Afterword

Where Do We Go from Here?

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PRELUDE

The Pomo sacred basket has an important place in the moral and cultural development of Pomo children. These water-tight, bright-plumed baskets provided a schooling for young girls that could be obtained in no other manner. Working with sedge, willow, pine root, cedar root, redbud, feathers, and other materials, the California Pomo Indian woman produced what anthropologists and ethnologists have acknowledged as the finest basket made by any people in the world. European observers noted the method of construction and commented on the brilliance of the plumes and the complexity of the patterns. Many of the descriptions were recorded as a scientific measure designed to preserve in the memory of history the wonderful craft and the women who made them. In their documentation, however, they were never able to capture the essence of Pomo basketry.

Few observers know that the Pomo creation story tells of the birth of the people coming to earth in a basket. The infant Pomo girl even lived in a basket which was probably the same one used by her mother and grandmother. For Indian girls to learn how to weave a basket was to learn about the Creator and all of creation. First, she learned to distinguish among various plants; some were used for baskets, others for food and medicine. As she learned about food plants, she also learned about baskets used in food preparation. Because it took nearly a year to gather the materials for the construction of the basket, the young girl learned about the seasons and her place in relation to her family, her tribe, other people, the natural world, and her Creator.

Perhaps the most important lesson she learned was that the earth was Mother to us all, provided by a great Creator for all of the people.

From the earth came not only the materials for her basket but lessons available nowhere else. Plants must be gathered carefully and precisely to coincide with life's cycles. Gentleness must be employed in preparing the plants for weaving. Patience must be exercised to ensure that each strand is in its place. A task begun must be continued to completion. A partially finished or poorly made basket served no purpose. Therefore, through large baskets and small ones, through flat ones and fat ones, through baskets used every day and those used only on special occasions, the young Pomo girl learned about life and her role in creation.[1]

THE LAND WAS OURS

When persons travel from one culture to another, they often find it difficult to reconcile what they feel and experience with what their own culture has taught them. The crafting of the Pomo basket and its subsequent decline is but one of many examples illustrating the introduction of European society and its effect on Native lifestyles. Baskets are now made in shrinking numbers. They are no longer associated with power and prophecy. They are largely a memory, the story a collective recollection.[2]

This story could be recited repeatedly about other Native cultures and nations. Each time it would leave its own images of pathos as history recalls days, years, and centuries of European/Christian settlement of the Americas and the subsequent collection of reports, artifacts, and bones stored in archives and museums gathered by ethnocentric anthropologists and ethnographers who, like the culture they represented, needed to preserve the history of the "children of the forest," the "Noble Savage," the original American. Little care or thought was given to the survival of the Native cultures themselves, since they were considered to be obstacles to the spread of "civilization" and the quest for land and riches. The church and its missions played a major role in this process and, indeed, supplied Adam Smith with the perceptive observation that the pious purpose of converting Indians to Christianity was to sanctify the injustice of colonization and economic development.

The advance of the cross provided the ingredients to a process that would see European/Christian values competing for dominance over Native cultures, which were held in contempt. The birth of the British Missionary Society in London in 1795 gave impetus to the project and added special urgency while addressing the "serious and zealous professors of the Gospel of every denomination respecting an attempt to evangelize the heathen."[3] This new mission society set the stage for a renewed effort and a new order that more directly placed immigrants and their deities in contention with Native faith systems. In spite of

their solemn declaration to "utterly and sincerely disclaim all political views and party design; abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government . . . vigorously united . . . sending ministers of Christ to preach the Gospel among the heathen,"[4] missionaries and their churches would soon be entering into collusion with governments to achieve mutually agreed-upon goals concerning destruction of Native cultures.

Probably the finest definition of Manifest Destiny was provided, albeit unwittingly, by Robert Frost when he recited his poem, "The Gift Outright," at the inauguration of President John Kennedy. The poignant line, "The land was ours before we were the land's" provides definition for a phrase that scholars and historians have been unable to capture quite so clearly. The immigrants to the North American continent surely believed that the land was theirs long before they set eyes upon it. They were thus permitted to launch an assault on indigenous America that has brought us to our current state of emergency.

According to the work of D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead/Métis) at the Newberry Library over twenty years ago, when Europeans seriously set about the task of colonizing the Americas in the late fifteenth century, the nations and societies already populating the North American continent numbered perhaps 100 million. How do we explain, then, the fact that there are only five to ten million Native American people left today in the United States?[5] How do we explain to our children and the ensuing generations the disappearance of these nations of people? How do we explain the parallel destruction of the earth and the nations of birds, animals, trees, insects, plants; the leveling of mountains; the poisoning of the water and the air; and the attendant disasters plaguing humankind?[6]

Not only are the surviving Native people crying out for justice–as witnessed in the above case studies–but the Natural World people, the rest of creation, are pleading for mercy and justice from modern technological civilization. This civilization's roots do not grow in first-century Christian justice paradigms–or any other paradigms of spirituality–and they forsake the sanctity of creation and the nations of people who belong to it.

When we speak of "defending Mother Earth" today, we will, more likely than not, incur the wrath of Christian fundamentalists for adhering to some kind of animist pagan devotion. Such a reaction discredits the seriousness of our pleas and the cause of justice implicit in our arguments. Few give consideration to the consequences of the disappearance of Native people. Fewer still will understand Jace Weaver's "miner's canary" analysis as the dominant culture continues to eradicate thousands of life forms in its insatiable appetite for material prosperity. This dominant culture seems intent on the annihilation of Native peoples to complete its work. The catalogue of past historical atrocities has already been well documented. It is important to note,

however, that those same historic depravities continue today in modern garb, oppressing those who will fight for their right to exist while struggling to adhere to the original instructions provided by the Creator.

THE "INDIAN PROBLEM"

In 1541 the Spanish Council of the Indies debated the humanity of the Indians of the Americas. If Indians were considered beasts of burden, they would be assigned to the control of the military. If, however, they had souls, they would fall under the tutelage of the church. Either decision promoted the exploitation of American Indians as inferior beings.

The past is easily forgotten or explained away, but the mentality of those who sat on the Council of the Indies persists today in many forms. Colonial philosophies belonging to days gone by are still operative today in dominant cultural behavior and public policy initiatives. United States federal policies of the past 220 years continue to work their judgments on Native peoples. The so-called Contract with America does not recognize the validity of the many treaties and agreements reached between the United States and sovereign tribal entities through this long history. In fact, the Contract, through its ten-point program, may well provide that "final solution" for Native Americans that has been long sought by parliamentarians and economic policy makers.

We must not forget that it was precisely these motives that, in the 1970s, spawned the birth of anti-Indian backlash organizations such as Montanans Opposed to Discrimination and Interstate Congress on Equal Rights and Responsibilities. In that decade more than half of the states in the United States had local chapters related to such organizations, whose memberships were composed of ranchers, sportsmen, fishermen, and others. These groups and others like them were the precursors of today's militia movement. Today, their visibility, coupled with Congressional machinations, lends credence to Native expectations that even greater effort will be made to wrest away the estimated 35 percent of America's energy resources now in the hands of tribal nations.

National and international communities of conscience must clearly define their roles in relationship to the oppression of Native and Natural World people and consider ways to bring an end to oppressive practices. Native and Natural World peoples have a right to exist as unique life forms. Therefore, hard political and moral questions must be addressed in these precarious times concerning the right of people to adhere to their original ways of life and the conditions necessary for this to occur.

The Denver meeting of the North American Native Workshop on Environmental Justice was an important step, among a progression of events, in decrying the heretical and denying the ongoing colonial view that established the Western priority of solving what has always been termed the "Indian problem." Coming together as Native people provided us with strength. We are one. We are people of the same experience, and the sense of solidarity and mutual purpose and the resulting sense of self-worth provided us with evidence of our ongoing viability. If there had been a sub-theme for our proceedings, it would have declared our rejection of participation in tribal and global suicide. Sovereign Native territories will not be declared "national sacrifice areas"; neither will Native peoples become "national or global sacrifice peoples."

Although most non-Natives are isolated from the issues of justice for America's Native people by the lapse of time, the remoteness of reservations or Native territories, the comparative invisibility of Natives in the urban setting (despite the fact that 63 percent of Natives now live in urban areas), the distortions in historical accounts, and accumulated prejudices, Native and Natural World voices must be heard in the national forum, as well as in the global arena.[7] The responsibility for the continued destruction of Native peoples should weigh heavily on the world community and its religious leaders, who must institute measures that will enable them to speak in spiritual language above nation and state. This, of course, assumes a radical shift in current practices and belief structures. We live in days when national chauvinism precludes commitment to spiritual ideals. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the so-called spiritual ideals espoused today are merely expressions of secular values based on concepts of nationalism and partisan ideology.

Racism in the United States finds its origin in materialistic acquisitiveness serving the dominant culture's needs and greeds. It has become ever more acceptable as Native Americans, Hispanics, African Americans, and Asians are made the scapegoats of a plummeting economy. The economics of racism are clear. While it is easy to talk about institutional racism, it is more difficult to comprehend that behind the institutions are individuals connected to industry, banks, and commerce who benefit from racism. Taking notice of the fact that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were fifty years old in 1995 should give us little comfort, as they continue to institute policies destructive of the world's marginalized people. It was the economic motive exercised by these same classes of persons and their quest for wealth and empire that were responsible for the first genocidal assault on the Indians of the Americas. Genocidal practices of the 1990s differ little from those employed over the past few hundred years: resettlement, sterilization, forced assimilation, cultural and physical extermination,

economic exploitation, environmental devastation, natural resource development. These are but a few of the ways in which racism directed at Native peoples manifests itself today. On the grand, global scale we could easily be describing the impact of these same measures on other indigenous peoples–Native Hawaiians, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Loita Pastoralists of Kenya, Orang Asli of Malaysia, the Batwa of Rwanda, and others too numerous to mention.

Racism lies at the foundation of "natural resource development" in Indian Country and is now proving earlier predictions correct as other racial and ethnic minorities in the United States come to understand that the same strategies employed to oppress Natives are now being utilized to oppress them. It wasn't until other racial and ethnic minority peoples discovered toxic waste dumps being planned for their neighborhoods that the phrase *environmental racism* found its way into the environmental movement with sharp, descriptive accuracy. It should be pointed out that the phrase also applies to Natural World peoples as well.

THE EARTH AS A LIVING ORGANISM

Analysis of racism also provides the means of enabling us to understand the process of genocide as it applies to all life forms beyond humankind–the Natural World people. We can see clearly from early colonial agricultural and horticultural practices that the immigrants not only attempted to colonize Native peoples but the life forms of the earth as well. Some life forms were acceptable. These were organized and colonized, as crops, to harness their usefulness for the new arrivals and their communities. Others were unimportant and even noxious to the new settlers and were eliminated to the point of extinction. Animals and other non-plant life forms were also treated in a similar manner. Some were domesticated. Others were exterminated or relegated to distant "wilderness" reservations where they struggle to survive even today.

Since 1492 Christians have told Native people that Christians have a superior or "correct" understanding of God. Christians believed that Native people worshiped the things of creation. They told the indigenes that the mountains were not sacred, nor were the streams, the forests, the birds, the animals, the plants. The immigrant population immediately set about proving that these life forces of creation were not sacred by despoiling, colonizing, and eliminating them. Is it any wonder that Mother Earth is in such a state of emergency?

Our old stories teach us lessons poignantly valuable today for our self-understanding. We were told in the Creator's original instructions that we have been provided with all the things necessary for life. We

were instructed to show great respect for all the beings of the earth. We were taught that our life exists beside the Tree life and that our well-being depends upon the well-being of the Vegetable life. We are close relatives of the Four-legged beings. All living things are spiritual beings. The Creator enters into and sustains the acts of creation. The spiritual universe, then, is manifest to us as creation–the creation that produces and supports life. We are a part of that creation, and our duty is to support all life in its relationship with all other living beings.

It is in the teachings of the elders from the longhouse of the Six Nations Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) that we learn that human beings are to walk about on the earth in a manner that expresses great respect, affection, and gratitude toward all the manifestations of the Creator. We give a greeting and thanksgiving to the many supporters of our lives–the corn, beans, squash, winds, water, sun, and all living beings who work together on this land. When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things, then all life will be destroyed and human life as we know it on this planet will come to an end.

Our roots are deep in the lands where we live. The elders say that the soil is rich from the bones of thousands of our generations. All of us were created in these territories and on these lands, and it is our duty to take great care of them, because from these lands will spring the future generations. Defending Mother Earth is not a project. Defending Mother Earth is a way of life; it is a call for the radical transformation of nations, societies, and individuals.[8]

CHANGES IN MOTHER EARTH

For over five hundred years Native Americans have been subjected to raids of extermination from France, England, Spain, and the United States. These incursions have driven the people from their lands, deprived them of their way of life, and persecuted them for their customs. As a result, our children have been taught to despise their ancestors, their culture, their religions, and their traditional values. The Native stewards of the earth were estranged from her as ever more insidious measures were undertaken by military, governmental, and economic forces to subdue the people and, with them, the earth.

Clearly the exploitative forces initiated measures so severe as to produce startling case histories of environmental degradation, economic instability, and social disintegration, some of which we now confront in this volume. It is equally clear that American society does not revere the earth as a living organism to be preserved for future generations of human beings as do traditional Native peoples. For non-Natives the earth is simply a "resource," and it is this difference that distinguishes between peoples who live in a sacred world and those who do not. We

have learned bitter lessons by separating the people from the land. Such a divorce kills both people and land.

Toxic waste dumps, uranium poisoning, destructive mining practices, emission of fluorocarbon gases, destruction of the ozone shield protecting the earth from excessive doses of ultraviolet rays, multibillion dollar "Star Wars" programs, and disposable products are but a few of the threats that characterize our current dilemma. The litany of American ills reads badly and superficially manifests itself in beer-can-strewn highways and public landfills stuffed with the artifacts of a culture never celebrated in the spiritual ceremonies of Native peoples. But it all somehow is supposed to be redeemed by the provocative, blinking television image of Iron Eyes Cody tearfully standing in garbage as a crude commercial reminder of what the world once was and could be again (offered as a public service message squeezed between evening news and late-night programming). Perhaps, after all, Iron Eyes symbolizes spiritual despair in an age of material hope.

If the circle of life is, ultimately, to remain unbroken, the teachings of our Creator and the wisdom of our elders must pass from generation to generation. But America's circle is very small and does not embrace all of creation. It cycles every two or four years–from one election to the next–and would ruin the whole world to get from the first year to the fourth. That is the extent of our public vision, and it is all accentuated by the focus of the television cameras and further detailed through op-ed pieces published in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. America gives thanks for the next world, having forgotten how to walk in a sacred manner in the present one.

WINNING THE WEST

> People are like trees, and groups of people are like forests. While the forests are composed of many different kinds of trees, these trees intertwine their roots so strongly that it is impossible for the strongest winds which blow on our Islands to uproot the forest, for each tree strengthens its neighbor, and their roots are inextricably entwined.
>
> In the same way the people of our Islands, composed of members of nations and races from all over the world, are beginning to intertwine their roots so strongly that no troubles will affect them.
>
> Just as one tree standing alone would soon be destroyed by the first strong wind which came along, so it is impossible for any person, any family or any community to stand alone against the troubles of this world.
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> –Haida Chief Skidegate (Lewis Collinson)
> March 1966[9]

Disney's "Pocahontas" may be a box-office success story in movie houses, but there is little resemblance between this environmentally correct fairytale and the continuing struggles of today's Native peoples to secure redress or halt the movement of history toward certain ecological Armageddon. We cannot depend on elections or victory at the polls. Our numbers are too small, and those who would sympathize with even part of our agenda are too few. In 1968 the Native struggle emerged as spiritual and political militancy manifesting itself, subsequently, in the creation of the American Indian Movement; the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington; sojourns at spiritual holy places; actions at Alcatraz, Ft. Lawton, and Wounded Knee. Later, in Canada, it produced the stand-off at Oka. It was a time that also marked the return of throngs of young Natives to the longhouse, Sun Dance, round house, and other tribal spiritual practices.

More than twenty years later, we see that those efforts were simply a prelude to addressing a survival crisis of massive human and natural world proportions. It is easy to agree with George Tinker's suggestion that "American Indian culture and values have much to contribute in the systemic reimagining of the West."[10] We currently have no comprehensive or systematic methodologies with which to affect such a process. Certainly neither the United States nor Canadian governments are contemplating entering into partnership with Natives to initiate any sort of reimagining process. The United Nations is, perhaps, a more appropriate and viable candidate for such an alliance.

It was not until 1992 that the United Nations directly entertained the moral and ethical imperatives presented by indigenous peoples that ultimately resulted in the International Year of the World's Indigenous People in 1993. We need only to recall the rejection of the Hopi messengers who were sent from the kiva to the "House of Mica" to deliver a message of warning and salvation soon after the chartering of the United Nations, fifty years ago, to understand how long it has taken for the world's indigenous people to be recognized. Thomas Banyacya, Hopi elder, finally completed his mission by delivering the Hopi message to the General Assembly on December 10, 1992.[11]

We must understand, however, that we are still categorized as *non*-governmental entities (NGOs)–regardless of our own sovereign nation self-understanding and the validity of our constitutionally and internationally recognized treaties. Prior to 1992 our access was limited to the Commission on Human Rights in Switzerland and a few additional relationships with other United Nations entities. The United Nations Charter, article 63, for example, provides that the Economic and Social Council "may make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence." All other United Nations units deal with NGOs as well. Close to 1250 NGOs now compete for agenda time with all

United Nations entities. We find ourselves vying for attention with other NGOs ranging from the International Association of the Soap and Detergent Industry to the International Organization of Consumers Unions or from Amnesty International to the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

It is important to note that NGOs–now understood as representing "civil society"–are making a greater impact on the deliberative process of the United Nations. Although we bear no resemblance to the ancient Greeks, the 1992 breakthrough for indigenous people does offer a Trojan Horse model which worked–at least this time. There is now, presumably, an openness to deal with the implications of indigenous status as the United Nations implements the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People while adopting the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights. Although this declaration is not uniformly embraced by all members of the United Nations, its very formulation offers hope. However, in an institution where nearly every written word must be documented and footnoted, the United Nations process may move exceedingly slowly. Equally hopeful is the recently announced collaboration between the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the United Nations. On July 18, 1995, chiefs and clan mothers of the Six Nations of the Iroquois met with representatives of the UN Environmental Program and other agencies. Meant to signal a new kind of "coalition politics" among indigenous nations, governments, and the United Nations, the summit could, according to Oneida Chief Chez Wheelock, provide "a model. As we develop relationships with other Indigenous people throughout the hemisphere, we're hopeful we can help them avoid some of the environmental problems we have today and assist other Indigenous people in applying their perspective to their situations." That Natives have something important to bring to the table was dramatically illustrated by Oren Lyons (Onondaga) when he showed a satellite photograph of the earth that revealed that "the only area being protected in anything close to its original and life-giving state" was an Indian reservation. Dare we hope that this new cooperation between Natives and the United Nations might begin to provide a basis to defend Mother Earth?[12]

In contrast to the United Nations, other world forums are instrumental in mobilizing support and encouraging solidarity and could effectively carry momentum to various segments of the world community, although they have no direct impact on political or legislative processes because of their ad hoc nature. The Global Forum on Environment and Development for Human Survival held in Moscow in January of 1990 is one such extraordinary example.[13]

Representing eighty-three countries, a thousand participants joined together in Moscow to share concerns about the future of the planet and its inhabitants. This global forum of spiritual and parliamentary

leaders included indigenous delegates, who drafted a statement reflecting the unique perspectives of indigenous communities:

> We have jeopardized the future of our coming generations with our greed and lust for power. The warnings are clear and time is now a factor. . . . We speak of our children, yet we savage the spawning beds of the salmon and herring, and kill the whale in his home. We advance through the forests of the earth felling our rooted brothers indiscriminately, leaving no seeds for the future. We exploit the land and resources of the poor and the indigenous peoples of the world. We have become giants, giants of destruction, and now we have gathered here to acknowledge this and to see what we must do to change. . . . Indigenous peoples possess many different habits and lifestyles but all recognize they are children of Mother Earth and that we receive from Her our life, our health, the air we breathe, the water we drink, our everyday food, and our energy. Earth suffers ill treatment because of lack of respect. All of us can understand the importance of the health of Mother Earth and all have a potential to enjoy our lives in greater harmony with the forces which create life.[14]

The recommendations emanating collectively from the larger forum called for the planting of a "global survival forest," convening a council of spiritual leaders, encouraging the development of a center for religion and culture in Moscow, converting military enterprises, supporting various United Nations initiatives, endorsing a global environmental monitoring network, and convening a world-wide conference for educators on global survival issues and strategies.[15]

Events such as the Moscow forum can be helpful in strengthening international will and assisting in the interpretation, implementation, and monitoring of international agreements. Because the United Nations has no enforcement mechanisms, it is incumbent upon various international humanitarian organizations to secure governmental support and cooperation related to covenants and declarations supporting indigenous people and the survival of Mother Earth.

In launching the International Year of the World's Indigenous People in 1993, the General Assembly of the United Nations chose the theme of "Indigenous People–A New Partnership." Does this new partnership signal the beginning of a time that will give definition to and further detail the steps required to allow us to foreclose on the destructive incursions of corporations, governments and other predators on creation and Native civilizations? One must doubt that members of the General Assembly had fully formulated or even anticipated the dimensions of this partnership or where it would take them. Perhaps the Haudenosaunee summit shows the way forward.

justice for Native peoples are at risk and will be compounded in the United States by the politics of the Contract with America and the elimination of forty years of progressive social legislation in favor of benefits for the rich and powerful.

It is overwhelmingly evident to us–if to relatively few others–that Native peoples have approaches to and methods for considering ultimate questions that a materialistic world profoundly needs. Only by rediscovering the simplest and most basic values and virtues of the spirit and engaging in creative discourse on the meaning of hope and the nature of the common good will we be able to provide moral precepts and agreements of conduct necessary to create restorative measures for the continued viability of Mother Earth. The concluding four paragraphs of a historic document authored by the Dine, Lakota, and the Haudenosaunee provide us with an abiding theme for our labors together:

> The traditional people recognize that the injustices perpetuated upon our people, and indeed upon many of the peoples of the world, are the major factor destroying the Spirituality of the Human Race. Peace and unity are the foundations of the Spiritual Way of Life of our peoples. But peace and unity are not companions to justice.
>
> We call upon all the peoples of the world to join with us in seeking peace, and in seeking to ensure survival and justice for all indigenous peoples, for all the Earth's creatures, and all nations of the Earth.
>
> We will take whatever steps necessary in the protection of our Sacred Mother Earth, and the rights and well-being of our peoples.
>
> We will continue our efforts before the World Community to regain our inherent Human and Sovereign Rights.[22]

Notes

1. As retold in a narrative from the oral tradition transcribed by Martha E. Baker for the Northern California Indian Education Project, unpublished (1973).

2. Greg Sarris, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 51, 57.

3. *Respecting an Attempt to Evangelize the Heathen* (London: British Missionary Society, 1795), Fassett Collection, Washington, D.C.

4. Ibid.

5. The United States Bureau of Census officially counts fewer than three million Native people. Native nations and organizations are well aware that this is an inaccurate count, and the Bureau of Census acknowledges it as well. Conversation between Thom White Wolf Fassett and Dr. Martha Farnsworth Richie, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Census, in Copenhagen, Denmark (March 1995).

6. Oren Lyons, a faithkeeper of the Haudenosaunee, reminds us that the passenger pigeons once blanketed the sky for hours at a time; the buffalo (bison) would take days to pass by. And then he asks, "Where did they go, and who took them away?"

7. "The United Methodist Church and America's Native People," adopted by the 1980 General Conference of The United Methodist Church.

8. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas wrote a dissenting opinion in *Sierra Club v. Morton*, declaring that Nature has the right to be defended as though it were a human being. For the text and a discussion of this important opinion, see, Vine Deloria, Jr., *God Is Red*, rev. ed. (Golden, Co.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1992), pp. 293-296.

9. Haida Chief Skidegate (Lewis Collinson), *Communique No. 12*, Traditional Circle of Indian Elders and Youth, Haida Gwaii, Queen Charlotte Islands, Skidegate-Massett (June 14, 1989).

10. George Tinker, "An American Indian Theological Response to Ecojustice," herein.

11. Thomas Banyacya, in Alexander Ewen, ed., *Voice of Indigenous Peoples: Native People Address the United Nations* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1994), pp. 112-118.

12. Gil Stevenson, "Haudenosaunee Nations and United Nations Begin Historic Environmental Collaboration," *Indian Country Today* (July 27, 1995), p. A2.

13. See, "Moscow Plan of Action of the Global Forum on Environment and Development for Human Survival," forum paper (Moscow, January 15-19, 1990).

14. Partial quotation from the "Statement of Indigenous Delegates to the Global Forum on Environment and Development for Survival," forum paper (Moscow, January 15-19, 1990). See, *Indigenous Economics: Toward a Natural World Order*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Akwekon Journal, 1992), pp. 106-107, for complete text.

15. "Moscow Plan of Action."

16. Mahbub ul Haq, *New Imperatives of Human Security* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 1995), p. 10.

17. Ibid.

18. As suggested by the Indigenous Initiative for Reconciliation in Yapti Tasba (Republic of Nicaragua, February 2, 1988).

19. *Report of the World Summit for Social Development*, (Copenhagen: United Nations, 1995).

20. Ibid., p. 10.

21. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

22. *Hypocrisy and Outrage: Human Rights from a Native Perspective*, "Statement to the People of the United States and the World" (Washington, D.C.: July 1978), from the original document prepared for "The Longest Walk" by representatives of the Dine, Lakota, and Haudenosaunee, the first position paper ever to be presented in Washington by these three nations.