

A WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

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THE WELCOME LADY



AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE EVERGREEN STATE COLLEGE

CARVED BY GREG COLFAX (MAKAH) AND ANDY WILBUR-PETERSON (SKOKOMISH)

WORLDS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

HEADLINES — RECENT EVENTS IN INDIAN COUNTRY

IN REAL LIFE THERE IS NO INTERMISSION — THE CONSTITUTION COUNTS OUT INDIANS

DEEPER THAN ELECTIONS — TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY, CREATION STORIES & ANCESTORS

NONE OF US IS ALONE — INDIAN GATHERINGS

WOMEN'S WORK — LAURA GRABHORN & HEATHER FLEMING

APOLOGIES AND REPARATIONS — CONSIDER SOME ALTERNATIVES

Laylie Long Soldier Introduction to her poem *Whereas* in *Whereas* Greywolf Press, 2017.

Introduction

On Saturday, December 19, 2009, US President Barack Obama signed the Congressional Resolution of Apology to Native Americans. No tribal leaders or official representatives were invited to witness and receive the Apology on behalf of tribal nations. President Obama never read the Apology aloud, publicly—although, for the record, Senator Sam Brownback five months later read the Apology to a gathering of five tribal leaders, though there are more than 560 federally recognized tribes in the US. The Apology was then folded into a larger, unrelated piece of legislation called the 2010 Defense Appropriations Act.

My response is directed to the Apology's delivery, as well as the language, crafting, and arrangement of the written document. I am a citizen of the United States and an enrolled member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, meaning I am a citizen of the Oglala Lakota Nation—and in this dual citizenship, I must work, I must eat, I must art, I must mother, I must friend, I must listen, I must observe, constantly I must live.

WORLDS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

Having just written our Christmas letter, two thoughts stand out. (1) When we write to friends and family, though we seem to be reporting on the past we are actually looking to the future. (2) The work I do, the work I seem to have been doing for quite a while, is to seek out ideas and images that enable our common future to avoid being mindlessly burdened by our shared past.

Were I a good Buddhist, I would know that neither past nor future exist. There is only now and even in "now" there is no absolute reality. I am enough of a Buddhist to know that there is certainly no absolute reality in "history." Even in the middle of a single household, it is evident that each of the different children grow up in different families, if only by virtue of birth order.

So within the much larger and more complex system of relationships among people living in the United States, it is inconceivable that any of us inhabit identical narratives, identical ways of telling the stories of the history of this particular nation-state. And yet, we share and suffer together from the burdens of the worst parts of the heritage that linger on, while perhaps also sharing great joy in some of the best. Who cannot be happy that Yosemite has been preserved as a National Park? Well, perhaps the Indians for whom it was home before the first Spaniards arrived off the coast of California. According to the current National Park Service Yosemite brochure, the last of the Miwok Indian Villages in the park was "razed" in the 1960s. In my lifetime for sure. Perhaps in yours.

John Muir, alongside his powerful political soul-mate-in-nature President Teddy Roosevelt, set down key cultural foundation stones in the Western United States, the place that I have been calling "home" for most of my life. So too did the Squaxin, the Nisqually, the Skokomish, the Lummi and the Makah, the Native American societies most central in offering hospitality to and a profound educational experience within The Evergreen State College — one of my "professional homes" for the last 45 years.

So I present here some of the narratives I have learned about Indians in the USA, by living and working among them. In addition, I am sharing a narrative about the US Constitution that I have found myself feeling obligated to spread on my own account. That Constitutional narrative is a story almost no-one I know has any consciousness of. So after the headlines, that is where this particular "Once upon a time" begins.

The sections that follow echo those in my previous pamphlets — Headlines, In Real Life There's No Intermission (politics), Deeper Than Elections, None of us is Alone, and Women and Work, alongside some poetry and art and maps. The last page this time is devoted to "Apologies and Reparations" — issues that have recently been roiling in the USA majority culture in relation to slavery. There is more to think about here too

SOME PRETTY RECENT HEADLINES

These may have escaped notice and they are presented with rather more explanation than in earlier pamphlets. Live links, as always. at <u>peacemakerpress.com</u>

Native Americans To Soon Receive Settlement Checks

Charles Michael Ray NPR Nov. 29, 2012 4:53 PM ET

Checks for about \$1000 a person were distributed as a result of a successful lawsuit, originally, filed by Elouise Cobell (see below) in which the Federal Bureau of Land Management was found to have violated the trust it owes Indians for its management of Indian Land. Among other findings, the lawsuit also made it possible for tribes compulsorily to buy back reservation land previously sold to non-Indians, if the land was "fractionating" the reservation territory. https://www.npr.org/2012/11/30/166185774/native-americans-to-soon-receive-settlement-checks

Boldt ruling to let Natives manage fisheries is still vastly influential, 40 years later

Christi Turner High Country News Feb. 14, 2014

This decision, just like Brown v. Board of Education, declared a long standing practice — in this case State and Federal government-instigated violation of Indian Treaty Rights — illegal. Indians in Puget Sound have, since 1974, had a right to 50% of the salmon harvest in the Pacific Northwest, fish that can be caught by traditional means, the very same traditional means which led to repeated arrests for Billy Frank Jr in earlier years. (See below).

http://www.hcn.org/blogs/goat/40-years-later-the-boldt-decision-legacy-still-being-laid

Billy Frank Jr. remembered as humanitarian, 'spokesman for the salmon' Paige Cornwell Seattle Times May 11, 2014

Thousands pay tribute to Billy Frank Jr. — activist, environmental giant, leader, friend Lisa Pemberton, The Olympian May 11, 2014

Billy Frank is to Indian salmon rights in the Northwest what Dr. Martin Luther King Jr is to voting rights in Alabama — a hero whose leadership helped completely reorient Federal and State policy/procedure. He was central to the Boldt decision, (above). After the court victory he helped manage the fishery. Towards his life's end he spoke of his fear that rising sea-water temperatures would one day be fatal to young salmon heading out to sea for the first time. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/billy-frank-jr-remembered-as-humanitarian-lsquospokesman-for-the-salmonrsquo/

https://ravenredbone.com/2014/05/12/thousands-pay-tribute-to-billy-frank-jr-activist-environmental-giant-leader-friend/

Elouise Cobell will be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom

Missoula TV KPAX Nov 16, 2016 4:52 PM EST.

Elouise Cobell is the woman who started the BLM lawsuit which led to the BLM compensation for the violation of land rights. She died before she knew she had been selected for the medal. http://www.kpax.com/story/33728386/elouise-cobell-will-be-awarded-the-presidential-medal-of-freedom

https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/node/349666 Obama talking about Cobell at 1:25:03 —39

IN REAL LIFE THERE IS NO INTERMISSION

This is the story I mentioned feeling obligated to spread widely myself: an exploration of the human and cultural consequences that resulted from one specific clause in the US Constitution.

American elections ensure that those of us who live in this country truly experience a life without intermissions. The next act is always ready to begin as antics for the current series are finally coming to an end. Indeed, a one-term Congressman revealed that his fundraising efforts while in office entailed daily phone calls all morning long. 9am - 12 pm Monday to Friday. It would have been forever had he not lost his seat in the 2010 Tea Party triumph.

Juggling non-stop for money is what no intermission feels like for office holders.

For voters it's a different matter. Often indeed it's a struggle even to be allowed to participate at all, to be entitled to act by voting. Furthermore inequality is guaranteed. Inequality was set in stone in the Constitution. Liberals may predominate in both states, but when a Californian and a Vermonter ballot for one of their two senators, that Vermonter (pop. about 600,000) exerts vastly "more" personal voting clout than the Californian (pop about 39,500,000). Disproportionate electoral power is not the exclusive prerogative of the rich and powerful.

In the centuries after they finalized the Constitution 1787, inequality was also guaranteed by the many different categories of people utterly excluded from the franchise. Slaves — of course. Indentured white people? Not included until they had worked off the indenture and acquired the requisite property standing. Jews and Catholics — haphazardly excluded in some states, some of the time. Women — excluded regardless of race, the precise date of franchise varying state by state. Wyoming, starkly conservative these days, was the first to give women the vote.

Women, children, even indentured workers may not have had the vote, but they did at least exist — they were enumerated as whole people in the census, thereby adding their weight to the representation they were forbidden to elect. Slaves — they were tallied but only as 3/5 of a whole person, in that contorted North/South compromise which inflated slave state electoral representation but not as much as would have resulted from counting them one for one.

Indians? Native Americans? What did the Constitution say about Indians and what did that have to do with when they got the right to vote? I have been asking majority culture friends and colleagues that question regularly for the last couple of years. No-one has had the faintest clue. Most common guess? like the former slaves, after the end of the Civil War.

Well No. Not then.

When I have asked Indian colleagues and friends the same question, they commonly quote language written into the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson:

"[George III] has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the **merciless Indian Savages** whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions." These days all Indians seem to be well aware that the 14th Amendment, which did nullify the

3/5 clause and grant full US citizenship to former slaves, was explicitly understood as not applying to Indians.

In fact the Constitution, which was and remains unamended, was quite specific about Indians: Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers excluding Indians not taxed. (Article 1 Section 2 Paragraph 3)

Article 1 Section 2 Paragraph 3 is rightly notorious as the clause which commodifies African American slaves as 3/5s of a person. Almost no-one notices that it erases Indians completely — although the US Census bureau does acknowledge: "Indians are not identified in the 1790-1840 censuses." And the Census is mandated in the Constitution as the basis for apportioning seats.

So when, finally, were American Indians entitled to vote? When were they counted, included in the census? When did Indians finally exist in the USA? In the Census that occurred at the turn of the last century. But as voters?

There can be few "voting rights" with a more tangled answer. Birthright citizenship, granted to EVERYONE else in the 14th amendment did not apply. Neither being born between the Atlantic and the Pacific in North America, nor "naturalization, could make an Indian a US citizen. Still, over time, many did become citizens, by paying taxes, by taking up the offer of individual as opposed to tribal land ownership, even through marriage which could "endow" citizenship and ultimately the right to vote.

Nationwide the definitive statement giving Indians voting rights only began to become clear in 1924.

Why only then?

Because Congress passed the 1924 American Indian Citizenship Act, passed in part to recognize Indian contributions to the war efforts of 1917-18. Passed perhaps also to speed the national assimilationist agenda in the USA, then and still to this day, a massive nation-state uneasily coexisting with multiple manifestations of tribal sovereignty.

And why do I say "began" in 1924. Because voting rights are specified state by state. It will be no surprise, then, to learn that some states resisted enabling the voting rights of resident Indians. As a 1937 US government report put it "this analysis shows that voting rights are denied to Indians in seven States, namely, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, North Carolina, Utah and Washington." It took until 1953 for the state of Maine to incorporate the 1924 Citizenship Act into Maine law.

WHY DOES THIS MATTER??

Because for two centuries after the founding of the United States, Indians were steadily stripped of almost all of their land and their total numbers plummeted. What is this particular history? What are the best words to describe it: "ethnic cleansing?" "genocide?" "grand theft?"

Since the Constitution does not include Indians in the electoral weight accorded to a given Territory or State, then that region loses no Federal voting power if the Indian population declines by the total number dispossessed of their lands — In Georgia, Mississippi and Florida

after the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Or when the population declines by the total number of Indians killed and forced into reservation lands by the Indian Wars west of the Mississippi.

The total number of casualties among the Indians in those western wars is, of course, unknown. But any list of wars and dates, this one from the inveterate Wikipedia, is testimony to a people under constant attack from the majority culture. 100 years of war.

Non-existent people are much easier to remove, to confine to reservations, to concentrate, to kill, to ignore.

Did the Constitution *CAUSE* the catastrophes that occurred? Oh no. The removals and the wars began well before 1787.

But did the fact that the Indians had been formally and legally "disappeared" facilitate what happened next?

I have to assume that the answer is yes.

Indian Wars West of the Mississippi

- Arikara War (1823)
- Osage Indian War (1837)
- Texas–Indian wars (1836–1877)
 - Comanche Wars (1836–1877)
 - Antelope Hills expedition (1858)
 - Comanche Campaign (1867– 1875)
 - Red River War (1874–1875)
 - Buffalo Hunters' War (1876– 1877)
 - Cayuse War (1847-1855)
 - Apache Wars (1849-1924)
 - Jicarilla War (1849–1855)
 - Chiricahua Wars (1860–1886)
 - Tonto War (1871–1875)
 - Victorio's War (1879–1880)
 - Geronimo's War (1881–1886)
 - Post 1887 Apache Wars period (1887–1924)
- Yuma War (1850–1853)
- Ute Wars (1850–1923)
 - Battle at Fort Utah (1850)
 - Walker War (1853–1854)
 - Tintic War (1856)
 - Black Hawk War (1865–1872)
 - White River War (1879)
 - Ute War (1887)
 - Bluff War (1914–1915)
 - Bluff Skirmish (1921)
 - Posey War (1923)
- Sioux Wars (1854–1891)
 - First Sioux War (1854-1856)
 - Dakota War (1862)
 - Colorado War (1863–1865)
 - Powder River War (1865)
 - Red Cloud's War (1866–1868)
 - Great Sioux War (1876–1877)
 - Northern Cheyenne Exodus (1878-1879)
 - Ghost Dance War (1890–1891)
- Rogue River Wars (1855–1856)
- Yakima War (1855–1858)
 - Puget Sound War (1855–1856)
 - Coeur d'Alene War (1858)
- Mohave War (1858-1859)
- Navajo Wars (1849–1866)
- Paiute War (1860)
- Yavapai Wars (1861–1875)
- Snake War (1864–1869)
- Hualapai War (1865–1870)
- Modoc War (1872–1873)
- Nez Perce War (1877)
- Bannock War (1878)
- Crow War (1887)
- Bannock Uprising (1895)
- Yaqui Uprising (1896)
- Battle of Sugar Point (1898)
- Crazy Snake Rebellion (1909)
- Last Massacre (1911)
- Battle of Kelley Creek (1911)
- Battle of Bear Valley (1918)

DEEPER THAN ELECTIONS

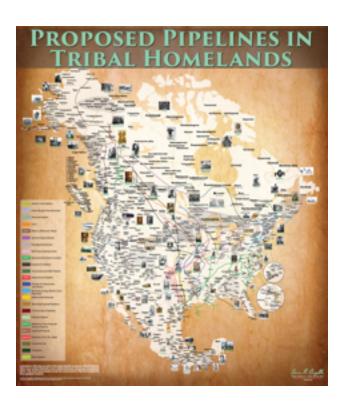
Tribal Sovereignty

That Indians were already citizens in their own tribes, as recognized in the "Commerce" clause in US Constitution, was often given as a justification for denying them US voting rights. In the end the issue was resolved: Tribally enrolled Indians are, just as immigrants can be, dual citizens. Unlike immigrants, Indians do not have to be "naturalized" as Americans.

If only this nation-state of dual sovereignties was as interested figuring out the details of the Constitutionality of dual sovereignties as it is in Freedom of Religion or Freedom of Speech. Every which way one looks sovereignties entangle and overlap with each other. Indians occasionally gain and often pay a price when this double reality intrudes on their lives.

The phone book in Olympia now lists "Tribal" as one of the categories of "government" on special pages at the front of the book. The Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission is a participant, along with the States and the Federal government, in international Puget Sound Salmon management dialogues with the Canadians. And yet, if an Indian woman suffers domestic abuse from her non-Indian spouse on reservation land, woe betide her if she goes to the courts, anywhere, in search of a definitive protection order.

Having opted to resolve some sovereignty issues by creating Federal "trusteeships," the dominant culture, working through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Land Management, has managed not only to strip Indians of the land they once owned, but also to squander the revenues coming to the tribes off the remaining



http://www.tribalnationsmaps.com/pipeline-map.html

lands managed by the Federal government under the rubric "trustee."

An Action Option: For individuals interested in developing an individual consciousness of dual sovereignties: Work out, to the best of your ability, which tribe once had "jurisdiction," over the lands where you live/have lived: your house, your office, your college, your children's houses, your favorite vacation spot. Which tribe(s), when did they move, how far and why?

Also I should tell you that, unique across the entire United States, white people in Southeastern States do not consider themselves "dual Americans". With complete freedom to answer the 2000 Census question about ancestry, they chose America. Not Spain. Not England or Scotland or Germany. Not France or Norway. White people in the South East are simply American. It is only the black population which is dual — African American. https://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/c2kbr-35.pdf

DEEPER THAN ELECTIONS

Creation Stories

Kennewick Man created a flurry of media interest when his remains were uncovered in 1996. Anthropologists and other academic scientists were longing to test the "finding." And the Umatilla and other local tribes were deeply opposed, seeking only to rebury this "person," their ancestor according to their traditions. Scientists won the first round of the struggle and did their DNA tests. Indians won the last round and in 2016 were granted the right by the US Senate and House to bury the remains according to their own traditions.

It took time for me to recognize that the scientists' "creation story" of land bridges and the Ice Age, of canoes and thousands of years bears no relationship to other creation stories in the Pacific Northwest, stories that include Coyote and Fox and repair of the earth. The Thunderbird hanging above the Longhouse on the Evergreen campus triumphed over a giant whale lurking at the mouth of the river that was gulping down all the salmon. The Thunderbird is also a knowledge seeker. If only there were a Thunderbird now, to guide and support us to solve the over-fishing, climate change and pollution challenges that put the salmon at risk every year.



Action Options: It's hard to be sure. Evolution of the Darwinian kind happened and is happening. But it does not tell us everything we need to know about living well in the world.

Ancestors

Ancestors and sacred sites play different roles in different cultures, but ancestors and descendants are powerfully present in Indian communities. Readers here have almost certainly heard of the "seven generations" consciousness. In this time, when twitter tries to interrupt us every few seconds, awareness of generations past and future is probably becoming ever more difficult. The Standing Rock and other tribes challenging the Dakota Access Pipeline were doing so to prevent a repetition of the losses their ancestors experienced in the Indian Wars.

"I personally believe in this fight for my children and grandchildren and because of a vivid clear dream that I received from my maternal grandmother in 2012. Her name was Lillian Ree and she was the granddaughter of my grandfather who signed the 1858 Treaty that created our Ihanktonwan reservation. She said in the dream 'there is something in the treaty that you need to follow.'" Faith Spotted Eagle.

Action Options: Become fluent reciting the names of your own ancestors. And listen hard every time an Indian argues that the mainstream culture should pause in a project, like a pipeline or a highway or the clearing of a forest out of respect for the ancestors.

NONE OF US IS ALONE

Gatherings

When I was writing my doctoral thesis on Cold War in the late 1980s, it was moving to realize that although the "Great Powers" were at each other's throats, indigenous peoples from "countries" all around the Arctic Circle were meeting collaboratively, regardless of national affiliation, to construct their own interventions and responses to world issues. Known during the Cold War as The Arctic Council, these days they gather as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, still working together on today's public and collective challenges, including climate change.

In 1991, after The Berlin Wall came down, citizen "diplomats" and Alaska Airlines began flying the Berling Strait to enable gatherings of Siberian and Alaskan Natives.

Several years earlier, an exhibition of Inuit Art began traveling the world under the title *Masters* of the Arctic. If only they had been the masters, instead of those military men who targeted missiles to fly above the Arctic Ocean and nuclear submarines to travel under it.

In 2017, the Longhouse at the Evergreen State College served as host for a climate gathering and an arts gathering. The wider Puget Sound Native community has been hosting canoe gatherings for years.

The Indigenous Climate Justice Initiative held its second two day Symposium — the first was in 2015. That was where I heard Faith Spotted Eagle in person. The students at the College presented research, and the symposium focused a whole day of attention on youth and climate change. This year's artists' gathering took place during the summer. Although their home communities may be as far apart as Alaska and New Zealand at this, the second Gathering of Indigenous Artists of the Pacific Rim visual artists were working alongside each other for several weeks. The culminating gallery show opened with an evening of dance and song. David Boxley's Git Hoan Dancers let those enormous wooden masks clack and swerve, smile and shout. Amazing!

Puget Sound is home to a regular canoe gatherings of tribes all up and down the NW Pacific Coast including right there in what should rightfully be called the Salish Sea. In the summer of 2016 it was the turn of the Nisqually tribe, just to the east of Evergreen and home of the late, great Billy Frank Jr. In 2012 the Skokomish, to the west of the College welcomed the canoes. It's an enormous project. In 2012 The canoes landed on July 29 with a traditional ceremony to welcome ashore each Canoe Family making the journey. This was followed by a week-long Potlatch Protocol Celebration at the home of the Squaxin Island Tribe at Kamilche, July 30th to August 5th, including dancing, drumming and sharing of stories by visiting tribes in their full regalia.

Among many other lessons Indians are willing to teach those who want to learn, is the art of hospitality, one of the 11 Peace-abilities set out in my last pamphlet.

Being hospitable takes real work. Just getting the visas for the Artists' gathering was a huge trial in this time of Trump.

Being hospitable is never free. Feeding the thousands who come to the Canoe gathering costs real money and real time.

NONE OF US IS ALONE

Being hospitable is not done when the guests leave. Then it's time to clean up.

Don't expect to enjoy every aspect of hospitality. Listening attentively to the Potlatch protocols, one after another might even get a little boring.

Being hospitable in the native style requires learning to enact ceremony, and to transmit the skills for ceremony from generation to generation.

At Evergreen in the early 1970s our first teachers of ceremony included elders from far away: Lummi from the north coast of the Salish Sea (Puget Sound) and Makah from the far northwest corner of the Olympic Peninsula. These days at the Longhouse, Sg^wig^wial?tx^w. House of Welcome, ceremony is local and passed on from teacher to student, learner to child, weaver to beginner, carver to new student. (to work out how the Salish is spoken out loud check out: http://www.native-languages.org/lushootseed_guide.htm)

Little happens in the Longhouse without recognition of its ceremonial qualities.

At the annual Community Dinner, elders get to fill their plates first. At the beginning of the Indigenous Climate Summit, there were prayers through drumming and chanting. At the beginning of other official College events there will always be explicit recognition that Evergreen is located on, built on, living and breathing on land that was deeded by tribes, including the Nisqually, Squaxin Island and Puyallup, under the Medicine Creek Treaty.

WOMEN'S WORK

Official Bios — they say some things clearly.

Laura Grabhorn, Assistant Director of The Longhouse Education and Cultural Center:

Laura is a member of the Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska. She is from the Gaanax.ádi clan, and is the youngest daughter of Pearl Peratrovich of Klawock, Alaska. Laura has been at Evergreen since 1994. She worked in the Financial Aid Office until 1999, when she became assistant director of the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center. In her work at the Longhouse she used to coordinate the annual In the Spirit Juried Art Show, the jury panel and the related Arts Market at the State Historical Museum, and she still coordinates the annual market at the Longhouse each December, as well as artist grants. She supports Native arts and cultures as part of the Longhouse public service mission, and brings cultural and artistic events back to the college through artist in residence programs. The Longhouse is a key participant in the national and international indigenous arts arena in the field of indigenous arts. She has a Master's degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs from Indiana University Bloomington. Laura has served as an assistant dean in the University Graduate School at Indiana University as well as the coordinator of Multicultural Student Activities at Kansas State University.

HEATHER FLEMING CEO Catapult Design

Heather is a designer, an engineer, and an entrepreneur motivated by social inequality. In 2005, she led a volunteer group of engineers and designers focused on humanitarian design projects via a professional chapter of Engineers Without Borders (EWB). Three years later she cofounded Catapult Design in San Francisco to make design and technical capacity accessible to entrepreneurs and organizations working within disadvantaged communities. Heather is a Pop!Tech Social Innovation Fellow, a program aimed at high-potential young leaders with new approaches for transformational impact and a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader. She previously worked in the Silicon Valley product development consulting world and has nine years of experience working with multi-disciplinary teams to design, develop, and deliver product solutions for a diverse range of companies. Heather was also previously an Adjunct Lecturer at Stanford University in the Mechanical Engineering department and a Senior Lecturer at California College of the Arts in the Industrial Design department. She serves on the Board of Directors of the Navajo Chamber of Commerce on the Navajo Nation and chairs a committee within ASME's Engineering for Global Development initiative. Heather has a BS in Product Design from Stanford University.

Friends and colleagues say things slightly differently.

Heather and Laura are stunning people, quietly and effectively leading social, economic and political change within and beyond the native communities of their ancestry.

Their work is widely recognized. Theirs are not hidden successes. At the Longhouse at Evergreen and in the tech world in Silicon valley, among native artists and among engineers working in disadvantaged communities, these women are widely recognized as quiet giants.

Their lives are complex. Dreadfully so. Whether negotiating among tribal members for opportunities to teach non-traditional subjects, or negotiating with the US State department for visas so that artists will arrive on time, they tread carefully and skillfully.

WOMEN'S WORK

They are both endlessly hospitable and welcoming, responsive when people around them need recognition, conscious thinkers about ways to build connections across cultural and other kinds of difference.

They are committed, staying with the work they do year after year. Though both have been leaders in the "start-up" phase of their organizations, not for them the classic tech move — get it started and move on to the next glamor project with double the salary.

The United States gives dozens of "individual" awards. For MacArthur Geniuses, for Guggenheim writers and artists, for Pop!Tech Social Innovation Fellows and Ashoka Fellows, for Rotary scholars in high school abroad, for Fulbright scholars in graduate study overseas, for gold medal athletes. Heather and Laura both earn this kind of recognition, but where they deserve extra respectful recognition is in their ability to fold into community, to make the collaborative better than it would be without them, to strengthen the tribes, giving the arts and sciences life and meaning for whole groups.

When I want to write seriously I think of people like dg for whom I wrote a long poem for whom I revised until the poem forgot its way back troubled I let it go when you love something let it go if it returns be a good mother father welcome the poem open armed pull out the frying pan grease it coat it prepare a meal apron and kitchen and sweat labor my love my sleeves pushed to elbows like the old days a sack of flour and keys I push them typography and hotcakes work seduce a poem into believing I can hone it I can provide it white gravy whatever the craving poem eat and lie down full poem rest here full don't lift a single l etter.

Laylie Long Soldier. Whereas Graywolf Press p.24

Bio

Helena Meyer-Knapp is a scholar/activist who came to the USA as an immigrant in 1969. Her work centers on peace-making.

She earned a BA in History at Oxford in the UK, and an MA in Communications and Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Political Studies in the USA.

Her scholarly work includes <u>Dangerous Peace-Making</u>, a book published in 2003. It covers seven case episodes when people in different countries made serious attempts at peace-making. The book concludes by discussing the challenge of post war justice and reconciliation. Helena also publishes essays on college teaching, on applied ethics, and on the links between national heritagenarratives and personal identity.

She worked steadily as a member of the faculty at the Evergreen State College, (international relations and political studies) from 1984 - 2017. Since 2001 her research projects have taken her regularly to NE Asia, most often to Japan but also to South Korea.

An activist in international affairs, in the 1980s she focused most of her efforts on local and national elections and referenda in support of the Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Her college teaching has also centered on public life, encouraging students to gather the materials, the skills and the momentum they need to participate in the community on their own behalf.

Pamphlet web-links can also be found at Peacemakerpress.com



APOLOGIES AND REPARATIONS — CONSIDER SOME ALTERNATIVES

Although apology is a fashionable instrument in international relations these days, I see very little sign that it has the restorative effects it is supposed to engender. It certainly cannot be restorative if the apologizer, Obama in 2009 for example, cannot bring himself to speak the words out loud.

Reparations? Can they even be calculated in all those cases where Indians exchanged lands for compensation, the cases documented in treaties? When they are calculated, as in the Cobell/Bureau of Land Management case, the result turns out to be \$1000 per person. Important the day it comes into the bank but surely not full restitution for centuries of loss of suffering.

So alternatives?

I have listed some:

- 1) **An Action Option**: For individuals interested in developing consciousness of dual sovereignties: Work out, to the best of your ability, which tribe once had "jurisdiction," over the lands where you live/have lived: your house, your office, your college, your children's houses, your favorite vacation spot. Which tribe(s), when did they move, how far and why?
- 2) **Two Action Options:** Become fluent reciting the names of your own ancestors. And listen hard every time an Indian argues that the mainstream culture should pause in a project, like a pipeline or a highway or the clearing a forest, out of respect for the ancestors.
- 3) **An Action Option:** I don't know how to adjust our creation stories adequately. Evolution of the Darwinian kind happened and is happening. Humans are migratory beings and have traveled far from their origins in Africa. I just don't believe that science-based story tells us everything we need to know about how to live well in the world.

Some more:

Learn about and teach about Billy Frank Jr. the way you have added Martin Luther King Jr. to your panoply of heroes.

Check whether the bookshops you frequent carry Native History on their shelves. On a recent visit to the Library of Congress Bookshop, in the midst of shelf after shelf of civil war and civil rights, constitutions and international relations there was only one, literally only one book about Indians in US history.

Study salmon in order to understand and mitigate climate change.

Buy a map from http://www.tribalnationsmaps.com, the source of the map about pipelines. They have regional maps on 8 1/2 by 11 card which are large enough actually to see where the local tribes are/were located and they have maps for all but the Northeastern USA.

As Pema Chodron puts it: "you have 10 minutes for regret" and then it's time to do something.

For all the relations