A WHITE PAPER
IN THE SPIRIT OF A RED PAPER

HOW TO BE AN ALLY TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Seventh Generation Fund
for Indigenous Peoples, Inc.

P.O. BOX 4569, ARCATA, CA 95518, USA
How to Become an Ally to Indigenous Peoples

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“How Does One Become an Ally to Indigenous Peoples?”

Indigenous Peoples have many answers to that question. Over many campaigns, many generations, for more than 500 years they have tried to tell, to teach, to model cooperative relations in their work and in their agreements and relations with settlers.

This White Paper is an effort by three white settlers, friends of the organization, to answer that question based on what Indigenous Peoples have been saying and doing in the past and in the present. Effective allies support Indigenous Peoples work to care for their land and to have the freedom to solve their own problems and shape their futures. It is the responsibility of allies to teach other settlers the relevance and urgency of recognizing, understanding and actively supporting Indigenous Peoples. We hope to uplift the benefits of learning Indigenous perspectives and from working together and living in harmony with one another. It is an opportunity to support beautiful, unique and diverse cultures that were here before us and may yet outlast us. We can learn from Indigenous models how to care for the earth, so all the life on it flourishes.

We are still learning, still practicing, and we still make many mistakes. We believe it is important to make a lifelong commitment to understanding and undoing the harm that is inflicted on Indigenous Peoples and on the land, sky and water by colonization.

Indigenous Peoples are sovereign Nations and distinct cultures, that have continued to exist after more than 500 years of colonial destruction, maintaining a common sense of self, kinship networks, homelands, and cultural and political traditions. They want non-Indigenous People to recognize themselves as settlers, to know the violent history of settler relations with Indigenous Peoples and to understand the role we play in, and how we continue to benefit from, that continued injustice.

Self-determination by Indigenous Peoples is the goal, so that they can care for their land, and have the freedom and autonomy to solve their own problems and determine the future for their children. Indigenous people are engaged in healing their communities, rebuilding their cultures, fighting against the legal and social oppressions that continue to threaten their daily survival. They are also leading the way, and doing the hard work required to defend the lands and waters that we all depend on.

It is important to recognize the history of violent destruction, the lack of awareness among most settlers, and the depth of misunderstanding between Indigenous and settler cultures that continues to legitimize colonization. We have different value systems: different concepts and manifestations of life and death, good and evil, male and female, crime and punishment, what is sacred, what is respectful behavior, what is expected of us, what we expect of each other.

Introductions

Formal introductions are a form of ceremony. When Indigenous Peoples introduce themselves, they begin by giving thanks, and acknowledging the nation whose territory they are on. Indigenous Peoples identify themselves by their heritage, usually through a specific lineage or extended family, and the description may be quite long. This kind of introduction helps people understand the speaker’s place and relationship to others in the community.
We are writing this White Paper while living in the traditional territory of the Wiyot. This writer, Alice Woodworth, is descended from Plymouth Rock Puritans, and has worked for the Seventh Generation Fund for Indigenous Peoples for eleven years. Joe Parker worked on this project from his home in the traditional territory of the Tongva. He is a white settler descended from Irish, English and German settlers, and is a teacher at Pitzer College. Joe Hessinius volunteers with the Seventh Generation Fund for Indigenous Peoples when his travels take him to Wiyot territory. He has begun to discover his Indigenous roots, which include the Frisians from Germany.

We each bring to the project different perspectives and experience in our work with Indigenous Peoples. Each of us benefits from being white settlers, and we work to transform our history in our work as allies. We found in our research that there are many voices addressing the issue of Allyship with Indigenous Peoples. The sources come from all the colonized lands of the earth. The most profound lesson we learned is that this work takes time, takes thought, takes practice.

If you are of good mind and good heart, we are ready to begin the work.

What is Colonization and Settler Colonialism?

Colonization is the act of invaders taking over people, land and resources by force. In Canada, the United States and many other places, settler colonialism followed, where the invader stays. It was accomplished by the violent removal on a large scale of people from their historic homelands and the genocidal destruction of Indigenous political institutions, economic systems, social structures, spiritual beliefs, languages, and cultures. Settler colonialism is not an historical event, but an ongoing structure. Settler states continue to hold Indigenous land and resources “in trust” with little regard for the self-determination of the People.

Ongoing colonization means the settlers dictate how the land and resources are used, what will be provided in education, security and sustenance, and how it will be distributed. They dictate the nature of participation in the economy and politics. These controls are intended to keep Indigenous Peoples divided, dependent and oppressed.

The social problem of colonialism is that settler culture is perceived as universal, superior, and the only way of life that we should all strive toward. Settler culture emphasizes individual rights over communal needs, capitalism as the only way to meet material needs, and Christianity as the only moral authority. It is a reversal of the lifeways of Indigenous Peoples, and a denial of their legitimacy as human beings.

Settler colonizers are White, Black, Asian, Latino/a and mixed race; recent immigrants and those whose families have been settlers for centuries; rich and poor; young and elderly; and queer and straight. Even Indigenous Peoples who have left their ancestral lands and settled on the ancestral lands of another Native Nation become complicit with settler colonialism if they do not work actively to respect those whose lands they now live on and to strengthen their ancestral ways of life. All members of these groups have different, often overlapping and contradictory histories of relations with the original people of the land.

White supremacy and white privilege are the product of settler colonialism. White supremacy is the systematic racism imposed by white people and white-dominated institutions
to exploit Indigenous Peoples and other people of color. Battling white supremacy and white privilege are daily practices that require continual attention. To be an Ally with Indigenous Peoples, white settlers must reflect on our own racism, and learn to identify and interrupt racism where we encounter it. This work is never complete and is a way of life. Read about it. Talk about it. Think about it. We cannot choose the privileges we are born with. However, we can use those privileges and power to intervene in racist practices and build alliances. Whether white or people of color, whether rural or urban, whether conservative or liberal, all of us can learn to transform settler society into positive relations as allies.

**The Problem with Allies**

Allies have caused much harm. Sometimes this happens when Allies think they know more, or have better ideas than the people they mean to serve. Alliances can dilute Indigenous voices and perspectives. Allies often disappear when the going gets rough, or switch sides when the issue changes, or disappear when a single issue is resolved rather than working for the long term and for future generations. There are allies who participate primarily for their own recognition and glorification. Sometimes people who intend harm have called themselves allies.

There are frequent misunderstandings in the terms of Allyship. Environmental organizations have alienated their Indigenous allies by excluding the People from the environment. Non-white settlers have assumed that civil rights are a shared goal, when it is collective rights that matter to Indigenous Peoples. Even under the best circumstances, a lot of time is wasted on educating settler allies about our shared history and how to behave respectfully. Allyship is so problematic that Indigenous People spend a great deal of time debating whether it is worthwhile.

In 2016 there was a camp organized by the Standing Rock Sioux on their reservation to hinder the Dakota Access Pipeline and protect their sacred water. All kinds of people who claimed to be allies showed up to support the action. Some arrived as if for a music festival, dangerously unprepared for camp survival. Some brought dogs and let them run around. There were people who donated summer clothes in the middle of a blizzard. There were non-Natives publicly raising funds to support their own travel to Standing Rock for personal enterprises, or to donate unneeded and unwanted services. Ninety five percent of the people in camp were Indigenous, but fifty percent of the people snuggling up to the fires were white. There were spies and agitators who looked very much like any of the other non-Natives. Some people were insensitive, disrespectful, resentful that they were told how to behave, angry that their contributions were not acknowledged. When acting these ways, allies became disruptive and dangerous.

It may help settlers to use the term “Ally” as a warning, a call to vigilance against self-serving actions and statements. In this White Paper “Ally” means a settler who has established a long track record of actions that strengthen Indigenous self-determination and Indigenous ancestral practices as adapted to the present.

Allies who support stronger Indigenous self-determination and ancestral practices can transform settler colonialism. Members of Unsettling Minnesota, a group comprised of Indigenous persons and settlers working in solidarity together to decolonize Dakota homelands, define an Ally as:
"[A] person who is a member of the dominant or majority group who works to end oppression in their (personal and professional) life through support of, and as an advocate for, the oppressed population. . . . Allies seek to interrupt and dismantle oppression in all its forms, even when doing so could jeopardize one's own position of relative comfort and security. Allies cannot self-define as such, but must be claimed by the group one strives to be an ally to." https://unsettlingminnesota.org/ (p 42)

We may also use the term Right Relations, borrowed from traditional people in many places. To be an Ally, to be in right relationship with one another, requires ongoing attention and care to building respectful, peaceful relations and following the lead of Indigenous Peoples to strengthen their self-determination. We, who are settlers, already have a relationship to Indigenous Peoples based on our shared history. Our challenge is to recognize this relationship as it exists now, learn to establish a better one, and begin building a track record of constructive work to build trust.

**Some basics:**

**Simply**

Be humble. Listen more, talk less

Be patient. Don't interrupt, hold your questions

Educate yourself to avoid offending people

Indigenous persons lead the way

Equilibrium, not equality” – Oren Lyons, Haudenosaunee

**Allies**

Do not identify themselves as allies. They are claimed as allies by Indigenous People

Are not entitled to anything

Act and communicate accordingly. Allyship is a negotiated relationship

Always work toward building trust and understand that many Indigenous Peoples or persons will never trust them. Do not take it personally

Do not claim to represent Native culture. This is the most aggressive form on appropriation. If you have been fortunate enough to be recognized as a friend to a Native community, speak from the position of a friend

**As settlers, we**

Are occupying stolen land

Should educate ourselves. If you do not know, find out. Do not burden Indigenous Peoples with educating settlers

**How to Respect All Peoples**

Remember that you may be speaking to someone with a different worldview. Collective instead of individual. Of the environment, not in the environment
You are a guest in someone else’s house. No matter how long you are involved in a community, you as a non-Native are always a guest until you have been acknowledged as otherwise

Do not critique how others live

**Respecting Indigenous Peoples and Cultures includes:**

Acknowledge and give thanks to the Indigenous Peoples of the land where you reside or are visiting

Always respect the traditions and protocols of Indigenous ceremonies and territories

It is disrespectful and rude to refuse a meal or offerings from an Indigenous friend

Learn to accept gifts without exchange

Bring gifts

You will not always understand. Everything is not your business

Listen instead of speaking. Especially when you are hearing criticism

Follow directions. Do it the way they told you to

Do not expect to learn traditional Native ways and do not ask

Do not expect that Native Peoples will be any particular way that you envision them to be. Know that every Native person’s identity is different, and each person will have their own way of being

Don’t touch things, or people, without permission

You are going to make mistakes. You will offend Indigenous people and you may be harshly told so, or addressed with silence. Apologize and learn from your mistakes

Organizationally – at work, at meetings, at community events: Are there Indigenous people in the room? Are they being consulted?
A Model for Good Relations with Indigenous Peoples

For this White Paper, the Two Row Wampum is central, a treaty between the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy and the Dutch in 1613. The most important aspects of the relationship in the Two Row Wampum are mutual respect and dedication to not interfering in each other's lives. This ensures that all groups survive and keep strong, peaceful relationships between each other.

Treaty making usually involved exchanging symbolic gifts, which were meant to remind the parties about their agreement. Ceremonies were held to communicate the seriousness of the promises made. Wampum belts were made of quahog shells to record the event, as identification, carriers of messages, and to remind the parties about the agreement.

The Haudenosaunee have never violated this treaty.

"You and your ancestors, on the other hand, have passed laws that continually try to change who I am, what I am, and how I shall conduct my spiritual, political and everyday life." – Chief Irving Powless, Jr.

Treaties are much more than political or military agreements to Native Nations. They demonstrate the nature of Right Relationships in signifying peaceful, consistently maintained, valued and respectful relations across difference. If the treaty and its underlying principles have been neglected or violated, then the agreement must be renewed or it may lead to actions that bring attention to the neglect. The Two Row Wampum agreement between the Haudenosaunee and the colonizers was renewed on its 400th anniversary through solidarity of the Haudenosaunee and the Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation (NOON) in 2013.

This renewal is an important example of what settlers can do in order to practice what the Onondaga members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy call "Polishing the Covenant Chain." Polishing the covenant chain requires consistent work by both sides to maintain their respectful agreement and peaceful relationship. If you and other settlers live or work in an area where treaties have been violated or in other ways dishonored, then you can remove the rust from the covenant chain by working with Native Nations from your area to renew the treaties as well. It will take time to establish relations and the trust needed, but this is a very important way for settlers to live in Right Relationship with Native Nations.

http://honorthetworow.org/learn-more/history/
Reckon with History to Build Trust

Indigenous Peoples and settler culture have a shared history and an existing relationship, but the stories told, and the lessons learned are as different as our cultures. Hence many of our misunderstandings. History repeats itself. Trauma replicates itself. It’s important to revisit history and recognize how our past is reflected in the present to heal our violent relations.

We, who settled on this land, are so immersed in the colonizer mentality, upbringing, education and media, that we really don’t recognize alternatives. Our blindness, our resistance to seeing other cultures is intentional. We have been raised to believe that Christian Europeans civilized the savages and tamed the wilderness. The acts of the Doctrine of Discovery and the story of Manifest Destiny make it comfortable for us to live on this land and benefit from its resources. We have pretended Indigenous Peoples were conquered, or simply not strong enough to survive European disease. We don’t see or hear people that we have been told did not exist. The real history of colonization —in the US as everywhere— is readily available, but the role of discoverers and settlers is whitewashed, ennobled. The genocide, in all its manifestations, is omitted.

It is extremely important to discover the depth and breadth of the lies we have been told about settlers, and about the Indigenous Peoples they encountered. It is very uncomfortable, it requires time and reflection to absorb, and it is absolutely necessary to understanding how we got where we are today.

In contrast, the stories told by the people who are Indigenous to a specific place are very different than historical narratives in books. Indigenous Peoples tell the living stories of their great-grandparents, great-great grandparents, and even further back among their Ancestors. Many Indigenous Peoples can recite the details of an event as it was first told by their ancestor. They can show you where, on the landscape, each moment happened. They know the name of their relative —at Custer’s Last Stand, or the escape from Fort Robinson, or on the Trail of Tears— and they may know the name of your relative at the same event. The accuracy of the stories passed down from generation to generation has been frequently confirmed, including stories that are thousands of years old.

The past is always present, a source of knowledge, strength, and survival. What may strike settlers as “remote” history is family history, and very much a part of the present for Indigenous Peoples. Their grandparents and great-grandparents were stolen as children and put in a boarding school, which affects all their relationships today. Indigenous People are appalled we do not know these things. They are offended that settlers, the perpetrators of their genocide, do not know how they came to be here.

One cannot be an effective Ally to Indigenous Peoples without learning more of this history —and not in generalities. It is in generalities that we have hidden the truth from ourselves. When you undertake this study, when you read between the lines of our own narrative, and the oral histories of the Indigenous People where you live, you will be shocked and horrified. You will feel you are drowning in blood and hatred. You will be embarrassed by the ways settlers tricked and coerced Indigenous Peoples into terrible Treaties that nonetheless have never been honored. To re-live the horrors is not the point, although it will begin to inform
you how a settler’s perspective differs from Indigenous People. The point is to recognize your role in colonial structures, the privileges you hold as a settler, and the ways you support these structures in your everyday life.

One common example of how settlers offend Indigenous Peoples is claiming an “Indian ancestor.” What do you know of that ancestor and the culture they came from? How did they come to be in your family? You can only value that relation by learning those things, and you certainly don’t want to brag about it before learning that your relative was stolen as a child, or purchased from a Boarding School. Those occurrences are far more likely than you may think, even in through the 20th century.

Study the history of the place where you live. Find out where your ancestors came from before they settled on Indigenous land, and what it was like where and when they came. Understand and acknowledge your historical relation to Indigenous people. Question everything, because there are lies buried in everything you know about Indigenous Peoples.

We recommend that you pick the Indigenous Peoples, topics and incidents that interest you most. The methods will be different. There are movies and podcasts and social media groups. There are academic journals and zines.

Prioritize Indigenous voices. Immerse yourself in Native thinking. Develop news sources with authentic Indigenous voices that inform you about current events. There are many diverse voices and many beautiful stories. Be aware that it can be hard to determine if the author is an Indigenous person, or if they represent their community – there are many frauds and misappropriations, even by Indigenous individuals. Read widely, cross-reference people and places and ideas. Here are some ways to begin:

- The Doctrine of Discovery—Christian teaching that forms basis of property law
- Christopher Columbus—slave holder that did not discover anything
- The Two Row Wampum—an Iroquois Confederacy treaty that models Ally work
- California Missions and Junipero Serra—Christian colonizing system of slavery
- The Indian Relocation Act—law pressuring Indigenous to leave reservations
- The Dawes Act—U.S. land grab the took large land holdings from Native Nations
- Treaties—formal agreements between nations that settlers consistently broke
- Wounded Knee—1890 massacre by U.S. Cavalry of hundreds of unarmed Lakota
- Some of the many different Medicine Wheel Models
- Standing Rock—Attempt to protect major water source from oil pollution
- The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- Local issues relevant to Indigenous Peoples where you live
- Recently proposed legislation
- Indigenous Authors, Musicians, Moviemakers
Here are a few recommended resources:

**News links**

Indian Country Today Media Network https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/

Native American Times https://www.nativetimes.com/

Native Opinion http://nativeopinion.com/

**North America Tribes:**

https://native-land.ca/


**Decolonization**

Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education & Society https://decolonization.wordpress.com/about/

Decolonization is Not a Metaphor

**White Privilege and Internalized Racism**

Learn about white supremacy and white privilege. Read Tim Wise’s *White Like Me*. If you are a person of color settler, explore issues of internalized racism and solidarity work among anti-racists.

**Advice for Allies**

Accomplices Not Allies

The Ally Bill of Responsibilities

Awakening the Horse People: Six Critical Actions for Healing

Indigenous Peoples Concerns Committee of the Boulder Friends Meeting
http://www.boulderfriendsmeeting.org/ipc-right-relationship/

What Can I Do?” http://decolonizingsolidarity.org/what-can-i-do/

**A few non-fiction titles**


Deloria, Vine, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1969


Forbes, Jack D. *Columbus and other Cannibals*, Seven Stories Press, 2008 (1979)
Adapting to Indigenous Practices

Indigenous Peoples are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Notwithstanding the differences between them, the world view of Indigenous Peoples from around the world is distinct from settler culture, and they share problems related to the protection of their collective rights as distinct Peoples.

The term "Peoples" is used to indicate inherent recognition of a distinct identity and the right to self-determination. While they are identified as Indigenous Peoples in the international arena, most people refer to their own People by name, and often in their own language.

There is no single, unified way that all Indigenous Peoples live. Practices vary across Native Nations, so listen carefully to Indigenous community members in your area who carry strong ties to their traditions. There are also differences within communities. In many places there are multiple kinship groups, or clans, some of them formally recognized as tribal bands and others are more informal, centering on an individual, an extended family or group of elders.

You may find that some of the community members you work with are entangled in tribal politics and that other community members somehow seem to stay neutral, and are respected by many or even all different groups within a tribe. Some groups work to benefit all members of the tribe, while others seem to benefit only their own subgroup members.

You will also find that some groups speak their Native languages and work successfully within practices and structures that draw on their traditions. Other groups succeed within practices and structures that support the colonizer, like U.S. or Canadian government-recognized tribal councils and capitalist businesses. You will find that some individuals work actively with many different groups within the Indigenous community, and others work only with their own group members. You will also find that some are suspicious of outsiders and slow to come to trust settlers, while others are comfortable working with settlers.

Regardless of the situation, settlers should never participate in tribal politics. Consider this information as you navigate these complex relations. Develop mentors carefully to find those that can help you stay out of tribal politics. Keep in mind your goals: to strengthen Indigenous self-determination through Right Relations between Native nations and settlers. Be wary of actions and individuals that divide and weaken Native Nations.

Language is important

Indigenous Peoples have worked hard to reclaim their Native languages because it is an essential part of expressing and maintaining their culture.
The loss of Indigenous languages signifies not only the loss of traditional knowledge but also the loss of cultural diversity, undermining the identity and spirituality of the community and the individual. Biological, linguistic and cultural diversity are inseparable and mutually reinforcing, so when an Indigenous language is lost, so too is traditional knowledge on how to maintain the world's biological diversity and address climate change and other environmental challenges.


Elders are Respected

Elders and some other community leaders are always given extra respect and extra time. Don't interrupt them. Be quiet, listen and learn. Do not allow your feelings to be hurt if they are not forthcoming at first, or at all. Traditional elders carry a lot of responsibilities, so don't take up too much of their time. Don't assume all older Indigenous Peoples are elders, nor that all elders are old. You will learn to recognize elders by their ties to ancestral language and culture and the respect shown to them by others.

Collective Thinking and Action

Indigenous Peoples define themselves in relationship to the specific land of their traditional ancestors, and the land that they reside on. The landscape has been held sacred for hundreds of years. Every tree and bird, every living organism are Relatives, each as individual and beloved as any family member.

MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS (INFORMED BY BLACKFOOT NATION (ALTA))

Western Perspective

First Nations Perspective

This slide shows the basic differences between settler and First Nations perspectives, as presented by University of Alberta professor Cathy Blackstock at the 2014 conference of the National Indian Child Welfare Association.

https://lincolnmichel.wordpress.com/2014/04/19/maslows-hierarchy-connected-to-blackfoot-beliefs/
Indigenous Peoples are taught that they are responsible for the land and all their relatives, individually and collectively, in the same way one is responsible for and cares for one’s children, siblings, and parents. This responsibility extends even to the seventh generation of children to come. The priority of Indigenous Peoples is self-determination, on their own terms, so that they may fulfill this responsibility.

The identity of Indigenous Peoples as individuals is inseparably connected to the community to which they belong. Collective social relations put the good of the community above individual profit and individual desire. All community members are cared for.

Settler society emphasizes the European ideal of individual achievement, and Christianity is oriented to individual spiritual salvation. These forces attempted to separate the People from their families, their clans, and their Nations and to disrupt their collective power.

In contrast, Indigenous Peoples are deeply structured by kinship and a community that seeks harmony and order in everyday life and with cosmic forces.

The purpose of the communal society was to support the uniqueness of each person. Individuality was not at the expense of others but rather reinforced by a holistic system that embraced the individual, the group, things of this world and the universe.

— Genocide in Northwestern California, Jack Norton

Sharing expenses and duties makes life easier. Sharing wealth and entertainment is more exciting. Sharing sorrow is more manageable. Sharing knowledge and experience makes us wiser and more open-minded. Taking a hit as a collective is a lighter blow than if taken individually, because everyone can support one another, as a family. Collectivism is stronger than individualism. While human rights treaties and instruments guarantee individual rights, Indigenous Peoples ask for protection of their collective rights.

**Spirituality**

Indigenous spirituality is a lifeway, a particular approach to all of life. It is not a separate experience, like meditating or going to church on Sunday. It pervades every moment, whether gathering willows for a basket or being respectful at gatherings. A spiritual life means that there are protocols for everyday acts such as greeting one another or eating together, and the protocols are very specific to the people in a particular place. There are many ceremonies and rituals, some of which change with time. Ceremonies are embraced to honor events and milestones, to provide power to overcome difficulties, and to give thanks. Prayer is an action.

Ceremonies and protocols bring people together at sensitive or difficult times. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Iroquois used ritual to welcome people. The “Edge of Woods” ceremony was designed to respond to the “other ones” that had entered their territory. Rather than respond with suspicion and hostility, the Iroquois sought to determine the intent of their guests while welcoming the migrants to their lands. The welcoming included music, the sharing of food, and the giving of shelter to relieve the fears of their visitors.

Their idea was that peace cannot be negotiated until people recognize and respect one another as human beings, and agreements can only be made when everyone is in “good mind.”
The Collective Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Sovereignty and Self-determination

Indigenous Nations hold sovereignty over colonized lands, even if that sovereignty is not recognized by settler nations, by private property legal regimes, or even by some Indigenous community members. This sovereignty has been partially recognized in many treaties with settler nations, but even that limited form of sovereignty has been consistently violated. Becoming an Ally means learning how Indigenous Nations understand sovereignty, including its spiritual aspects, anchored in creation narratives, intimate familiarity with the ancestral territories, and love for the land.

Self-determination is a priority of Indigenous Peoples, to care for their own land, social relations, laws, healthcare, schools, language and culture, and survival. For Indigenous Peoples self-determination is the state of political independence that existed prior to colonization.

Collective self-determination for Indigenous Peoples is one of the central goals of work as an Ally. Unlike settler understandings of rights, which emphasize the individual, many Indigenous Communities seek collective rights and shared rights, such as the collective right to self-determination or property rights held in common with other tribal members. Since these rights are often not recognized by settler colony nations or international legal frameworks, allies must learn to recognize and work to support them.

Free, Prior and Informed Consent

Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) is a specific right that pertains to Indigenous Peoples and is recognized in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). It allows them to give or withhold consent to a project that may affect them or their territories. Once they have given their consent, they can withdraw it at any stage. Furthermore, FPIC enables them to negotiate the conditions under which the project will be designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated. This is also embedded within the universal right to self-determination.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly on September 13th, 2007, by a majority of 144 states in favor, 4 votes against (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) and 11 abstentions. The United States was the last to sign the Declaration, on December 10th, 2010.

The Declaration is the most comprehensive international instrument on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. It establishes a universal human rights framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the Indigenous Peoples of the world and it elaborates on existing human rights standards and fundamental freedoms as they apply to the specific situation of Indigenous Peoples.

The Declaration’s introduction states that the historical injustices Indigenous Peoples have suffered are due to the fact of colonization and the dispossession of their lands, territories, and resources. It also affirms their right to self-determination, spirituality, language, lands, territories, and resources. By explicitly linking the importance of “full, prior and informed
consent" to policies and projects impacting them, the UNDRIP gives Indigenous Peoples and their supporters leverage in working with governments, corporations, and communities.


**Autonomy and Self-Determination**

Rather than turning to nation-states for recognition or to international law courts for practicing self-determination, some Indigenous communities have pursued self-determination for Indigenous Nations through other avenues. Some groups from the Lakota Nation have declared their independence from the settler government that controls their territory without waiting for official government recognition. The Zapatista federation of Indigenous Nations provide their own education and health care and justice systems without expecting the Mexican government to formally recognize them or international law courts to find justice for them. The Iroquois Confederacy continues to practice its own Longhouse governance and justice system in several ways independently of the U.S. or Canadian governments recognition, and have even used their own passports to travel to other countries for lacrosse competitions. Many Indigenous Nations educate their own community members in their own schools, so that their community won’t be forced to accept the settler version of history that is approved by settler governments and taught in settler schools. These efforts at self-determination for Indigenous Nations are very important parts of political, social, economic, and cultural revitalization and self-determination.

**Allies in Action**

We found inspiration and insight in researching the work being done. This is some of what we found.

**Cowboy and Indian Alliance**

*Transforming Opponents into Allies*

The Cowboy and Indian Alliance is a model of relationship-based organizing that brought together farmers, ranchers and tribal communities in opposition to the proposed route of the Keystone XL tar sands pipeline. When TransCanada, a pipeline company, began claiming the right to run the Keystone XL through private property, ranchers and landowners said they finally understood, in some small way, what it might have felt like for Native Americans to lose their land.

The alliance developed when Bold Nebraska, a group of landowners, started meeting with tribal members about their shared concerns.

They united out of love and respect for the land and water. From the beginning, they took time to meet in person, sometimes for several days, so they could get to know one another, tell stories, introduce the grandchildren, and most importantly to build trust. The tribal elders brought ritual to the alliance, beginning every gathering in Native ceremony. It provides a rhythm, a ritual, a reminder that they are all connected to ancestors, earth, and each other.

In 2014, the alliance’s community of pipeline fighters sent two million comments against the pipeline in just 30 days. They ceremonially planted sacred corn together, in the path of the historic Ponca Trail of Tears – as well as the proposed route of the Keystone XL pipeline. In
April, they set up camp in Washington DC for five days, hosting protests, prayer circles and round dances at strategic capital locations. They gifted a hand painted tipi to the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian, a spiritual object of historical importance that represents their hopes for protected land and clean water. On the last day they led a rally of thousands that included several Big Green organizations - largely white, middle class memberships whose interests do not usually coincide with those living in the frontline communities where the pipeline will be built.

As the corn grows it will stand strong for us, to help us protect and keep Mother Earth safe for our children, as we fight this battle against the Keystone XL pipeline.

By supporting native rights, the Cowboy Indian Alliance is beginning the dialogue not just about broken treaties, but about the long history of colonization, the effects of which are ongoing among some of the United States’ poorest populations. http://rejectandprotect.org/press/

**Boulder Friends Meeting**

*Allies teach allies*

The Indigenous Peoples Concerns Committee of a Quaker organization in Boulder, Colorado, the Boulder Friends Meeting has been working with the Native American Rights Fund to put together workshops and training materials for building Right Relationships with Indigenous communities. One workshop for settlers first introduces them to the concrete impacts of colonization and what can be done about it. A second workshop trains settlers to be facilitators for the workshops. They have presented many one-hour workshops on colonization for middle school and high school classrooms They are considering a follow-up workshop centering on the documentary Two Rivers, about learning the history of the land and how to build Right Relationships with the Native Nation from a specific area.

The working group in the Boulder, Colorado area also has been exploring how to engage with the Arapahoe Nation that was historically banished to Oklahoma from their own land in what is now known as Colorado, and with urban Indigenous persons in the Denver area without strong ties to their Native lands.

http://www.boulderfriendsmeeting.org/ipc-right-relationship/
Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation (NOON):

Allies for Action

Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation (NOON) is a grassroots organization of Central New Yorkers which recognizes and supports the sovereignty of the traditional government of the Onondaga Nation. A program of the Syracuse Peace Council, NOON supports the right of native peoples to reclaim land, and advocates for fair settlement of any claims which are filed.

Their goals are to promote understanding and respect for the Onondaga Nation, to provide education and accurate information about current issues of concern, and to challenge racism towards the Onondaga and all Indigenous Peoples through education, building relationships, and encouraging shared experiences between the people of our Nations.

NOON is an active organization, with a busy calendar of educational, cultural and political action events. They model and teach Right Relations to settlers, and provide many kinds of opportunities to learn from, work with, and support Indigenous Peoples in their region and beyond.

NOON's historical marker project aims to analyze historical markers in our region which are of significance to Haudenosaunee peoples. We aim to provide accurate, complete, and contextualized information related to relevant markers.

http://www.peacecouncil.net/noon

Standing Rock

Allies in defense of Native Land and Water

In 2016, Energy Transfer Partners constructed the Dakota Access Pipeline, which would carry 450,000 barrels of crude oil a day through North and South Dakota, Iowa, and Illinois. The route of the pipeline was originally planned north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation; it shifted because of the potential threat of contaminating the drinking water of Bismarck's mostly white residents. Instead, the pipeline was rerouted south, threatening the main water source of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. Natives and Non-Natives; ranchers, farmers, and landowners, from across North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa protested this development. Many feel it was hastily built in response to the growing relations between Native and Non-Native people against the pipeline.

The Camp of Sacred Stones was formed in April 2016 to protect sacred land and water and to hinder the pipeline. The camp gained global support from more than 200 Native Nations and thousands of allied forces sending a clear message to corporate interests.
Law enforcement and private security met the water protectors with weapons of war.

From the beginning, prayer was at the heart of Oceti Sakowin and other camps where members of the Great Sioux Nation and their Indigenous and non-Indigenous supporters gathered. Ceremonies exuding gratitude and hope were held next to the camp’s sacred fires and the Cannonball River. When Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants arrived at the camp, they were met with the reminder to be good relatives, and to support the movement. Allies, including celebrities and experienced activists, were consistently asked to do what Indigenous elders and youth wanted them to, rather than pursuing their own visions of what the Ally imagined the camp organization needed. They were careful to prevent non-Indigenous participants from taking the movement off message. Overall, they maintained a discipline and humility that still speaks powerfully to people all over the world.

The immediate goal is to stop the pipeline, but the ultimate goal is for unified Indigenous Peoples to stop the pipeline. An effective Ally always follows Indigenous leadership.

The Standing Rock Solidarity Network was one group that formed to educate allies on how to help the movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline. The guides they prepared and disseminated for people planning to go to Standing Rock were thorough. While these instructions are specific to the Standing Rock Sioux and the Oceti Sakowin camp, we have attached them because they are illustrative of the awareness and care for details that must be brought to work with Indigenous Peoples.

http://www.standingrocksolidaritynetwork.org/
Joining Standing Rock

WELCOME to Standing Rock. Thank you for coming to be part of this powerful moment in history. The fight to stop the pipeline is part of our global struggle for liberation, to protect our planet from extractive capitalism, and to heal the devastation of oppression on all our lives. We are winning, and we still have a long way to go. We need everybody. That includes you. This is an Indigenous led struggle, on Indigenous lands, rooted in centuries of resistance and the specific cultural strengths of the Native peoples gathered here. This means it will look and feel different from non-Native activism. This is a tool to help you join camp as powerful allies, with deep respect for its sacredness and for Indigenous sovereignty and leadership, so that your contribution is as effective as possible. Our job as allies is to SHOW UP, figure out how we can HELP, and GIVE more than we take. Here’s how:

We follow Indigenous Leadership AT ALL TIMES:

• We support this fight in whatever way its leaders decide is most useful. We come prepared to work and not expect anything in return. Every person who comes to camp must try to bring more resource than they use.
• Ceremony and prayer are the bedrock of Indigenous peoples’ connection to land and water and are central in protecting them. Actions are ceremony and along with meetings, usually begin with prayer. Show respect. Take off your hat and be quiet during prayer. Stand if you are able. Notice how others honor prayer and follow their example.
• Observe and follow: Don’t push your own ideas about what kinds of action should be taken; what is most radical; what the time frame should be. Indigenous leaders have been resisting settler colonialism for a long time and have good, culturally grounded reasons for their decisions.
• Make sure any direct action you join has been approved by Indigenous leaders. There may be attempts by agents or self-declared leaders to provoke confrontations.

We Conserve and Share Resources

• Use resources sparingly. Don’t waste food, water, or wood. Be as self-sufficient as possible.
• Stay as clean as you can without using too much water. Wash your hands, or use sanitizer. Take sponge baths.
• If you can charge cell phones or batteries tell the volunteer coordinator and share with anyone who needs it.

We Work

• Wake up early and be ready for the day.
• Listen, observe, and offer to help with projects. Don’t wait to be asked. While you need to follow the guidance of Native people about priorities, there is plenty of work to do.
• Care for the space. Pick up any trash the wind might be blowing around.
• You may be asked to do something in a different way. It’s more important to do as you are asked than to understand all the reasons for the request. There may be time to ask questions later, or you may learn by just listening and watching. Be open to doing things in a new way

We Communicate Mindfully

• Many campfires are places of prayer. Speak quietly, and don’t bring discussions of violence, police repression or other disturbing topics up at prayer sites.
• Do not spread rumors or information you aren’t certain about. Don’t contribute to any tensions between individuals or groups.
• Keep in mind that there are infiltrators in camp. Don’t gossip. If someone tries to persuade you to take action not called for by Indigenous leadership at the camp, check with an elder or other leader.

We understand this moment in the context of settler colonialism

• Settler colonialism is a process of “destroying to replace.” A colonizing power exports resources and people, and seizes and settles on land, exercising violent control over the original inhabitants. Indigenous versions of governance, land management, cultural practices, etc. are destroyed through conquest, disease, land theft, and cultural genocide, and are replaced with the settler versions of those things. Settler colonialism is not an event that we can neatly box into the past, but rather a persistent form of violence that impacts every aspect of life in settler states. Settler colonialism is still happening.
• Indigenous history in the Americas is one of uninterrupted resistance to colonization, from 1492 to today. You may be unaware of this history, or not recognize the forms it takes in Indigenous cultures. Be curious.
• We do this work as ourselves. We bring all of who we are and where we come from. This includes gender identity, race, class, sexual orientation, age, body/mind ability, culture and place of origin. We all have inherited historical relationships to sort out in order to become more powerful, effective and whole.

• As white allies we must figure out how to shift out of European cultural modes, unlearn and interrupt settler colonial patterns and develop anti-racist awareness and skills.

• As Non-Native People of Color we have many different historical relationships to settler colonialism and Indigenous struggles, and may have unconsciously internalized settler attitudes toward this land and Indigenous people. Native leaders and scholars have asked us to recognize that although we are targeted by white supremacy, we also participate in settler colonization, and are settlers in relationship to Indigenous people. We DECENTER settler worldviews/practices and RECENTER Indigenous worldviews/practices and leadership

• Whiteness and Christian dominance, which are the basis of US settler identity, are built on perfectionism, superiority, purity, competition, individualism, binaries, and suppressed emotion. This impacts how we do our ally work, how we approach the tasks of dismantling oppression, and how we treat each other and ourselves. It’s hard work to recognize and abandon these familiar attitudes that don’t serve us, but it’s the only way forward. Harshness only reinforces settler culture. Practice compassion and humility with yourself and others.

• Practice noticing and regulating how much space, energy, attention, and resources you take up. When you are with Indigenous people, listen more than you speak. Let Indigenous people speak first. When you feel the urge to speak, check with yourself about how important it is to the group effort?

• If you have questions about how things are done, try to observe and follow by example. If necessary, find times to ask outside of meetings. Keep in mind that Native leaders have an enormous amount to do and think about. Practice being ok with not knowing everything you want to know.

• For 500 years, white people have been exploiting, betraying and destroying Native people, culture and resources. You may feel the impact of this legacy as distance, coolness, cautiousness, or distrust. Do not take it personally. You have been invited here and your presence matters. While you are expected to keep Indigenous people in the center, it’s not your job to make up for all the past devastation by yourself. But you do have the opportunity to start creating a new legacy. This will be built through practice, with many mistakes. Go easy on yourself when you trip, and practice getting up quickly when you fall. We understand cultural appropriation and make every effort to not perpetuate it.

• Being in this sacred space can be life altering, especially if you are not grounded in your own spirituality, ritual, healing traditions, ancestors, or connection with the earth. If you feel the pull to take on Indigenous peoples’ spirituality, customs, and lifeways, know that it’s been a central feature of colonial oppression for non-Natives to help themselves to Native culture without building the necessary relationships, asking permission, or supporting Indigenous survival. Although it can feel like respect or honor this dynamic is inseparable from genocide and colonialism. Remember, you are not here to ‘access’ Indigenous culture or knowledge; you are here to support a struggle for Indigenous peoples’ lifeways, and to protect water, land, and all of our futures.

• Own your history. European settlers came bearing the traumas of violence, lost connection with the land, and severe repression of their spiritual traditions. Becoming settlers deepened that loss. Being around Indigenous people who still have those connections can bring up feelings of longing for white people, or the illusion of having found “home” in Native culture. It’s important to face our own historical losses, and draw on our own roots, rather than trying to claim the cultures that Native people have fought so hard to preserve. If you feel this pull, make space to grieve lost connections and knowledge. Learn about your own ancestral traditions, and develop a spiritual practice rooted in them. Native people, non-Native white people and non-Native people of color are all healing from different aspects of colonialism. Seek out people who share your experiences and histories with whom to connect and find healing.

• Never attend a ceremony without being expressly invited.

• You must register at the media tent to use a camera in camp. and you MUST ask permission to take photos or video of anyone at the camp. Be very careful in how you represent Native people in images. Make sure to connect with the people you want to photograph. Think about the story you are telling. Avoid portraying Native people in stereotypical and objectifying ways. Never photograph ceremony unless you are specifically told it’s okay.

• Impact is more important than intention. It is up to you to show that you know you are a guest and not an owner of Indigenous traditions.

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What Can an Ally Do?

Learn History

This is the first thing Indigenous Peoples ask non-Natives to do. Start with whose ancestral land you live on now. Where are the people today and what are their stories? What treaties were signed, and how were they violated?

Talk to Other Settlers

You can advocate for Indigenous Peoples by engaging with friends, extended family members, coworkers, church members, and organizations. Share what you learn. Right Relationships are strongest when developed between communities. Develop friendships and networks with others who understand the centrality of Indigenous Peoples and the need for settlers to build ethical relations with them.

Learn Together

Learning together is a way to practice collective work. There are many readings, films, websites, to share with others who are interested in Right Relationships. Find a couple of friends and plan a community event to share these resources; talk them over at holiday family gatherings or family reunions; introduce them to your neighborhood schools or religious centers; advertise them on Facebook, Twitter, Craigslist, or social media.

Change the ways settler-Indigenous relations are taught in schools.

Local Actions in Your Community

Once you have identified the people whose land you reside on, find out what the issues are in their community. There may be cultural events offered where you can learn about and meet the Indigenous People of the land. If needed, donate money, office equipment, tools, a spare bedroom, a meal, transportation. Use your influence where it is needed, by advocating for the concerns of Indigenous Peoples with government officials, business leaders, and social service providers in your area. Remember to seek the guidance of the Indigenous People you wish to serve, and to relieve them of the responsibility of teaching other settlers.

Attend local events that commemorate Native Nation traditions and tragedies. Find ways to learn from them and support these events. Plan events in cooperation with local Native Nations, and invite speakers to give talks at your library, church or synagogue, or civic organization. A reading group or a film or speaker series in your community may be initiated, focusing on topics such as the Doctrine of Discovery or the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Respond to Survival Needs

**Fight for access to healthcare and social and economic sustainability.** Many Indigenous Peoples lack basic needs, such as healthy food, clean water, healthcare, education, and social and economic stability. In your work for Right Relationships, you may be asked by Indigenous leadership to work on making these basic needs available to Native Nations.

**Fight for Freedom from violence.** The ongoing violence of settler colonialism takes forms that are both direct and indirect. Some of the more direct forms include the disappearance
of Indigenous women, the killing of Indigenous youth by police, and the sheltering of settler sexual predators by legal loopholes. More indirect forms of violence include the premature deaths caused by the settler diet, diseases prevalent in urban and rural Indigenous communities, PTSD caused by difficult living conditions in Indigenous communities, and many other factors.

If Indigenous People request participation from settlers in addressing these issues, that work would become part of Right Relationships.

**Promote an Honor Tax**

The Honor Tax is a way of recognizing and respecting the sovereignty of Native Nations, and implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This is a "tax" out of respect for Native sovereignty — rather than a gift or donation. We all live on traditional Native homelands. The Honor Tax is not in any way initiated by the Nation, but by individuals, organizations and businesses who want to actively recognize the sovereignty of the Native Nation and their right to their traditional land. The Honor Tax is a voluntary annual tax paid directly to the Nation by people who are on their traditional territories. The amount is decided by the individual.

**Support Organizations that Return Land to Indigenous Communities**

Settler colonialism has been built on taking land away from Indigenous communities, and allies can work to reverse that process step by step. Consider volunteering, become a member, or make a donation to an Indigenous-led organization. Change local laws so that Native Nations are recognized as legitimate residents on their ancestral lands beyond the small reservations they now have, and advocate for Indigenous access to ancestral lands for cultural and ceremonial purposes.

**Defend Indigenous land from pipelines, mines and other theft of their resources**

Indigenous Peoples are defending land and water all over the world. There are many opportunities to support their efforts. These struggles will continue.

**What Can You Do in Response to Actions like Standing Rock:**

- In the early stages, organizers need to travel. Can you provide gas money, cell phones, bonus points for flights, a place to stay for a day or two?
- Find reliable sources of information
- Share reliable information widely. Exposure can help protect the land defenders
- If you want to go, check out if your presence is needed or wanted. Know how to behave. Follow directions of Indigenous leaders when you get there
- In the middle of an action, cash is more important than supplies. In the blizzard at Standing Rock, donated supplies were held up far from where they were needed. Cash was required to keep people warm, fed, as well as, necessarily mobile. Your reliable sources of information will tell you where to make donations that directly fund the people on the ground
- Items to invest in for future events:
- Sustainable energy sources
- Composting toilets
- Yurts and tipis
- Mobile medical units
- Mobile media
- Trucks, ATVs, trailers
- Sleeping bags, tents, compact stoves, water purifiers

There is an old Lakota prophecy of a black snake, a creature that would rise from the deep, bringing with it great sorrow and great destruction. For many years, the Lakota people have wondered what the prophecy meant and when it would come to pass.

When they heard news of this pipeline — this tube, immeasurably long, that would pump black oil through the heart of this country — some Lakota people began to wonder if the snake appeared at last.

There is another prophecy that is also spoken of by tribal elders from different nations: the prophecy of the Seventh Generation, which, loosely put, foretells a time when young people would lead an uprising, joining with other peoples to defend land and allow humans to continue living on the earth.


In preparation to fight a Kinder Morgan pipeline in Secwepemc territory, see Tiny House Warriors. http://tinyhousewarriors.com/
"To us, as caretakers of the heart of Mother Earth, falls the responsibility of turning back the powers of destruction. You yourself are the one who must decide. You alone – and only you – can make this crucial choice, to walk in honor or to dishonor your relatives. On your decision depends the fate of the entire World.

Each of us is put here in this time and this place to personally decide the future of humankind.

Did you think the Creator would create unnecessary people in a time of such terrible danger? Know that you yourself are essential to this world. Understand both the blessing and the burden of that. You yourself are desperately needed to save the soul of this world. Did you think you were put here for something less? In a Sacred Hoop of Life, there is no beginning and no ending."

Chief Arvol Looking Horse, 19th Generation Keeper of White Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle, Spiritual Leader of the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota Nations

Make a Commitment:

Learn about Native Nations from the land where you live:

- Learn about the Indigenous Peoples on the land where you have settled. Support Native-owned businesses
- Acknowledge your presence on the land of Indigenous People in everyday activities
- Learn about treaties affecting Peoples on the land where you live, and how they have been violated and compromised

Learn about your Ancestors:

- Learn about your heritage homeland and culture. Identify yourself in the terms of your homeland and your heritage culture. Know how you came to settle in the place you live

Change your behavior. Change your frame of mind:

- Be grateful. Every day
- Be more giving. Share more. Give gifts for the sake of giving
- Talk to people about Right Relationships

Change your relation to the earth, air, and water:

- Connect physically with the land you live on: learn about Native plants and Native plant uses for food and shelter. Start small. Grow something
- Begin to care for the earth, the air, and the water

Find ways to return some of what settlers owe to Indigenous Peoples

- Settlers have taken nearly everything from Native Nations: land and language, culture and ceremony. Find ways to give back to Native Nations in concrete material ways based on the priorities local Indigenous communities tell you they have in mind
- Many Native Nations take care of their most vulnerable community members very seriously through giving and sharing, exchange and reciprocity. Work to build shared common resources based on expressed desires of Indigenous Peoples that can benefit all, and particularly the most vulnerable
We Give Thanks

We end with a reminder to find ways to express gratitude to the land, water, and sky, for all they give us; to your Indigenous mentors and partners from the land where you have settled; to your fellow settlers joining you in Right Relations; and to all the living beings around you.

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Deborah Sanchez (Chumash/O’odham)  Jake Edwards (Onondaga)
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Craig Torres (Tongva)  Kehaulani Vaughn (Kanaka Maoli)

We would especially like to thank all the people who have been doing Right Relationships work over the decades and centuries, and continue to do so.

Be a Good Ancestor.
Survival Protocols for the Seventh Generation

- Be Mindful. Think not of ourselves, or even our own generation. Think of those yet to come
- Re-Indigenize - Practice and reinvigorate traditional life-ways, languages, and governance
- Regenerate - Cultivate our own food and develop family and strengthen traditional food systems
- Reciprocate - Live respectfully. Honor and give back to Mother Earth.
- Renew - Innovate and create. Engage in barter and trade. Support Native-created goods and supplies
- Revitalize - Make necessary changes that promote long-term sustainability
- Reduce – And conserve energy, water, and all elements of the earth
- Retain – Plan for future needs by developing long-term storage systems for food, water, seeds, and other sustenance
BE A GOOD ANCESTOR

Seventh Generation Fund
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