in the public and parochial school systems about Indian people, not our culture, tradition, our form of government, what were the contributions made, how did we help people who come here?”[67] Again, the AIM narratives emphasized the injustices faced by Indian peoples and the motivations for the occupation of Wounded Knee, particularly since Indian people had tried to help initial settlers, only to be consistently subjugated and dispossessed.

European media also emphasized the longer history behind the conflict in their articles. The *London Times*, for example, began its op-ed on March 6th with the story of how Indian generosity had been unjustly exploited: “In North America the Indians welcomed the white invaders with friendship and were slaughtered for their pains. This crime has never been expiated.”[68] Even towards the end of the struggle, when most US media sources had become disinterested, the *London Times* argued: “Most Americans nowadays would probably agree with the Indians that the Indian wars are the most shameful episode in American history. In one sense AIM is merely trying to correct the historical bias.”[69] As with the issue of land, the way that AIM’s stories about history filtered into European newspaper articles continued to serve the Movement’s interests. It

[66] Mark Banks, interview.
[67] Clyde Bellecourt, interview, October 4, 2011.
[68] “Smoke Signals from the Sioux,” *Times* (London), March 6, 1973, 13.
[69] Patrick Brogan,“Wounded Knee tense after two Indians die,” *Times* (London), April 30, 1973, 4.

clearly painted their struggle as one against injustice and one in which Indian peoples were victims and Euro-Americans were clearly the villains.

The massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 also served as the background to this particular theme. AIM drew on the legacy of the first Wounded Knee, and Euro-American understandings of it as a tragedy, during the siege. In March 1973, Russell Means stood by the mass graves of those who had died in 1890, and noted: "The white man says that the 1890 massacre was the end of the wars with the Indian, that it was the end of the Indian, the end of the Ghost Dance. Yet here we are at war, we're still Indians, and we're Ghost Dancing again."[70] In invoking the first Wounded Knee, AIM leaders not only drew attention to previous instances of government brutality, but also suggested that there was continuity between the events. The injustices against Indians had continued since 1890, while Indians themselves had not vanished. Again, this functioned as a justification for the actions of AIM and the Oglala activists. In his stories, Mark Banks discussed how the "traditional people" at Wounded Knee had invited AIM to take part, and it was they who chose the location: "And the traditional people said, 'A lot of you people have wondered why we have come to Wounded Knee, instead of going to the BIA building at Pine Ridge - because this place holds special significance for our people. 300 of our people are buried here in a mass grave and we would do dishonor to them if we did not stand up for them and for ourselves.'" Wounded Knee resident Rachel Hollow Horn also emphasized the importance of the 1890 event to her motivations in 1973. When asked why she had stayed in the village during the entire siege, she responded that she had "a wound that was never healed." Hollow Horn went on to explain how her

[70] Quoted in Robert Anderson et al., 89.

grandfather and her father's three older brothers had all died from injuries they received in the 1890 massacre.[71] These stories emphasize the importance of the first Wounded Knee to AIM's narrative as it once more gave them justification for their actions. Not only did it represent a longer, uninterrupted history of oppression, but also invoked a moral need to stand up for themselves to respect the memory of those who had been massacred.

This background narrative of a longer history of oppression represented by the kernel story of Wounded Knee also dominated European media coverage, especially at the beginning of the siege in early March 1973. Many of the newspaper reports also explicitly drew the connection explicitly between the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890 and AIM's choice to protest there. From their very first reports on the siege, the European newspapers informed their readers about the history of the site and said that AIM had not chosen it at random.[72] The *Guardian* led with a report titled, "Second battle of Wounded Knee," and introduced readers to the protest by locating it in "the town where Chief Sitting Bull met his tragic end."[73] Some readers explicitly recognized that this knowledge of the background was critical to understanding the 1973 protest, but argued that the *Guardian*'s March 1st report seemed particularly unable to serve that purpose. In her letter to the editor, Anne Sellers sharply criticized the historical inaccuracies rampant in Simon Winchester's prose and corrected his mistake in writing that Chief Sitting Bull had been killed at Wounded Knee in 1890. If he had bothered to go to South Dakota, instead

[71] Quoted in Anderson et al., 155.
[72] See, for example, Peter Strafford, "Whites Held Hostage by Sioux Indians," *Times* (London), March 1, 1973, 1; "Plus de deux cents Indiens occupent un village du Dakota du Sud," *Le Monde*, March 2, 1973, 2; Jacques Amalric, "La tension monte à Wounded Knee après la rupture des négociations entre les Indiens et les autorités," *Le Monde*, March 9, 1973, 7; Patrick Brogan, "Wounded Knee tense after two Indians die," *Times* (London) April 30, 1973, 4.
[73] Simon Winchester, "Second battle of Wounded Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 1, 1973, 1.

of reporting from Washington, D.C., she contended, his article might have been more accurate. She argued: "We need a more accurate report than your correspondent gives us to understand the significance of Wounded Knee to the Sioux people, and the exploitation of this significance by the American Indian Movement."[74] Sellers' letter suggests that not only were some readers aware of the history of Wounded Knee, but that they also recognized that people needed to know that story in order to understand the current protests. Armed with this knowledge, Sellers implied, readers would not only be conscious of the longer history of government oppression, but also how AIM used this significance. Sellers herself was clearly attentive to the ways in which AIM crafted its narrative and how the history of Wounded Knee functioned as a critical part of that story.

The newspapers illustrated their own awareness of AIM's purpose and the larger battle of narratives throughout the coverage. In particular, they drew attention to the language used to describe the events at Wounded Knee in 1890 and whether it was a battle or massacre. In Winchester's March 1st report, he noted that Wounded Knee was "particularly famous…for the battle, or perhaps more accurately, the massacre" of December 1890.[75] In describing the earlier events this way, the newspapers clearly demarcated the victims and villains in this story and implied that AIM might be justified in its actions. On March 5th, the *Times* editorial noted that the village was "the site of a particularly savage and unprovoked massacre in 1890," which flipped the common trope of Indian savagery to suggest that it was the US government that was brutal and vicious

[74] Letter from Anne Sellers, "Wounded Knee: Big Foot's Boot Hill," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 5, 1973, 10.
[75] Simon Winchester, "Second battle of Wounded Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 1, 1973, 1.

in its unjust attack.[76] If readers thought that such action was only in the past, the *Guardian*'s report of March 3rd and the *Times* report two days later assured them that this could still turn into "a repetition of the massacre," suggesting that the US government might repeat its unjust attack on innocent Indians.[77] Not only did the newspapers' comments about Wounded Knee in 1890 serve to remind readers who had been the victims and villains of the story, but they also suggested that those sides remained the same in the present conflict and that the same thing could happen again.

European newspaper reports also exemplified another interesting aspect of AIM's challenges surrounding the historical narrative and the language used to describe Wounded Knee in 1890. In one of their last reports on the siege, the *London Times* suggested that AIM's actions were in part directed at correcting the terrible historical bias surrounding the earlier event. The correspondent, Patrick Brogan, remarked on how the *Encyclopedia Americana* called Wounded Knee "a battle," but Little Big Horn, where Custer was killed, a "massacre." AIM, he said, was "merely trying to correct the historical bias" typified by the encyclopedia entry.[78] In doing so, the newspapers suggested, AIM was trying to correct injustices beyond treaty rights and reservation conditions. The movement was also attempting to correct the injustices that had continued to be wrought in the history books.

The *Guardian* editorial of March 2nd emphasized this idea, but suggested that AIM was rectifying the historical narrative that claimed Wounded Knee in 1890 was the end of the Indian Wars and the end of a people. The article began with Black Elk's

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[76] "Smoke Signals from the Sioux," *Times* (London), March 6, 1973, 13.
[77] Simon Winchester, "Home of Sioux leader bombed," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 3, 1973, 2; "Indians seek bloodless way out of Wounded Knee," *Times* (London), March 5, 1973, 5.
[78] Patrick Brogan, "Wounded Knee tense after two Indians die," *Times* (London) April 30, 1973, 4.

speech from Dee Brown's book, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, in which he said, "I did not know then how much has ended…A people's dream died there." The author then led readers through a description of the challenges of reservation life before suggesting that Dee Brown's recent telling of this story "left them in no mood to listen or lobby quietly any longer." As such, she noted, "the battle is just beginning." With this ending, which contrasted with the idea introduced by Black Elk's speech at the start of the article, the reporter suggested Wounded Knee in 1890 was not the end of the Indian Wars or of Indian people's determination to survive, echoing AIM's own narrative. Instead, while Wounded Knee in 1890 has become known as an "end" in the longer narrative of Indian peoples' history in the US, this reporter reflected AIM's perspective that it had not been the end of the injustices, since they had continued, and now AIM would recast Wounded Knee. It would no longer reflect an "end," but instead was a "beginning" in Indian history.

The representation of all three of these themes, land, identity, and history, set up part of the plot of AIM's Wounded Knee narrative, namely the challenges facing American Indians. Some articles also explained another plot element, the choice facing Movement activists as a result of those challenges. Reporters discussed a long history of broken promises made to Indian peoples by the federal government, and suggested that while a political solution might be possible, it would take significant effort on the part of the US government to make up for their past failures. They also made clear that AIM did not think there was a political recourse. As one letter to the editor of the London *Times*

from anarchist and writer Dachine Rainer asked: "are they making any appeal to Washington at all – or have they given that up finally as a futile hope?"[79]

In doing so, despite their efforts to appear objective, the European newspapers implied or stated outright that American Indian peoples were the victims in this story and the federal government and white Americans in general were the villains. For example, at the very beginning of the siege, the *Guardian* claimed that the Wounded Knee church in which AIM activists were located was "a symbol of oppression and resentment. It is as poignant to all American Indians as it is the Sioux. It represents the march to progress: how the white man killed the people and raped the land."[80] Likewise, the *London Times* cautioned that the government needed to "move away from the inadequate and corroding paternalism of the past towards the restoration of a real sense of value to the lives of these survivors."[81] Even later in the siege, on March 29th, the *Guardian*'s editorial lauded Marlon Brando's Oscar protest, noting that "the injustice surrounding their [Indians'] condition in the US is clear." Not only were Native peoples "systematically killed," but they had also been "deprived of their land and culture" and suffered much higher rates of "unemployment, suicides, and alcoholism" than the national average.[82] The *Times* even declared AIM the winners of the siege on March 10, suggesting that the main object of the Movement, "to draw attention to the plight of Indians in the United States today…appears to have been achieved."[83] Therefore, by tracing the way that AIM's story of Wounded Knee is reflected in European newspapers about the siege, it is clear who

[79] Letter from Mrs. Dachine Rainer, "Siege of Wounded Knee," *Times* (London), March 15 1973, 17.
[80] Anthony Pearson, "You need to be very brave to remain proud and to ignore the reality," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 2, 1973, 14.
[81] "Smoke Signals from the Sioux," *Times* (London), March 5, 1973, 13.
[82] "An Oscar for Wounded Knee," *Guardian* (Manchester), March 29, 1973, 14.
[83] "Peace agreed at Wounded Knee after firing," *Times* (London), March 10, 1973, 5.

was winning the narrative battle. There is no trace of the disillusionment exhibited by US media towards the end of the conflict and AIM's narrative continued to be told. As Mark Banks reflected: "the FBI thought they were the good guys, but it turned out that the Native Americans were the good guys in this story."[84]

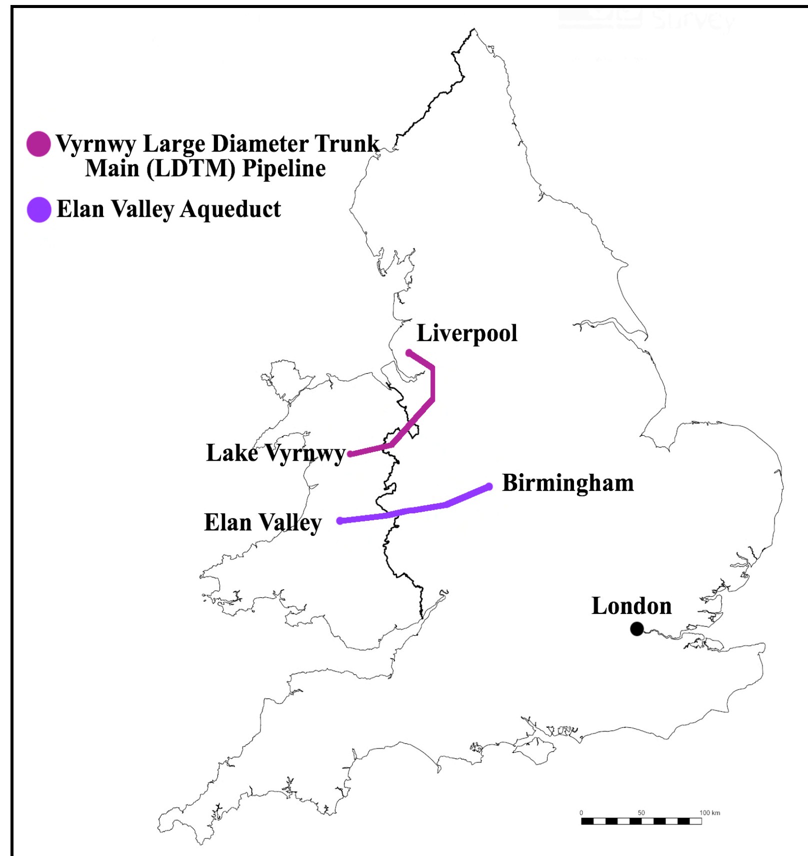
Tryweryn

In Wales, the story of Tryweryn featured the same major themes of land, identity, and history as that of Wounded Knee. Conflicts over Welsh water rights in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly at Tryweryn in mid-Wales, were fundamentally important to how Welsh nationalists understood both the problems of Welsh colonization and the most effective strategies to combat them. While Welsh political nationalism has its roots in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it experienced a resurgence in this period, and it is no coincidence that this was also a time where English councils and water authorities were building dams throughout Wales. Like Wounded Knee, the story of Tryweryn was a battle of narratives. According to English MPs and the city of Liverpool, the demands of a growing, modern English city took precedence over the existence of a small and rural town that was supposedly already in decline given its lack of modern amenities. To Welsh nationalists and the inhabitants of Capel Celyn, however, the small village was vibrant, productive, and a bastion of Welsh culture and language in the modern age. As such, the story of Tryweryn featured the same themes as that of Wounded Knee: land, identity, and history. It also had a similar moral in the centuries of unjust dispossession and subjugation suffered by Welsh people at the hands of the English and therefore had distinct heroes and villains.

[84] Mark Banks, interview.

Unlike the narrative of Wounded Knee, the story of Tryweryn has always been one of beginnings, despite also invoking the longer history of English cities building dams in Wales to provide water for their inhabitants. In 1888, for example, Liverpool completed construction on the reservoir at Lake Vyrnwy in mid-Wales, which necessitated the flooding of Llanwddyn village. In all, a church, two chapels, three inns, ten farmhouses, and thirty-seven houses were lost beneath the waters. Only a few years later, Birmingham began building a large reservoir system in the Elan Valley. This project entailed the destruction of Nantgwyllt village and the removal of its 100 inhabitants.[85] The projects also left additional scars on the terrain, as the pipelines and aqueducts required to carry the water to the English cities crossed the Welsh landscape.

[85] For more information on these lost villages, see the Powys Digital History Project website, "Victorian Powys for Schools," http://history.powys.org.uk/school1/llanfyllin/flooded.shtml and http://history.powys.org.uk/school1/rhayader/valley.shtml.



Map 2. Map of the Vyrnwy Pipeline and Elan Valley Aqueduct.[86]

Figures 3 and 4. The Nantmel Aqueduct, part of the Elan Valley Aqueduct system, 1899, 2006.[87]

[86] Map produced by author. Outline reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of the Ordnance Survey © Crown copyright 2010. The Tryweryn reservoir provides drinking water through maintaining the flow of water into the River Dee, rather than transferring water directly through pipelines. Consequently, it is not included in this map.

Despite their imposition on the landscape, as seen in Figures 3 and 4, and the fact that both of these projects had necessitated the relocation of local communities, the political opposition had either been minimal or non-existent.[88]

Sixty years later, concerned that its citizens' demands for water could not be met by existing supplies, the council of the growing English city of Liverpool announced that it would be flooding the Tryweryn Valley in North Wales solely to provide water for the city. To Welsh people, whose opinions had not been asked or permission sought, this was an insult. Not only would the project necessitate the forced relocation of the Welsh-speaking Capel Celyn community, but it also came only two years after the English Midlands expanded their reservoir system in the Elan Valley to provide more water for cities like Birmingham. Particularly troubling were the contemptible terms of that lease. The rental period was 999 years, during which the Midlands would extract about 75 million gallons a day from the whole Elan Valley system for which they would pay the paltry sum of 5 pence a year. In total, about 300 million gallons of water was leaving Wales for England every day almost for free.[89] To add to Welsh resentment, this water was often sold back to the Welsh communities from which it was taken at a higher price than the English cities were paying.[90] Water was being taken from Wales without consent and without fair compensation.

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[87] The Nantmel Aqueduct, Gathering the Jewels, accessed April 17, 2012, http://education.gtj.org.uk/en/item1/29105; "Aqueduct carrying water from the Elan Valley," Geograph Britain and Ireland, accessed April 17, 2012, http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/310236.

[88] John Humphries, *Freedom Fighters: Wales Forgotten 'War,' 1963-1993* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 12.

[89] Plaid Cymru, "Water Sell Out (n.d.)," *Ymgyrchu!*, National Library of Wales, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Diwydiant/DWEL03en.htm; Plaid Cymru, "Water, Water, Everywhere," *Ymgyrchu!*, National Library of Wales, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Diwydiant/DWEL04a.htm.

[90] Plaid Cymru, "Water Sell out."

As national furor grew about this latest plan, Plaid Cymru's leader, lawyer and councilman Gwynfor Evans, directed a protest through the streets of Liverpool in November 1956 and the community rallied.

Figure 5. Save Tryweryn rally at Bala, North Wales, September 1956.
Figure 6. Protest in Liverpool to object to the drowning of Capel Celyn, 1956.[91]

A year later, 35 out of 36 Welsh MPs voted against the measure in Parliament, while one abstained, but it still passed. Despite clear and almost universal Welsh opposition, including further non-violent and violent protests, the village was flooded in 1965. To many nationalists, this demonstrated Wales' lack of real political power and sovereignty over its own resources.[92] As Roy Clews has argued: "the smouldering spark of nationalism was ready to burst into flame if the right tinder could be found." With Tryweryn functioning as the tinder, "the ignited spark of nationalism roared into the blasting flames of exploding bombs."[93] Not only were these issues a catalyst for the proliferation of Welsh nationalist groups, but also the basis for the international

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[91] "Save Tryweryn rally at Bala, September, 1956," *Ymgyrchu!* National Library of Wales, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Tryweryn/DWX02.htm; "Protest in Liverpool," *Ymgyrchu!* National Library of Wales, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Tryweryn/DWTR02.htm.

[92] Roy Clews, *To Dream of Freedom: the Struggle of MAC and the Free Wales Army* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1980), 18-19.

[93] Roy Clews, *To Dream of Freedom*, 15.

connections established by many of the activists involved. Tryweryn therefore proved to be the mother of Welsh nationalism in this period.[94]

Welsh Land

The narrative of Tryweryn is primarily a narrative of loss, the vanishing of land, culture, and history in one small village that reflected the larger colonial dispossession of Wales by England. The protest stories told at the time illustrated the importance of land particularly. It set out a narrative of opposition between the idyllic and productive pastoral landscape of Capel Celyn, and by association the heartland of Wales, and the industrial city of Liverpool. As one Plaid Cymru leaflet commented, the flooding of the valley would mean the destruction of good quality agricultural land, in spite of the opinion of Liverpool Council's Water Committee that "the farms which are to be drowned are no more than convenient stretches of second-rate land along a remote valley floor." The community was vibrant and "creative" and so, the pamphlet admonished, "do not wonder then at the anger of the Welsh when Liverpool calmly proclaims its purpose of putting an immense waterworks in the heart" of the area.[95]

This was emphasized further in a pamphlet published by the Tryweryn Defence Committee in 1957, which relied primarily on photographs to convey its message. The cover image was particularly evocative, showing two young children sitting on bicycles in a large meadow filled with "sunshine and daisies," their farm in the background.

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[94] Alan Llwyd, *Barddoniaeth y Chwedegau: Astudiaeth Lenyddol-Hanesyddol* ([n.p.]: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas, 1986), 80, quoted in Dr. E. Wyn James, "Painting the World Green: Dafydd Iwan and the Welsh Protest Ballad," *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 5 (2005): 596. He noted that "Darlith Saunders Lewis oedd y fydwraig; Tryweryn oedd y fam." The phrase translates as "Saunders Lewis [the founder of the Welsh nationalist political party Plaid Cymru] was the midwife; Tryweryn was the mother."

[95] Gwynfor Evans, "Save Cwm Tryweryn for Wales (1956)," Gathering the Jewels [online], http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/small/item/GTJ17376/ (accessed March 7, 2012), 2, 7.

TRYWERYN

Sunshine and daisies and two children at Capel Celyn. Their home, Ty'nybont Farm, is behind them—but for how long? If Liverpool drowns it, they must move on . . .

Figure 7. Front page of Tryweryn newsletter, c. 1957.[96]

The other photographs also conveyed the idea of a pastoral idyll as they featured beautiful vistas filled with large meadows, bountiful crops, and attractive cottages. The text accompanying the images also remarked on the productivity of this "rich land," implying that this valley was worth more than the sum of the water it could provide for Liverpool. The leaflet also emphasized the increasing agricultural output, mentioning that one field that produced eight cart loads of hay eighteen years ago, now yielded forty-two trailer loads.[97] All this suggested that Cwm Celyn was not a land in decline and contributed far more to local communities than its water resources. It further implied that the flooding of the valley would not precipitate an inevitable decline in the village, but would rather strangle the very much alive and productive land and community at Capel Celyn.

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[96] Tryweryn Defence Committee, Tryweryn Newsletter, c. 1957, courtesy of Gathering the Jewels, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/small/item/GTJ10495/.

[97] Tryweryn Defence Committee, "Tryweryn Newsletter."

The theme of land extended further than agriculture or countryside. In many of the pamphlets and stories that were told, this event represented a larger threat to the Welsh homeland. Gwynfor Evans warned: "There is no longer anyone in Wales who is not aware that the Welsh are a nation and that Wales is her homeland. This must now be made clear to all who have designs on the homeland. The integrity of Wales must be respected."[98] The polysemy of the word "integrity" here only served to enhance the moral of the story being told. It could be interpreted to mean that Wales had integrity because it was not acting in a disreputable way and stealing resources, unlike England. Alternatively, it could refer to the structural integrity of the Welsh nation, suggesting that Wales must be kept intact and not sold off piecemeal by a government not of her choosing. Both of these meanings mirrored the ways in which land featured in the Wounded Knee narratives, and how both moral and structural integrity were key concepts in the story of the U.S. government's violation of treaty rights.

After the village was flooded in 1965, the narratives being told about Tryweryn changed and became declensionist, although they still prominently featured the theme of land. In part, this was due to the further flooding of Welsh homes with the construction of the Clywedog reservoir in mid-Wales in 1967. In several poems published in the late 1960s, the vanishing of Welsh villages beneath reservoirs was both literal and served as a metaphor of the decay of Wales and a disappearing Welsh identity. In R.S. Thomas's "Reservoirs," for example, the poet devoted the first stanza to a discussion of the landscape, describing the "hills, /Too; gardens gone under the scum/ Of the forests; and the smashed faces/ Of the farms with the stone trickle/ Of their tears down the hills'

[98] Evans, "Save Cwm Tryweryn for Wales," 22, 2.

side." The imagery used here indicated the violent death and decay of the land and village now hidden underwater. Once lush gardens were now "gone," hidden under a layer of "scum." The previously quaint cottages had "smashed faces," the scattered bricks forming a "stone trickle" of tears down the hillside, ironically reflecting the rainwater coming down the hills and the underlying reason for the village's destruction. Echoing Gwynfor Evans's link between the fate of Tryweryn and that of Wales ten years earlier, Thomas asks, "Where can I go, then, from the smell/ Of decay, from the putrefying of a dead/ Nation?"[99]

Sally Robert Jones's poem, "Tryweryn," also featured the theme of the Capel Celyn flooding as a metaphor of a larger loss of Welsh land and identity. In this mordant satire, Roberts explicitly laid out the devastating implications this had for Wales. She mocked the English narrative of events that the earlier campaign leaflets had attempted to undercut, the idea that the valley had been declining anyway, and its existence did not compare to the needs of the city of Liverpool: "Nothing's gone that matters – a dozen farms,/ A hollow of no great beauty, scabby sheep,/ A gloomy Bethel and a field where sleep/ A few dead peasants." Roberts suggested that English people thought this situation "for the best," as a rural community with few farms and people, dismissed as backwards "peasants" could not stand in the way of progress. "[C]heap/ Power and growing profits" were ultimately more important to them than "scabby sheep." Furthermore, the "natives," "rehoused" and provided with "sanitation and good health," should have been grateful to the English for being brought into the twentieth century. Yet the final stanza, only two lines long, serves to bitingly undercut the narrative Roberts has laid out, that "nothing's

[99] R.S. Thomas, "Reservoirs," *Not That He Brought Flowers* (London: Hart-Davis, 1968), 26.

gone that matters." While it might not have mattered to England, she implied, Tryweryn's loss symbolized a significant loss to Wales: "All of our wealth's in men – and their life's blood/ Drawn from the land this water drowns in mud."[100] Here Roberts revealed exactly what was at stake in this campaign and battle of narratives. This was not simply the drowning of a small village, but had much wider implications due to the links between a land and its people. Her final stanza illustrated that Wales' riches lay in its people, who drew their strength and culture from the land, which England had and continued to flood. As such, England was drowning not only the land, but also Wales and the Welsh.

Welsh Culture

As Roberts's poem suggests, the link between land and cultural identity was strong in Wales and so the theme of cultural identity also took prominence in the stories people told about Tryweryn. As Gwynfor Evans explained decades later, the "defence of the land of Wales was more often than not inseparable from the defence of community."[101] Therefore, in order to "understand the anger aroused by Liverpool's decision," people had to know about "the character of the community…and of its place in Welsh life."[102] In the narratives told by Welsh nationalists, Capel Celyn had a unique cultural heritage: "It is probably true to say that in no part of Wales is the art of singing penillion to the harp, and the knowledge of the literature that is associated with it, as highly developed as it is in Penllyn." As Evans further argued, the inhabitants were "an integral part of the pattern of one of the richest folk cultures in Europe" and the Tryweryn Defence Committee's pamphlet asserted that in "this 'dying community'…a vigourous

[100] Sally Roberts Jones, "Tryweryn," *Turning Away: Collected Poems, 1952-1968* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1969).
[101] Gwynfor Evans, *Fighting for Wales* (Talybont, Dyfed: Y Lolfa, 1991), 76.
[102] Evans, "Save Cwm Tryweryn for Wales," 5.

native culture survives."[103] Again, the Welsh narrative attempted to undercut the English story that dismissed this village as backwards and of little importance. Not only was it agriculturally productive, but also in it flourished a culture and language that had already been condemned as dying nationally. As such, the events at Tryweryn represented both a unique and an all too common attack on Welsh culture and language. With Welsh national identity as a whole "gravely imperilled," it was imperative that this bastion of "creative Welsh vigour" not be "invaded and destroyed by an alien institution."[104] Consequently, when it was eventually flooded, it became the ultimate symbol of the challenge facing Wales in maintaining the survival of both its land and its culture.

Welsh History

The cultural heritage alluded to in these sources also illustrated another key theme in the Welsh narratives of Tryweryn, that of history. Capel Celyn had historical significance for Wales, since the site dated back to the Roman period at least, and so, Plaid argued, "the land and waters of Tryweryn are part of the Welsh National Heritage."[105] By flooding the valley, the English would also be washing away part of Welsh history. This is illustrated in an emotional letter from the Tryweryn Defence Committee just before it disbanded. In one last request to the Liverpool Corporation, the members asked that the reservoir be named Llyn Celyn (Lake Celyn), rather than Lake Tryweryn. "From time immemorial," they noted, the area had been called Cwm Celyn (Valley of the Holly), named for the local tributary of the Tryweryn river. The committee

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[103] Tryweryn Defence Committee, "Tryweryn Newsletter."
[104] Evans, "Save Cwm Tryweryn for Wales," 6, 8, 5.
[105] Evans, "Save Cwm Tryweryn for Wales," 1, 6; Plaid Cymru, "Stop this Robbery (n.d.)," Ymgyrchu! [online], accessed March 7, 2012, National Library of Wales, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Tryweryn/DWTR13.htm.

stated that 'Tryweryn' had no special meaning to the village until the recent crisis and so they requested that this small community be remembered through the reservoir's name, since "We fear that in future generations the name Celyn may become entirely lost, when most of its land is under water."[106] The committee feared that both the village itself and the history of its existence would vanish under the waters of the reservoir.

While the site itself was historically important, the flooding of it transformed the symbolism and Tryweryn came to represent a much longer history of Welsh oppression by the English. In his poem "Cwm Tryweryn," which appeared on protest pamphlets, D. Gwenallt Jones called on past heroes to "lead/ Your armies to Cwm Tryweryn." Those he invoked, such as Llewelyn the Great, Llewelyn the Last, and Owain Glyndwr, had all played an important role in creating a Welsh nation and attempting to defend it from English invasion in the Middle Ages. As such, they were symbols of the longer history of the struggle against the English conquest of Wales. Jones also invoked religious history, as he called Liverpool the "moneyed Goliath" and entreated "David, with your river stones,/ And God behind your sling,/ To save the hymns of Capel Celyn."[107] In doing so, Jones suggested that the narrative of Tryweryn echoed that of the famous Biblical story of David and Goliath, with a smaller hero fighting a large bullying villain. This narrative clearly marked out the opposing sides and suggested that Tryweryn represented a much longer struggle for the survival of Wales.

Telling histories had long played an important political role in Welsh protests against English reservoir building in Wales. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, for

[106] Letter from the Capel Celyn Defence Committee to Mr. Thomas Alker, n.d., Gathering the Jewels, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/small/item/GTJ17582//page/1/.
[107] D. Gwenallt Jones, "Cwm Tryweryn," quoted in "Wales Unites," *Welsh Nation*, August 1957, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Tryweryn/DWTR14.htm.

example, Liverpool completed building the reservoir at Lake Vyrnwy, while Birmingham began construction on the Elan Valley reservoir system. Both of these sites were located in the county of Powys and both projects required the forcible removal of local communities from their homes. Taking to the stage at the regional Powys Eisteddfod, a Welsh cultural festival, in 1896, Professor John Rhys of Jesus College, Oxford, related the origin story, the "Epic of the Rivers," also known as "The Three Rivers" or "The Three Sisters." The tale describes how the three rivers that emerge from the Pumlumon mountain range in mid-Wales came to be. The legend gained popularity in the nineteenth century, especially in travelers' guides to Wales, and the story varied depending on the storyteller's purpose and his or her audience. In most versions, the water spirits of the Severn, the Wye, and the Rheidol decided to race to the sea, either to see who could first reach the water or because the land they covered would be their dowry for marriage. The Severn and the Wye, the elder sisters, rose early and went east. They both took their time reaching the sea, distracted by the pleasant scenery and wildlife of Wales. In contrast, the youngest sister, the Rheidol, woke late and panicked, and so headed west to take the shortest and more difficult route to the coast. Consequently, while the Severn is the longest river in Wales and the Wye one of the most scenic, the Rheidol is much shorter and faster and traverses rockier terrain.[108] Rhys did not allude to the reasons for the race in his telling at the Powys Eisteddfod, but he was emphatic about the direction the rivers

[108] See, for example, Robert Burton, *The History of the Principality of Wales*, 2nd ed (London: A Bettesworth, 1730), 176; William and Robert Chambers, *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature Science and Arts* XIII: 314-339 (Jan-June 1860): 158-9; John Randall, *The Severn Valley: A Series of Sketches, Descriptive and Pictorial…*(London: Houlston and Sons, 1882), 1-2; Askew Roberts, *The Gossiping Guide to Wales* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1883), 14; John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 391-2; *Geography reading books, adapted to the requirements of the new code of 1880: Part II for Standard IV* (London: National Society's Depository, 1880), 146-7; "In and Out of Aberystwith – No. 2," *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener* (August 6, 1874): 116.

chose to take: "One fine summer morning three wells of water burst forth on Plinlimmon to run a race, not to Liverpool or Birmingham – or any other thirsting home of the Philistine, but to the sea, the blue sea." Drawing on Biblical imagery, Rhys portrayed the English cities of Liverpool and Birmingham as savages, thirsty for the water of Wales. He suggested that those places had no right to the water since the rivers themselves had chosen not to run to the cities.[109]

Interestingly, this appears to be the only recounting of the story that features the aside about Liverpool and Birmingham, and suggests the ways in which the politics of Welsh water meant that specific meanings were given to already existing stories. A noted scholar on Welsh mythology, Rhys published the story in his work on *Celtic Folklore* five years later, yet that version did not mention the English cities. This further emphasizes the political use of this history to protest Welsh water expropriation in 1896. While his book was published in London for British readers, Rhys's initial audience at the Eisteddfod comprised of people from communities who were very aware of the forced relocations at the hands of these cities. While his speech later reached a broader audience, as it was reprinted in a local newspaper, the *Oswestry Advertiser*, and in an English-language scholarly journal, *Collections Historical and Archaeological Relating to Montgomeryshire and its Borders*, it seems clear that this version of the story was intended to appeal to his Powys audience.[110] Even in the early years of the reservoirs then, Welsh people used their histories as a means to protest the English appropriation of these natural resources and to galvanize their communities to action.

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[109] "Principal Rhys on Powys-Land," *Collections Historical and Archeological Relating relating to Montgomeryshire and its Borders, Issued by the Powys-Land Club for the Use of its Members,* Vol. 29, (London: the Bedford Press, 1896), 303-4.
[110] "Principal Rhys on Powys-Land," 303.

This period would itself become part of the protest stories told by Welsh people in the 1950s, as a new era of dam building began in the same region. Birmingham opened Claerwen, the largest of the Elan Valley reservoirs, in 1952, three years before Liverpool began making plans for Tryweryn. This event prompted William Lloyd to tell his family's story of the initial Elan Valley reservoir construction in a 1953 issue of *Y Gweriniaethwr*. This was the publication of the Welsh Republican Movement, a nationalist organization that focused on socialism and republicanism, and whose members had attempted to bomb a Claerwen pipeline in 1952.[111] In "The Rape of Rhayader," Lloyd opened by relating how his father has passed down this story. His ancestors had lived in the area "for years beyond memory" and had been happy and productive, working in the local quarries as well as carrying on "the ancient craft of wood-turning." However, this peace was disrupted when Birmingham decided to construct their waterworks in the area. The English city was determined to go ahead with the project, not caring for the welfare of the local inhabitants and "whether or not sorrow, hardship and poverty came to the people of Rhayader." Unfortunately for the Lloyds, their home stood in the way. Despite the family's firm resistance to removal, the "English authorities bared their fangs" and the Lloyds were forcibly evicted, a "blow" that "caused the rebel blood in the veins of the younger Lloyds to throb." The fight was not over, since "their home was gone, but not their Welsh spirit." As Lloyd described, despite the savage bullying of the English city with their might and wealth, the spirit of the Welsh people could not be destroyed. In the aftermath of their removal, the family separated, as some moved across the border to England, others to South Wales, and a few

[111] Clews, 14-15.

even emigrated to Canada and Australia. Yet their experiences only caused them to work harder for the cause of Welsh nationalism: "Wherever they wandered they continued to fight the cause of all Welshmen, for Freedom from the chains of tyranny from England which binds Welshmen to Poverty, Want, Unemployment, Injustice, aye, and War."[112] The story suggested that in the face of removal from their homes and the devastation of their communities, the Welsh had historically proven that they only become more determined to survive. Lloyd was prescient here in his implication that, as in the past, the devastation wrought on Welsh communities by these English reservoirs would only fan the flames of Welsh nationalist ardor and determination.

Challenges and Choices

In their stories, Welsh nationalists overwhelmingly talked about the challenges facing Wales, as symbolized by Tryweryn, in similar ways. They identified the threat to the Welsh language, culture, land, and political sovereignty over natural resources. Where they differed was in the choice of what to do about those challenges, as well as the perceived outcome, and it was this that shaped their varied responses to AIM. While united in their frustration and anger at the situation, Welsh nationalists had very different opinions on what action should be taken as a result. Generally, Plaid and their supporters were committed to non-violent action. As a political party that was dedicated to achieving constitutional reform in Wales through democratic and electoral means, Plaid members instead used elections, hunger strikes, and peaceful demonstrations to draw attention to

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[112] William Lloyd, "The Rape of Rhayader," *Gweriniaethwr* (Oct-Nov 1953), quoted in Gweriniaethwr, *The Young Republicans: a record of the Welsh Republican Movement – Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru* (Llanrwst, Gwynedd: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1996), 119.

their campaigns.[113] They produced pamphlets, wrote passionate letters to the Prime Minister, drew up petitions, and marched through the streets of Liverpool to protest the events at Tryweryn.[114]

Figure 8. Demonstration at the opening of the Tryweryn dam in 1965.[115]

Despite the eventual flooding and the clear failure of peaceful demonstrations, Plaid maintained their commitment to these tactics. In his description of how Tryweryn inspired him to become more involved with Plaid Cymru, former Plaid President Dafydd Wigley suggested how the challenges of the event could spur non-violent protest: “It [Tryweryn] showed how a community could be totally incapable of defending itself. Liverpool had its own way regardless. The Westminster Parliament overruled all local opposition.”[116] Here, Wigley’s hero is the Welsh community, whereas the villains of the story are Liverpool, but more emphatically the Parliament in Westminster, which acted as an enabler. In defining the protagonists this way, Wigley implied that gaining political

[113] Laura McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend, Wales: Seren Press, 2001), 38.
[114] For more information on Plaid’s protest, see the National Library of Wales’ site “Ymgyrchu!,” accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Dwr/Tryweryn/index-e.htm, and the sources available at “Gathering the Jewels: primary source website, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/protest-and-politics/riots-and-demonstrations/tryweryn/.
[115] Protest, Photo Album 1966B, National Library of Wales, accessed May 15, 2012, http://centenary.llgc.org.uk/en/XCM1957/3/7.html.
[116] Quoted in McAllister, 102.

power for Wales, which necessitated electoral and peaceful means, was the only solution. Parliament, in overruling "all local opposition," was the defining factor in the outcome of the story, but that would not be repeated if Plaid won seats there or gained Wales its own devolved authority. As such, he joined Plaid Cymru.

In part, Plaid based their choice to continue using non-violent tactics on the outcome of the story of Tryweryn as they told it. While Plaid members saw Tryweryn itself as a loss, they interpreted it in a positive way. In Plaid's histories, it became a stepping-stone on the way to other gains. In his book, *Fighting for Wales*, Plaid's then-President Gwynfor Evans remarked that Tryweryn "made a deep and lasting impression" in Wales, especially in the industrial areas, and that some Plaid leaders, such as Dafydd Wigley, had identified it as the moment that "awakened their national spirit."[117] In understanding the challenges as emanating from political inequality, Plaid located the solution to the problem in the electoral process and this necessitated peaceful protests and measures. To the Welsh nationalists with whom this narrative resonated, Tryweryn was motivation to join Plaid Cymru, thus further validating Plaid's methods. Consequently, when reflecting back on this period of increasing Welsh nationalism, interest in Plaid, and electoral gains, Plaid members identified Tryweryn as the beginning of that. This narrative therefore again justified Plaid's electoral strategy and their decisions, since it located the beginning of this successful period in a protest that was fundamentally based on political power and peaceful protest for Plaid.

In contrast, some activists, many of whom were members of Plaid, found themselves frustrated at the political process and Plaid's refusal to consider more militant

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[117] Evans, *Fighting for Wales*, 99.

action. They consequently formed militant groups who tried to find different solutions to Wales' problems.[118] These included the Free Wales Army and Mudiad Amdiffin Cymru [MAC, the Welsh Defence Movement], members of which were involved in attempts to bomb the dams at Tryweryn and Clywedog.[119] In the stories they tell about their involvement, the militants point to the challenges faced at Tryweryn as a factor in their choice to pursue direct action. Owain Williams, a member of MAC, was in Canada at the time. Seeing newspaper reports about the campaign, Williams immediately grasped the David versus Goliath aspect of the narrative: "I thought it was very arrogant the way the Liverpool Corporation was going about it, you know, pushing this little valley of a hundred people around because it's always so easy for the big to crush the small." In contrast to Wigley, however, Williams did not understand the story as being about Liverpool succeeding because the power of Westminster enabled it. Rather, he crafted the story as one of a bully getting its way, where Liverpool had pushed this community around and crushed it. In using the theme of bullying and terms that suggested violence, such as "push" and "crush", Williams suggested that violence was the only strategic choice available. Plaid's "lot of talk and hot air" wasn't achieving results with the bullies and so Williams thought he could use his knowledge of explosives to good effect, to "show that the spirit of Wales was still alive."[120]

[118] Humphries, 19.
[119] Humphries, 16, 19, 30. MAC, whose members were often working class from South Wales, was responsible for the successful bombing of the dams at Tryweryn and Clywedog, another valley that had been flooded and from which Welsh people had been removed, but this time to provide water for the English city of Birmingham. They also accomplished the destruction of pipelines from the 19th century developments at Lake Vyrnwy and the Elan Valley, as well as setting off explosives at major political offices in the Welsh capital city, Cardiff, including the Temple of Peace, the Inland Revenue Office, the Welsh Office, and the police headquarters
[120] Quoted in Clews, 25-26.

For many of these militants, the narrative of Tryweryn served to emphasize that Welsh nationalists needed to find a different approach than non-violent protest. For them, Tryweryn was a complete failure, the Welsh people had not taken a stand, and the only solution now lay in direct action. Consequently, they began a more militant campaign, which began with the bombing of a transmitter and pylon close to the reservoir. The flooding of Tryweryn and the subsequent construction of the Clywedog dam in 1966, despite constitutional action on the part of Plaid, illustrated that there was no victory of any kind at Tryweryn and it was futile to try to work within the system. Echoing Owain Williams' rhetoric of vicious bullying on the part of Liverpool, a Free Wales Army's leaflet argued that Plaid had "pleaded" and "begged" the "London Government and the Birmingham and Liverpool authorities not to go ahead with schemes to drown Welsh valleys." Yet, it maintained, "negotiations and peaceful means have failed." Only one option remained: "we begin to speak the only language that they understand 'VIOLENCE.'"[121] While these narratives echoed the power imbalance between England and Wales earlier symbolized by the David and Goliath imagery of Jones's poem, the language of Williams and the Free Wales Army suggested that Plaid had not even brought a slingshot to the fight. Instead of being a small David ready to use violent force against a brutal Goliath, Wales had been a victim begging for mercy and compassion in the face of a bully who showed no pity. To the militant activists, this approach was doomed. Wales needed to make a violent stand, since it was the only approach with a chance of success.

[121] Free Wales Army, "Wales Today," quoted in Clews, 58.

For the more militant activists, the endings of their Tryweryn stories therefore encompassed a beginning of more confrontational actions. It also sowed the seeds of learning strategies from other movements. If peaceful protests were futile, Welsh militants would need to look to other successful movements to learn how to achieve their goals. As discussed in more detail in chapter 3, some of these activists understood the story of Wounded Knee in 1973 as a victory for AIM and American Indian people. As such, they were a movement from whom Welsh nationalists could learn much.

Wounded Knee and Tryweryn therefore functioned as foundational narratives to the movements and also continue to do so. As metonymies, they evoke what Marshall Ganz has called a "story of self, a story of us, a story of now." They served as politically motivating narratives that set out why individual activists were inspired to action, communicated the values shared by those they hoped to motivate, and relayed the urgency of the challenge to those values that demanded immediate action.[122] In communicating all of these, particularly through the key issues of land, identity, and history, the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn successfully mobilized activists, inspired action, and proved the basis of transnational solidarity, as the following chapters illustrate. In this case, these "well-told stories" turned "moments of crisis into moments of 'new beginnings.'"

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[122] Ganz, 282.

Chapter 2 – "Indians Coming Back All Over the World": the American Indian Movement and Transnational Solidarity Networks with Oppressed Peoples in Europe

In November 1973, Houma Indian Chris Spotted Eagle was on the subway in Germany, having flown there earlier that month with a theater group.[1] He was dressed like an AIM 'warrior,' in jeans and his jean jacket, embroidered with an AIM patch, and his long hair braided. To Europeans familiar with media images of AIM's most recent protest at Wounded Knee or the courtroom trials that followed, dressed in this way he was immediately recognizable, not just as an AIM member, but as an American Indian. As he sat on the train trying to get to his station, a woman standing near him asked, "You American Indian?" Spotted Eagle replied, "Ja," and his admirer responded, "Ah, gut." She then opened her purse and gave him "a bunch of money." To Spotted Eagle, this lady exemplified how "ordinary people knew about the AIM," especially in Europe, and were willing to support them both financially and morally.[2] Spotted Eagle's story reveals far more than the existence of AIM's support in Europe however. Only three months earlier, the *New York Times* had sounded the death knell of AIM. The newspaper indicated that mounting legal costs, in addition to internal divisions, meant that Wounded Knee would be the Movement's "last stand."[3] Yet Spotted Eagle's story suggested that, on the contrary, AIM's campaigns in Europe were far from over. They were just beginning.

While Europeans demonstrated interest in Indian issues and other Red Power organizations before this, the Wounded Knee campaign and trials captured worldwide media attention and headlines that helped AIM gain a larger audience and support base in

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[1] The *London Times* reviewed the theater group's Berlin performance in November 1973. Paul Moor, "Europe's First Sight of the American Indian, *London Times*, November 7, 1973, 11.
[2] Chris Spotted Eagle, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, July 16, 2010.
[3] "Indian Movement Short of Funds," *New York Times*, July 29, 1973, 44.

Europe, as demonstrated in the previous chapter.[4] Nearing bankruptcy from spiraling legal costs, AIM reached out almost immediately to European supporters for financial and moral support, and these connections lasted into the 1980s and beyond. As Spotted Eagle's story suggests, these efforts were often spontaneous, but they were effective. These networks of cooperation raised money for AIM, wrote letters and petitions on behalf of the Movement members on trial, and generally disseminated information about American Indian campaigns and struggles. Several historians have explored these links, especially in Germany and Poland, but have often focused on the ways that stereotypical ideas about American Indians functioned in these groups' activities, particularly through hobbyists.[5] Stereotypes certainly played a role in the interactions, such as when German activists traveled to the Dakotas looking for teepees or when English schoolchildren wondered where the AIM activist had tied up his horse.[6] However, a closer examination of the letters sent to the Defense Committees reveals that stereotypical understandings of American Indian struggles were not the only basis for European support. Many activists declared their solidarity and desire to help AIM because they identified with the struggles

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[4] For examples of previous European interest in Red Power movements and other American Indian organizations, see Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 145; Thomas W. Cowger, *The National Congress of the American Indian: The Founding Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 115. For more discussion of worldwide media attention on Wounded Knee, see Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Cent*ury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 266.

[5] See, for example, Colin Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, eds., *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Bernd Peyer, "Who Is Afraid of AIM?" in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), 551-565; Rudolf Conrad, "Mutual Fascination: Indians in Dresden and Leipzig," in *Indians and Europe*, 455-474; Peter Bolz, "Life Among the 'Hunkpapas': A Case Study in German Indian Lore," in *Indians and Europe*, 475-490; Ewa Nowicka, "The 'Polish Movement of Friends of the American Indians'" in *Indians and Europe,* 599- 608.

[6] Spotted Eagle, interview; Mark Banks, interview by Kate Williams, Monument, CO, July 13, 2010.

of American Indian peoples, based in part on how their interpretation of the Wounded Knee story intersected with their own political situation.

In this chapter, I argue that European networks of cooperation, while informal, were significant in several ways, including the financial and moral support they provided for the Movement. I contend that, even more importantly, these Europeans interpreted AIM's narrative through their own political situations and understandings of their own oppression, from socialist conceptions of a global proletarian struggle against capitalism to minority nationalists' fight for their languages and cultures. These activists saw commonalities between their campaigns and those of the Movement and American Indians in general, and drew on these in their relationships with AIM. While some proclaimed an indigenous solidarity, others, such as Irish nationalists, went beyond this, seeing it as a more equal relationship in which the movements helped each other. As such, while the Movement often formed networks to gain financial or political support for its campaigns, the results were beyond what they anticipated. As AIM member Chris Spotted Eagle observed: "we didn't go there to try and develop activism in their lands, it was just developing contacts and support."[7] However, in a variety of ways, AIM and its narratives did contribute to activism in many European countries in this period through their transnational circulation.

AIM Goes International

The siege at Wounded Knee in 1973 was undoubtedly the catalyst for these connections between AIM and Europeans, and it facilitated support in two ways: AIM's Wounded Knee narrative and its sympathetic portrayal by European media; and the legal

[7] Spotted Eagle, interview.

aftermath, which forced AIM to look outside the United States for money and political assistance. At the end of the events at Wounded Knee, the federal government had arrested 562 people connected with the protest and intended to prosecute them all, whether or not they could get a conviction.[8] This was a significant departure from similar cases in the period, and illustrated that the government understood how much pressure the Movement would have to bear not only from having so many of its members in jail, but also from shouldering the associated financial costs. As Robert Warrior and Paul Chaat Smith have argued: "Even a well-organized and financially stable group would have withered under the pressure and expense of defending so many of its members; for AIM the task was overwhelming."[9] While on tour in Geneva, AIM's National Director Vernon Bellecourt mentioned that the proceedings might cost the Movement as much as $800,000, although correspondence with the Irish Republican Movement later suggested a figure closer to $52,000.[10] Consequently, AIM was almost bankrupt as a result of Wounded Knee and the cost of defending members in the subsequent trials, and it needed to seek public support.[11]

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[8] The most famous of the resulting trials was that of AIM leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means, who were tried together in St Paul and acquitted after eight months, but legal proceedings actually continued until 1975 and even until 1985 against Banks. He had been acquitted of certain charges but convicted of others. Refused to surrender to S.D. so went to California, where Gov. Brown offered him amnesty. When Brown left office, Banks sought refuge in the Onondaga nation, before surrendering himself to officials in 1985 and serving 18 months in prison. Also, the conviction and subsequent appeals of AIM member Leonard Peltier, for his alleged part in the shootout on Pine Ridge in June 1975, which killed two FBI agents and one American Indian man, while not part of the events at Wounded Knee in 1973, can also be regarded as part of the Wounded Knee trials.

[9] Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 270.

[10] For information on the $52,000 figure, see "Publication from Irish Committee for the Defence of Wounded Knee," 11 February 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[11] Smith and Warrior, 271.

While US support groups garnered significant contributions for the Movement, overall AIM was disappointed in the American public's response to their campaigns. For example, many of the AIM defendants had been judged too poor to pay their own legal fees, but local communities firmly opposed the public funding of AIM's defense.[12] In January 1974, the Chief Judge of the Eighth Circuit US Court of Appeals, Pat Mehaffy, received a letter from Dr. R. Larry Lytle of Rapid City. As a local councilor, Lytle relayed his constituents' displeasure at the prospect of taxpayers covering an additional $54,000 in legal fees for the Movement. Lytle explained that it was well known in Rapid City that AIM had at least three large bank accounts in Rapid City, Denver, and Sioux Falls. In addition, AIM leaders had apparently spent the money previously given to them to cover travel expenses, rather than legal fees.[13] Lytle implied that people in Rapid City felt that this was not a suitable use of taxpayers' money, since not only was AIM receiving funding from other sources, but also they could not be trusted to spend the money appropriately. Here the AIM narratives of Wounded Knee seemed to be ineffective. People in Rapid City, for example, did not think that AIM's stand was justified or that Americans owed AIM anything for past injustices.

Despite the citizens of Rapid City's assertions, AIM simply did not have the funds to cover these legal expenses. As a result, they and their Defense Committees soon decided to actively seek international assistance, particularly in Europe, where their support was increasing. In July 1973, AIM's national director Vernon Bellecourt

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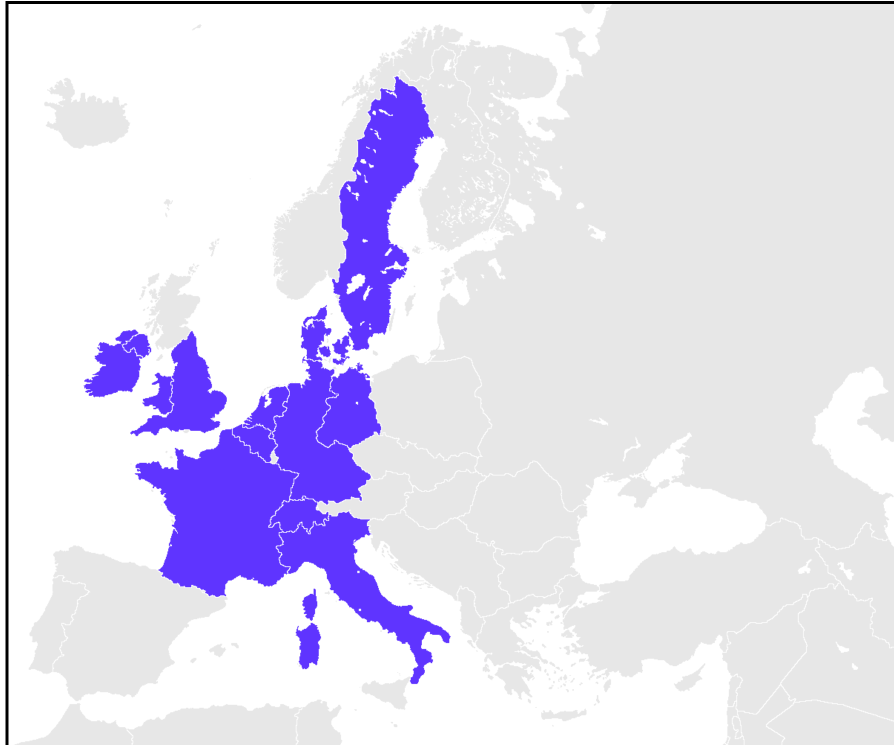
[12] In the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, for example, Judge Nichol had ruled that the defendants were indigent and therefore "entitled to have the federal government pay part of the costs of the defense." John William Sayer, *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 71.

[13] Letter from R. Larry Lytle, DDS, Alderman Ward III, Rapid City Common Council, to Honorable Chief Judge Pat Mehaffy, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 January 1974, 147.I.11.10F, Box 225, "Correspondence and Miscellaneous – 2 (Jan-May 1974)," Gerald W. Heaney Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

embarked on a two-month fundraising tour of Europe. As the *New York Times* reported, Bellecourt had announced the establishment of "money-raising committees" in five European countries – France, England, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium – and had met with additional support groups in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Germany. As he declared on his return, the "time had come for the movement to go international."[14]



Map 3. Map of European countries with AIM support groups or offices, 1973-1986.[15]

AIM therefore chose to seek support in Europe for two main reasons: developing political alliances to publicize the trials and Indian issues in general, and the fundraising

[14] "Indian Movement Short of Funds," *New York Times*, July 29, 1973. AIM were not the only Indians to establish support groups in European countries in this period. A small group of American Indian soldiers stationed in Germany during the Cold War organized the "American Indian Intertribal Society" in 1976, although it was primarily intended to provide a meeting point for American Indians stationed in Germany and did not have political goals. It still exists, although has been renamed the Native American Association of Germany, and recently started a campaign to reeducate Germans on the realities of American Indian history. "Native American Association of Germany e.V.," accessed September 20, 2010, http://www.naaog.de/.

[15] Map produced by author. Outline reproduced from "Blank Map – Europe," Wikipedia, accessed April 19, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BlankMap-Europe.png.

potential. Chris Spotted Eagle maintained that the European efforts of the Movement were focused on "making connections with other groups of peoples in other lands…seeking solidarity for Indian people seeking self-determination," as a means of exerting pressure on the US Government to rectify the problems.[16] Yet in pamphlets published at the time, the fundraising aspect seems to have been a greater concern, especially since AIM had been bankrupted by the trials.[17] In a pamphlet published by Incomindios (International Committee for Indians of the Americas) in 1974, activist Jimmie Durham suggested that AIM had turned their focus towards international fundraising efforts as a result of rising legal fees: "The U.S. Government uses money as a weapon against us…The United States of America, the richest, and one of the largest, countries in the world, has no place for us." While the government tried to bury AIM with costly trials, Durham implied, the US public was more interested in Watergate than a "handful of Indians." Therefore, while Vernon Bellecourt maintained that AIM was "going to work within the system in America," the high cost of doing so necessitated financial appeals to other, more sympathetic countries.[18] Indeed, during a telephone interview during his 1973 European tour, Bellecourt had insisted, "We don't need sympathy, we need hard money support."[19] Therefore, to AIM members at the time, it appears that fundraising was of primary importance and that Europeans were the most likely source.

[16] Spotted Eagle, interview.
[17] Smith and Warrior, 271.
[18] Pamphlet on Wounded Knee, published by INCOMINDIOS, Geneva, 1974, 146.H.13.9B, Box 100, "Foreign Publications," Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
[19] *Rapid City Journal*, July 24, 1973, 10.

Given the relatively small size of AIM and the massive scope of the Wounded Knee trials, disseminating information to the media, raising the necessary funds, and communicating with European supporters became, as Smith and Warrior suggested, "overwhelming." The situation therefore necessitated the establishment of Defence Committees in order to coordinate a strategy for raising financial and moral support during the trials, both domestically and internationally. The most famous of these was the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Offense Committee (WKLDOC), or "Wickle-doc" as it became known. The committee, which included volunteers and lawyers, operated on AIM's behalf to coordinate the defense at these trials. They "recruited lawyers and legal workers, raised money, and formulated legal and political strategy."[20] This political strategy entailed important tasks beyond coordinating courtroom tactics, as the Committees were also responsible for raising awareness of AIM's issues and also for fundraising for the trials. In addition, some prominent AIM members also had their own Defense Committees. The Dennis Banks Legal Defense Committee and the Leonard Peltier Legal Defense Committee (LPDC), for example, were organized to help coordinate the defenses of these men relating to their actions at Pine Ridge. Also, often local support groups were also established to help with the Committee's goals, such as the "Wounded Knee Information and Defense Fund" in Boston and countless allied support groups in Europe.[21] While AIM was a fairly small organization, it therefore appeared to be far larger and more widespread, and all of the different Defense Committees had some responsibility in cultivating support and raising funds in Europe.

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[20] Sayer, 4.
[21] Sayer, 54.

Consequently, in the mid 1970s, AIM and its Defense Committees began establishing links with support groups and interested individuals in Europe.[22] Although their efforts were often informal, they succeeded in garnering attention and funds. AIM opened Movement offices in various European countries and liaised with European organizations such as Switzerland's Incomindios', Germany's 'Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker' (Association for Threatened People) and France's 'Comite de Soutien aux Indiens des Ameriques' (Support Committee for American Indians). AIM members often toured the continent to raise support as well.[23]

Europeans were responsive to AIM's efforts. Supporters raised money, disseminated information, and sent letters and petitions to leading European and American politicians, protesting Congressional legislation and the trials of AIM members for actions at Wounded Knee. In 1974, for example, De Kiva Society of Friends of the North American Indians in the Netherlands sent $100 in support, while Germany's Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker (Association for Threatened People) raised 2,050 DM, which was approximately equivalent to $975 then.[24] WKLDOC alone received over

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[22] The WKLDOC, which included volunteers and lawyers, operated on AIM's behalf to coordinate the defense at the Wounded Knee trials. This political strategy entailed important tasks beyond coordinating courtroom tactics, as the Committees were also responsible for raising awareness of AIM's issues and also for fundraising for the trials. While WKLDOC was affiliated with AIM and operated on behalf of the organization, it was a distinct organization. In addition, some prominent AIM members also had their own Defense Committees, such as Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier. Sayer, 4.

[23] Mark Banks, interview; Spotted Eagle, interview. It is unclear how the Movement offices were staffed, but based on the sources for AIM Cymru (Wales), it seems likely that they were run by local volunteers. The tours also relied on the generosity of local activists, who hosted the AIM members.

[24] This would have the equivalent purchasing power of $4240 today. Calculated using rates on "Historical US Dollars to German Marks Currency Conversion," Harold Marcuse, University of Santa Barbara, <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/projects/currency.htm#daily>, using the OANDA Historical Exchange Rates database, <http://www.oanda.com/currency/historical-rates> (accessed Sept, 19 2010). Current purchasing power calculated using the Economic History Association's "Purchasing Power of the United States Dollar" calculator, <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppowerus/> (accessed Sept, 19 2010). De Kiva Society of Friends of the North American Indians in the Netherlands to WKLDOC, 30 July 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95,

$4300 in donations from European countries in the year after the siege at Wounded Knee, including the Netherlands, East Germany, West Germany, England, Sweden, Switzerland, and France.[25]

Country	Amount
Denmark	$2
East Germany	$10
England	$10.54
France	$195.08
Ireland	$40.29
Netherlands	$670.69
Sweden	$25
Switzerland	$105
West Germany	$3, 368

Table 1. Amounts sent to WKLDOC from various European countries, July 1973-June 1974.[26]

While some of the amounts might seem small, their potential to help the bankrupt Movement and its Defense Committees was significant. In particular, the money could be used to further raise European awareness and to bring in more funds. For example, when Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker asked WKLDOC whether they should send their contributions, given that the exchange rate had recently increased, a handwritten note on the letter from some WKLDOC member advised, "Tell them to use the money to put ads in their local newspapers to do more fund raising."[27] Mark Banks also emphasized how even a small amount of money could help AIM and the Defense Committees in their

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Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society; Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker to WKLDOC, 25 January 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[25] This amount is compiled from receipts in "Contributors and Amounts, July-Aug 1973," "Contributors and Amounts, Sept-Dec 1973," "Contributors and Amounts, Jan-Feb 1974," "Contributors and Amounts, March-April 1974," "Contributors and Amounts, May-June 1974," 146.H.13.5B, Box 96, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[26] Amounts compiled from receipts in "Contributors and Amounts" folders, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[27] Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker to WKLDOC, 25 January 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

efforts: “A lot of people said, ‘Oh, well I can only send you $10,’ but you know you get 200 people that send $10 and you’ve got some money to do things with, make a newsletter, or something, you know. It’s the whole of a group that gets things done.”[28] According to a WKLDOC leaflet, for example, the amount raised in Europe between July 1973 and July 1974 was enough to pay the rent for the Defense Committee’s office in Rapid City, SD for over a year and a half.[29]

Likewise, these supporters were successful in circulating information. One youth group in Cottbus, East Germany, named after Pedro Bissonnette, a movement leader on Pine Ridge who had been murdered by BIA policemen in 1973, collected 1443 signatures on their petition, although often the results were much less impressive.[30] In addition, WKLDOC received letters from European newspapers, including those with circulations in the United States among ethnic minorities. One such Italian newspaper, *Abitare*, wrote that its bilingual report on the situation at Pine Ridge could not only disseminate information in Italy, but could also help focus “again the attention of the American public on the problems of the Indians.”[31]

Overall, as AIM activist Mark Banks reflected, these efforts were successful: “The support [from Europe] was enormous and I think that disturbed the US government a lot, saying ‘My gosh, look at all these petitions from all these foreign countries. AIM

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[28] Mark Banks, interview.
[29] “This is What Your Support Means to Us” leaflet, “Fundraising Letters” Folder, 146.H.13.5B, Box 96, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
[30] Pedro Bissonette Youth Club, Cottbus, GDR, to LPDC, n.d., Box 8, Folder 23, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. See also “LPDC European Petition Forms with Signatures,” Box 23, Folder 23, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[31] Viviana Khazzam, of Abitare magazine, Milan, Italy, to WKLDOC, 20 October 1973, “Corresp.: Misc. (Other Than Fundraising), Sept 1973-Dec. 1974,” 146.H.13.5B, Box 96, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

has gotten the word out there and they're very supportive of AIM.'"[32] Clearly, AIM's tours and the efforts of the Defense Committees were successful in raising consciousness of and funds for the Defense Committee's campaigns. As a handwritten note on Heinemann's letter indicates, this was AIM activists' efforts "paying off in bits."[33] Consequently, in many ways, European supporters did exactly what AIM asked of them. There were challenges, including miscommunication, translation problems, and issues related to sending large amounts of money overseas.[34] However, overall, AIM's networks in Europe appeared to be paying off in monetary and political support.

These networks therefore served as a significant conduit for the transatlantic movement and circulation of people, ideas, and money. Despite Bellecourt's lofty goals in the summer of 1973, these networks remained mostly informal and information usually passed through word-of-mouth. Members hosted AIM activists, sent and received newsletters and petitions, and generally raised awareness of American Indian struggles. As Mark Banks noted: "People like me were going to Europe and talking, and they would network. You know, 'Mark Banks was in Paris and said this,' and they would be sending

[32] Mark Banks, interview.
[33] Ellen Heinemann, Geneva, to WKLDOC, 29 April 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
[34] For information on miscommunication, see previous footnote. On issues related to translation, see Michele Learner, Tokyo, Japan, to Steve Robideau, 4 July 1985, Box 5, Folder 23, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico; Spotted Eagle, interview; and Matthias Neitsch to LPDC, 30 May 1985, Box 8, Folder 24, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.. For problems concerning sending money overseas, see WKLDOC to Irish Republican Movement, 23 February 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society; "Memo on American Indian Foreign Influence," April 21, 1975, *FBI Files on the American Indian Movement*, ed. Rolland Dewing, (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1986); and WKLDOC to Hilfskommtee Wounded Knee, n.d., "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

newsletters to all major cities and schools and support groups in France…and the same way in Germany, and the same way in England."[35] Even before Wounded Knee, Europeans subscribed to the radical Mohawk newsletter *Akwesasne Notes* and recirculated it. For example, Welsh activists Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan reprinted extracts in their own organizational newsletter.[36] Similarly, in a letter to *Notes*, a Norwegian woman living in Maine described how she received the paper, "passing it around to friends and then sending it home for my Norwegian friends to read."[37] European groups also arranged lectures, especially to schoolchildren in their local area, and organized pen pal campaigns as a means of exchanging information.[38]

The European support groups also employed more creative ways of raising awareness of the trials and American Indian struggles more generally. Nick Phillips from England wrote to the WKLDOC that, as a white Englishman with Rastafarian beliefs, he could write and publish a song to draw attention to AIM's struggle: "One day, down there in Sioux Falls, you may well hear the sound of 'Wounded Knee Reggae' through your sound systems. But releasing a Rasta record is no easy task."[39] While Phillips wanted to release a song to help the cause, but suggested it might not be possible, the Swedish Leonard Peltier Support Group seem to have achieved this aim. In a letter they wrote to the LPDC in April 1981, they informed the Committee that their "Song for Leonard

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[35] Mark Banks, interview.
[36] Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, interview by Kate Williams, Swansea, Wales, January 8, 2010.
[37] Letter from Ruth M. Benjamin, Auburn, Maine, *Akwesasne Notes* 4, no. 3 (Late Spring, 1972): 45.
[38] See Yolande Vaillant, Comité de Soutien aux Indiens du Continent Americain, France, to Steve Robideau, 16 January 1985, Box 5, Folder 18, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico; Yulia Gulyaeva to the International Office of LPDC, March 1986, Box 5, Folder 22, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[39] Nick Phillips to WKLDOC, n.d. "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

Peltier" was now available in the United States, "where people really need to be educated about his case."[40] Clearly the Swedish group was not just disseminating information about Peltier in their own country, but also in the United States itself. In addition, the Dutch established the Leonard Peltier House in the middle of Amsterdam, which opened in October 1981, as a means of raising awareness and distributing information about the case.[41] The Defense Committees' European support groups therefore often went beyond their roles as fundraisers and petition writers in their eagerness to help raise awareness of the Wounded Knee trials and Indian issues in general.

Figure 9. The Leonard Peltier House, Amsterdam Holland, which was established to disseminate information and raise awareness about the AIM activist and his inprisonment.

[40] Eva Bjärlund, Svensk-Indianska Förbundet, to LPDC, 14 October 1981, Box 5, Folder 24, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

[41] Leonard Peltier House, Holland, to LPDC, 30 September 1981, Box 5, Folder 29, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Therefore, despite the lack of coherent structure or hierarchy, European support networks provided an important means for AIM's message and narrative to circulate around the continent.

This informal structure often meant that AIM did not have strict control over the narrative, however, as they lacked oversight. As one German activist informed Dennis Banks, the lack of a coherent narrative from one source hampered Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Volker's efforts: "In the past we have often received controversial information bit by bit from different sources that has not been accurate and not sufficient for really effective work here."[42] Often letters from the Defense Committees would ask for more details on the support groups' activities, as they tried to gain more control, while the European supporters maintained that they could not serve their purpose effectively without closer communication and better organization from AIM.[43] Therefore, while European supporters' efforts have a positive impact on AIM's finances and campaigns, the Movement was not always organized enough to control the narrative being told or the activities of these supporters. This would have unexpected consequences for AIM, as it

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[42] Gesellschaft fur Bedrohte Volker to the American Indian International Tribunal, August 1982, Box 2, Folder 2, Kay Cole Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

[43] For an example of the Defense Committees trying to maintain control over European support groups' activities, see Catherine Stanfield, International Office LPDC to Gianni Ferrara, 13 February 1985, Box 5, Folder 16, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. For complaints about communication issues, see Wounded Knee Information and Defense Fund, Cambridge, MA, to WKLDOC, 27 June 1973, 146.H.13.5B, Box 96, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society; Spotted Eagle, interview. For European supporters' complaints, see Gesellschaft fur Bedrohte Volker to the American Indian International Tribunal, August 1982, Box 2, Folder 2, Kay Cole Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico; Eva Bjärlund to LPDC, 14 April 1981, Box 5, Folder 24, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico; and Gianni Ferrara to LPDC, n.d., Box 5, Folder 16, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

left the Movement's story open to interpretation and consequently European activists identified with American Indians in ways that AIM did not anticipate.

Stories in Action

The European public's reaction to Wounded Knee illustrated the success of AIM in conveying their story and that of American Indian peoples more generally, and mobilizing action and support as a result. Media reports that called Wounded Knee an "Indian uprising," rather than being specific about the tribal identities of those involved, suggested to many Europeans that Indians were united in support of the occupation, and that AIM's narrative represented that of "all living Indians."[44] As Chris Spotted Eagle noted, Europeans were interested in "the United States having an Indian uprising," but only "the AIM stuff": "I mean, we've got 500 odd nations here and it wasn't those people. It was a handful of AIMsters, in who…[they] then became interested."[45] Thus, while the story of Wounded Knee was in many ways a local one, for Europeans it represented a larger national narrative of injustice against and resistance by American Indians, one that was mediated through AIM. Consequently, it drew widespread sympathy and interest, and the Movement became synonymous with Indians defending their land, identity, and history, and taking a stand against injustice.

In this way, the story of Wounded Knee also functioned as the basis for forging networks of transnational solidarity, although often in unexpected ways, demonstrating the openness of the Wounded Knee narrative to interpretation. In their letters to the Defense Committees and *Akwesasne Notes*, European activists proclaimed unity with

[44] H. Guillermo Bartlet, "American Indian Studies in West Germany," *Wicazo Sa Review* 2, no. 2 (Autumn 1986): 45; Peyer, 551.
[45] Spotted Eagle, interview.

American Indians in their struggles based on various understandings of their own oppression, from proletarian struggles to those fighting for the preservation of their own indigenous culture. Often though, the letters reflected the same moral as the newspaper articles, with white people as the villains and Indians the victims in a 500-year story of subjugation and oppression. For example, Regina Borleske of Hanover, Germany, wrote that she wished that “the Oglala/ Dakota will gain their goals through their rebellion: more justice and equality of rights against the white man.” Given this history, she stated: “I am ashamed of my white skin.”[46] Likewise, Tommy Eriksson from Sweden claimed: “We, the Europeans and the white America, has [sic] an unbelievable guilt to these people which we must pay, in one way or another.”[47] Therefore, to these Europeans, not only had white people committed crimes against American Indians, but this also translated into a debt. White people owed American Indians, whether through financial or moral support.

“Whiteness” and the associated guilt formed an important basis for expressing solidarity with American Indians in many letters and articles. Stefania Antoniewicz from Poland wrote to *Notes* to convey that “good whites are those who love, admire, help and support the Indians in their right and honest struggle of their land and sovereignty.”[48] Expanding on this, Pierrette Desy, a member of AIM’s French Committee, wrote “A Policy of Solidarity Toward Wounded Knee,” in which she suggested that all white people should feel in some way responsible for the problems of American Indians. She noted: “To remain deaf to this call would be to condemn to failure a movement which is

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[46] Letter from Regina Borleske, Hannover, Germany, *Akwesasne Notes* (Late Summer, 1973): 44.
[47] Letter from Tommy Eriksson, Nykoping, Sweden, *Akwesasne Notes* (Early Spring, 1975): 47.
[48] Letter from Stefania Antoniewicz, Warsaw, Poland, *Akwesasne Notes* (Winter, 1972): 47.

irreplaceable in the message it carries and in the things it forces Whites to discover about themselves." In saying this, Desy suggested that part of the reason white Americans were unable to support the Movement is that they felt guilty about the actions of their ancestors as oppressors and therefore "cannot decide what attitude to adopt and resort[…] to a form of contemptuous indifference or aberrant aggressiveness." White people, she argued, needed to face these uncomfortable truths and realize that it was important to support this movement for that very reason.[49]

Other supporters, however, argued for the futility of these solidarity networks with white people and instead offered their support. While Desy proposed that it was the very differences between the historical stories of whites and Indians that should serve as the basis of solidarity between the two, for one particularly prolific supporter, Kusal Gupta, those differences could not be overcome. Gupta, who lived in Kolkata, India, wrote to the International Office of the LPDC to complain about his lack of success in raising awareness of AIM's issues as a result of racial differences. "Whites," he noted, talked of "priorities when they tell us they're already too engaged in other crucial issues…to spare effort or money…[and] they're too 'emotionally exhausted' for any human 'contact' beyond those they've botched."[50] He repeated these sentiments in a letter to Dennis Banks and implored: "We've heard that one complaint is that European groups don't adequately always respond to Native American cries for solidarity. Try

[49] Pierrette Desy, "A Policy of Solidarity Toward Wounded Knee," *Akwesasne Notes* (Early Autumn, 1974): 11.
[50] Kusal Gupta, Calcutta, India to International Office, LPDC, 3 October 1984, Box 5, Folder 15, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

us."[51] Gupta clearly interpreted AIM's narrative of American Indian history as a racial minority being oppressed by a white majority and drew on this as a means of strengthening his own ties with the American Indian Movement.

Proletarian Struggles

While AIM perhaps expected to build European networks of cooperation based on white guilt, many supporters actually suggested in their letters that they did not see themselves as the villains in this story, but rather identified with AIM as victims of oppression. One of the most vocal groups in declaring their solidarity with American Indians were East Germans, who often connected their struggles as part of a global proletarian fight against imperialism and capitalism. As Chris Spotted Eagle commented, East Germans "saw AIM and the Indian Movement as a disruptive element in this imperialist dogbowl or whatever and something they could identify with."[52] Those who lived under the Soviet regime were aware of American Indian problems as the media drew attention to them and often commented on such issues as termination and relocation during the Cold War to illustrate the hypocrisy of the United States.[53]

Solidarity with these peoples was also a key part of the foreign policy of these socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, since it was central to the Marxist-Leninist idea of proletarian internationalism. Leaders in East Germany therefore expressed solidarity with and gave assistance to "national liberation movements in decolonizing and newly independent states," including Chile, the People's Republic of

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[51] Kusal Gupta to Dennis Banks Defense Committee, 6 September 1984, Box 5, Folder 4, Kay Cole Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[52] Spotted Eagle, interview.
[53] Paul C. Rosier, " 'They Are Ancestral Homelands': Race, Place, and Politics in Cold War Native America, 1945-1961," *Journal of American History* (March 2006): 1301-2.

Vietnam, Palestine, and African nations.[54] In his article in the *Neue Deutsche Press* in 1979, the president of the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, Kurt Seibt, noted the importance of "solidarity with all peoples fighting for freedom and justice, human rights, and human dignity." This, he explained, "is the declared policy of our party and our state, anchored in the party program and in the constitution."[55] Consequently, it was important for people in East Germany to express their unity with other people worldwide who they also saw as engaged in a proletarian fight for freedom from capitalist and imperialist states.

Akwesasne Notes and WKLDOC received a number of letters from East German youth that reflected this message of a common global struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

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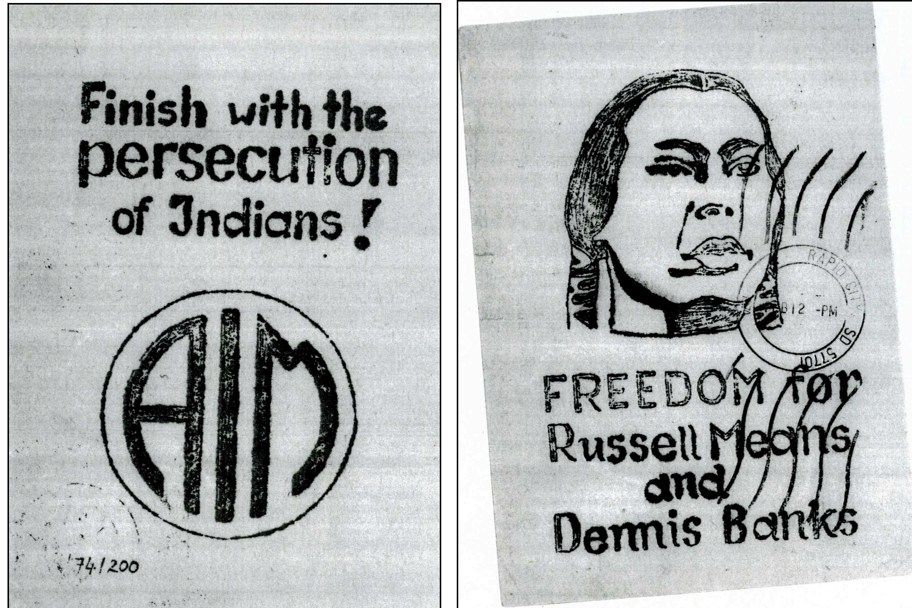
[54] Katrina M. Hagen, "Internationalism in Cold War Germany" (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2008), 89-90; "Information from the Peace Movement of the German Democratic Republic," pamphlet published by the Peace Council of the GDR, March, 1975 "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[55] Kurt Seibt, "Solidarity: An Important Force in the Freedom Struggle," trans. David Gramling, in *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*, ed. Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 80-82.



Figures 10 and 11. Examples of postcards sent to the Rapid City AIM office from East Germany.[56]

As historian Glenn Penny has argued, the East German state does not appear to have directed these efforts in connecting with American Indians in the 1970s, and so scholars should be wary of thinking of them as an extension of state policy.[57] However, it is evident that the state's official language of anti-imperial solidarity influenced the way the youths connected with AIM's Wounded Knee narrative and identified themselves as engaged in a common struggle. In particular, these youth emphasized that they truly understood the problems of American Indians, not through stereotypical ideas, but through a political interpretation of their fight. Two groups of German youth who sent their letters of support to *Notes* emphasized that they understood the true message of AIM and its themes of land and identity: "We are informed about your problems as Indian people enough to understand your [sic] fighting for your identity as a nation, for your own Indian way of life, for the Indian education of your children, against the pollution of

[56] Examples of postcards sent to AIM from East Germany, c. 1973, courtesy of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
[57] H. Glenn Penny, "Red Power: Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Indian Activist Networks in East and West Germany," *Central European History*, Vol. 41 (2008): 449-451.

your beautiful country, for your landrights and cultural autonomy." They also expressed their solidarity with the people of Wounded Knee, "who have given a world-wide signal, with all Indian people defending their existence as Indian people," and noted the growing trend of global alliances. As they stated, "all oppressed people are uniting their efforts more and more."[58] Interestingly, these letters suggest that Europeans appreciated the themes of AIM's Wounded Knee stories and understood that the Movement fought for specifically *Indian* land rights and cultural identity, but still offered their support based on a common oppression of the proletariat.

The letter writers' expression of a shared subjugation, despite their understandings of the specifically "Indian" issues in AIM's campaigns, suggests that the youth interpreted these stories through the lens of their own political situation. As such, despite knowing that AIM fought for treaty rights and cultural autonomy, these activists were still able to interpret the struggle as part of a larger proletarian uprising and express their solidarity based on that common fight. For example, 18-year old Andreas Erdmann noted that, through reading such authors as Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, he had never looked at American Indians' struggle "in a romantic and glorifying way," but rather interpreted it through the lens of socialism as a fight against capitalism: "Corresponding to the policy of our socialist country they [authors such as Welskopf-Henrich] tried to give their readers a real historical picture of the fight of the aborigines of North America, who have been and are suppressed by capitalism." He therefore wished them well in their

[58] Letters from Herbert Brauer, Evelyn Rupp, and 34 other signatures, Rostock, Germany, and from Petra Grolle, Susanne Kruger, and fifty-one other signatures, Merseburg, Germany, *Akwesasne Notes* (Early Autumn, 1973): 44.

"struggle which is part of the worldwide anti-imperialist fight."[59] Likewise, Gruppe 2 of the "Rosa Luxemburg" children's home sent their best wishes "for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship."[60] East Germans, viewing AIM's message through the lens of their own Marxist-Leninist beliefs, clearly believed that the struggle of American Indians was part of a global proletarian fight against capitalism and imperialism and, as such, AIM's struggle was also their own.

This sense of a common anti-imperialist cause also extended beyond the Iron Curtain. Nick Phillips, a white Rastafarian from England, wrote to the WKLDOC about his sense of identification with American Indian peoples' concerns. It is unclear how exactly he saw himself as oppressed, but Phillips appears to be drawing on Rastafarian teachings about the generally "oppressive social, political, economic, and cultural realities" of the Western world, also known as Babylon.[61] As Phillips explained, he despised capitalism and so felt sympathy for the "Red Indian subject of oppression from the iniquitous civilization of Babylon." Through his beliefs, Phillips clearly understood American Indians' suffering as the result of Western society and consequently believed "we should identify with one another."[62] Not only did Phillips suggest that he and American Indians were fighting a common enemy, Western society, but also they were

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[59] Andreas Erdmann to WKLDOC, 28 October 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[60] Gruppe 2 of Kinderheim "Rosa Luxemburg" to WKLDOC, 29 November 1974, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

[61] This definition of Babylon appears in Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, William David Spencer, and Adrian Anthony McFarlane, ed., "Glossary," in *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 443.

[62] Nick Phillips to WKLDOC, n.d., "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

natural allies as oppressed peoples, since Rastafarians "most definitely represent all black and white oppressed people in the world."[63] His beliefs evidently formed the lens through which he interpreted AIM's narrative of struggle and identified with them and for these groups and individuals, already convinced of their own oppression by capitalism, solidarity and a sense of common oppression with American Indians was readily apparent.

Conversely, their relationships with AIM led some Europeans to reexamine their political beliefs, as they were made more aware of their suppression by their own political system. A letter from a group in Germany to the Leonard Peltier Support Group, for example, credited their involvement with American Indian causes for their decision to move from the German Democratic Republic (East) to the Federal Republic of Germany (West). Carmen Günther wrote that through their activism on behalf of AIM and other indigenous peoples, they had "begun to have a better look at our own problems here in Europe. We begun [sic] to realize that socialism is not a better system than capitalism, but it is only another society of destruction." This particular example demonstrates the various ways in which AIM's narrative was open to interpretation from people even within the same nation, under the same political regime. While East Germans like Andreas Erdmann interpreted AIM's narrative as supporting the socialist state's policy of anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism, Günther found that her experience challenged the very socialist regimes the other activists in the GDR believed they supported.

Indigeneity

[63] Nick Phillips to WKLDOC, n.d., "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.

One of the most unexpected ways in which Europeans identified with AIM and American Indians more generally in this period was through the threat to an indigenous cultural identity. As detailed in Chapter 1, the story of Wounded Knee focused on the threat to cultural identity from colonization as one of the challenges facing Indian peoples and distinguished it as a marker of Indianness and indigeneity. In Europe, the consolidation of nation-states and empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had meant the subjugation and 'vanishing' of many minority cultures. As a *Notes* letter from Holland described in 1974, people in Europe had consequently experienced the "gradual disappearance of cultural minorities such as the Lapps, Basques, Welsh." Urban life, the author argued, "takes away identity in Europe as well as in America."[64] In a period marked by the consolidation of nation-states and the rise of supranational bodies, such as the League of Nations, European Union, and United Nations, Europeans appeared very concerned about their "vanishing" native minority cultures. Some of these were clearly problematic, as they featured elements of romantic primitivism, particularly those in Germany that focused on broadly defined older "tribal" cultures. However, it is still noteworthy that these Europeans were not co-opting American Indian culture or identity, but rather identified with the threat to and loss of a native minority culture from a subjugating nation-state.

Through her activism, for example, Günther began relate to American Indians as tribal peoples, with a shared history of colonization and the attempted destruction of their traditions and customs. In her letter, she described how she and her friends were studying

[64] Letter from Franz Wejciechowski, Holland, *Akwesasne Notes* (Summer, 1974): 47.

their “own traditions as a tribal people,” which they had lost 1500 years ago.[65] As Glenn Penny has illustrated, this was a common theme in East German activism on behalf of Native peoples. The popular author and scholar Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, whose series *Das Blut des Adlers* (*The Blood of the Eagle*) spurred youth involvement with AIM, including Andreas Erdmann, often wrote to her contacts about the similarities between the nomadic tribes of Germany and those of North America. She noted that “all the tribes of Europe and Asia were earth-born peoples,” but the Roman Empire and Christianity had destroyed their culture: “They sent their missionaries to our ancestors. Slowly the tribal system was abolished, the nature-religion became persecuted, the missionaries, the towns, the ‘civilization’ became victor.” Therefore, Welskopf-Henrich maintained, East Germans had much to learn from American Indians and their fight for freedom.[66] For these East Germans, their solidarity and sense of shared oppression with American Indians was not necessarily based on a larger global proletarian struggle, but rather on their common roots as tribal peoples who had their cultures and societies destroyed by conquerors and Christianity.

Like Günther, Claudia Peer, a 19 year-old girl from South Tyrol also placed her experiences within the context of the loss of cultural identity, especially through attacks on her language. In a letter to AIM leader Dennis Banks, she explained the impact of AIM on her ethnic minority consciousness. In summarizing the complicated national history of her homeland, an area of Europe claimed by both Italy and Germany in the

[65] Carmen Günther to the International Office of the Leonard Peltier Defence Committee, 21 May 1984, Box 8, Folder 23, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[66] Quoted in Penny, “Red Power,” 464, 465. For a longer discussion of Welskopf-Henrich’s explanation of German tribes’ colonization, see Penny, 464-466.

twentieth century, Peer clearly drew links with the history of American Indian peoples, particularly through the forced destruction of her native language, German, and noted that "[m]y present situation is very similar to the situation of the Indians."[67] She described how her people were forbidden from speaking their language and forced to attend Italian schools, although some children attended "catacomb schools," secret schools in the German language.[68] While Peer explained that the situation had improved since "[w]e have autonomy and live in peace with the Italians," she and her people still faced prejudice and were not always politically aware of their own situation or history: "sometimes there are facts which testifies for a lot of hate in the hearts of so many peoples. Many people have lost their consciousness. So did I, but I have found it again thanks to the Indians…thanks for the re-founded consciousness."[69] For Peer, her interactions with AIM led her to compare her situation with those of American Indians, which in turn made her more aware of her political situation as an ethnic minority and a colonized person.

One of the most illuminating letters about the way that AIM's markers of Indianness or indigeneity functioned as a basis for solidarity came from a woman in Denmark. Inge Ambus relayed the support of people in Denmark for "our sisters and

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[67] Claudia Peer, South Tyrol, to Dennis Banks, n.d., Box 2, Folder 3, Kay Cole Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[68] Italy annexed South Tyrol in 1919 and the Italian fascist government, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini, passed measures in an attempt to Italianize the province. In response to the 1923 ban on the German language in South Tyrol and the mandate that Italian be the language of instruction, South Tyrolian activists such as Michael Gamper organized the establishment of secret schools or "catacomb schools" to teach children in their native German language. They received help, including German textbooks and teaching materials, from contacts in Austria and Germany. For more information, see Rolf Steininger, *South Tyrol: A Minority Conflict of the Twentieth Century,* Studies in Austrian and Central European History and Culture (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 26-32.
[69] Claudia Peer, South Tyrol, to Dennis Banks, n.d., Box 2, Folder 3, Kay Cole Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. The improved situation to which she refers appears to be the 1971 autonomy statute, Constitutional Law Nr. 1, which gave South Tyrol a measure of autonomy and control over its own affairs.

brothers fighting in Wounded Knee" and explained how she related to the cultural struggles of American Indian peoples and therefore seemingly identified as Indian. While her people had not experienced land loss, Ambus described how her country was experiencing a revival of a native identity through its elders: "A great number of people here look to the traditional way of life to get direction for their own life, and to help them find their own roots which appear to be very similar. The old way of life is spreading." As she stated, it was "Indians coming back all over the world."[70] Her letter, along with those of Gunther and Peer, illustrated that white Europeans could identify with American Indians on the basis of the markers of indigeneity set out by AIM. Their letters, especially that of Claudia Peer, reveal that their solidarity was strengthened by an identification based on a common struggle for their own minority or tribal cultures, rather than a co-opting of Native traditions. In doing so, they interpreted the Wounded Knee story as one of native peoples taking a stand and fighting for their culture. Indians, they suggested, had not vanished anywhere. They were not only taking a stand and becoming more visible in the United States, but they were also reappearing globally.

How American Indian activists reacted to these native peoples of Europe varied, and some were wary to acknowledge similarities with other indigenous people.[71] For example, the founding conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the first International Conference of Indigenous People in 1975, brought together indigenous peoples from Europe, the Americas, and Australia and New Zealand. National Indian Brotherhood leader George Manuel inspired its establishment after he "recognized the common problems and shared ways of native peoples everywhere." However, as

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[70] Letter from Inge Ambus, Koge, Denmark, *Akwesasne Notes* (Late Summer, 1973): 44.
[71] Pat Bellanger, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, February 9, 2011.

Akwesasne Notes reported, there had been some backlash against the Sami peoples' presence at the conference, since they were "fair-skinned" and the "idea of 'native people' from Europe" was completely new to some of the other attendees. Eventually, the differences were overcome as people recognized that the Sami had suffered colonization and that the "few surviving native nations of Europe have withstood the assault longer than any other native peoples have been required to do."[72] While initially differences in skin color obstructed these connections, the indigenous peoples at this conference recognized that people in Europe could share their experience of threats to land and cultural identity.

AIM members also recognized a common indigenous struggle with peoples in Europe and understood that they could serve as an inspiration to take a stand. In her work with the International Indian Treaty Council, community activist and AIM member Pat Bellanger toured Europe and was introduced to people "who had been there for centuries, who were still basically living with the same ideals and the same religion and the same everything." As she stated, the "feeling was one of kinship because they can see what we've gone through and what they've gone through." The similarities, she reflected, were "mind-blowing."[73] In some ways, then, these connections were not just networks of cooperation, but also functioned as relational kinship networks, where both Europeans and American Indians recognized what scholar Jodi Byrd has called the "relational kinships created by histories of oppression."[74] Through these kinship networks, European

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[72] "The First International Conference of Indigenous Peoples Meet at Tseshaht B.C.," *Akwesasne Notes* (Early Winter, 1975): 34.
[73] Bellanger, interview.
[74] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xxviii.

indigenous peoples could learn to stand up for their own culture. As AIM activist and artist Jimmie Durham noted: "I think that Europeans can learn from us what they were taught to forget. As I was in Europe I met many people in whom something of a tribal people remained."[75] Importantly, AIM activists acknowledged the presence of indigenous peoples in Europe, recognized the shared experiences, and emphasized that these Europeans could learn from American Indians in resurrecting and protecting their indigenous cultures.

Ethnic Nationalism

The Movement's relationship with European minority nationalists, however, focused on a more equal exchange of information and ideas. While some European supporters had asked for AIM's mutual support in raising awareness of their own struggles, such as that of political prisoners in Italy, these minority nationalists, such as the Irish and Welsh, engaged with the Movement in more complicated ways.[76] Since the Irish and Welsh were already actively engaged in a struggle for their own autonomy, they did not understand their experiences through placing them in the context of American Indian struggles, although both they and the Movement saw similarities between their campaigns and those of American Indians. Consequently, while they connected through an ideological sense of solidarity and common oppression, European minority nationalists and AIM members also participated in an exchange of ideas. Both sides learned from and taught each other. These relationships, in contrast to those with other European supporters, inspired the activists involved in more practical and tactical ways.

[75] Penny, 472. These comments were made in an interview with journalist Claus Biegert and published in his book *Seit 200 Jahre ohne Verfassung. 1976: Indianer im Widerstand.*
[76] Gianni Ferrara, Mondovi, Italy, to LPDC, n.d., Box 5, Folder 16, Robert E. Robideau American Indian Movement Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Certainly, some Irish identified with American Indian people despite being white. Writing to *Notes*, Anne Ebbs objected to the way that she saw the story of American Indian struggles being narrated with white people as the oppressors: "I am born and reared an Irish 'white.' The British are also 'white' but our country still suffers in the North…all the degradation from these 'white' tyrants as you 'red' people do in the States." To Ebbs, the story being told resonated with her experiences in Ireland. Consequently, she did not see the heroes as 'red' and the villains as 'white,' but rather that of 'colonized' versus colonizer. As she noted, "I would consider all those who struggle against all odds for peace and justice with dignity to be brothers, regardless of colour."[77] She therefore suggested that *Notes* might want to change the way they talked about the heroes and villains of the story because other people that they might consider 'white' suffered similar struggles.

The Irish Republican movement, one of the most prolific European minority nationalist groups, acted on this understanding of a common struggle and cultivated a strong relationship with AIM in the immediate aftermath of Wounded Knee that promoted an exchange of ideas and tactics. The movement was an umbrella organization of several groups involved in the fight to establish an Irish Republic that would include Northern Ireland and would be free from British political and military involvement.[78]

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[77] Letter from Anne Ebbs, Dublin, Republic of Ireland, *Akwesasne Notes* (Early Spring, 1975): 45.

[78] The term "Irish Republican Movement" has complicated and sometimes conflicting meanings. Generally, it is used to denote the broad movement for an Irish Republic, including both Official and Provisional factions. In this article, I use it only to refer to the Official IRA and Official Sinn Fein, since that is the name given on the letterhead sent by Irish activist Sean O'Cionnaith in his communications with AIM. O'Cionnaith was known for his association with the Official IRA, which suggests that in this instance the Official factions were utilizing the moniker. However, the conflicting uses of the term are illustrated by Peter Taylor in his book, *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Fein*. Taylor states that while he uses the term "Republican Movement" to denote the Provisional factions in general (both IRA and Sinn Fein), the Provos

During the 1970s and 1980s, the movement experienced several divisions over ideological differences. The most significant of these was the split of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its political partner, Sinn Fein, into Official and Provisional factions. The Official organizations had a reputation as being more moderate and socialist in outlook, whereas the Provisionals, or Provos, were in favor of more militant tactics and saw their problems as nationalist, not socialist. These differences are important for understanding the ways in which the Officials and Provos interacted with AIM in this period, supporting them while still engaged in their own struggle. The Official Irish Republican Movement, with its socialist principles, formed ideological links with various radical groups and causes. In contrast, the Provos established relationships with similar movements, but focused on more practical results, such as obtaining arms.[79]

The American Indian Movement established networks of cooperation with the Irish Republicans in the immediate aftermath of Wounded Knee. In his testimony to the Senate Subcommittee on Revolutionary Activities within the United States, FBI informer Douglass Durham maintained that representatives for the IRA had been present in St. Paul during Dennis Banks and Russell Means' trial in 1974, and that one of the Irish leaders had later extended an invitation for them to visit Dublin.[80] While Durham's testimony is notoriously problematic, it is true that AIM was in contact with Irish nationalists in this period, and it is plausible that they were in attendance. Irish nationalists were one of the first groups to send letters of support to AIM at Wounded

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themselves the term refers only to the Provisional IRA. *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Fein* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 380, n. 1.

[79] Rolston, 453.

[80] United States, "Revolutionary activities within the United States: the American Indian Movement : hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-fourth Congress, second session, April 6, 1976" (Washington DC: US Govt Print Office, 1976), 35.

Knee, and Maírtín Ó Muilleoir, a Sinn Fein councilor in Belfast, remembered following the siege closely.[81] In late 1973, AIM sent the Official Irish Republican Movement (IRM) materials about Wounded Knee, which led to further communication. Sean O'Cionnaith, the leader to which Durham referred, responded to thank AIM for the communication and to send them the IRM's bulletin on "the struggle for Socialism and Independence here in Ireland." He noted that the exchange of information and a closer relationship with AIM would be welcomed, since "we are keen to know of the American peoples struggle for ownership of their own country and we do wish you all well in your just struggle against those who have stolen your lands for their own benefit."[82] Here, O'Cionnaith implied a common fight against colonial powers that had stolen Irish and American Indian lands for their own gain. As Clyde Bellecourt reflected, when he visited IRA activists in prison, he told them, "it's no different from what they've done to us, what they continue to do to us."[83]

While the IRM participated in many of the same activities as other European supporters, including raising money and awareness of AIM's cause, their motivation for supporting AIM was not simply altruistic. As Mark Banks emphasized: "the IRA knows that America supports England. And to the IRA, England's the enemy. So they know that AIM is attacking America, whose side are they going to jump in on? So they were very supportive of AIM. Very vocal about it, orally and in writing."[84] As such, through helping and supporting AIM, the Official Irish Republican Movement was also aiding

[81] Clyde Bellecourt, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, December 20, 2011; Maírtín Ó Muilleoir, e-mail message to author, February 1, 2012.
[82] Sean O'Cionnaith, Irish Republican Movement, to WKLDOC, Dublin, 5 December 1973, "Fund-raising, solidarity, and information requests (foreign and domestic)," 146.H.13.4F, Box 95, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
[83] Clyde Bellecourt, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, October 4, 2011.
[84] Mark Banks, interview.

themselves. Yet whatever the self-serving reasons behind their support, AIM did provide inspiration for Irish nationalists, as Sinn Fein councilor Máirtín Ó Muilleoir reflected. The visits of Clyde Bellecourt and the singer and activist Floyd Crow Westerman helped build mutual understanding of their common struggles against the loss of their language and the Irish, in turn, gave "hope and solidarity" to AIM leaders. In one particular Bloody Sunday commemorative march in Derry, Ó Muilleoir remembered Westerman referring to the Irish marchers as "young warriors…Praise indeed for an Oglala Sioux leader."[85] As Bill Rolstan has demonstrated, by the 1990s, this solidarity was literally being illustrated on houses in Belfast Northern Ireland. The traditional Republican murals in the area prominently featured American Indian concerns.

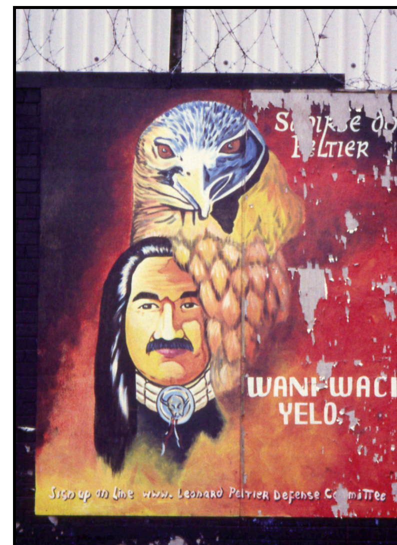

Figure 12, Mural at Whiterock Road, Belfast (1990)[86]
Figure 13. Mural that reads "Freedom for Leonard Peltier," Falls Road, Belfast (2001)[87]

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[85] Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, e-mail message to author, February 1, 2012.
[86] Bill Rolston, Republican Murals 1990s, accessed May 15, 2012, http://billrolston.weebly.com/1990s.html.
[87] Republican mural, Falls Road, West Belfast, 2001, Murals of Northern Ireland Collection, accessed May 15, 2012, http://ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/col/mni.

Therefore, in their actions at Wounded Knee and in articulating the challenges of land and identity in their story, AIM members inspired Irish nationalists in this period and, in turn, were encouraged by the support they received.

The relationship between Irish nationalists and AIM went beyond ideological solidarity, however. On a visit to Belfast with students from AIM's survival school in 1985, Floyd Westerman sang with a drum outside Armagh prison, a women's jail housing several Irish Republican activists. Westerman recalled providing inspiration to the prisoners: "British troops came and put the guns on us and told us to leave and we didn't even move. What were they going to do right there? But we finished our song. And that song rang out through that prison, I understand, to everybody in there."[88] Movement leaders also had conversations with the Provos about more practical tactics for the survival of their own culture, including the importance of native language education. As AIM historian Laura Waterman Wittstock noted, leaders such as Clyde Bellecourt made several trips to Ireland for the purpose of discussing building schools "that would focus on language and poetry."[89] These continued into the 1990s, as Vernon Bellecourt attended Provisional Sinn Fein's annual conference, the Ard Fheis, and visited an Irish Meanscoil (high school) in Belfast in 1995. Speaking to *An Phoblacht*, the newspaper of the Provisional Sinn Fein, he noted the similarities in the Irish and American Indian struggles and discussed the importance of teaching "our own culture, language, music, and art," which he had seen demonstrated at Belfast's first Irish medium school, the

[88] Floyd 'Red Crow' Westerman, interview by Roibeard O'Ceallaigh, 2004, accessed May, 15, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qa5xwjE4T9k.
[89] Laura Waterman Wittstock, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, December 6, 2010; Clyde Bellecourt, interview, October 4, 2011.

Bunscoil Beal Feirste, five years earlier.[90] Clearly, both the American Indian Movement and Irish Republicans identified with each other's struggle and the exchange of ideas and strategies for cultural survival that resulted from their alliance had tangible results.[91]

Overall, the networks of cooperation AIM activists forged in Europe were significant in several ways. They provided a means of circulating the Movement's ideas and message and raised funds and awareness of the struggles of American Indian peoples. Yet a closer examination of the letters these supporters sent to AIM's Defense Committees and *Akwesasne Notes* suggests that these relationships were significant in ways that have not been widely recognized. They indicate that while stereotypes were certainly a factor in many Europeans' support, the transnational solidarity networks AIM built in that continent were often based on the varied ways in which Europeans identified with American Indians as oppressed peoples. As such, Europeans' political experiences, rather than stereotypes, often shaped their interpretation of AIM's narrative, and consequently their alliances and identification with American Indians. People in East Germany found solidarity with AIM in a proletarian struggle they categorized as anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. In contrast, Günther found that her experience challenged the very communist regimes that other activists in East Germany believed they supported and she, like Peer, became more aware of their own state oppression through their interactions with AIM.

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[90] Vernon Bellecourt, interview with *An Phoblacht/ Republican News*, Belfast, Ireland, May 4, 1995, Hartford Web Publishing World History Archives, accessed September 14, 2011, http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/41/027.html.

[91] As Bill Rolston has argued, in the 1980s, as "ideology became stronger" in the Provisional movement, the Provos began to form more ideological links with other groups, as represented by the international subjects and statements of solidarity in Republican murals in Northern Ireland, including those featuring AIM activist Leonard Peltier. Rolston, 455, 457.

The story of Wounded Knee and American Indians' struggles more generally therefore influenced and motivated Europeans beyond simply raising financial and moral support for the Movement. It also acted as a medium through which these contacts developed and furthered a sense of shared experiences, whether of proletarians fighting against imperial nation-states or of tribal peoples who wanted to regain consciousness of their pre-conquest histories and cultures. In addition, as with the Irish, the stories could also lead to the exchange of practical tactics, as well as provide mutual support. As I will explore in more detail in the following two chapters, while AIM went to Europe in search of "hard money support," what they found were Europeans who shared their challenges of land, identity, and history. These networks served as mutual inspiration as both AIM and Europeans understood that they were not alone in their struggles and that they had the support and solidarity of many others. Through the circulation of AIM's vision and narrative and the forging of these European networks of cooperation, there were "Indians coming back all over the world," even in Europe.

Chapter 3 – "Be Militant, But Be Practical": AIM's influence on a Grassroots Welsh Nationalist Movement

On the evening of May 1st, 1973, a heated debate was taking place between Members of Parliament in the House of Commons in London about the extent of Welsh authority over that nation's water, one of its most economically valuable natural resources. Most Welsh members argued for the sovereignty of the Welsh Water Authority over all water within Wales.[1] In response, English MPs accused them of being "extreme" and "nationalistic." In particular, one speech by a former Secretary of State for Wales, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, caused uproar, as he argued that if Wales was "paid properly for the water we export, Mid-Wales would be as rich as some of the Gulf sheikdoms." He noted that Wales graciously did not demand payment for its precious resources and yet England still took them without "adequate local consultation and on occasion against the wishes of hon. Members representing Welsh constituencies in this House and against Welsh public opinion." Hughes contended that the Government had "learned nothing" in the last ten years, a period in which the number of Welsh nationalist organizations rose considerably and their tactics became increasingly militant in the aftermath of Tryweryn. As he commented, somewhat threateningly, "the Indians have been protesting in Wounded Knee about something far less during recent weeks."[2]

With what was probably an impromptu remark, Hughes actually anticipated a relationship that would become an important facet of Welsh nationalism in the following

[1] The Members were debating whether power over the Severn Basin, a major water source in mid Wales, should be ceded to the English-controlled Severn-Trent Water Authority. Welsh MPs argued that sovereignty should lay with the Welsh Water Authority, whereas most English MPs contended that it should be given to the Severn-Trent Authority.

[2] Debate over Water Bill, Clause 2, House of Commons Debates, Hansard May 1, 1973, vol. 855, cc1074-99, cc1080, Hansard 1803-2005, accessed March 27, 2009, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1973/may/01/clause-2#S5CV0855P0_19730501_HOC_396.

two decades. Hughes not only suggested a commonality between Indian and Welsh concerns, but also implied that Welsh militants might be inspired by AIM's actions at Wounded Knee to protest this English appropriation of their natural resources and their land.

Certainly, in the aftermath of Tryweryn and their disillusionment with Plaid Cymru's tactics, grassroots Welsh nationalist groups sought inspiration and practical advice on how to achieve their aims from a variety of other movements worldwide. Some offered their support to African countries in their decolonization efforts, expressing solidarity with those peoples attempting to overthrow English colonization of their nations. Others forged networks of cooperation with Celtic minority nationalists in Ireland and Brittany, given their similar situations and language oppression. American Indian activism also served as an inspiration for a variety of Welsh nationalist groups, including those who focused on Welsh language rights, such as Adfer (Restore) and Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (the Welsh Language Society), as well as Cofiwn (Remember) and Ty Cenedl (Our Nation's House), whose members studied and commemorated the history of Wales. In searching for an alternative to Plaid's political tactics, these grassroots Welsh nationalists established alliances with various movements worldwide. They not only declared an ideological solidarity with these groups, but also learned practical tactics from these other campaigns that they employed in subsequent campaigns. The transnational connections of these smaller grassroots movements therefore shaped the Welsh political landscape in this period.

In this chapter, I focus on the networks of cooperation that one particular grassroots Welsh nationalist movement, Ty Cenedl, forged with the American Indian

Movement and the ways in which they strategically drew on AIM's campaigns, particularly through Movement activist Mark Banks' tour of Wales in 1986. Ty Cenedl was initially set up by another movement, Cofiwn, as part of its mission to raise awareness of Welsh history and it continued its work in the Ysbryd Cofiwn [the Cofiwn spirit] after that group disbanded in 1983 due to police surveillance. While it is difficult to identify an overarching internationalist ideology of the groups, by exploring the beliefs and actions of two of the key officers of Cofiwn and Ty Cenedl, Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, it is possible to locate the direct influence of the American Indian Movement on their actions in specific historical moments. These activists were inspired by the siege at Wounded Knee, implemented those tactics in their own campaigns, and finally drew on AIM and the shared issues of land, identity, and history as a means to inspire others to rise in protest. By tracing the process and development of how Gruffydd and Ifan adapted AIM's ideas, it is evident that not only did American Indian activism serve as an inspiration for Welsh nationalists, but also, for a moment, these Welsh nationalists considered Indianness and indigeneity, not as a political identity, but as a practical strategy to achieve their goals. Furthermore, these activists valued the transnational perspective their connections provided for its own sake, beyond financial and moral support, as it enabled the exchange of information and ideas.

The Changing Landscape of Grassroots Welsh Nationalism

In the 1960s and 1970s, the number of Welsh nationalist groups grew exponentially, as did the strategies they considered and employed in their struggles. Their aims for Wales varied from reinvigorating the language to protecting natural resources to gaining limited self-government to winning full independence. Consequently, their

strategies also differed, from protest marches to hunger strikes, from putting Welsh nationalist MPs in Parliament to recruiting paramilitary forces and engaging in direct action, such as bombing dams and political offices. While there had been other nationalist organizations than Plaid Cymru before this, they were few in number. Before the 1960s, Plaid Cymru, which was formed in 1925, and the Welsh Republican Movement (Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru) had been the two major organizations of Welsh nationalism. The latter split from Plaid in 1949 to focus on socialism and republicanism, rather than on pacifism and rural affairs, although they also used political strategies and put forward a candidate in the 1950 General Election.[3] The political focus of the WRM was also evident in its promotion of a civic, rather than ethnic, nationalism. As the October/ November, 1951, issue of their magazine, *Y Gweriniaethwr*, argued, "Nor must our sphere be limited by any narrow racial impositions; the Arab from Tiger Bay is our concern, equally with the Welsh speaker from the Cefngwlad. All that we demand is that both shall be prepared to accept the duties of citizenship in a Welsh state."[4] For both Plaid and the WRM, the key to success lay through politics. They sought a Welsh nation that enjoyed some measure of political power, and whose citizens were not defined by ethnicity, but rather through their civic dedication to Wales.

When the Tryweryn protests occurred, however, activists realized that the Welsh did not wield any real political power within the UK nation-state. Debates intensified over the best goals for Wales and the most effective tactics for achieving those aims.

[3] For information on Welsh political organizations, see Peter Barberis, John McHugh, and Mike Tyldesley, *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups, and Movements of the Twentieth Century* London; New York: Pinter, 2000), 431-453.
[4] Quoted in Gweriniaethwr, *The Young Republicans: a record of the Welsh Republican Movement – Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru* (Llanwrst, Gwynedd: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1996), 69.

While some nationalists thought the solution lay in gaining more influence within Parliament or the British state through peaceful means, others argued for an independent Welsh republic, and some maintained that only militant action could produce change. This puzzling led to an increase in Welsh nationalist groups, as older organizations split and new ones formed. The 1960s, for example, saw the formation of Cymdeithas yr Iaith (the Welsh Language Society), as well as the more militant Free Wales Army and Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru (Welsh Defense Movement or MAC), and the National Patriotic Front, which aimed for republic status for Wales within a federation of Celtic states.[5]

The Free Wales Army, a paramilitary organization, garnered the most media attention when they first appeared at Tryweryn protests in their military uniforms, and their potential international alliances made headlines, with rumors swirling that they were regularly receiving arms from the IRA. However, it soon became clear that while they were passionate in the nationalist beliefs, they were less successful in carrying out their objectives. For example, they forgot to attach a detonator to the one bomb they planted in an attempt to disrupt water supplies to England from Wales. Also, while boasting that they were training kamikaze dogs to attach explosive devices to targets, a demonstration of their maneuvers for an English newspaper revealed that their dog preferred to play "fetch" when members threw the dummy grenade.[6]

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[5] Barberis, McHugh, and Tyldesley, 436, 440-1, 441. For more on the origins of MAC and the Free Wales Army, see Roy Clews, *To Dream of Freedom: The Story of MAC and the Free Wales Army* 2nd rev. ed. (1980; repr., Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2001) and John Humphries, *Freedom Fighters: Wales's Forgotten 'War,' 1963-1993* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).
[6] Humphries, 50, 51, 54.

In contrast, MAC, whose members were often working class people from South Wales and whose existence was less well known, was responsible for several successful direct actions. They bombed the dams at Tryweryn and Clywedog to protest the flooding of the river valleys and the export of water to England. They also accomplished the destruction of pipelines from the nineteenth century developments at Lake Vyrnwy and the Elan Valley, as well as setting off explosives at major political offices in the Welsh capital city, Cardiff, including the Temple of Peace, the Inland Revenue Office, the Welsh Office, and the police headquarters.[7] The 1960s therefore saw Welsh nationalists become frustrated with the status quo of peaceful protest, especially in the wake of the drowning of Tryweryn. In using the only language they thought the English authorities would understand, a show of violence, they began to gain a reputation for their militant actions.

By the 1970s, however, many of these movements had disintegrated following the arrests and imprisonments of several activists from these organizations due to their direct action protests of the investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales. In 1969, Prince Charles, the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth II was formerly invested as Prince of Wales at Caernarfon Castle in North Wales, a formal recognition of his place as heir to the throne. Welsh nationalists protested this ceremony as yet another signal of Wales' lack of political power and a reminder that Wales had once been a free nation with Welsh princes on her thrones, not simply the heir to the English throne as the placeholder. A rally in Caernarfon included signs exhorting people to "cofiwch Llywelyn II 1282" (Remember Llywelyn II 1282 – the date of the last Welsh prince of Wales's death).

[7] Humphries, 226-7.

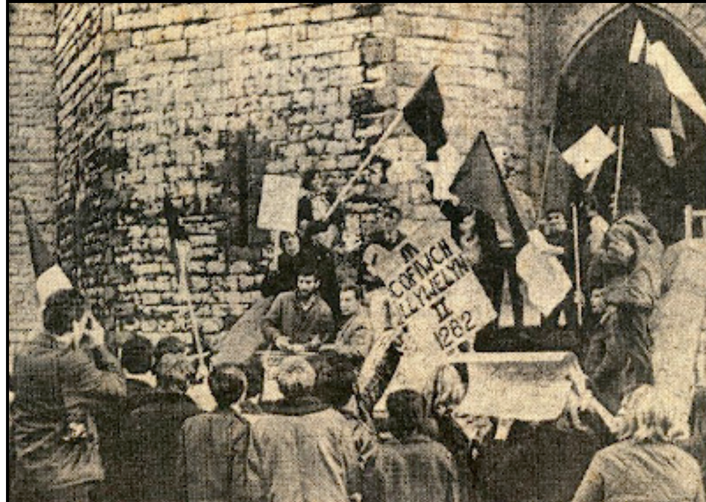

Figure 14. Anti-Investiture rally in Caernarfon, 1968.[8]

People also began wearing buttons that read "Dim Saes yn Tywysog Cymru" (No Englishman as Prince of Wales) and "Cymro yn Tywysog Cymru" (a Welshman as Prince of Wales), and others staged protests at Charles's visit to Cardiff, Wales in 1968. Smoke bombs were thrown and several activists arrested.

Figure 15. Anti-Investiture Protest at Prince Charles's (R) visit to the Welsh Office in Cardiff, 1968.[9]

The bombing campaign continued, with two members dying after their device accidentally exploded, until police arrested FWA activists, along with MAC leader John Jenkins. Several members were imprisoned for their actions and consequently many of the militant groups dissolved and were replaced by others. Adfer split from Cymdeithas

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[8] "Anti-investiture rally in Caernarfon, 1968," Alternative Welsh Nationalist Archive, accessed May 15, 2012, http://awnms.blogspot.com/2007/04/anti-investiture-struggle-1966-1967.html.

[9] "Anti-investiture protest in Cardiff, 1968," Alternative Welsh Nationalist Archive, accessed May 15, 2012, http://awnms.blogspot.com/2007/04/anti-investiture-struggle-1966-1967.html.

in 1974, while members of MAC, the Free Wales Army, and the National Patriotic Front formed Cofiwn. Other nationalists established short-lived groups such as Mudiad Werin (the Welsh Republican Movement) and Welsh Action.[10]

In the 1980s, the landscape of these movements changed again, especially following the devastating ‘no’ vote in the Welsh devolution referendum in 1979. The growing trend of wealthier English people buying second homes in Welsh-speaking communities also proved a challenge, as they increased housing prices and allegedly threatened the identity of these villages. The new owners replaced Welsh-speakers and generally used the houses as holiday homes, leaving them empty for the majority of the year. Groups such as Meibion Glyndwr (Sons of Glyndwr) and Cadwyr Cymru (Keepers of Wales) launched an arson campaign, while the Worker’s Army of the Welsh Republic claimed responsibility for the bombing of political targets such as local Conservative Party offices and government buildings. However, members of many of these groups, including the Worker’s Army, Cofiwn, and the Welsh Socialist Republican Movement, were caught up in the ensuing police operation and put on trial for conspiracy to cause explosions. As had happened at the end of the 1960s, the arrests and police surveillance took its toll and only Ty Cenedl and Meibion Glyndwr continued to operate in the aftermath of the conspiracy trial.[11] Consequently, during the period of the 1960s-1980s, Welsh nationalism encompassed a series of small and interlinked factions, who might share members and a general commitment to improving the colonial situation in Wales, but possessed different understandings of Wales’ problems, advocated various goals and

[10] Barberis, McHugh, and Tyldesley, 433-4, 434, 441, 448.
[11] Barberis, McHugh, and Tyldesley, 440, 434, 452, 451-2.

strategies, and therefore perceived the value of transnational networks of cooperation in disparate ways.

Puzzling Around the World

As they puzzled over these goals and strategies, Welsh activists looked at a variety of movements globally to gain inspiration, learn practical tactics, and support related causes. In the early 1950s, for example, the Welsh Republican Movement donated a sum of money towards the defense of Jomo Kenyatta, the President of the Kenya Africa Union who had been a strong advocate for his Kikuyu tribe's land rights and was being put on trial for his part in the anti-colonial Mau Mau rebellion. As the WRM's newsletter stated, this money represented "a token of admiration for the struggles of the people of Kenya against the vicious exploitation of their land and labour by England." Consequently, Welsh Republicans could "take pride in that small gesture on their part towards speeding the end of an effete imperial regime in Kenya."[12] Distancing itself from any Welsh involvement in the larger British imperial project at a time when decolonization served as an inspiration for many ethnic minority movements worldwide, the WRM suggested that they admired the Kenyan people because they shared a struggle against the *English* exploitation of their land and labor.

These global struggles did not only inspire Welsh nationalists in a general way, but also in a more concrete sense as some of the leaders of the alternative movements became more conscious of Wales's own oppression through their contact with members of other minority nationalist groups. Cayo Evans, a farmer and leader of the Free Wales

[12] "Money for African Leader in Kenya," *Y Gweriniaethwr*, quoted in Y Gweriniathwr, *The Young Republicans: A Record of the Welsh Republican Movement – Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru* (Llanrwst, Gwynedd: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1996), 96.

Army, was inspired by his contacts with Irish Republicans while in the British Army: "Something else had occurred which was later to change the structure of my life, and indirectly to help lead to my involvement with the Free Wales Army…[I] met Irish Republican sympathisers, and I listened to the stories they told of the struggle for Irish freedom…I was later to read every book I could find on the subject, and also to delve deeply into Irish history, music and folklore."[13] While Evans found the stories of the Irish struggle inspiring and would later build on these contacts with the IRA, Tony Lewis of the National Patriotic Front became more aware of Wales's oppression through his contact with a Frieslander while in the Air Force. This man had made Lewis "see that Wales was also a country," motivating him to become a Welsh nationalist despite never previously having any nationalist inclinations.[14] For Evans and Lewis, the contacts they made with other ethnic minorities through their service in the British Armed Forces shaped their nationalist activism and were an important inspiration.

Global struggles and contacts also shaped these grassroots movements in more tangible, tactical ways. As the Tryweryn protests were making headlines, a young man from North Wales, a native Welsh speaker and ardent nationalist, was working in a logging camp in British Columbia. There Owain Williams, one of the founding members of MAC, met activists from the Freedom for Quebec movement who taught him how to use explosives, despite his having never "seen a stick of gelignite before." This knowledge motivated his involvement in the Tryweryn campaign, as he "began to think that if I went back to Wales with my new knowledge of explosives, maybe I could do something about the situation." It would prove useful in Williams's later bombing of the

[13] Quoted in Clews, 45-6.
[14] Quoted in Clews, 55.

dam at Tryweryn and his involvement with MAC.[15] Consequently, Williams's contacts with the Freedom for Quebec members not only inspired him to protest Tryweryn, by offering him an alternative to Plaid's peaceful actions, but they also gave him the tools to do so, the knowledge to use explosives. In this way, the Freedom for Quebec members tangibly shaped the landscape of Welsh nationalism in this period by providing an alternative to Plaid's tactics that would become a defining action of Welsh nationalism in this period – the use of explosives.

Other North American activists also directly motivated the Welsh-language rights group, Adfer. According to Ty Cenedl activist Sian Ifan, Adfer members were reading about AIM and American Indian protests and were inspired to "create work in the community."[16] As one of its strategies to protect Welsh language communities, the movement set up a housing association to provide affordable housing to local people, given the increase in housing prices resulting from English holiday homes.[17] Adfer's leader, the musician Tecwyn Ifan, also wrote songs in Welsh about the Wounded Knee massacre and the Navajos' Longest Walk, which Ifan presented to AIM activist Mark Banks during his tour of Wales in 1986.[18] Therefore, in this period, Welsh nationalist movements looked to a variety of other minority nationalist and decolonization struggles as they searched for alternatives to the tactics of Plaid. People in Kenya, Ireland, and

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[15] Clews, 25-26.

[16] Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, interview by Kate Williams, Swansea, Wales, January 8, 2010.

[17] Barberis, McHugh, and Tyldesley, 434.

[18] "Gwaed ar yr Eira Gwyn" [Blood on the White Snow] is about the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890, while "Y Navaho" [the Navajo] details the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo in 1864. These songs, with accompanying translation, are available on YouTube. Tecwyn Ifan, "Gwaed Ar Yr Eira Gwyn," YouTube, accessed December 14, 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KmUMjX1DWRg; Tecwyn Ifan, "Y Navaho," YouTube, accessed December 14, 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tg2HcbVPPzk. Cymdeithas requested an AIM speaker from AIM's English contact in 1986. Joan Phillips to Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, 28 November 1986, Box CXII, Folder 4, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

Friesland inspired the leaders of these movements, while members of liberation struggles in Quebec and American Indian nations provided tactical lessons.

The Problems of Transnational Networks

As the protests of Welsh nationalists grew more prolific in the 1960s and 1970s, activists not only looked to other movements for inspiration, but also other minority nationalist and socialist movements reached out to them in turn. Welsh activists were divided in their opinions over the purpose and usefulness of these transnational networks and alliances. Many who were influenced by socialist ideology thought an international outlook was essential, whereas others thought these efforts only detracted from national unity and nationalist protests.[19] Even those in favor of transnational networks with other activists had a variety of opinions on issues ranging from the purpose of these alliances to the groups with whom they should be associated. As the experiences of two activists associated with Cofiwn, John Jenkins, leader of MAC and member of Cofiwn, and Mrs. Gwilym, wife of founding member Eurig ap Gwilym, indicate, the role of transnational networks in Welsh nationalists' tactics proved to be complex and conflicted, even within a single grassroots movement.

In his work with MAC in the mid-1960s, John Jenkins maintained that while ideological links were important to Welsh nationalist struggles, there were practical problems with forging more concrete alliances. In this period, he attempted to draw attention to Wales' struggle through a bombing campaign, calculated to raise awareness of Welsh concerns and provoke action by the government and Welsh people. In this context, Jenkins argued that Welsh nationalists could not "operate in a political vacuum"

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[19] Similar debates were also happening in the Irish Republican Movement in the 1960s, leading to the split between the Official and Provisional factions in 1969.

and also made a concerted effort to establish relationships with other minority nationalist groups.[20] In the mid-1960s, for example, MAC established relations with the Irish Republican Army and the Breton National Army, who offered training facilities and a safe house in Brittany.[21]

However, while these links were important to MAC, there were practical problems with these networks. First, the alliances did not develop as expected, although MAC activists remained in contact with Harri Webb, a poet and Plaid Cymru member, so that he could keep them informed of international developments.[22] Also, as Jenkins explained, there were issues with other activists identifying with Welsh nationalists to the detriment of the Welsh struggle. For example, MAC drew international attention from Rudi Dutschke, leader of the German Marxist student group the Baader-Meinhof Gang. While in Britain, Dutschke intentionally lost his police surveillance detail, before catching a train to Swansea in the hopes of meeting with MAC members to organize them. They politely declined, having decided they had little in common with Dutschke.[23] According to MAC leader John Jenkins, these events were damaging to the success of the movement because the authorities "couldn't understand that this was an indigenous fightback…we were acting on our own." Instead, especially after Dutschke's attempt at an alliance, police and government officials believed that the movement was not a serious nationalist attempt, but rather one instigated by other 'troublemakers' in Europe.[24] Consequently, MAC's demands and actions would not be taken seriously either. While

[20] Letter from John Jenkins to John Humphries, quoted in Humphries, 68.
[21] Humphries, 68.
[22] Humphries, 68.
[23] Humphries, 80, 141.
[24] Humphries, 141.

Jenkins believed in the importance of making connections with other movements, his experiences suggested that there were practical issues that meant they might actually detract from Welsh nationalist tactics rather than contribute to them, precisely at the moment when he wanted to attract notice.

In contrast, over a decade later, in the midst of police raids and arrests of Cofiwn members as part of a police surveillance campaign, the wife of founding member Eurig ap Gwilym understood transnational networks to be detrimental precisely *for* the attention they would attract from the authorities to activists' efforts. On Palm Sunday, police raided and arrested fifty-six activists, many of whom were Cofiwn members, as part of a larger operation to bring down organizations they thought were involved in an arson campaign against holiday homes in North Wales. Eurig ap Gwilym was one of those imprisoned. In the following days, his wife received a telegram from a Welsh expatriate in New York, Veronica Pugh, about an historical commemoration which Cofiwn was organizing. Pugh was an activist involved with a group called Cyngor [Council] and had been corresponding with Cofiwn activists about fundraising in the United States, but had apparently been unaware of recent events in Wales. Mrs. Gwilym railed against Pugh's "stupidity," noting that the telegrams would only serve as further evidence for police: "Our telephones are bugged and our letters opened and our movements checked. Who needs bugged telephones when telegrams like this are sent openly." In a stinging rebuke, Mrs. Gwilym reprimanded Pugh for her lack of understanding, which she blamed on the distance between Pugh's efforts in New York and the reality of life in Wales: "Perhaps if you came home to your beloved Cymru, you

would understand more fully the pressure of the establishment here."[25] While Pugh attempted to allay her fears, describing the tactics Cyngor was employing to bring attention to the incarcerations, it is evident that Mrs. Gwilym, in contrast to Jenkins, understood transnational networks to be potentially devastating precisely because of the attention it would attract, through providing police with evidence of Cofiwn campaigns.[26]

Learning Lessons from the Larger World

While it is difficult to identify an overarching internationalist ideology of Cofiwn, we can get insight into it by exploring the beliefs and actions of two of the key officers of Cofiwn and Ty Cenedl, Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan. Gruffydd and Ifan believed that these networks could provide a practical solution to Wales' struggles and an alternative to Plaid's tactics. Gruffydd's dissatisfaction with existing nationalist efforts was evident early in his activism, when he joined the Free Wales Army. Born in Merthyr, this staunch nationalist from a working-class mining family was described by a British Special Branch police officer as a "great propagandist, who throws ideas into the air like little balls."[27] As he was growing up and becoming more politically aware, he watched television coverage of the Suez affair, Flemish and Belgian language struggles, and the nationalist campaigns in Quebec. He also read books by the Cypriot General Grivas, and

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[25] Mrs. Gwilym to Veronica Pugh, n.d., enclosure from letter from Veronica Pugh to Cliff Bere, n.d., A1998/115, Folder 40 (Cofiwn), Cliff Bere Papers, National Library of Wales.

[26] Veronica Gillian Pugh (Cyngor) to Eurig ap Gwilym's wife, 1 October 1980, A1998/115, Folder 40 (Cofiwn), Cliff Bere Papers, National Library of Wales. She stated: "Tonight we have another demonstration, and next week we begin a pamphleting campaign in New York. You might be interested to know that through the type of 'stupidity' we engage in, we have managed to get 3 large and extensive articles in the New York Times, plus articles in daily papers in San Francisco, Baltimore, Canada, Philadelphia, and Washington. We have made contacts with other groups who have expressed an interest in working with us on an international level to bring attention to the imprisonment of Welsh men and women. We have taken the issue to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, though as yet we have not received a reply. We have also contacted the National Council of Churches who have referred the matter to their counter-part in the British Isles for investigation. Three weeks ago I spoke at a school in New York about the March arrests and the information is being disseminated throughout the US."

[27] Quoted in Clews, 94.

his family played host to Hungarians fleeing to South Wales to escape the Revolt. These international events and campaigns were integral to Gruffydd's growing consciousness of his "postcolonial British experience."[28]

At only 22 years old, he was sentenced to nine months in prison for organizing on behalf of the Free Wales Army, yet correspondence found during the police investigation suggests that Gruffydd had already learned tactical lessons. In a letter written to leader Cayo Evans, Gruffydd warned that the group needed to be more practical in their strategy, as their military dress, parades, and practice maneuvers would only serve to alienate people and undermine their goals. He implored: "Believe me, pal, if we don't clear up our image as being a lot of bloody idiots and nuisances, then there will not be one ounce of support among the people for us."[29] After his release, he went into exile in Ireland, where he learned of the National Graves Association. This organization, dedicated to the remembering of Irish patriots, played an important role in inspiring Gruffydd to establish the Cymric-consciousness raising movement, Cofiwn.[30] In the late 1960s then, as AIM and other Indian activists began to make headlines, Gruffydd was already frustrated with existing efforts, and he was searching beyond Wales for different approaches and solutions.

Gruffydd and Ifan perceived two particular problems with existing efforts. First, they understood the Welsh struggle to be socialist and therefore felt discouraged by other nationalists' disregard of working class Welsh people. Second, Gruffydd and Ifan felt that the Welsh had a defeated mindset, where they had "taken the mind of the conqueror and

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[28] Quoted in Clews, 94.
[29] Quoted in Humphries, 99.
[30] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

don't fight back." Gruffydd and Ifan were consequently frustrated with nationalists' inability or lack of desire to take action.[31] They saw Plaid's tactics as especially insufficient, since the party catered to the middle classes and rural areas, from which it drew its political support, and was committed to non-militant protest. As Gruffydd commented, that type of "nationalism…doesn't seem so interested in council estates."[32] Likewise, Gruffydd and Ifan also thought that militant Irish Republican tactics would not succeed in the Wales, since the Welsh "were never going to be like the Irish, marching up and down with guns and having rebellions…It's a different psychology."[33] To these Ty Cenedl activists, since these strategies were ineffective, they needed to look outside Britain for inspiration.

Through their understanding of the Welsh struggle, Gruffydd and Ifan sought inspiration from those movements that addressed the two deficiencies they recognized in Welsh nationalism, and so drew from urban and working-class movements that they saw taking action. They saw connections across national, racial, and ethnic boundaries, including such movements as Black Power, Basque nationalism, the barrio warriors of California, and AIM. Gruffydd and Ifan were conscious that, in many ways, the Welsh had not been excluded from the dominant society as had many American Indians and African-Americans. To Gruffydd and Ifan, however, this only made these activists' strategies more important, since they had "based it on a much broader experience of a society, of their history." Consequently, Gruffydd and Ifan believed that Welsh people could learn valuable lessons from these other movements in overcoming a colonial

[31] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[32] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[33] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

mindset, lessons that other middle-class Welsh nationalists would not acknowledge since that exclusion was not part of their experience.[34]

Cofiwn and the American Indian Movement

The American Indian Movement was one of the groups from which Gruffydd and Ifan sought inspiration and practical lessons. They identified with AIM in part due to what they understood as the Movement's urban and working-class origins. As Gruffydd and Ifan pointed out in the official report of the Big Mountain Campaign tour, "AIM was founded by off the reservations 'city Indians' many of them unemployed in the ghettos of the West and East coast of America," who were fighting against a mixture of social and colonial issues. Like the Welsh, American Indians were also facing "economic exploitation, social depravation [sic], and cultural genocide." As such, Gruffydd and Ifan admired the Movement's work in the community, "in education programmes, social projects, and campaigns against unemployment, alcohol consumption, and better social welfare and health conditions etc."[35] As Gruffydd stated, what attracted him to the Movement is that its members "were working class people" and that he and Ifan "do see the similarities, especially from a working-class perspective." While they were aware of Indian rights campaigns earlier, including Iroquois protests in the 1930s over passports, it was AIM's efforts in taking the struggle in a new direction in the late 1960s that appealed to these Welsh nationalists.[36] Seeing this fight against social and urban issues, in addition

[34] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[35] "A Message from the Black Hills of Dakota to Wales: Lessons in History," n.d., Box AIV, Folder 6, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[36] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

to a colonial mindset, as similar to that which they faced in Wales, Gruffydd and Ifan were inspired by AIM's efforts at putting a national identity "into a social struggle."[37]

While these Ty Cenedl activists drew inspiration from AIM as a nationalist social movement, they also admired the practical actions of AIM's campaigns. As Gruffydd commented, "the other important thing for us with AIM was its willingness to stand up…to get up and stand on your feet and fight."[38] In part, Gruffydd and Ifan believed that AIM's dramatic protests of the early 1970s had enabled Indian peoples to get past the barrier of a colonial mindset, of being too defeated and apathetic to fight back. Since existing Welsh strategies were not working, they thought it was important to learn from AIM and their tactical achievements. Gruffydd stated: "I'm constantly pointing out…Get practical, like these people, and do something practical. Be militant, but do things practical. AIM has always done that….Stop poncing around and parading 'round in uniform, pretending you're in Ireland in 1916. Look at what these people have learned."[39] Frustrated by the apathy of Welsh people and the inability of the country's nationalist groups to take a stand, Ty Cenedl activists learned from AIM. They drew on their militant tactics and strategies in an attempt to take a stand against "economic exploitation, social deprivation, and cultural genocide," and inspire change in Wales.

In addition to AIM's focus on land and identity, Gruffydd and Ifan also admired the American Indian Movement's attention to history. Cofiwn as an organization was dedicated to redressing what it saw as a problem with the Welsh psyche, that "we forgot

[37] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[38] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[39] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

our history and national identity."[40] They organized annual marches at Cilmeri, where Llywelyn, the last Prince of Wales, is thought to have been murdered, as well as other memorial events for significant Welsh historical anniversaries. As Gruffydd noted, AIM seemed to have been quite successful in their campaigns to change the way American history is commemorated: "You can't get away with a European commemoration of American history now. When they had that Lewis and Clark commemoration, they had two versions, and they gave money for the two versions - the Indian version and the European version - so we're using that as an example because we've got the same thing in Wales."[41]

While generally motivated by AIM's struggle, there are specific historical moments in which Gruffydd and Ifan locate the direct influence of the American Indian Movement on their actions. As such, it is possible to trace the process and development of how these activists adapted AIM's ideas. Initially, they looked at the American Indian Movement's strategy of direct action at Wounded Knee and saw how it might have made one of their previous protests more successful. From there, they applied that lesson to one of their own campaigns, Sarhad '83. Finally, in 1986, through the Big Mountain Campaign, Ty Cenedl moved from simply using AIM's tactics to also employing AIM's struggle itself as a strategy to inspire Welsh people in protest, one they continue to make use of today.

One of the first instances in which Gruffydd traced the influence of AIM's actions was the stand the Movement made at Wounded Knee, particularly in relation to his disappointment with the Welsh nationalist tactics at Tryweryn. To Gruffydd and other

[40] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview
[41] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

activists, the lack of direct action in response to Tryweryn was frustrating, particularly when compared to AIM's success at Wounded Knee: "Now I always said, why didn't the Welsh do that at Tryweryn? Why did they walk out? They should have done that, made this big last stand…And that stand at Wounded Knee was superb."[42] As they interpreted it, the struggle at Wounded Knee was partly "between this old brigade and this new generation of people, you know, who wanted to work outside [the system]." To these activists, who saw Plaid members as an "old brigade" and believed working within the political system was an ineffective means of change, AIM's actions at Wounded Knee were a brilliant example of effective protest and a possible solution to future problems.

Gruffydd and Ifan applied the lessons they learned from AIM's militant actions in one of their most successful campaigns in 1983, when Cofiwn organized demonstrations to protest against Cadw (the Welsh heritage society's) campaign "Gwyl y Cestell" – a festival of castles.

Figure 16. A Cofiwn poster from the Sarhad '83 campaign.[43]

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[42] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[43] Sarhad '83 poster, Cofiwn blog, accessed May 15, 2012, http://cofiwn.blogspot.com/2007/01/great-battle-gwyl-y-cestyllfestival-of.html.

As Cofiwn pointed out, it was ironic to celebrate the building of these fortifications, which were meant to suppress the Welsh. To do so was effectively to celebrate the oppression of Wales. Consequently, they called their campaign, Sarhad ’83, meaning Insult ’83. In this event, they demonstrated outside Caernarfon Castle and, “taking inspiration from AIM, [they] closed the castle down for the day.” Protestors also carried a black coffin to the gates of the castle. This casket represented the death of the Welsh nation in 1283, when the last recognized Prince of Wales, Llywelyn, was killed.

‘Cofiwn’ yn dal i guro yr ‘Wyl o Gywilydd’

Figure 17. Newspaper report showing Cofiwn members carrying the coffin to the castle gates.[44]

As police followed the procession away from the main gate, Gruffydd suggested to the crowd of 500 that they rush the castle. By the time castle officials had realized what was going on and locked the gates, Cofiwn supporters were already inside, locked in with unsuspecting tourists. Their protest succeeded in making the English news headlines that

[44] Newspaper report, Cofiwn blog, accessed May 15, 2012, http://cofiwn.blogspot.com/2007/01/great-battle-gwyl-y-cestyllfestival-of.html.

day.[45] As such, according to Gruffydd and Ifan, they took the lessons they had learned from AIM's approach of direct action, a tactic they felt was missing with Tryweryn, and put those ideas into action with Sarhad '83, one of Cofiwn's most successful and newsworthy protests.

Big Mountain Campaign

By 1986, however, Cofiwn had dissolved and Ty Cenedl activists were working on Wake Up Wales, one of their final campaigns, which was aimed at inspiring the people of Wales to rise up in popular rebellion. While using AIM's strategies of militant action had been successful at Caernarfon, Ty Cenedl was still fighting Welsh apathy, and they hoped to wake up Welsh people to their colonized and exploited existence. In the midst of this, AIM activist Mark Banks traveled to the UK as part of a tour to raise awareness of the Big Mountain Campaign. The campaign was designed to raise awareness of the US Government's imminent relocation of Hopi and Navajo people from their homelands in Big Mountain, Arizona, resulting from Congress's passage of Public Law 93-531. AIM had once more called on their European networks of cooperation to draw attention to the campaign, which had resulted in mass protests. For example, supporters demonstrated in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, East Germany and Britain, while others organized events in Italy, France, Luxembourg, and Spain, and sent petitions from Poland and Greenland.[46]

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[45] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[46] "Legal Defense/ Offense Committee," *Akwesasne Notes* (Mid Winter, 1986): 11; *Big Mountain Support Group International Newsletter*, #11, October 1986, Box CXII, Folder 6, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

Ty Cenedl organized Banks's trip to Wales, which lasted five days and consisted of Banks lecturing at various venues, visiting historical monuments, conducting a number of interviews with the press, and meeting with Members of Parliament from Plaid Cymru.

Figure 18. Mark Banks and Ty Cenedl activists at Carreg Cennen Castle, Wales.[47] Banks is the man wearing sunglasses, on the far left of the photograph.

Ty Cenedl also helped support the Big Mountain protest, distributing many posters and flyers detailing action that needed to be taken to prevent the relocation. In addition, they produced example letters to encourage people to write to their local media and Members of Parliament, as well as to the Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, and even to President Ronald Reagan.[48] Through their contacts, they arranged for organizations as diverse as the National Union of Miners (South Wales Area) and the Cangen Cymru'r Undeb Celtaidd [Welsh Branch of the Celtic League] to communicate their opposition to the removal of the Hopi and Navajo to President Reagan and the

[47] Photograph of Mark Banks and Ty Cenedl activists at Carreg Cennen, 1986, Cofiwn blog, accessed May 15, 2012, http://cofiwn.blogspot.com/2007/01/ty-cenedl-aberystwyth-1983-1986.html.
[48] Big Mountain Solidarity Campaign materials, Box CXII, Folder 2, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs.[49]As well as this, they presented petitions, displayed noticeboards in towns, and staged rallies outside state offices.[50]

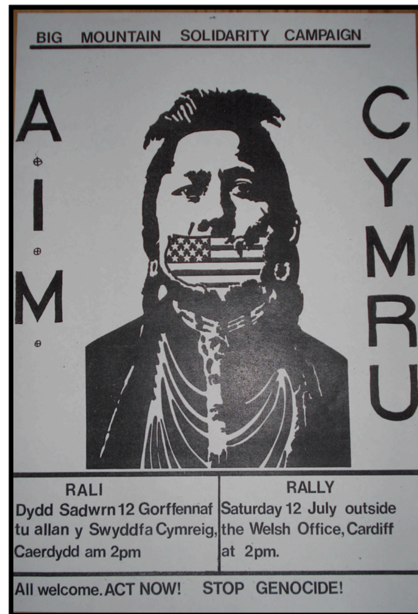

Figure 19. AIM Cymru rally poster.[51]

While it may appear that these efforts would have distracted Ty Cenedl activists from their own campaign, to Gruffydd and Ifan it could only contribute to their efforts to 'Wake Up Wales.'

Ty Cenedl activists were genuinely interested in helping AIM to raise awareness of its protest and, as Ifan stated, "we didn't expect to get a great deal out of it" for the organization.[52] However, Gruffydd and Ifan continued to be tactically inspired by AIM,

[49] George Rees, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, South Wales Area, to the Big Mountain (JUA) Legal D/O Committee, Flagstaff, AZ, 8 July 1986, Box CXII, Folder 4, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales; Branch Secretary of the Cangen Cymru'r Undeb Celtaidd (Welsh Branch of the Celtic League), Machynlleth, to the US President, 5 June 1986, Box CXII, Folder 4, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[50] "Mae Swyddfa Uma Yng Nghymru" [The Office Is Here In Wales], *Y Cymro*, n.d., Box CXII, Folder 8, Ty Cenedl Papers National Library of Wales.
[51] AIM Cymru rally poster, courtesy Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[52] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

especially on the issues of land, identity, and history. With the Big Mountain Campaign, they sought to motivate Welsh people to action by illustrating the commonalities between the struggles of American Indian peoples and those of Wales. This is especially evident in the letters Ty Cenedl activists exchanged with Mark Banks. As Gethin ap Gruffydd informed him:

> you are doing us a big favor by coming to Cymru. We hope it will benefit the cause of AIM and the Indian people, but equally we feel that AIM and the Indian struggle can be of great inspiration, enthusiasm, and education to us. We are very inspired and encouraged by the achievements of AIM and have also had our eyes opened by the thinkings and writings of AIM in their analysis of the colonial situation and solutions of liberation struggle.

Given this, Gruffydd expressed hopeful anticipation for the tour, "Not for easy answers or a ready made solution," he wrote, "but we can learn from your experiences of struggle and we cannot fail to admire AIM for the stand and the fight it has made and is still making – there is no doubt you can help us to rise off our knees."[53] They hoped that Banks, and his descriptions of what American Indians had achieved by making a stand, might inspire those who came to the meetings. According to Gruffydd, "If we were going to get anything out of it, it was that people were going to learn something from it along the way. Whatever you get involved in, somebody's going to learn."[54]

Comparing the Welsh situation to that of American Indians was key to these efforts to help people realize their own colonization and to galvanize them into action. As Gruffydd noted, "if you can compare certain things, in a mindframe, in a mindset, then

[53] Letter from Gethin ap Gryffydd and Sian Ifan to Mark Banks, 12 May 1986, Box CXII, Folder 1, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[54] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

they say, 'Oh Christ, yeah, I can see that. Yeah, that's it.'"[55] The official report of the tour passionately exhorted readers to wake up to their own oppression: "We must search our souls and ask ourselves now: Are we as awake as the American Indian Movement to the truths and realities of the colonial experience we have endured for 450 years? Have we yet risen with as much real awareness and commitment, valour and courage in our own cause and struggle against English imperialism to set our own land free?"[56] Consequently, as part of their actions on behalf of the Big Mountain Campaign, Gruffydd and Ifan drew comparisons and links between Welsh and American Indian peoples' problems in the areas of economic exploitation and cultural genocide, using AIM's visit as a means of inspiring Welsh people to take a stand.

In their Big Mountain Solidarity Campaign leaflet, Ty Cenedl consequently emphasized the economic exploitation suffered by both Welsh and American Indian peoples, comparing the results of coal and uranium mining at Big Mountain to the devastating effects of natural resource exploitation at Tryweryn, Clywedog, and Aberfan.[57] Aberfan, a village in South Wales, had made national and international headlines in October 1966, when a coal tip, waste from coal mining, collapsed onto the village school. 144 people were killed, 116 of whom were children. At the time, newspapers reported that the people of Aberfan had complained about the dangers of this tip for two years. Plaid argued that the apathy and carelessness of the English government had contributed to the disaster because they had failed to heed the warnings. "A Welsh

[55] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[56] "Official Tour Report," Box CXII, Folder 5, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[57] Aberfan is a village in South Wales that made national and international headlines in October 1966 when a coal tip, waste from coal mining almost a century earlier, collapsed onto the village school, killing 144 people, 116 of whom were children.

government," the group insisted, "could have dealt with the problem in time to spare Aberfan its grief." [58] All three of these Welsh events were therefore linked not only to the economic exploitation of natural resources, but also to the ineptitude or arrogance of the colonizing government and, as such, the urgent need for self-determination.

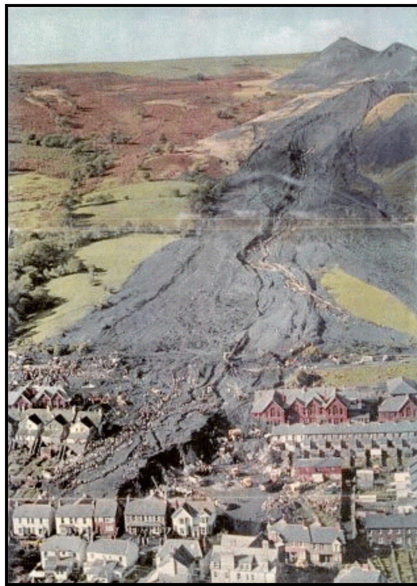

Figure 20. Aerial view of the village and the collapsed tip.[59]
Figure 21. Rescuers at Pantglas School, Aberfan, October 1966.[60]

Invoking these infamous three events, Ty Cenedl activists implored: "By helping Navajo and AIM, we help ourselves. Act Now. Don't let Wales become a reservation."[61] Drawing on infamous examples of the economic exploitation of Welsh natural resources seemed calculated to play on the emotions of Welsh people's memories of those events, as well as their sympathy for people at Big Mountain, in order to revitalize nationalists'

[58] "A Warning Unheeded," *New York Times*, October 22, 1966; "British Coal Board is Accused at Inquest into Aberfan Deaths," *NYT*, October 25, 1966; "Scots, Welsh Seek Freedom," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1967.
[59] Aerial view of the village and collapsed tip, The Loss of a Generation, Hiraeth blog, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.hiraeth.org.uk/aberfan/.
[60] Rescuers at Pantglas School, The Aberfan Disaster, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/aberfan/desc.htm.
[61] "Big Mountain Solidarity Campaign (A.I.M. Cymru)" leaflet, Box CXII, Folder 2, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

efforts. It also suggested that the Welsh could learn from AIM and the Navajo nation through the campaign. By doing so, they could gain knowledge of how to act to prevent Wales from suffering further colonization. As the official report of the tour stressed: "we have much in common, and an awareness of each other's histories and struggle can indeed work to our mutual advantage."[62] In addition to the writings of Ty Cenedl, Welsh local media also outlined economic similarities between the struggles of American Indian and Welsh people. Articles reported that these parallels were the reason that the activist had been invited to tour Wales, as Ty Cenedl feared "that colonialism and the check-book socialism that has stolen the land from the Indians is happening here."[63] Throughout the tour, Ty Cenedl ensured that the public was aware of the resemblance between the economic exploitation facing American Indians and that facing the Welsh.

In addition, Ty Cenedl activists and the Welsh media also drew comparisons between the cultural struggles of the two. One report from North Wales, "Observations of Stiniog – the Red Indians' Struggle," surmised that not many English people wanted information about the treatment of American Indians because "the history is too like the treatment we Welsh have had from them." Further on, the report noted that Mark Banks also saw the similarities between the two, especially in language preservation. Not only did Ty Cenedl and the media make these comparisons, but also Banks himself. In an interview with Ty Cenedl activists, which was made available for purchase afterwards, Banks said: "I see the similarities. I see the commonalities that the Indian people share with the Celtic people of Wales because, you know, we have a common oppressor, there

[62] "Official Tour Report," Box CXII, Folder 5, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[63] Newspaper Clippings, Box CXII, Folder 8, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

are attempts to suppress our languages, to suppress our way of life, our lifestyle." He also implored Welsh people to make a stand, however difficult:

> If you have any pride in your cultural and ethnic background, you've gotta make a stand. You have to be firm and you have to take a more assertive role in fighting for the struggles of your people, and, as I've always said, when you make the stand to fight for your people, then you'd better be prepared to get your head bashed in by policemen with sticks. You better be prepared to possibly go to prison or you better be prepared to give your life for the cause.[64]

For Ty Cenedl activists, this aspect of the tour was a particular success. As Ifan suggested, they appreciated that Banks alluded to the similarities, and, as a result, Welsh people were becoming more aware of the links between the two: "There was a bond in showing that…they were campaigning to save a national identity and so were we in Wales. And people who came to these meetings and these talks, they knew that…so we did benefit from it in that that was achieved."[65] That people saw the similarities was also important because while many had immense sympathy for American Indian struggles, and even the tactics employed by AIM, they had little patience when those tactics were used in Wales. As Ifan noted, while Plaid Cymru and the Welsh media had condemned the confrontational tactics of MAC and the FWA, they were ready to openly support Banks, even though AIM had often waged a militant campaign.[66] Therefore, if Ty Cenedl could awaken Welsh people to the similarities between the campaigns, they could possibly remove some of the stigma from direct action tactics and 'Wake Up Wales' to stand up for their rights, as they wanted.

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[64] Interview with Mark Banks by Ty Cenedl, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Screen and Sound Archives of Wales, National Library of Wales.
[65] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[66] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

The importance of drawing these connections went beyond being encouraged by AIM's actions and attempting to use them to motivate Welsh nationalists. In a letter to Mark Banks before his trip, Gruffydd expressed his hope for future relations, stating that he wished to see the two movements "become fraternal organizations – assisting each other as best we can, however we can, by whatever means."[67] In their official materials from the tour, Gruffydd and Ifan also encouraged Welsh nationalists to take a broader interest in other "oppressed peoples" with whom "the Welsh people and Welsh nation as an English colony can more easily identify" so that they could "relate to their problems, causes, and struggles in such a way that we can learn from each other." In order to facilitate these continued relationships with AIM and other minority nationalist movements, Ty Cenedl activists apparently planned to establish an "Oppressed Nations Bureau" to "develop links, inform each other and coordinate campaigns etc between all oppressed minority nations and peoples." For Gruffydd and Ifan then, it was fundamentally important that these mutually beneficial links were maintained so that alliances could develop in which these movements would not only help each other in their struggles, but inspire and learn important lessons from each other as well.

While there were hopes for a continued relationship, it seems that they were unrealized. There were plans to invite Russell Means and Dennis Banks on a future tour and Ty Cenedl was still distributing posters, postcards and t-shirts in 1990 to commemorate the 100-year anniversary of Wounded Knee.[68] However, for Ty Cenedl and AIM, this was a period of turmoil for both groups. Already rumors were rife of a split

[67] Letter from Gethin ap Gryffydd and Sian Ifan to Mark Banks, 12 May 1986, Box CXII, Folder 1, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[68] Remember the Massacre posters, Box CXII, Folder 7, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.

within AIM, and Ty Cenedl had declared that their efforts at starting a "patriot uprising" in 1986 would possibly be their last attempt due to "laziness, indifference, disenchantment" on the part of the Welsh people and factional splits between Welsh nationalist groups.[69] It was forced to close only a few years after the tour.

However, AIM was not only an inspiration to Gruffydd and Ifan, but also AIM members were in turn inspired by these Welsh nationalists who shared in their colonial struggle. The Movement's motivations in touring the continent and developing links with groups there were often about raising money and awareness of their own protests. As Mark Banks's comments in the Welsh newspapers suggest, his main purpose in visiting was to raise awareness of the issues at Big Mountain, to "collect names on a petition to be sent to the US Government to call for the annulment of the Act that is allowing this to happen."[70] Yet AIM activists got more out of these relationships than simply media attention. In Gruffydd's opinion, the Big Mountain Campaign in Wales was a huge success for AIM in terms of showing how much support they had in Europe: "For them, I think they achieved a lot, not just here, but everywhere. I'm sure that back home that counted for a lot, that these people could get this support."[71] To Mark Banks, however, it was not just the sheer amount of assistance, but the dedication to Native causes that it illustrated. As he remembered:

> When I met these guys from Wales, they were ready to come over to America get some guns and go over and have it out with the FBI. I said "Wait a minute guys." But that's how committed they were. They believed me and they were behind me…When you can convince people to take up guns and go shoot at

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[69] "Official Tour Report," Box CXII, Folder 5, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[70] "Indians – things to relocate!", newspaper report, n.d., Box CXII, Folder 8, Ty Cenedl Papers, National Library of Wales.
[71] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

> Americans, wow. All that support gave me the strength, saying there are people out there who believe in me, and believe in AIM and believe in Native Americans and believe in justice, in the integrity of equal justice. It makes you go on.[72]

Therefore, it appears that these relationships were mutually beneficial. To these activists, a transnational perspective was fundamentally important to their work, especially as they puzzled over the best way to attain their goals for Wales, enabling the exchange of information and ideas as they taught and learned from each other. Consequently, AIM and Cofiwn/ Ty Cenedl were significant in the variety of ways they influenced and shaped each other's campaigns and activism in this period, inspiring each other to continue in their struggle.

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[72] Mark Banks, interview by Kate Williams, Monument, CO, July 13, 2010.

Chapter 4 – "From a basis of common unity and interest": The Politics of Alliance of Plaid Cymru, 1966-1990

In the days immediately following his historic 1966 election as Member of Parliament for the Welsh-speaking county of Carmarthenshire, Gwynfor Evans, the President of the Welsh nationalist political party Plaid Cymru, took to the airwaves to proclaim the significance of his victory: "Its effect on Wales could be as traumatic as was the effect on France of the fall of the Bastille on July 14th 1789. It could be the sign that the oppressive yoke of English order in Wales is about to be thrown off by the Welsh, and they're about to march to meet the future as a free nation once again."[1]

Figure 22. Gwynfor Evans following his victory, 1966.[2]

While this might seem presumptuous, Evans's triumph was certainly stunning to Britons. Seven years earlier, Plaid's candidate, H.H. Roberts, had received only 5% of the vote in the county, and Evans himself had only improved slightly on that in the 1966 General Election, gaining 16% of the vote. Yet in the by-election several months later, occasioned by the death of the incumbent MP, Lady Megan Lloyd George, Evans emerged victorious with 39% of the vote. Following decades of highly publicized debates over control of

[1] Gwynfor Evans, speech (Llandybie, Carmarthenshire: Wren Records, Christopher Davies Ltd., 1966).
[2] Gwynfor Evans following his victory in Carmarthen, 1966, Photo Album 1966B, National Library of Wales, accessed May 15, 2012, http://canmlwyddiant.llgc.org.uk/en/XCM1997/2/4.html.

Welsh natural resources, the decline of the Welsh language, and general economic distress, the party's president had seemingly convinced this constituency that only a party that truly represented Wales, her language and culture, could solve the problems by putting Wales first. This success gave Plaid their first ever Member of Parliament and, closely followed by huge electoral gains in Labour strongholds in South Wales, established the party as a serious force in British politics.[3]

Evans's powerful, symbolic victory sent shockwaves through Wales and Britain in general, and many began to question how much longer the British state would continue to exist. After decolonization brought an end to the British Empire and the establishment of supranational bodies such as the United Nations and European Union followed the Second World War, the rise and success of minority nationalist parties such as Plaid Cymru and the Scottish Nationalist Party seemed to herald a possible end to the nation-state.[4] Indeed, as Evans's speech suggests, Plaid certainly believed that the election of one of its own to Parliament signaled a change of feeling in Wales and heralded the beginning of something significant for Welsh politics: "There is life here, new life here, the new generation rising in loyalty to their land. And the light we see today is not the light of a setting sun, but the light of a new dawn. And together, in the next few years, it's possible for us to restore our national freedom and to set Wales once again where she should be, a free nation and a responsible member of the great community of nations in

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[3] This electoral success, it has been suggested [Kenneth Morgan], also contributed to the Scottish National Party's victory in a 1967 by-election. It was extremely influential for minority nationalist politics in Britain.
[4] Richard Sudhalter, "Scots, Welsh Seek Freedom," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1967, A2; "Separatism: Africa to Quebec to US," *New York Times*, January 3, 1977, 4. As Frederick Cooper has argued, until the late 1940s and early 1950s, empire was standard in Britain. It was only in the 1960s that the nation-state became the important political vehicle. With decolonization, politicians panicked in thinking that the nation-state might be about to disappear as well. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 22, 24.

the world."[5] As Evans's speech suggests, Plaid Cymru certainly believed the election heralded the rebirth of Welsh self-determination.

The election also ushered in a new era in Plaid's politics, not only through Evans' achieving political power in Westminster, but also due to the international attention it brought the party. With their dream of political power being realized, the party began to imagine new possibilities. Their vision of a free Wales seemed only a few years away now that they had accomplished the first step – a Member of Parliament. Consequently, Plaid members began to 'puzzle' over their political goals for Wales and the best ways to achieve them, leading to complex discussions often shaped by international political structures such as the United Nations, European Union, and the British Commonwealth. While Plaid members puzzled, their commitment to international issues and transnational minority movements rarely wavered. While Plaid had, since its inception, considered Wales part of the larger international community, the 1966 election functioned as a turning point in their transnational networks, just as Wounded Knee would do for AIM.

In this chapter, I argue that in 1966 Plaid looked outward from Wales, bolstered by transnational attention and a new platform from which to help other minorities. Plaid sought a political, non-violent solution to Wales's struggles, and worked within the existing apparatus of the British nation-state to achieve that goal. Evans's election, and the subsequent victories of Plaid MPs Dafydd Wigley and Dafydd Elis-Thomas, gave Plaid the political legitimacy and visibility necessary not only to establish the support networks, but also to help their allies. Ironically, however, this platform constrained their efforts, both ideologically and tactically, as they attempted to make further electoral gains

[5] Evans, speech, 1966.

especially after a devastating 'no' vote for Welsh devolution in a 1979 referendum. The political system limited the tools available to them, while electoral considerations constrained the extent to which they could declare a common struggle with those they helped. As such, unlike Gruffydd and Ifan, the Welsh nationalists of Plaid Cymru did not consider "Indianness" or indigeneity in their puzzling. Even more ironically, in helping indigenous peoples, Plaid were aided by the very colonial political system they fought against in Wales. As part of the British Parliament, they had more influence in Commonwealth countries where the British state still maintained power, such as Canada, than in other countries or former colonies.

Puzzling Before They Power

Since its establishment in 1925 to campaign for a Welsh government, Plaid has debated the form and status of that aim, and international contexts have undoubtedly shaped those discussions. As Laura McAllister has argued, Plaid has "pursued vaguely-defined political goals," and there is "no teleology to the constitutional debate." Plaid's goal is only fixed in the sense of achieving some sort of self-government for Wales, but there is no clearly defined term for these aims. Given the "dynamic process of constitutional review," McAllister contends, "adjustment is inevitable."[6] Consequently, Plaid has used multiple terms to describe its vision for Wales. As McAllister illustrates, the multiplicity of terms represented a revision of Plaid's stance and was shaped by Plaid's choice to pursue an electoral strategy.

Plaid's international outlook clearly shaped these visions though. Important leaders, including one of the founders, dramatist and university lecturer Saunders Lewis,

[6] Laura McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend, Wales: Seren Press, 2001), 127-8.

and Gwynfor Evans, considered community to be a fundamental component of Welsh nationalism and often viewed Wales as “a community of communities.”[7] This has also extended to Wales’s place within larger global politics. Both Lewis and Evans espoused the idea of Wales being part of a larger “community of nations,” especially within Europe, which would allow all the benefits of official ties between countries whilst also respecting small nations’ rights to self-determination. This context has often shaped the way Plaid members have articulated their aims for Wales. The party shifted from using ‘dominion status’ in the 1940s to a commitment to ‘commonwealth status’ in the era of decolonization, looking to Canada and New Zealand as models. Later, they campaigned for ‘confederalism’ and ‘self-government,’ along with membership in the United Nations, before considering ‘full national status’ within a Europe of the Regions. In doing so, the party continued to draw comparisons with other European nations, such as Ireland and Luxembourg, which had full representation within the European Economic Community “with a population the size of Gwent!”, a Welsh county.[8] While Plaid’s politics have undoubtedly been shaped by local politics and the concerns of a local electorate, the party has also been influenced by its internationalist outlook and larger global context of their aims.

Transnational Communities

While Plaid’s leaders had previously considered Wales’ situation within an international context, their visions were transformed by the outpouring of attention and support the party received in the aftermath of Evans’s victory. Before this, Plaid’s alliances were confined mainly to Europe. Immediately following the Second World

[7] McAllister, 42, 44, 65.
[8] McAllister, 128-129, 145, 149; quoted in McAllister, 149.

War, for example, party members defended Breton nationalists who were being persecuted in France and accused of collaborating with the Germans. The relationship between the Celtic nationalists was so close that Breton refugees actually stayed in Evans's house on their way to Ireland.[9]

Figure 23. Breton nationalist and refugee Yann Fouéré (back right) with Plaid leader Gwynfor Evans (back, third from right) and family, Wernellyn, Wales, 1947.[10]

After the 1966 result, Plaid garnered alliances with other ethnic and minority nationalist groups for the purposes of political and financial support. In December 1966, only a few months after the election, Plaid's General Secretary, Elwyn Roberts, wrote a letter to party members, titled 'A Welsh International Movement.' He described how Evans's victory had made international headlines, even in Japan, and, following this, people from around the world had written to the party to suggest the establishment of an international arm of Plaid to "support and further the struggle here at home for self-government." Possibilities he mentioned included political support for the purpose of presenting Wales's case before the United Nations. He asked members for their views and opinions

[9] Dafydd Williams, interview by Kate Williams, Cardiff, Wales, June 21, 2010.
[10] 1947 Wernellyn, Wales, photograph, Fondation Yann Fouéré, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.fondationyannfouere.org/english/category/1-biography/.

on this idea of an international movement, making clear that party leaders were in support and excited about the possibilities. As Roberts wrote: "There would be very great difficulties, we know, in establishing an international movement, but a small beginning might be made."[11] However, two months later, it was already clear that the response from members had been underwhelming, and Plaid decided to abandon the idea of an international arm temporarily, instead focusing on simply publicizing their issues abroad.[12]

Initially, Plaid focused on raising awareness through their relational networks in the Welsh diaspora, especially within the United States, but their political goals undercut the outreach efforts. At this point, the party appeared to be using community connections for publicizing its aims, but they defined that community based on ethnic identification, targeting Welsh people or their descendents abroad. Yet this strategy foundered because Plaid and Welsh-Americans had very different understandings of Welsh identity and the meaning of Wales as a nation. Welsh-Americans had a particularly idealized image of Wales as a land of song and poetry. At the height of the bombing campaigns of the 1960s, for example, *Y Drych*, the major newspaper for Welsh-Americans, instead promoted a romanticized image of a pastoral and peaceful land, populated by Welshmen

[11] "A Welsh International Movement," Elwyn Roberts to Plaid Cymru members, 1 December 1966, Box B1102, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[12] Elwyn Roberts to Colin Edwards, 28 February 1967, Box B1101, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales. A letter from Elwyn Roberts to a supporter in March 1968 seems to suggest, however, that Plaid was once more trying to establish an international movement. Elwyn Roberts to Samuel J. Sills, Los Angeles, CA, 22 March 1968, Box B1101, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

employed in traditional pursuits, such as shepherding (figure 24) and fishing using coracles (figure 25).[13]

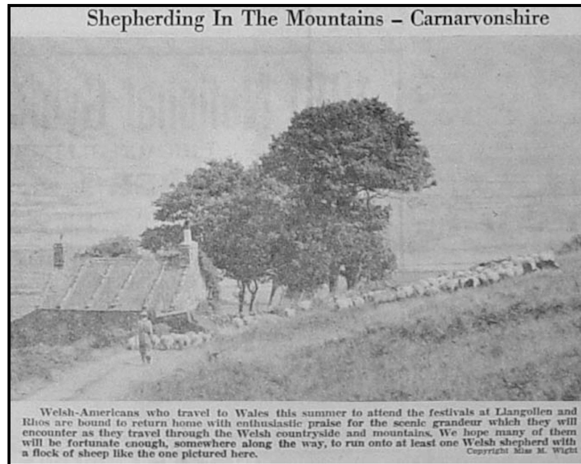

Figure 24 Shepherding in the Mountains, *Y Drych*, March 1961.[14]
Figure 25. Coracle man, *Y Drych*, March 1966.[15]

Welsh-Americans consequently had little patience for notions of sovereignty or nationhood, instead considering it beneath the 'noble' traditions of Wales. As a letter to the journal *Wales* a few years earlier in October 1959 pointedly remarked, "over here [in America] we are inclined to equate nationalism with the underdeveloped countries like Africa."[16] Consequently, the writer, dismissive of the politics of Plaid Cymru, instead recommended the "promotion of wider understanding of the political, social, economic and cultural *accomplishments* NOT *aspirations*."[17] To this Welsh-American, the Welsh should certainly celebrate a culture that was located firmly in the *past*, that had been

[13] For more on the romanticized images of Wales held by Welsh Americans, see Peter Garrett, Nikolas Coupland, and Hywel Bishop, "Globalization and the Visualization of Wales and Welsh America: *Y Drych*, 1948-2001," *Ethnicities* 5, no. 4 (2005): 530-564.
[14] Garrett et. al, 558.
[15] Garrett et al, 549.
[16] Eluned Roberts, "Letter from America," *Wales* 45 (October 1959): 39.
[17] Roberts, "Letter from America," 42.

accomplished, but there was no need for any nationalist visions for a Welsh political *future*. Instead, she suggested that nationalism was beneath a country of Wales's talents.

Plaid's contacts in the United States also commented on the ways in which Welsh-Americans were happy to celebrate a romanticized Welsh culture located firmly in the past, but refused to support any aims to secure the political future of Wales. For example, as Plaid's main contact in the United States, Colin Edwards, noted in his response to Roberts' plea: "It is a waste of time trying to organize the overseas Welsh to support the struggle for Welsh self-government." He stated that they were not only apolitical, but rather anti-political. Apparently, when Edwards left one Welsh heritage group, CADW-Cymru, in 1961, they unconstitutionally removed support for Welsh self-government from the charter's list of objectives. Also, in the San Francisco group, of which Edwards was a member, the only other person who supported the cause had been Irish-American. None of those with Welsh heritage had any interest in the political aspects of Plaid's campaigns. Indeed, as Edwards noted, as soon as he left the New York organization to move to California, members "gave up all its pro-Blaid activity and ended up just a folk dance group."[18] This disappointment was also mirrored in a letter from Dr. Bernard Knight, who had been touring the US and Canada in 1969. He noted that most people in Welsh-American organizations "either do not know what Plaid Cymru means or have a sentimental, idealized dream of the old country, with no desire or intention of helping things along."[19] Dafydd Williams, Plaid's General Secretary, also made similar

[18] Colin Edwards, Oakland, CA, to Elwyn Roberts, 6 December 1966, Box B1101, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales. In the Welsh language, under certain circumstances, particular letters mutate at the beginning of words. Here, "Blaid" is the mutated form of "Plaid."
[19] Dr. Gareth Morgan Jones to Elwyn Roberts, 24 June 1969, Box B1102, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

comments to the *New York Times* in 1970. When asked about the support from America, he said, "Of course, many Americans with Welsh blood think romantically of Wales…They talk of music festivals and the hills and singing and people playing the harp. It's not like that at all."[20] Clearly, support networks based on this type of ethnic community would not provide the support Plaid needed. While many Welsh-Americans admired a Wales of the past, they were not aware of Wales's present struggles and did not support the political aspirations for a Welsh nationalist future.

A Community of Nations

Given the lack of support from the diaspora, Plaid Cymru members turned to networks based on a broader sense of community, other nations and those engaged in ethnic minority struggles. As Dafydd Williams commented, from 1966 onwards, "there was a sort of evolution, during which we gradually became part of a formal international grouping, based very much on the European Union, but also took an interest and had links with people elsewhere in the world, to some extent in the Americas, in North and South obviously, but also in Asia and Africa to a lesser extent."[21] In one of his letters to Elwyn Roberts in 1967, Colin Edwards had suggestions for alternative networks. In particular, Edwards recommended developing links with "growing radical democratic movements," which shared Plaid's "political beliefs and economic ideas and are our natural allies." He wrote that he had already communicated with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and both organizations had expressed interest in establishing contact with Plaid.

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[20] Quoted in Bernard Weinraub, "Welsh Nationalists Think Time Has Come," *New York Times*, June 6, 1970.
[21] Dafydd Williams, interview.

Likewise, Edwards had corresponded with the Socialistische Deutsche Studenten (SDS) in West Germany, members of which were attracted to the idea of attending a Plaid Summer School. He maintained that similar relations could be formed with other radical groups worldwide and that Plaid "can get much more valuable political support by addressing our effort to foreigners who share our ideals."[22] In his letter, Edwards implied that the party should give up on networks with those within the Welsh community in America and instead turn to a different community, those who might be "foreigners" but who shared political and economic "ideals."

By the mid-1970s, it seemed likely that the country would have sovereign powers of some sort by the end of the decade, with two more Plaid MPs in Parliament by 1974 and Parliament's Kilbrandon Commission recommending legislative devolution for Wales in 1973. Consequently, the party began to establish relations with other nations as well as other ethnic minorities and minority nationalists. As Dafydd Williams pointed out, Evans's election in 1966 and the subsequent elections of two more Members of Parliament in 1974 gave Plaid "a new stature" and "many more cards to play." As then-Chairman Dr. Phil Williams, an astrophysicist from the South Wales valleys, laid out in the 1976 press release "Plaid Seeks Welsh Foreign Policy," the party had been making a "strenuous effort" to "establish direct friendly relations with peoples in all parts of the world." These contacts, he noted, were of two types: "those where we have intervened on behalf of other minorities, for example in France and Spain, and those with other

[22] Colin Edwards, Oakland, CA, to Elwyn Roberts, 6 December 1966, Box B1101, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

countries where we have concentrated on trade and industry."[23] Plaid's identity as a nationalist party with legitimate political goals and tactics therefore placed them with "a foot in both camps," as a movement that was working for Welsh freedom, as well as having "a progressive relationship with others in other parts of the developed world."[24] They effectively sought out nation-to-nation economic relationships and trade ties with some countries outside of the British state apparatus, while at the same time promoting or sympathizing with minority nationalists and their struggles for political recognition. For example, Plaid leaders met with representatives from France, Belgium, Ireland, Spain, Libya, Germany, and Japan to discuss possible trade deals.[25]

With the forging of these relationships, it is evident that Plaid had shifted from targeting support based on ethnic communities and had begun focusing on support from within the community of nations. As debates continued over the possibility of limited sovereignty, Plaid leaders also sought political support from the United States, particularly Members of Congress. In 1974, for example, Georgia Representative John W. Davis submitted a resolution to the House that described Wales as a "distinct historical entity" with a "genuine, continuing tradition and desire for freedom." Davis asked the House to proclaim that "the people of Wales ought to be permitted to exercise the right of national self-determination," given that "it has always been the policy of the United States of America to support the principles of self-determination."[26] The bill was tabled after being referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and these nation-to-

[23] "Plaid Seeks Welsh Foreign Policy," Plaid Cymru Press Release, 17 April 1976, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[24] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[25] "Plaid Seeks Welsh Foreign Policy," Plaid Cymru Press Release, 17 April, 1976, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales; Dafydd Williams, interview.
[26] 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, House Resolution 1403, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

nation outreach efforts appear to have stopped after Plaid suffered a devastating 'no' vote in the referendum for Welsh devolution in 1979.[27] As former Plaid president Lord Dafydd Elis-Thomas has noted, whenever Plaid has suffered electoral failure, there has been a tendency to go "back to basics."[28] In this political setback, with its goal for Welsh self-government in shreds, it appears that Plaid retreated from forging relationships with other nations on the basis of Wales's nationhood, although it maintained its commitment to helping other ethnic minorities and minority nationalists.

Shared Histories of Oppression

With three MPs in Parliament, Plaid could not only gain assistance from established nations in promoting their goal of self-determination, but they could also help other minority nationalist groups because their MPs could raise issues in the House of Commons and bring greater attention to these causes.[29] Given this platform, Plaid felt a sense of responsibility and obligation to help other minorities who did not have representation within Parliament, but who faced a far greater fight for their rights. As Dafydd Williams remarked: "If we were struggling to try and promote Welsh identity, to gain a voice of our own within the UK, then we owed it to other people who very often were facing much, much more difficult problems to do our best to help them."[30] Plaid consequently gained a reputation for looking outside Wales's borders and representing these interests in Parliament and, as a result, other groups contacted them to establish alliances. As Dafydd Williams stated, this reputation was particularly ironic, given that

[27] The Committee's "Survey of Activities" for the 93rd Congress does not list HR 1403 as an adopted resolution, suggesting that it was not favorably received after being referred. Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Survey of Activities – Committee on Foreign Affairs," 93rd Congress = 1973/74 (Washington DC: US Govt Print Office, 1974).
[28] Dafydd Elis-Thomas, interview by Kate Williams, Cardiff, Wales, March 30, 2011.
[29] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[30] Dafydd Williams, interview.

other British politicians had portrayed them as insular due to their nationalist politics: "I think if you look at it size for size, then our focus on international relations were stronger than any other party. And of course, the paradoxes were we were painted and portrayed as inward looking, selfish, nationalist, separatist, didn't want to look at the rest of the world, and nothing was further from the truth."[31] Their presence in the British Parliament therefore gave Plaid increased visibility as a nationalist group with political power and a reputation for supporting these causes, even more so than the Scottish National Party.[32]

Unsurprisingly, given the historical importance of an international outlook to Plaid's ideology, these networks of cooperation did not cease with the electoral setback in 1979. An exchange between Plaid Cymru MP Dafydd Elis-Thomas and one of his constituents, Paul Williams, in 1982, reflected the same sense of obligation to other members of this community of minorities as Dafydd Williams described. Williams wrote to Elis-Thomas about a recent interview where the Plaid MP had discussed the relevance of Welsh affairs to larger, global issues and claimed that the needs of Third World countries were now of paramount importance and concern to him as an MP. In response, Elis-Thomas noted that an internationalist culture was both necessary and inevitable, but that given the resistance of nation-states, the catalyst would have to come from alliances between minority and oppressed peoples. Not all members of Plaid agreed with this strategy. For example, one prominent and passionate Welsh republican, Pedr Lewis, wrote often to Plaid leaders to express his anger and frustration with the party's direction. In one such letter to Elis-Thomas, he argued that it was "irresponsible to expend all their

[31] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[32] Dafydd Wigley, interview by Kate Williams, Cardiff, Wales, June 17, 2010.

energy sloganizing about matters they can only have a marginal influence upon."[33] However, for the most part, Plaid's commitment and sense of obligation to those who shared in their struggle but lacked a voice in Parliament rarely wavered, despite electoral setbacks.

Political Constraints

Despite their continued commitment to raising awareness of other causes, Plaid members were hampered by the constraints of the political system within which they worked. Both the tools available to them within Parliament and the concerns of their electorate limited the work they could do on behalf of other peoples. Plaid activists had worked hard to gain political legitimacy by distancing themselves from Welsh militants, but media outlets still suggested the party was not strenuous enough in their repudiation of the fringe elements, and any suggestion of sympathy could have an impact on their electoral appeal. As such, while they were approached by a variety of organizations, Plaid had to carefully consider which of these they would help. General Secretary Dafydd Williams often responded to these requests and, as he noted, caution was necessary because "you could obviously never quite be sure who they represented, or what their credentials were."[34] Also, as Dafydd Wigley, the charismatic and popular MP for Caernarfon and former Plaid president, commented, Plaid also had to be careful about allying with militant groups, since the party's well-known pacifist stance meant that they could not be seen as sympathizing with those tactics.[35]

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[33] Pedr Lewis to Dafydd Elis-Thomas, 20 August 1987, Box A3, Folder 80, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[34] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[35] Dafydd Wigley, interview.

Plaid members were not only constrained in who they could associate with, but also how they could raise awareness of other causes and campaigns. As Dafydd Williams remarked, Plaid was frustratingly unable to send money or people overseas, but they could help by drawing attention to these struggles: "We could at least help by lobbying as we grew in strength ourselves and in showing an interest, and in listening to them and helping them."[36] As such, Plaid's Parliamentary power shaped the ways in which they responded to calls for assistance. Plaid MPs had certain strategies for drawing attention to the movements or causes that approached them. The first was Parliamentary questions, written questions to other MPs or Cabinet members, asking for clarification on an issue. The most notorious example of this is Dafydd Wigley, who in 1977 asked for clarification on the actual date that Cornwall's parliament, the Stannary, had been legally abolished. The answer was that it had never been officially disbanded, giving the Cornish independence movement grounds to conduct their own government once more.[37] Also, in January 1984, Dafydd Elis-Thomas submitted several questions in one day, asking why Kwame Ture (also known as Stokely Carmichael) had been refused entry to the United Kingdom and had been denied access to legal representation.[38] As Dafydd Wigley noted, "there was no limit to how many [questions] you could put down so we used to pride ourselves in being the ones that asked the most questions. Out of the 600 MPs, Dafydd El had the record one year and I had it another year, so we were very happy to take

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[36]Dafydd Williams, interview.
[37] Cornish Stanneries, Written Answers, House of Commons Debates, Hansard, May 3, 1977, vol. 931, cc114-5W, Hansard 1803-2005, accessed May 15, 2012, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1977/may/03/cornish-stannaries#S5CV0931P0_19770503_CWA_156.
[38] "Written Questions for Parliament," 27 January 1984, Box S, Folder 7, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

questions on board and shovel them in busloads, as it were."[39] Clearly, the Plaid MPs were using this political avenue to successfully draw attention to these issues.

The second tactic available to them was Early Day Motions, which were never debated by Parliament, but could result in policy change if the level of support from MPs was great enough.[40] These motions were useful not only because again there was no limit on the number a Member could introduce or sign, but also because they effectively created support networks on which Members could draw in subsequent campaigns. As Wigley remarked, very often MPs would "find members of other parties that signed them that identified and then when there was an opportunity to create an all-party group or something like that, then there was a network that you could already link up with." Plaid used this strategy during Mark Banks's visit to raise awareness of the Big Mountain Campaign, as well as to draw attention to other minority rights issues, such as the Turkish treatment of refugees.[41]

Another means available to them in their positions as MPs was letter writing. In 1975, Gwynfor Evans used his language skills to write to Jacques Chirac on behalf of the three Plaid MPs to eloquently protest the arrest of his friend, the famous Breton activist Yann Fouéré, and ask for his immediate release and restitution of his rights.[42] Fouéré had spent a few years in Wales in the late 1940s, as he sought refuge in Wales from French government persecution, and Plaid members continued to be committed to the Breton

[39] Dafydd Wigley, interview.
[40] Mary Morgan, Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom, to Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 8 May 1991, Box B1, Folder 20, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[41] Early Day Motion 789 (no. 108, 15 May 1991), Box B1, Folder 20, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[42] Dafydd Elis-Thomas, Dafydd Wigley, and Gwynfor Evans to Jacques Chirac, 5 November 1975, Box C1, Folder 3, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

nationalist cause. Dafydd Elis-Thomas, in particular, often utilized his position within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to protest the treatment of people globally by writing to the appropriate government minister or foreign ambassador. His interests were wide-ranging, from Kurds in Iraq and Turkey to the issues of Aboriginal people in Australia during the bicentennial celebration of the country's colonization in 1988.[43] Also, in 1984, he wrote a strongly worded missive to the US Ambassador, Charles Price, about US interference in Nicaragua, in which he played on American ideals surrounding the country's founding. He claimed that "the world's greatest democracy, itself founded by revolutionaries, should not be subverting the world's newest democracy" and that "a nation forged in struggle against British imperialism should not be promoting an empire of its own." The US, he fervently argued, should "desist from your disastrous policy of attempting to undermine the most compassionate, hopeful, and democratic revolution of modern times: the revolution of the Nicaraguan people."[44]

Despite these efforts, Plaid leaders often felt that their political actions were insufficient and that they could do more, given the struggles facing these peoples. This was particularly true of their relationship with Kurdish people in Turkey. These activists, some of whom were living in Wales, would often attend Plaid's Annual Conference. Yet Dafydd Williams recalled feeling frustrated and rueful: "We thought we could do nothing, you know, these people are literally being shot at…literally you know, in the case of Turkey, you couldn't have your child called a Kurdish name, you couldn't use the letter "w" because that was in the Kurdish alphabet and not the Turkish alphabet, and all

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[43] See "Materion Rhyngwladol [International Matters]," Box S, folders 1-5, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[44] Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Charles Price, US Ambassador, 13 November 1984, Box S1, Folder 2, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

sorts of incredible things."[45] Yet these people were grateful for any attention Plaid could draw to their struggle, whether it was through Early Day Motions, press releases, or letters. As Dafydd Williams noted: "we found that they were really, really grateful for the tiny little things we did do, give them a platform and so on…It was big, big news for them, so it was something they could obviously relay in their own countries."[46] As such, Plaid's strategy of working within the existing political system did shape the ways in which they could help minority nationalists and other oppressed peoples who reached out to them. Since they could not send money or people, Plaid was limited to the political avenues available to them through their MPs, such as Early Day Motions, letter writing, and written questions. Despite the marginal influence three MPs out of almost six hundred could possibly have on an issue, it appears that those movements did appreciate the attention it brought to their struggles.

Indigenous Peoples

This political strategy shaped the party's interactions with indigenous groups in a different way, however. Certainly, Plaid MPs still supported Early Day Motions and wrote letters and questions to raise the profile of indigenous peoples' issues, such as the Big Mountain Campaign. For example, in 1990, Dafydd Elis-Thomas signed an Early Day Motion in support of the Lac Courte Oreilles tribal nation and the people of Omagh, Ireland, in their struggle against the RTZ copper and gold mining projects on their land.[47] It is also clear that, as in many of the other alliances, Plaid's visibility and political access was a factor in the decision to contact them for assistance. In 1975, for example, Dafydd

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[45] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[46] Dafydd Williams, interview.
[47] Angela R. Aldridge of PARTiZANS (People Against RTZ And its Subsidiaries), London, to Dafydd Elis-Thomas, 15 June 1990, Box B1, Folder 20, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

Williams, in his capacity as General Secretary for Plaid, wrote to a contact in London about the Six Nations Confederacy. Apparently, a member of Plaid Cymru had been approached to assist the government of the Six Nations "to secure photocopies of all Treaty documents and correspondences and references made to the Iroquois confederacy between AD 1664 and the war of 1812." According to Williams, the request had come from Chief Oren Lyons. Unfortunately, it is unclear from the letter how the contact was made or what outcome was achieved, but it is probable that the request was made to Plaid because of their access to Parliament and known sympathies with oppressed peoples.[48]

Plaid's responses, however, were often limited depending on the location. For example, indigenous peoples such as the Sami of Norway and American Indians lived in countries that had either never had a colonial link to the UK or that relationship had been dissolved centuries earlier. In these instances, Plaid MPs were limited to supporting Early Day Motions, as with Mark Banks and Lac Courte Oreille, or writing letters to the country's ambassador. In 1988, for example, Dafydd Elis-Thomas penned a complaint to the US Ambassador about the incarceration of David Sohappy, David Sohappy Junior, Wilbur Slockish and Leroy Yocash, four Yakima men convicted of illegally fishing salmon for commercial purposes. Unfortunately, as the ambassador made clear in his lengthy reply, he did not share Thomas's conviction that the affair represented an abuse of minority rights.[49] Likewise, in 1981, Dafydd Williams wrote to the Prime Minister of Norway protesting the Alta/ Kautokeino project, in which the government planned to

[48] Dafydd Williams, Plaid General Secretary, to Tony Gould, 18 March 1975, Box 716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[49] Letter from Charles Price, US Ambassador, to Dafydd Elis Thomas, 16 March 1988, Box S1, Folder 4, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

construct a dam that would flood a Sami village.[50] As Dafydd Wigley noted, "it was next to impossible" to help in those countries because the "political situation was so very, very different." Even his contacts in the American Embassy, on the whole, "didn't want to know, although they didn't say it in those terms." As he concluded: "One felt a little bit helpless there."[51] In these instances, the lack of a concrete political recourse hampered Plaid's efforts.

For those peoples in countries with whom Britain still shared a colonial tie though, such as Australia and Canada, Plaid could draw on this relationship in making their case. In 1988, Dafydd Elis-Thomas was approached by Survival International, asking for his help in publicizing their planned campaign against the Australian Bicentennial due to the treatment of Aboriginal peoples. Elis-Thomas wrote to the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, asking what the British government was doing to ensure Aboriginal treaty rights, especially "in view of the United Kingdom's relationship, past and present, with Australia."[52] While the Government's refusal to take action came as no surprise to Elis-Thomas, the wording of the reply shocked him with its ignorance.[53] While admitting Aborigines suffered somewhat after the arrival of Europeans in 1788, Lord Glenarthur, responding on behalf of the Prime Minister, asserted that "the British imperial administration exercised genuine concern for their welfare…throughout the

[50] Dafydd Williams to the Prime Minister of Norway, Oslo, 10 February 1981, Box M715, Baltic Folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[51] Dafydd Wigley, interview.
[52] Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Margaret Thatcher, 14 January 1988, Box S1, Folder 4, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[53] Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Stephen Curry, Director of Survival International, 8 February 1988, Box S1, Folder 4, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

colonial period," implying the Aborigines' treatment was less harsh than Survival International was suggesting.[54]

While the relationship had little impact on this Australian issue, Plaid was able to use it to good effect in the debate on First Nations' rights in the Canadian constitution in 1982, also known as the Canada Act during its debates in Westminster. Canada had been debating a new Constitution for over a decade that would give more rights to provinces, individuals, and the Canadian government itself in terms of passing amendments. This caused concern for First Nations organizations, such as the National Indian Brotherhood, Inuit Council on National Issues, and the Native Council of Canada, because "treaty rights may not be safeguarded by a new constitution."[55] By late 1981, with their legal tactics proving unsuccessful, First Nations activists turned to the British Parliament, where the Canada Bill, a "cobbled-together deal on constitutional renewal" was being debated.[56] Not only was Canada still a nation in the UK Commonwealth, but also mechanisms existed where Canadian appeals could be taken to the Privy Council in London. Therefore, it was easier to pursue this issue in Westminster because First Nations had rights under UK law.[57]

Concerned parties contacted Plaid about this issue early in the debate. Miss de Gay wrote to Dafydd Elis-Thomas in February 1982, asking for him to support Canada's indigenous peoples, due to the similarities between First Nations' struggles and those of the Welsh, and also claiming that "Britain has a responsibility to maintain" those

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[54] Lord Glenarthur to Dafydd Elis-Thomas, 25 January 1988, Box S1, Folder 4, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[55] J.R. (Jim) Miller, "Petitioning the Great White Mother: First Nations' Organizations and Lobbying in London" in *Canada and the End of Empire*, ed. Phillip Buckner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 313.
[56] Miller, 314.
[57] Dafydd Wigley, interview.

Nations' rights.[58] Likewise, Patrick Madahbee, the Grand Council Chief of the Anishinabek Nation, and Victor O'Connell, Constitutional Advisor to the Indian Governments of Saskatchewan, also communicated with Elis-Thomas in early 1982 to ask for his support. He assured both that "as a parliamentary representative of the nation of Wales, a minority nationality and linguistic and cultural group within the British state, I warmly support the position taken by the First Nations of Canada."[59] In doing so, Elis-Thomas met with First Nations' lawyer Louise Mandell and cooperated closely with other MPs, including Bernard Braine and Bruce George, and promised to oppose the bill's passage until they could amend it to protect First Nations' rights.[60]

Plaid's efforts on behalf of First Nations in this debate extended beyond Elis-Thomas. At the end of 1981, Dafydd Williams wrote to the Prime Minister of Canada to express the party's concern at the treatment of First Nations during the passage of the Canadian constitution. Edward Gorecki, from the Canadian Prime Minister's Office, replied to assure Williams that the Act had now been amended to include the "affirmation of aboriginal rights and freedoms" that had originally been in the Act.[61] Williams, however, was not placated by the reply. He wrote again to the Prime Minister's Office, stating that the National Indian Brotherhood had been in contact and had communicated that there were still serious concerns about the Act, which Williams outlined in his letter.

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[58] Miss H. L. de Gay to Dafydd Elis-Thomas, 28 February 1982, Box S1, Folder 2, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

[59] Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Victor O'Connell, Constitutional Advisor to the Indian Governments of Saskatchewan, 9 February 1982; Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Patrick Madahbee, Grand Council Chief of the Anishinabek Nation, 11 February 1982, Box S1, Folder 2, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

[60] Dafydd Elis-Thomas to Sir Bernard Braine, MP, 15 February 1982, Box S1, Folder 2, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.

[61] Edward Gorecki, Office of the Prime Minister, Canada, to Dafydd Williams, 4 December 1981, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

Until he received assurances on these points, Williams promised, “Plaid Cymru is certain to oppose any constitutional changes which do not give adequate safeguards to Indian nations and we will advise our Members of Parliament accordingly.”[62] This threat to use Plaid’s political power to obstruct the passage of the Act appears to have been taken seriously by the Canadian government. The subsequent letter to Williams, this time from John Munro, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, had a more aggressive tone and rebuked Plaid’s interference in the matter. For Munro, the matters raised by Plaid “can best be dealt with in Canada.”[63] Despite Munro’s stance, this strategy proved successful for First Nation activists as “their parliamentary champions delayed passage for a time and the debates in both Commons and Lords focused overwhelmingly on Aboriginal issues.”[64] In this instance, Plaid’s political power did more than give them a stage from which to spotlight minority concerns. Here, the party was able to form networks and threaten genuine and legitimate political ramifications if their concerns were not alleviated.

The networks formed between First Nations and Plaid Cymru concerning the Canada Bill illustrated a particular irony about both movements’ activism. While both sides were dedicated to overcoming the remainders of English rule in their nations, they actually benefited from Britain’s imperial relationships in this case and used them to raise awareness of their campaigns and interests. For First Nations, lobbying the British Crown

[62] Dafydd Williams to Mr. Edward Gorecki, Office of the Prime Minister, Canada, 17 December 1981, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales. See also communication from National Indian Brotherhood to Plaid Cymru, 7 December 1981, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales. During the Constitution debates, the NIB had established a base in London and were lobbying MPs for support, since Parliament’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office had declared that the responsibility for First Nations lay with Canada.
[63] John C. Munro, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, to Dafydd Williams, 30 March 1982, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[64] Miller, 314.

became an important means of gaining support for their campaigns, which "persisted beyond the 'end of Empire.'"[65] For Plaid, their political strategy meant that they were more able to assist indigenous peoples in countries that still had a colonial relationship with the UK.

Another way in which the political and electoral strategy of Plaid shaped their alliances is in the way they responded to expressions of solidarity from indigenous peoples. While Dafydd Elis-Thomas and Dafydd Williams sometimes drew on similarities between the Welsh struggle and that of indigenous people as minority nationalities, Plaid as a whole was careful not to echo any language of indigeneity or sovereignty. For example, in 1976, AIM UK made contact with Plaid. Introducing the organization as "the official wing of the AIM US here in Britain," National Director Terry Lewis stated that their task was to "rally support for the Native American Nations in their struggle for the right to self-determination, to independence, guided in the main by the American Indian Movement." He stressed the importance of international solidarity to AIM's campaigns and asked for Plaid Cymru's support, stressing that this would be a mutually beneficial relationship: "The American Indian Movement has a basic policy of extending its support to all peoples involved in struggle for National freedom, this we extend to you Plaid Cymru in your struggle. At the same time, the American Indian Movement enlists the solidarity of the world's peoples and we ask you to consider giving your support to AIM US through us." Suggesting that the struggles of

[65] Miller, 299.

Plaid Cymru and AIM might be similar, Lewis expressed the hope that the two groups might develop an alliance "from a basis of common unity and interest."[66]

While Plaid officials did not reflect this language of commonality in their replies to Lewis, it is evident that they valued the communication and wished to further the relationship. In his letter, Lewis mentioned that Vernon Bellecourt, who would be visiting Britain in a few months, might be interested in touring Wales and meeting Welsh nationalists. Dafydd Williams asserted that they were looking forward to the meeting and that Bellecourt's visit would "cause very great interest in the media in Wales."[67] Yet, as Plaid's then-President, Phil Williams, suggested, they appreciated the opportunity to communicate with AIM beyond just the media attention. In an address to Plaid's summer school in July 1976, Williams noted that he had had the choice of meeting "with the English establishment to discuss devolution, or a meeting with representatives of the A.I.M." To Williams, the decision was easy: "I chose to meet the American Indians, because I have found time and time again that speaking with people from all over the world who have shared our experience – sometimes in an extreme form – it is possible to have the deepest understanding, even if we do not share a fluent language."[68] Plaid officials believed that not only did the Welsh and American Indians share a similar experience of oppression, but also that discussing those common struggles and exchanging ideas and visions was infinitely more valuable than talking about their stated

[66] Terry Lewis to Plaid Cymru, 18 March, 1976, Box M716, America folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.
[67] Dafydd Williams to Terry Lewis, 12 April 1976, Box M716, America Folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales. The Minutes of the National Executive Committee of Plaid Cymru in April 1976 suggest that the Committee did resolve for Plaid's Chairman to meet Bellecourt, but there is no other mention of the visit. Minutes of the National Executive Committee of Plaid Cymru," 10 April 1976, Box C1, Folder 4, Papurau Dafydd Elis Thomas, National Library of Wales.
[68] Phil Williams, "A Foreign Policy for Plaid Cymru," *Voice from the Valleys* (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru, 1981), 90.

goal, political devolution from the British Parliament, with English politicians. This suggests the significance and importance that these movements attached to their relationships with each other, even if they did not mirror the language of a common cause.

This language of a common struggle was also reflected in a letter Bentley Mathias, a student in Sweden and a Plaid Cymru member, wrote to Dafydd Williams a year earlier. He asked if Plaid "would be interested in establishing contacts with one or more of the organizations representing the Lappish minorities of Scandinavia." He mentioned that he had been struck by the resemblance between the social and economic problems of Wales and the Sami in Sweden and noted: "There would seem to be a great measure of uniformity to the problems afflicting the indigenous minority groups of Western Europe." Mathias wanted to establish formal and informal contacts between the organizations and perhaps arrange for a group of Sami people to attend Plaid's summer school. While Mathias' reasoning for establishing these alliances mirrored Plaid's in some senses, as he felt that "we in Wales have a moral responsibility to help other, less favorably placed minorities," he also spoke of the Welsh as having a common indigeneity with the Sami. As he commented: "I am convinced that, since the problems facing the different indigenous minority groups in Western Europe are so similar, a sharing of experiences can be nothing but constructive."[69]

In his response, however, Williams once more distanced himself and Plaid from a language of a common struggle. He was enthusiastic about establishing this alliance and noted that Plaid members felt "a very strong sympathy with all that the activists in

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[69] Bentley Mathias to Dafydd Williams, 10 March 1975, Box 715, Baltic folder, Archif Plaid Cymru, National Library of Wales.

Lapland are trying to achieve." Williams also said they would be delighted to host Sami people at the summer school. Yet, there is no mention of sharing common experiences or drawing on them. Instead, as with other minority groups who did not share their political standing, Plaid offered to do all it could to help, "using such influence as we have." For Plaid, this was a matter of helping other minorities as best they could through political avenues, not drawing on potential similarities and learning from each other's tactics, as it was for Cofiwn.

The reason for this difference appears to be the disparity between the strategies of both groups. Members of Cofiwn had been involved in the more militant wings of Welsh nationalism and had long distanced themselves from trying to find a political solution within the British state. They were also not averse to trying to 'Wake Up Wales' to its own colonialism and struggle. Plaid politicians, however, were committed to their electorate. As such, they also began to move away from an ethnic nationalism to a civic one, especially in the wake of the 'no' vote in the 1979 referendum on Welsh devolution. For Plaid, unlike Cofiwn, there is no idea of an essential "Welshness" in their rhetoric. As Dafydd Wigley framed it: "We start from a position that anybody living in Wales, whatever the language, color or creed is, are citizens of Wales, and therefore our nationalism is a civic nationalism and not an ethnic or a racial nationalism."[70] This is part of Plaid's strategy to gain votes and to escape from a common perception of the party as narrow-minded and only having Welsh-speaking communities at heart, rather than Wales as a whole. While this type of identity politics brought them to power initially in 1966, they had since moved away from it, in order to appeal to a broader voting audience. As

[70] Dafydd Wigley, interview.

such, drawing on similarities between indigenous struggles and Welsh issues would have little use in this strategy. As Dafydd Wigley candidly phrased it:

> The main body of opinion that we have to influence is not in London or in Brussels. It's in Wales. We have to persuade ourselves, create the self-confidence in Wales, create the aspiration, create, in some places, even the identity. The perception of the people of Wales is not that they are suffering the sort of suffering that people who have those battles for indigenous rights are suffering. And in portraying ourselves as, if you like, the Welsh Red Indians and that type of thing, I don't think frankly that we would be linking into a wavelength that got a response.[71]

Therefore, as Anwen Elias has argued in her monograph on the party's European integration, events in domestic politics have shaped Plaid's vision of itself and Wales and, in turn, its domestic, transnational, and international alliances. In choosing to find a solution within the apparatus of the nation-state and successfully gaining seats in Westminster, Plaid gained global attention and recognition, along with political legitimacy. The party also expanded its alliances beyond Europe and worked to draw attention to minority issues worldwide, through the political avenues open to it and its representatives in Westminster. Ultimately, though, while the scope of these relationships has changed, the reasoning has not. As Dafydd Wigley commented, the current struggle in Wales is "creating the political will and self-confidence to want to take decisions in our own hands, to take as many decisions for ourselves as we can while recognizing that we live in an international world, and decisions cannot be taken on a 19th century nation-state basis. There has to be cooperation."[72] At their foundation, then, Plaid Cymru's fundamental belief that continues to shape their international and transnational alliances,

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[71] Dafydd Wigley, interview.
[72] Dafydd Wigley, interview.

is that Wales is part of a larger community of nations and that the claims for Welsh self-determination cannot be articulated or solved within a vacuum.

Conclusion – "Ry'n Ni Yma O Hyd/ We're Still Here": The American Indian Movement and Welsh Nationalists in the 21st Century

Sitting in a busy Minneapolis café on a bitterly cold December morning, AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt reflected on the Movement's achievements. From an urban organization started in the city in 1968 to address local concerns such as police brutality, it had grown to be part of the International Indian Treaty Council, which represents hundreds of millions of the world's indigenous peoples. As he noted, "It's quite an accomplishment." Yet, this evolution is significant beyond the numbers of people represented or the global presence of the Movement. AIM's story began in the context of a host of other movements, from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Panthers to Red Power organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council. As Bellecourt stated: "A lot of major things that were going on in the Sixties, all these movements all over the world, all over the United States, they're all gone." But, he asserted, "[w]e're still here."[1]

As many social movement narrative scholars have discussed, stories have beginnings, middles and ends, which are often represented through challenges, choices, and outcomes. Narratives about social movements are no different. Whether discussing the Civil Rights Movement, AIM, or grassroots Welsh nationalist movements, the story told in the historiography of their campaigns changes little. According to the standard declension narrative, these movements arrived on the scene in the face of specific challenges, blazed brightly, achieved something, and then burned out in the chaos of government infiltration or arrests and imprisonment. As Francesca Polletta has demonstrated, activists face difficulties in continuing their campaigns when their

[1] Clyde Bellecourt, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, December 20, 2011.

narrative deviates from the expected trope of "short-term triumph" and they instead try to contend that their long-term endurance is a success.[2] In the 1960s and 1970s, ethnic minorities around the world took a stand and declared that they were "still here," that they had not vanished with the consolidation of nation-states or the emergence of supranational bodies. Whether through a famous siege at a small town on the Pine Ridge reservation that gained international attention or the bombing of a dam that had forced the relocation of a small community in North Wales 4000 miles away, these peoples declared a new beginning in their centuries-long struggle for survival in the face of settler colonialism. They were going to take a stand. For AIM, the story goes, their campaign at Wounded Knee was the high point in their "brand of daring political theater," and then they dissolved amidst government surveillance, high legal costs, and trust issues among members.[3] In a similar plotline, Welsh grassroots movements arrived on the scene at Tryweryn, garnered headlines through their direct action tactics, and then fell away as leading activists were imprisoned and historians branded them "gimcrack outfits."[4] The narratives told about these movements are undoubtedly declensionist and suggest the short-term triumph of these movements, rather than a more enduring success.

While this tactic of direct action certainly dimmed in the late 1970s and 1980s, it was *an* ending for these movements, not *the* ending. By the 1990s, AIM and Welsh nationalists faced an ending. AIM had suffered internal tensions between the urban-based activists from Minneapolis who had founded the Movement and Russell Means's faction,

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[2] Francesca Polletta, *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 3.
[3] See, for example, Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 269, and Timothy John Baylor, "Modern Warriors: Mobilization and Decline of the American Indian Movement (AIM), 1968-1979" (PhD Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994).
[4] Geraint H. Jenkins, *Concise History of Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 294.

which concerned itself more with reservation issues. By the end of the 1980s, this division had become permanent, with Means resigning from the Movement and both sides claiming to be the 'official' AIM. Likewise, the face of Welsh nationalism had also changed. While Plaid had started making gains again after the 1979 referendum, Ty Cenedl had disbanded due to police surveillance. Welsh nationalist militant action had also generally declined. The bombing of dams and government offices had stopped, especially as a result of continued police operations, and the arson attacks on English-owned holiday homes in North Wales had also diminished. Consequently, while there had been hope for sustaining a more concrete alliance between AIM and Welsh nationalists following the Big Mountain Campaign, these movements all faced domestic challenges that hampered their plans.

Yet, despite these "endings," both AIM and Welsh nationalists continued to assert that "we're still here." As I argue in this conclusion, their actions in recent years demonstrated not only their continual presence in campaigns on behalf of their peoples, but also how the lessons learned from this period and their networks of cooperation continued to shape their campaigns. From exhorting people to "remember" Tryweryn and Wounded Knee to campaigning within the supranational structures of the European Union and the United Nations, both AIM and Welsh nationalists built on their stories of beginnings and their transnational networks of cooperation as they continued to puzzle over the best strategies to achieve their goals in the face of new challenges and successes. While direct contact between AIM and Welsh activists, and Europeans more generally, has ended, the lessons learned from these relationships continue to shape American

Indian and Welsh activism. Consequently, the story of these movements and their transnational networks is not yet over.

Remembering the Stories of Tryweryn and Wounded Knee

The Big Mountain Campaign represented an important moment in the story of the relationships between American Indian and Welsh activists, as well as those of AIM and their European contacts. In touring Wales, Mark Banks not only inspired the Welsh nationalists he met, but he was also, in turn, motivated by their passion and dedication. More generally, the Big Mountain Campaign was able to provoke incredible demonstrations of support across Europe, not only from grassroots activists and ordinary people, but also from those in political power. Yet these successes were rooted in those earlier stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn. For the American Indian Movement, the Big Mountain Campaign was the culmination of over a decade of transatlantic communications and networks they had forged since Wounded Knee. For Welsh nationalists, the memories of Tryweryn provided an important foundation for their support of not only AIM, but also the Big Mountain Campaign with its focus on the removal of Native people due to foreign natural resource exploitation. As scholar Marshall Ganz has argued, "storytelling is most powerful at beginnings…We draw on them again and again."[5] Unsurprisingly then, the continuation of these connections in recent decades has not been based on their Big Mountain Campaign experience, but rather through remembering and invoking the stories of Wounded Knee and Tryweryn.

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[5] Marshall Ganz, "Public Narrative, Collective Action, and Power," in *Accountability Through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*, ed. Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2011), 288.

In functioning as beginnings, the stories of both Tryweryn and Wounded Knee also imply return and repetition. In choosing where to begin their stories, activists had to revisit these events, and this is also true beyond the telling of their narratives.[6] For both American Indian and Welsh activists, returning to and remembering these events continued to be an important part of their campaigns and strategies. AIM activists continued to urge people to "Remember Wounded Knee" and slogans painted on walls around Wales exhorted Welsh people to "cofiwch Dryweryn" (remember Tryweryn!).

Figure 26. Nic Dafis, "Famous Graffiti – Cofiwch Dryweryn photo."[7]

As with the initial protests, both Wounded Knee and Tryweryn still served as metonymies, not only for the events that occurred at these sites, but also for those peoples' longer history of colonization and the continued struggle to protect land, identity, and history. By continuing to invoke these metonymies, activists suggested that not only did American Indian and Welsh peoples still face similar challenges at the turn of the century, but also that the fight against this oppression persisted as well. Drawing on the history of these events as beginnings of a new stand against the colonization of

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[6] Edward Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), xvii.
[7] Nic Dafis, "Famous Graffiti – Cofiwch Dryweryn photo," accessed May 14, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Cofiwch_Dryweryn.jpg.

their nations, these activists also tried to spark consciousness again and use the narratives to inspire action. They implied that in remembering Wounded Knee and Tryweryn, American Indians and Welsh people might face the same challenges, but they should learn the lessons of those events by making different choices and not allowing history to repeat itself.

In the past few decades, remembering Tryweryn became an important rallying call as Welsh people faced further exploitation of their land and natural resources. In 2008, for example, David Lloyd, a Plaid Cymru Assembly Member in Wales's devolved government, the Welsh Assembly, suggested that the British Parliament had threatened his queries for information about a particular bill. According to Lloyd, the Parliament implied that they would not communicate at all with the Welsh Assembly about Welsh energy projects if Lloyd kept asking. As he cautioned his fellow Assembly Members, "I need not remind the Leader of the House of the history of Tryweryn." Here Lloyd invoked the metonymy of Tryweryn to conjure images of Wales's continued natural resource exploitation, as well as the lack of political sovereignty. As he reminded the Assembly, the more recent, unsuccessful protests against the construction of a high-pressure natural gas pipeline through the Brecon Beacons National Park had illustrated the lack of power of the Welsh government over their own land. He therefore urged the members to make different choices, to not "take that lying down."[8]

More recent protests over proposals to take Welsh water to alleviate English drought provoked further reminders of the story of Tryweryn and suggested that Welsh politicians might indeed make different choices this time. Elwyn Llwyd, Plaid's leader in

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[8] "Proceedings of the Welsh Assembly," Tuesday, 17 June, 2008, http://www.assemblywales.org/bus-home/bus-chamber/bus-chamber-third-assembly-rop.htm?act=dis&id=89111&ds=7/2008

Westminster, stated that Wales should be properly compensated for any water taken this time. Using similar language to Cledwyn Hughes in 1973, when he suggested Wales could be as rich as the Gulf sheikdoms, Llwyd made clear that this was not an "Opec [sic] situation," where England would be "held to ransom." However, he maintained, the Welsh Assembly would require veto power over any transfer of water. Referring to Tryweryn, he warned, "Don't think you can force it again because it ain't going to happen."[9] A local councilor who had grown up in the Capel Celyn area emphasized the point: "They won't be allowed to drown another valley. There would be a rebellion. They have drowned too many Welsh communities."[10] These verbal protests all relied on a national shared remembrance of the story of Tryweryn, in which the audience recognized the key themes of threats to land, identity, and history, as well as the lessons it taught and the need to make different choices this time to prevent history repeating itself.

Remembering Tryweryn has often been limited to the language of protest, however, and debates have ensued between Welsh nationalists over the most appropriate way to remember, especially following the City of Liverpool's official apology for the event in 2010. While there is a chapel at Llyn Celyn, the reservoir, no official memorial has been built. A campaign was recently launched by Cadw, the Welsh heritage agency, to raise the £80,000 required to restore and preserve a derelict farm wall on which activist Meic Stephens painted the slogan "Cofiwch Tryweryn" (Remember Tryweryn), a portion

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[9] "Parched England should pay to receive exports of Welsh water, say politicians," *Western Mail*, February 29, 2012.

[10] Hywel Trewyn, "If you want help on drought – pay out," *Wales Online*, February 22, 2012, http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/bala/2012/02/22/if-you-want-help-on-drought-pay-out-91466-30378708/

of which has been contributed by Cadw, the Welsh heritage agency.[11] The wall stands approximately 60 miles away from the site of the reservoir, however, divorcing it from its actual origins, especially for those who are not already aware of the history of Tryweryn. Meanwhile, another memorial has been proposed, a bird with the faces of angry people carved into its wings. This large sculpture, standing 28 feet high and spanning 24 feet, would be placed at Llyn Celyn.

Figure 27. John Meirion Morris, "Cofeb Tryweryn" sculpture.
Figure 28. Close up of faces on "Cofeb Tryweryn" sculpture.[12]

As the sculptor, John Meirion Morris, explained: "I visualised a powerful metaphorical image, a choir and a bird, in my imagination – a choir singing a protest song with fear, anger and resistence [sic]. I also saw a powerful rage and resolute defiance in a mass of faces ascending confidently as a large water bird, making a worthy and righteous

[11] Cofiwch Tryweryn leaflet, http://www.cofiwchdryweryn.org.uk/
[12] John Meirion Morris, "Cofeb Tryweryn" sculpture, John Meirion Morris website, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.johnmeirionmorris.org/trewerynE.asp.

stand."[13] The memorial symbolizes important aspects of the militants' narrative of Tryweryn, namely the need to make a stand, and suggests that those things lost in the drowning of this village, such as identity and community as represented by the Welsh choir, would rise again from their watery grave. As such, it also indicates a "beginning again," that Welsh protest had risen from the waters of Llyn Celyn.

The tension between Plaid's narrative and that of more militant groups is evident in this debate over which memorial was most appropriate. While the Assembly and Cadw have supported the campaign for the restoration of the wall in recent years after vandalism destroyed the slogan, the campaign to raise the £250,000 for the sculpture has stalled. To Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, this indicated the ways in which the history of Tryweryn has been sanitized. To them, the bird represents not just a water bird, but also the eagle of Snowden.[14] In Welsh legend, the bloodthirsty eagle was associated with the defense of Wales. Also, as the symbol of the Free Wales Army, it came to represent the more militant Welsh nationalist groups of the 1960s, while the faces could be interpreted as screaming, rather than singing. Consequently, while a wall with the slogan exhorting the Welsh public to remember Tryweryn suggests that the event is something to be remembered, but places it firmly in the past without a need for contemporary action, the Cofeb Tryweryn memorial is more political and could be interpreted as a new call to action. To some Welsh nationalists, such as Gruffydd and Ifan, this memorial is more appropriate as it not only memorializes the event at the site itself, reminding visitors of the history of the reservoir, but also commemorates the story of Tryweryn, including the

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[13] Cofeb Tryweryn leaflet, "Oh Dear It's Been Daubed," *Welsh Remembrancer blog*, June 10, 2010, accessed March 26, 2012, http://welshremembrancer.blogspot.co.uk/2010/06/oh-dear-its-beeb-daubed-we-lost-village.html.

[14] Gethin ap Gruffydd and Sian Ifan, interview by Kate Williams, Swansea, Wales, January 8, 2010.

political action and resistance it inspired. To them, this forgetting is typical of the "cultural nationalists," such as Plaid politicians. As Gruffydd has argued, these nationalists want "you to forget as they chose to forget and kick into the shadows of our history" heroes such as those of the Free Wales Army and MAC.[15] Undoubtedly, those groups have been forgotten or dismissed in many histories of Wales. In this way, just as the story of Tryweryn functioned as a metonymy for a larger history of Welsh oppression, so the ways in which Tryweryn is remembered has become a symbol for the repression of militant Welsh nationalist groups in the national historical narrative and the continued struggle for recognition.

There has not been a similar debate within AIM about remembering Wounded Knee, but the Movement continues to urge people to remember the events. Activists commemorated anniversaries of both the 1890 and 1973 conflicts, especially on the centennial in 1990, and the trademarked slogan "Remember Wounded Knee" continues to feature on the AIM logo.[16]

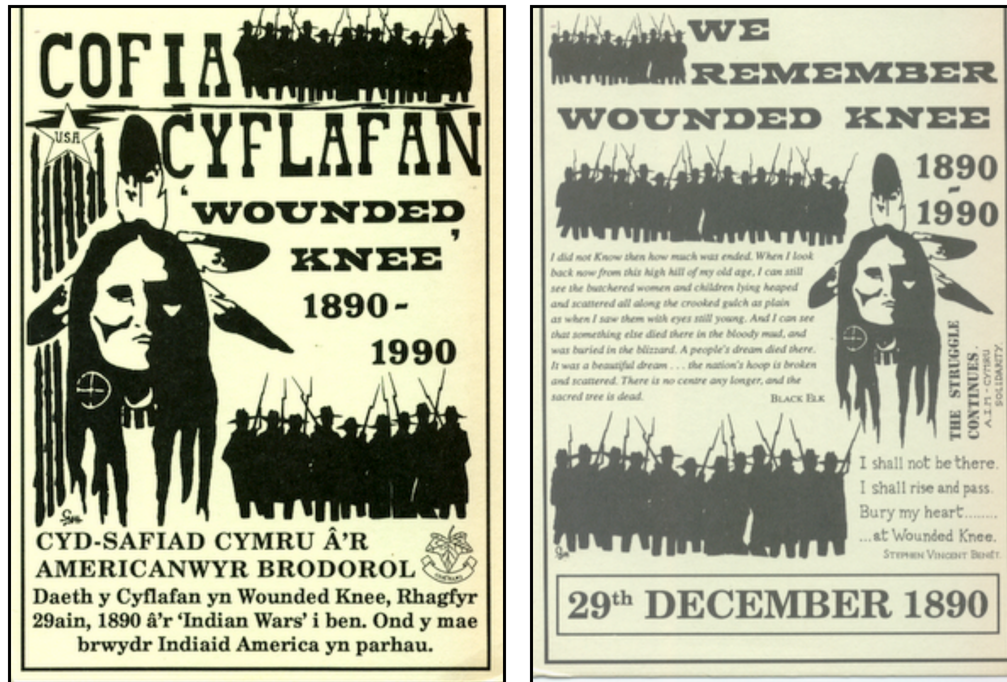
Figure 29. American Indian Movement, "Remember Wounded Knee" patch.[17]

[15] Gethin ap Gruffydd, "Patriots Have You Become the Spear Carriers at the Back," *Adfywiad Gwladgarol Cymru/ Welsh Patriotic Resurgence blog*, May 8, 2011, accessed March 26, 2012, http://adfywiad.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/patriots-have-you-become-spear-carriers.html.
[16] See, for example, the American Indian Movement's website, www.aimovement.org.
[17] American Indian Movement patch, American Indian Movement website, accessed May 14, 2012, http://aimovement.org.

This is not only available for public purchase, but also appears on apparel that many AIM members and leaders wear to events, such as the Indigenous Rights Rally at Occupy MN in fall 2011. Therefore, AIM still utilizes the story of Wounded Knee in its continued activism.

Transnational Remembering

Interestingly, remembering Wounded Knee continued to be invoked in Wales in the last few decades, despite the end of direct contact between AIM and Welsh nationalists. This suggests that the influence of these networks continued even while the alliances themselves did not. Ty Cenedl activists, for example, raised awareness of Wounded Knee in the centennial anniversary in 1990. They produced postcards to commemorate the occasion, one in English and one in Welsh.



Figures 30 and 31. Ty Cenedl posters commemorating centennial anniversary of Wounded Knee in 1990.[18]

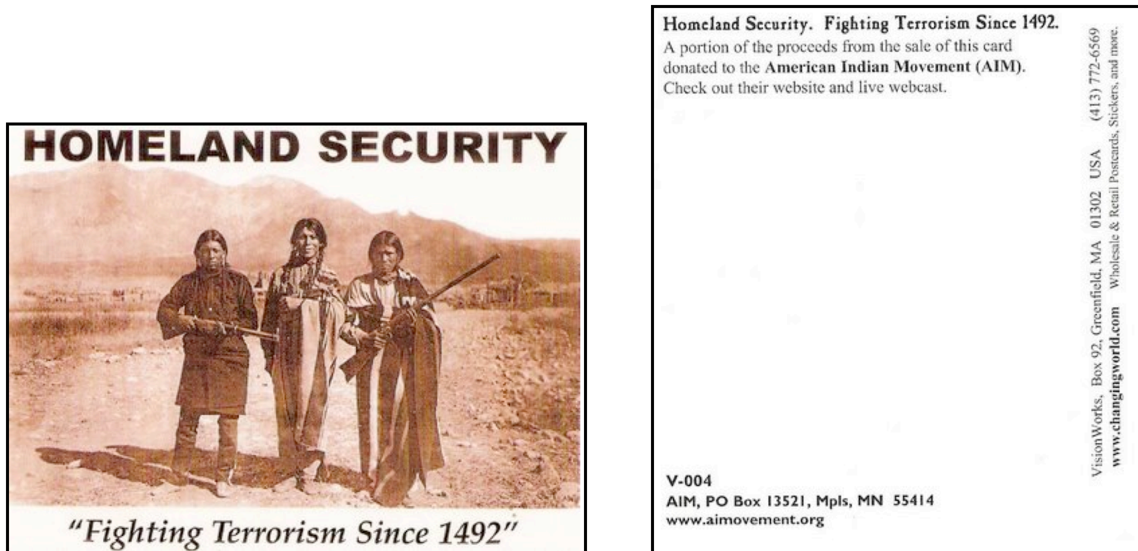
[18] Ty Cenedl, "Cofia Cyflafan" and "We Remember Wounded Knee" posters, courtesy of the Ty Cenedl Archive, National Library of Wales.

While the English-language version declared "We remember Wounded Knee" and mentioned that "the struggle continues – A.I.M. – Cymru solidarity," the Welsh language poster was even more explicit in drawing the links and reflecting AIM's narrative. It urged people to "cofia cyflafan" (remember the massacre) and asserted that American Indians and Welsh people stood together. It also reflected AIM's story that this was a continuing struggle against American colonialism, not one that had ended at Wounded Knee, by stating: "Daeth y Cyflafan yn Wounded Knee, Rhagfyr 29ain, a'r 'Indian Wars i ben. Ond mae brwydr Indiad America yn parhau." (The massacre at Wounded Knee, December 29th, 1890, brought the 'Indian Wars' to a head. But the American Indian struggle continues.) As such, these Ty Cenedl activists also suggested that the challenges faced by American Indian peoples still existed, as did their activism. The stand of American Indian peoples had not ended at either of the Wounded Knee events, implied the postcard, since the struggle continues.

Despite the lack of contact, Gruffydd and Ifan continue to draw inspiration from AIM and to point to similarities in Welsh and American Indian struggles in an effort to galvanize Welsh nationalists. However, their tactics have continued to evolve. Due to continued police surveillance, they have taken their campaigns online, and both maintain a number of blogs for activist purposes.[19] As Gruffydd himself noted, he often references AIM in his posts and informs readers about the latest campaign, in order both to raise awareness of Native issues, but also to continue to inspire Welsh nationalists to reflect on their struggle and strategies: "Whenever I can put something in, I'll put something in. If it's just going to get a few people to go and look at something and start thinking a little

[19] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

bit, that's the main thing."[20] For example, in 2009, Gruffydd posted an image of a postcard he had recently purchased in a charity shop. A portion of the proceeds from the card, which featured the well-known slogan "Homeland Security – Fighting Terrorism Since 1492," would go to the American Indian Movement and the card also featured contact information for AIM.



Figures 32 and 33. AIM "Homeland Security" postcard[21]

Gruffydd urged people to buy the cards, since the "money is going to a very good cause," as well as visit AIM's website "for some great history and an idea about how to continue a real struggle for people, community and culture."[22] While the direct contact had ceased, the circulation of information through these networks has clearly not, and these activists continue to draw links between American Indians' and Welsh peoples' struggles over land, identity, and history in order to inspire a new resurgence against familiar challenges.

[20] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[21] AIM Homeland Security postcard, Gethin ap Gruffydd, "What About Our Cymric Homeland Security?," *Adfywiad Gwladgarol Cymru blog*, June 29 2009, accessed March 26, 2012, http://adfywiad.blogspot.co.uk/2009/06/what-about-our-cymric-homeland-security.html.
[22] Gruffydd, "What About Our Cymric Homeland Security?."

In these posts, Gruffydd has often drawn on Wounded Knee, particularly when protesting the exploitation of Welsh land and natural resources. For example, the English lease on the Vyrnwy estate is expiring, and Gruffydd has used AIM's actions at Wounded Knee, along with Alcatraz and the Winter Dam protest in 1971, to inspire action. As he declared in one blog, mirroring the famous slogan at Alcatraz: "You are on Welsh land and we shall take it back: how to start taking back the land – AIM – Alcatraz, Wounded Knee, and Winter Dam with the Vyrnwy estate in mind."[23] Likewise, in drawing attention to the recent building of wind turbines across Wales, Gruffydd again invoked Wounded Knee as a lesson to change the choices made at Tryweryn: "When push came to shove as at Capel Celyn Plaid Cymru backed down and run away, they did not as Native Americans at Wounded Knee or Canadian Indians at Grand River occupy the land and really make a fight of it." He argued that Plaid Cymru would not make a stand at Vyrynwy or against the wind turbines, so it was time to be inspired and motivated to make "direct action popular protests" and possibly force Plaid to make a political stand as well.[24]

Interestingly, Gruffydd has returned to the stories of both Tryweryn and Wounded Knee as a means of beginning again and inspiring Welsh people in new protest. He has railed at Plaid for living "off the myth of making a stand at Capel Celyn" and questioned whether the slogan "Cofia Dryweryn" means anything anymore, given the continued

[23] Gethin ap Gruffydd, "You Are on Welsh Land," *Cymrwch y Tir Yn Ol/ Take Back the Land blog*, August 9, 2011, accessed March 26, 2012, http://cymrwchytirynol.blogspot.co.uk/2011/08/you-are-on-welsh-land-and-we-shall-take.html.
[24] Gethin ap Gruffydd, "The Windmilling of Wales," *Campaigns Cymru blog*, August 26, 2011, accessed March 26, 2012, http://ymgyrch.blogspot.co.uk/2011/08/talking-is-all-but-over-so-patriots.html.

exploitation of Welsh resources.[25] Instead, he has continued to point to Wounded Knee and American Indian activism as an inspiration. In a July 2011 post, for example, Gruffydd mirrored the message of AIM's story and of the 1990 postcards, arguing that while Wounded Knee in 1890 was a "symbolic end to the Native American Wars of Independence," it was not the end of "Native American resistance as they remember their history." The Welsh, he argued, have been taught to forget, especially how to fight back.[26] As such, there are still important lessons to be learned from other movements. In a 2006 post, Gruffydd reprinted an e-mail he had sent in Christmas 2005, reminding people of the anniversary of 1890 Wounded Knee and expressing solidarity with indigenous peoples. In it, he noted that many Welsh nationalists fixated on the Irish rising in Easter 1916. "Nothing wrong in this," he stated, "but I cannot help thinking much more would be gained if Radical Nationalists seeking to be true 'Adfywiadyr Gwladgarol' cast their eyes towards the American Indian Movement," especially given their continued campaigns and initiatives.[27] Consequently, Gruffydd not only continued to draw on the stories of Tryweryn and Wounded Knee to inspire new protest, but also suggested that the sustained initiatives and campaigns of the American Indian Movement should also serve as motivation for Welsh nationalists.

In addition, it is not only the struggle at Wounded Knee in 1973 that influenced Gruffydd and Ifan in their campaigns. Not only have their tactics evolved as they have moved online to disseminate information and raise awareness, but they have also begun

[25] Gruffydd, "The Windmilling of Wales"; Gethin ap Gruffydd, "The Sins of Sustainability," *Welsh Remembrancer blog*, July 28, 2011, accessed March 26, 2012, http://welshremembrancer.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/vyrnwy-they-took-and-still-are-taking.html.
[26] Gruffydd, "Sins of Sustainability."
[27] Gethin ap Gruffydd, "Solidarity with the Struggles of Indigenous Peoples," *Cilmeri 1282 blog*, December 12, 2006, accessed March 26, 2012, http://coffadcilmeri.blogspot.co.uk/2006/12/solidarity-with-struggles-of.html.

to draw inspiration from other tactics of American Indian activists, including casinos and the rhetoric of sacred lands. Both were interested in American Indian efforts in "promoting their economies," as Native peoples have "been very active in that field and they've made sure they're in charge of all the casinos and they use the casinos then to better the life of the people."[28] To Ifan and Gruffydd, Wales should be exerting a similar economic control over the casinos that already exist on the North Wales coast, as authority over these sources of revenue should lie in the hands of Welsh people and the money from these casinos should not be going out of Wales, to English owners.[29]

In addition, the other major campaign highlighted on the blogs is that of Pumlumon, an important historic and possibly sacred site on which authorities have constructed wind turbines. In order to awaken his readers to the problem of locating a wind energy site at Pumlumon, Gruffydd has used the example of the Black Hills as a comparison to illustrate the similarities and inspire people to protest. He points out that both the Black Hills and Pumlumon are "sacred hills," as the latter are an important birthplace of the Mabinogion, an early medieval collection of Welsh folktales, and also the site of a battle waged during the last war of independence for Wales, where a Welsh army of 150 defeated an English force of thousands. As Gruffydd suggests on the blog: "Who among us is not aware of the fact that American seekers of gold plundered and desecrated the Black Hills…Like the Black Hills, the Pumlumon mountains, in the past, have been plundered, desecrated, and scarred by the mining for lead, and now, they are to be similarly ravaged by the intrusion of alien looking useless metal windmills upon the

[28] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.
[29] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

landscape."[30] Gruffydd and Ifan therefore continue to not only be influenced themselves by the campaigns of American Indian activists, but they also use them to inspire others to action. However, the inspiration has gone beyond Wounded Knee in comparison with Tryweryn. These Welsh nationalists are not only motivated by AIM's most famous protest, but also by the more recent activist efforts of the Movement and American Indians more generally, from AIM's website and postcards promoting "homeland security" to the development of casinos.

Plaid Cymru and AIM have also evolved in their strategies, although transnational links with other oppressed peoples continue to be important to their work. In recent years, Plaid has found success within the devolved Welsh government, the Welsh Assembly. In 1997, Wales voted for devolution, a triumph for Plaid following the 'no' vote of 1979. Two years later, a Welsh Assembly with limited powers was established in Cardiff, and, by 2007, Plaid had become a governing party through forming a coalition with Labour.[31] In some ways, the party has succeeded in its aims to achieve a government for Wales, although it continues to adapt its goals as it continue to 'puzzle,' now that Plaid has achieved a measure of power. In 2003, for example, Plaid adopted "independence" as its long-term aim, a term they had previously rejected. Some scholars, such as Richard Wyn Jones, have argued that the party became disillusioned by the reality of Europe, as they realized that their dreams of a post-sovereign Europe, and Wales's participation in it,

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[30] "Our Sacred Hills: Heritage in the Landscape," *Owain Glyndwr Communicates blog*, accessed December 2, 2010, http://owain-glyndwr-embassyllysgenhadaeth.blogspot.com/2007/04/our-sacred-hills-heritage-in-landscape.html.
[31] Richard Wyn Jones, "From Utopia to reality: Plaid Cymru and Europe," *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no.1 (2009): 140.

were unlikely.[32] In contrast, others such as Anwen Elias have contended that it is simply Plaid continuing to puzzle, as the party tries to reconcile its goals of participating in the community of nation-states without Wales becoming a state.[33] Whichever of these is true, Plaid's turn towards independence did not undercut their continued commitment to being part of a larger community of nations. Plaid members have formed links with other legislative assemblies, including visiting the Nunavut, the Inuit Assembly, as they transformed from a political protest movement to a governing party in Wales.[34]

The American Indian Movement has similarly moved towards working within an institution, the United Nations. While it still supports community programs, such as the Heart of the Earth Survival School until its closure in 2008 and the American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Center, most of AIM's transnational networks are now centered in the International Indian Treaty Council at the United Nations.[35] Formed in June 1974 at Standing Rock in South Dakota, the Treaty Council gained non-governmental organization status in 1977, the same year that many indigenous peoples attended the first UN international conference of NGOs on indigenous issues in Geneva. As a result of IITC's work, along with that of other indigenous organizations, the UN now hosts a permanent forum on Indigenous Issues and, in 2007, passed the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[36] Consequently, AIM has sustained its networks of

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[32] Jones, 131.
[33] Anwen Elias, "From 'full national status' to 'independence' in Europe: The Case of Plaid Cymru – the Party of Wales," in *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*, ed. John McGarry and Michael Keating (New York: Routledge, 2006), 215
[34] Dafydd Elis-Thomas, interview by Kate Williams, Cardiff, Wales, March 30, 2011.
[35] See AIM's website for more details, www.aimovement.org.
[36] For more information, see the website of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples.aspx.

cooperation with other indigenous peoples, but most of these are now within the framework of the United Nations.

AIM's European alliances have not really been sustained, but they continue to shape American Indian activism. As Christian Feest has noted, AIM's network of European support groups has served the purposes of other American Indian activists in recent years.[37] The Lubicon Cree Band, for example, has used European support groups to raise awareness of their land rights. In 1995, a planning session for the European support groups of North American indigenous peoples hosted representatives from indigenous nations including the Blackfoot, Cree, San Carlos Apache, and the Diné, as well as from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and IITC.[38] Therefore, even though AIM has mostly moved away from direct contact with European supporters and groups towards working with other indigenous peoples in the United Nations, the networks of cooperation that they established in Europe in the aftermath of Wounded Knee laid the groundwork for other American Indian and First Nations activists to use them to raise awareness of their own struggles and campaigns.

As such, it is evident that the networks of cooperation formed by the American Indian Movement and Welsh nationalists in the 1960s-1980s were not only significant at the time, but have also continued to shape American Indian and Welsh activism in important and tangible ways. All of these groups viewed their connections and communications with similar movements as integral to their own success, through

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[37] Christian F. Feest, "Europe's Indians," *Society* (May/ June 1990): 48. See also Richard Trink, "Lakota Efforts in the International Arena," *Wicazo Sa Review* 4, no.1 (Spring 1988): 39-48.
[38] "Lubicon Gets Support," *Windspeaker* 4, no. 2 (1986), accessed March 13, 2012, http://www.ammsa.com/node/15712; Albert Crier, "Ominiyak in Europe: Lubicon Support Groups Decide on Action," *Windspeaker* 5, no. 8 (1987), accessed March 13, 2012, http://www.ammsa.com/node/16599; "Eurometeing 95 – Tenth Planning Session of Support Groups of North American Indigenous Peoples," accessed March 13, 2012, http://nisto.com/cree/lubicon/1995/19950730.html.

providing support and exchanging ideas and tactics. Furthermore, each one valued their transnational networks for providing a larger perspective on their struggle and a broader community. As AIM activist Pat Bellanger remembered: "A lot of the elders were saying that we had to look at not only our own issues… We're all people of mankind, we're all people of Mother Earth…And so, for us to separate ourselves wasn't a good idea."[39] Likewise, Phil Williams contended that Wales's transnational links were important for giving nationalists a sense of a broader communal fight: "It will enable every one of us to realize that we are not alone – that the Welsh problem is not an unique isolated phenomenon; we are not three million mutants dropping out of history while the remaining 3,997 million human beings march on in unity."[40] For both American Indian and Welsh activists, local communities were an important component of their campaigns, with both Wounded Knee and Tryweryn being portrayed as the defense of a community. What their transnational connections brought them was a larger community, a relational kinship network based on shared histories of oppression through settler colonialism, and the sense that their struggles were part of a much larger global fight.

Most importantly, these kinship networks had an element of obligation and reciprocity and were mutually beneficial. AIM was not only an inspiration to the Welsh and Irish, but they in turn were inspired by these European minorities who shared in their colonial struggle. As AIM historian Laura Waterman Wittstock noted, "you can't get anywhere by only looking at your own problems." Instead, "the idea was you could learn

[39] Pat Bellanger, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, February 9 2011.
[40] Phil Williams, "A Foreign Policy for Plaid Cymru," *Voice from the Valleys* (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru, 1981), 87.

from other people, but you could also teach other people. So it was an exchange."[41] Similarly, learning from other movements was essential to Gethin ap Gruffydd's development as a Welsh nationalist: "Without a shadow of a doubt, if I…in my political life had done like…sadly a lot of my contemporaries in the sixties have done, just put my head between my legs and just not considered anything else, I'd be a pretty dumb person today with pretty dumb ideas."[42] To these activists, a transnational perspective was fundamentally important to their work, enabling the exchange of information and ideas as they taught and learned from each other.

As this dissertation illustrates, there was a vast and complicated web of communication and support between the American Indian Movement, Welsh nationalists, and other related peoples worldwide. Europeans wrote letters, signed petitions, and gave money, but they also took inspiration from AIM, especially as they grieved the loss of their minority cultures and searched for ways to restore them. The Movement's relationship with minority nationalists in Ireland and Wales were even more significant and extended far beyond their original intent. In these alliances, American Indian, Irish, and Welsh activists learned from each other and shaped each other's campaigns and tactics in an important and tangible sense. Consequently, the transnational presence of AIM and Welsh nationalists made a significant difference to activists in these networks of cooperation. A variety of peoples, from children in East Germany to leaders of minority nationalist movements, including AIM themselves, realized that they were not alone in their sense of oppression and they were certainly not alone in their struggle. Perhaps most importantly, while direct contact between these movements has diminished,

[41] Laura Waterman Wittstock, interview by Kate Williams, Minneapolis, MN, December 6, 2010.
[42] Gruffydd and Ifan, interview.

their influences on each other continue. In this way, the narratives of these movements mirror the larger story of American Indian and Welsh peoples, with their celebration of survival. As the Welsh singer and activist Dafydd Iwan stated in his famous song from 1981, “Ry’n ni yma o hyd,/ Er gwaetha pawb a phopeth” (We’re still here,/ Despite the worst of everyone and everything). As such, the story of the American Indian Movement, Welsh nationalists, and their networks of cooperation with each other and related movements worldwide has not yet reached its end.

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