



Accomplice

Reparations & Reconciliation at Notre Dame: Opening & Framing the Conversation

Jefferson Ballew IV (Potawatomi Bear Clan), Brian S Collier, PhD, Savanna Morgan, Laurie Nathan, PhD, Debra Stanley, and Gary Morseau (Pokégnek Bodéwadmik)

Moderated by Susan Page, JD

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00:00:06	Page:	Thank you all very much for coming today for this discussion about <i>Reparations & Reconciliation at Notre Dame: Opening & Framing the Discussion</i> . We are going to start with an opening prayer, after which I will introduce all the panelists and we will kick it off. Thank you. So, if I could ask if Jefferson Ballew IV will...
00:00:30	Ballew:	<p><i>[In Bodéwadmik] Hello, my name is Jefferson Ballew of the Bear Paw or Bear Clan from the Potawatomi Nation. Born in Mishawaka, Head man of my family. Sawaulk.</i></p> <p>At this time, I would like to ask all of you to bring your hearts and your minds together as we stand before our creator, humble, and ask that our creator send those helpers to us from those four sacred directions:</p> <p>At Eastern direction, giving us knowledge, representing that good grace.</p> <p>Giving us the growth that we need that comes from the South and the yellow race.</p> <p>That strength that we all need and desire coming from the black race in the Western direction.</p> <p>We look to that Northern direction that represents wisdom and that race of the white people.</p>

We bring those four together and we have those four sacred aspects to have our human beings understand each other in community together. That's what we ask here today is that, not only that we have those words to speak well to each other, but to listen well to each other, and to understand that we are here to solve problems not to create more. We are looking for the opportunity to heal our ancestors of the past and heal our ancestors of the future so our children's children no longer have to suffer. This we ask our creator to bring down upon us to give us the love and admiration that we need to be kind to each other today. Our...rests with you now.

00:01:51

Page:

Thank you very much. So without further ado we'll get started because what's really important for us up here is, we would like to hear from you all. So, I am going to introduce each of the panelists and then they will have ten minutes each. I am going to be a very strict timekeeper, so please do not get upset with me when I *[taps table]* hammer my gavel, my pretend gavel. I will introduce everyone, they will each have ten minutes to speak, and then we will, I will try to do a little bit of a summary and then we will open it up to questions or comments from the audience, and we would really like for your participation. So without further ado, let me introduce the panelists.

First, well, we have myself. I am not really a panelist, but I am a visiting professor of the practice at the Keough School of Global Affairs. I was a career diplomat and finished my career with back-to-back ambassadorships. I was the first U.S. ambassador to South Sudan, the newly-created country of South Sudan, and following that I was a long-term chargé acting ambassador to the U.S. Mission to the African Union.

To open our panel, really, and get us started is Laurie Nathan. He is a professor of the practice of mediation at the Kroc Institute. We have Jefferson Ballew IV, who just offered our prayer, he is an Indigenous and culture awareness and inclusion advocate for the Potawatomi Bear Clan. We then have Debra Stanley, who is the Executive Director of Imani Unidad, Incorporated, and then we will turn to Gary Morseau; he is a member of the Tribal Council of the Pokagon Band of the Potawatomi. And we will next hear from Brian Collier, the Director of American Indian Catholic Schools Network and lastly we will...oh, and then we will...who am I missing...and Savanna. Savanna is a senior here at Notre Dame and she is the head of *[Savanna speaks away from microphone]*...Spokesperson for End Hate Notre Dame.

[applause]

We had advertised that Marcus Winchester would be with us. Unfortunately there was a death in the family so he is unable to be with us, but we are fortunate to have other members of the Pokagon Band with us here today. So we're pleased with that.

00:04:41

So let me turn next to Laurie Nathan who will start us off on framing the discussion that we are here to have. The clock is ticking.

00:04:53

Nathan:

Great. Thank you, Susan. Hello everyone; welcome, a special welcome to our guests from the South Bend community and thank you very much to our speakers for agreeing to talk to us and share their wisdom today. Imagine that I came to you one day and I said to you, "hey, you remember someone stole your bicycle fifteen years ago? It was me. And I am sorry. Can we be friends?", what would you say? You could say, "sure! Yeah, I didn't care much about the bike, happy to be friends." Or you could say, "I want my bike back, or a new bike." Or you could say, "I really loved that bike, I don't want to be your friend."

What if I came to you and I said, not just that I'd stolen your bike but that I'd stolen your land? Or that my ancestors had stolen the land of your ancestors, and their freedom, and their labor, and their dignity? What would you say then, if I said "I'm sorry, I want to be friends." And imagine, also, that my ancestors did this to your ancestors not only because my ancestors were violent and ignorant and greedy, but also because your ancestors were Black, or Indigenous, or Catholic, or Protestant, or Jewish. How do we understand reparations and reconciliation in the context of great historical injustice?

00:06:41

I want to address that question by offering a conceptual framework for thinking about reparations and reconciliation, a framework that may guide our discussion today. I want to present the conceptual framework as a journey that has four parts, and the first part is truth-telling, truth-telling which entails historical research and includes oral history to determine what happened, to determine what harm was done, to whom, by whom, with whose support. Who are the beneficiaries of the harm, and what are the current effects of that historical harm? The last two questions recognize that historical harm can have long-lasting intergenerational advantages and disadvantages for different groups.

The second step on this journey is acknowledgment and apology. In the case of great historic injustice, it may be that the perpetrators are no longer living and that the responsibility for acknowledgment and apology lies with their descendants and with the beneficiaries of the harm. Beneficiaries have a responsibility to acknowledge and apologize for harm even if they themselves were not perpetrators.

00:08:20

The third step in this journey entails reparations. What kind of reparations, material or religious, symbolic, religious, or spiritual, are appropriate, needs to be addressed first and foremost by those who are harmed, or their descendants. So this is the self-identification of needs for reparations. And where the harm is not only historical but where the harm is also embedded in contemporary social and political systems and structures, then the wrongdoing is continuous. This means that the rectification of the wrongdoing requires systemic and institutional reform.

The fourth step in this process is reconciliation, which is a process of healing and building relationships. It necessarily depends on the preceding three steps. It is a subjective phenomenon, by which I mean whether or not reconciliation has been achieved depends on the subject abused, on the communities whose reconciliation is at issue. So in that sense, reconciliation is relational, it is not only relational, it is also structural. Where systems or institutions reproduce harm, perpetuate harm, then they need to be transformed and we can therefore talk about the necessity for structural reconciliation.

00:09:54

Nathan:

This entire process is one of transformation, of relationships, and structures and systems. What does this conceptual framework mean in practice? The answer in a comprehensive way will differ from place to place. The answer is necessarily contextual. I want to offer two general answers: first normative, and the second procedural. The normative answer is that our goal is justice—that we need to judge the quality of reconciliation we need to judge the quality of reparations in the light of a commitment to justice. Justice is one of the overarching goals. It is not only a goal it is also the framework by which we judge each of the steps, and it's our motivation in the first instance. In other words, we are concerned about historical injustice only because we care about justice. If we care not at all about historical injustice, then we won't embark

on this journey. So justice is the normative driver towards engaging in the journey and moving it to its conclusion.

The procedural answer to the question “what are the details of reconciliation and reparations?”, the procedural answer is construct a dialogue. In other words, the answers need to emerge from a discussion that the relevant communities and their leaders have with each other. This is a conversation that will necessarily be difficult, painful, tense, it may be conflictual, that is not a problem. We can manage this kind of conversation through mutual respect, talking and listening to each other. But certainly in the first step, the truth-telling step, the burden of listening lies with those who are the beneficiaries of the harm that was done.

00:12:05

What does this all mean for Notre Dame? I am going to invite our panelists through our chair Susan Page, and then members of the audience to address this question, and I really do look forward to hearing what you have to say. Thank you.

[applause]

00:12:28

Page:

Thank you very much, Laurie. I invite the panelists to decide whether or not they would like to come up to the podium or speak from their seats: whatever is preferred. So next we will here from Debra. Debra Stanley, again, is the Executive Director of Imani Unidad, Incorporated.

00:12:50

Imani:

Good afternoon. So I have been affiliated with this University for over twenty-five years, and in that time have had the privilege of working with different components that the University and with a lot of students as they tried to seek social justice reforms here on campus. And I remember one year the students were fighting for a living wage for the service workers, trying to understand the disparity in the pay. The whole notion of services being provided being equally valuable as every other component of the work here: students have to eat, so you have people who feed them. The Black Panther party taught us you cannot learn if you are hungry.

And so the devaluing of the providers of food, of cleanliness, all of those kinds of things was an injustice that was seen, and there was this battle that went on. One year I worked with the NAACP student group and we, for Black History Month, we did a weeklong series on the Black body. Every evening we had a different professor come in and talk about the Black body. Each one came in with the commentary that it was even sad to them

that as white professors they were the ones here teaching African history and those kinds of things, that there was not a Black or brown tenured person on this campus. And so there was this disparity there, and the fact that you can't see in high positions people who look like you, who can relate to you, who come from where you come from.

00:14:53

I had the privilege of attending staff meetings on this campus, and a question emerged from me, and the question was, "why is there only one Black person allowed in the room at a time?". And as you look around the table, you see various representatives of the white community, and then you had some people from South American, other parts of the world, but always only one Black person allowed in the room at a time. Anybody who knows me, knows that I believe the biggest injustice, the biggest disparity, the biggest thing that they have taken from, is the miseducation of us, of all of us. The question still remains: as a University, why are you still heavily into indoctrination as opposed to educating: the truth, the truth about this country, the people who contributed to it, and all of that.

Most of my work has been with the Center for Social Concerns. This whole feeling that social justice has always been a stepchild to this University, an afterthought: when you read the mission of this institution, why is the social justice piece such a small part? It is very interesting—as I said, I've been affiliated with this University for over twenty-five years—and the very, very, very first time I ever set foot on this campus, a priest threatened to never allow me to set foot on this campus again because of a brochure I had on my table. It was all about being an ally to the LGBT community. So they asked me to take it off the table, I took it off the table, but administration kept coming around, coming around, peeking, peeking, peeking, as though I would put it back. I'm not really an ACT UP kind of person, but then I begin to question.

00:17:14

I had several conversations that evening and finally this priest comes up and talks to the person standing with me, looks past me as though I were not even there, I was not an actual human being, and asked was I the one. He told him yes. And so, that's when the threat came. And I asked very sincerely from the bottom of my heart, "if you have that much trouble with a brochure, how do you deal with all the LGBT students, administration, and staff at this institution?" The whole dehumanizing of folks continues to exist without challenge. The miseducation of students continues without challenge. The

mission is skewed. The fight continues to bring these issues to the fore, to correct misinformation when at all possible, and to continue to ask the questions: so today are service workers being provided a living wage? Do we at this point have any tenured people of color? Is there more than one Black person allowed in the room at the time? Yeah, that's why we are here today.

00:18:54 **Page:** Thank you very much, Debra. Let me next...

[applause]

...my apologies. Thank you very much. Let me next turn to Gary Morseau. He is, again, a member of the Tribal Council of the Pokagon Band of the Potawatomi. Gary?

00:19:18 **Morseau:** Bozho. As you know my name is Gary Morseau and I am just filling in today, so I apologize I think you guys got stuck with me.

00:19:27 **Page:** We're not sorry!

00:19:28 **Morseau:** Ok, *[laughing]* what harm has been done to the Potawatomi over the years? I grew up in South Bend, I've always been involved with this University, but as I started growing up and stuff I became more appalled that they didn't look at us as if we were humans and stuff when it came to Tribal issues. Back in the eighties when we were working on our federal recognition, the University was a little different at the time: they were open arms, they opened their archives, but it was very strange with the archives, we were never allowed to work with the students in the archives. They would retrieve information for us. We used to have an office in this building at one time, but just through the years and stuff that as the Potawatomi nation started to grow and started asking for things that are owed to us. The University became a little more hostile and cut their relationship off.

One of the strangest things is that when you come to this campus, you talk to Native Americans that are either working here or people working with Native American programs, they talk about, on ceded land, that they are not allowed to talk about this stuff here. The University doesn't allow it. Just bear with me here. Another good example I'll put out that I would say back in the mid-nineties, the University invited Vernon Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement to come here and speak on Columbus Day and the Native Student Union was very excited about having Vernon come. Vernon was very frank

when he spoke to the University about Native Americans and Vernon was into the mascot issue, so he brought up to the University that he just came back from Ireland and visited with the Shillelagh and the IRA and he was to deliver a message to the University that they didn't like your guys' leprechaun mascot, that it depicted them as fighters, fornicators, and just having sex, and after that point the Student Union was told "why did you bring this man here?" You guys would never be allowed to do anything like this again, and if you do this again we will disband you.

00:21:49

It was just talking, but just to hear those words the next day, what the University said to those students is just, it was just totally wrong because he was just here to deliver a story. Like I said, through the years we've watched the University cut themselves off from us, not living up to their obligations to the Potawatomi people, and just close the door on us and treat us like we weren't here. We sit there and we always work with our history and stuff, and we turn around and look and they changed the history. They rewrote it to benefit them. We bring it to their attention and they won't discuss it. Through the years we've always tried to work with them. I don't believe we've ever been hostile to them. We just always want to work one-on-one with them.

It's just not the University here; it seems to be the mentality of the state. Right now we are working with the state on some issues, but we're not—we're a government. We're a sovereign nation and we aren't treated that way. We are treated as, a good example is that in the State of Indiana, when it comes to Native issues a lot, you have to deal with the DNR because they still think of us as a resource, animals. It's even that way on the federal level. When we have to deal with Washington stuff, we don't deal directly with Washington, we have to deal with the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is part of the Bureau of Land Management. They still think of us as a resource, as our land. They tell us it is our land but it is not really our land. It is deeded to the U.S. government.

00:23:42

Morseau:

Don't get me wrong; I really do like your University, and I think you guys do a lot of good, but in the same hand that even being a person living here in South Bend—when I come to cultural events, like Mr. Ballew—we have to go to Washington street. We don't come here to the University for cultural events. I don't ever understand why that is; it's beautiful to have that building over there and stuff, but every Native event I've ever been to has been held over there, so it's like "you're not allowed on

campus.” I don’t know. There’s something else I was going to add and I got lost there for a second. Bear with me, this is not my forte.

[laughing]

The University needs to start talking to people and stuff. We are at the same playing level. The Potawatomis, we gave them this land that the University sits on. We had an agreement with them and to this day they rewrote that agreement and say that “its not true, that we don’t owe you guys education”, and that’s all we’ve ever asked for.

00:24:56

Many years ago, I was over at your chapel and stuff, and a gentleman that was working at the museum pointed something out and said he worked at Stan’s Cheese for forty years. Every year at Christmas time they would get basket orders. Five hundred baskets would be ordered by the Brothers [of Holy Cross]. The Brothers would come and then pay out of their personal account, and then they would always say no questions would be asked. And he didn’t know; they just knew it was going to an Indian tribe. Well that was us. Every Christmas, the University would live up that obligation and give us a basket of food. But that would be in exchange; we would bring black ash baskets so we called them “Christmas Baskets.” The University, they kind of live up to that now.

I really don’t have a lot more, I’m sure I will afterwards. Like I said, I am pleased to be here today. Again, I apologize: I’m not a good speaker.

00:25:51

Page:

No, thank you so much. Thank you very much.

[applause]

I think it’s really important that we hear these stories because no one only has one story. If we don’t hear the stories, we don’t hear the experiences, we’re continuing to perpetuate the ignorance and the lack of education about what happened, including the fact that the archives, there seems to be very little “history” that is saved about what actually transpired versus what is remembered. Of course, we all remember things differently. As Laurie said, in the framing, who were the ancestors that were present, or their ancestors that were present at the time. Of course, they’re not here anymore with us. So thank you very much for sharing those stories. I hope that when we get to the comments and questions from the

- audience we will have some time to unpack a little bit more of that.
- 00:26:57 Next we will turn to Brian Collier. He is the Director of American Indian Catholic Schools Network. Brian?
- 00:27:07 **Collier:** Hi. I'm the Director of the American Indian Catholic Schools Network and I'm also the white person who teaches all the classes you're just talking about. That's me if you're looking for a face for that person it looks like this.
- 00:27:23 **Page:** Do they let more than one of you enter the room?
- 00:27:25 **Collier:** Yes, all of us in the room.
- [laughing]*
- I am in fact that guy. I have a PhD in American Indian history. That came to happen because I went to teach at a Native American boarding school when I was done with college and the school closed. The woman I was dating was going to graduate school and she said we could break up or I could go to graduate school. So I went to graduate school and I studied in particular why Catholic Native American schools were closing all over the United States at the fastest rate of any kind of school. I won't bore you with the answer to that but I asked my class today because I do teach Native studies courses, I asked them a little bit about some of these issues. One of the things that people often forget is that the federal government filled its treasury by selling land in Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. The unceded land as Mr. Morseau was just talking about, that unceded land is sold and that is how the federal government is funded in its early years.
- This is something that is easy, right? This is a fact, we know it, we can prove it, so why didn't I learn about it when I was in school? Why was an adult when I learned this story? This is true of so many stories. There's stories that we don't tell, and with technology we have the capacity to tell these stories. We tell these native stories of the people of every region of the United States by using an app that gives the local history in certain parts of your history book. But we don't do that: we don't do curriculum that is inclusive of all people in the area.
- 00:29:30 **Collier:** Since I'm primarily a teacher, I thought I would share a couple of things that teachers can do a lot more of. One of the things is writing a curriculum with the Native people in your

community. If you work with the Native people in your community, you're going to get a very accurate and rich history. Another thing that can be done is invite Native people on their schedule to teach language and culture. Notre Dame in the last two years thanks to my colleague Will Newkirk has had different people in to teach Potawatomi language and culture a couple of times a semester. It has been really fun and everyone says, "oh, who is going to come to that? Notre Dame kids are so busy, they won't come to that." Thirty or forty show up, and that's pretty good. That's a lot of Potawatomi language and culture that people are learning. I think more people would come if it were more regularly held.

The University has had all sorts of things: you mentioned just briefly the education part, whenever I speak in front of any Potawatomi people, I ask if there are any questions at the end and all the hands go up. They ask me the one question: when is Notre Dame going to return our free tuition? I told them "I don't know, I'm not that guy." I ask if there are any more questions and there aren't. That is the question of the day; Native people—we hear the story all the time of Native people receiving tuition here as part of the agreement that was made with Fr. Sorin. We don't see that tuition remission anywhere. It was promised at the same time as the food baskets we just heard about. It is very common for well-meaning white people to set up universities and promise health care, education, and food. Sorin would have known this; this would have been the same deal in many other places. Miami of Ohio was founded with the exact same deal. The Myaami are honored in a respectful way.

00:31:53

Collier:

So it's strange that we don't hear more about the tuition. The thing is the University could do is they could hire Native people instead of white guys to teach Native studies. I really like working here, but it would be important to replace me probably soon, especially if I keep talking to you.

[laughing]

We, Student Government, three times in the last ten years, voted unanimously for there to be a Native studies program at this University. There is not. They are directly ignoring things Student Government has asked for. There is not a building on this campus named for a Pokagon person or the Pokagon people. The Native Students Association, there's these murals that they don't like. We're told in national news, international

news, that there's going to be a change in those murals. That was over a year ago. I checked this morning: they're still there.

There could be exclusive contracts with the Pokagon who have the best restaurant in this area, and soon-to-have a hotel. Notre Dame could have exclusive contracts with them as a way to partner with them. The museum, the Snite Museum unfortunately does not have very many Pokagon pieces of art and culture. They could rectify that because there are lots of great artists in the Pokagon community. Events like this, the Pokagon flag should be flying here. It's a beautiful flag. It should be flying here and at every Native event, and probably every other event that happens on this campus. There used to be a Powwow at Notre Dame. Native nations came from all over the country to Notre Dame to dance and be together and teach our students about Native life and culture. There should be free PhDs offered for language and culture workers at the Pokagon offices. We also would like to see the tuition benefit. Currently there's only one Pokagon student at the University of Notre Dame. That would cost Notre Dame in Notre Dame money zero dollars if they would like to honor the tuition agreement with that person.

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And I'm sure there's much more that we could think of: a budget for Native events and those kinds of things. These are things that are simple. They benefit all of us. They respect the people that came first who were using this land to educate their people for thousands of years and continue to do so.

[applause]

00:35:07

Page:

Thank you very much, Brian. I appreciate especially practical issues, ideas, things that can actually be done because often that's where we lack even the creativity which most of these things as you've said have already been voted for, they were in the original agreement, or they're pretty common-sense things the University could do. So that will be obviously part of the next steps in trying to figure out how we can actually convince the University to do some of these things that are pretty straightforward and simple. Thank you very much.

Next we will have Jefferson Ballew who offered the prayer. He is Indigenous culture awareness and inclusion advocate for the Potawatomi Bear Clan.

00:35:58

Ballew:

Hello. My name's Jefferson. I've had this great opportunity to be invited by Mr. Nathan and to share a little bit about our history,

what we have endured here in the Great Lakes Basin Ohio River Valley. I want everyone to be very specific and understand that that's who I'm referring to when I speak to you about my ancestors specifically, is those of the Great Lakes Basin and Ohio River Valley. We have to understand that it's not just the institution that we have something to tell them who is the original harmers. We have to go back to those very first black robes, the Jesuits. This institution doesn't like to be called Jesuits anymore. They've removed that vocabulary from their own words. Those black robes were the very first ones in the sixteen hundreds that we endured, that we first met. In doing so, we had what was called the "virgin shores epidemics."

When you released your ballasts for those ships to come out of the oceans and into the riverways, they have to let that water out in those ships so that those ships can be more buoyant and float higher on those shallow rivers. In doing so, all of that water that was in their ballasts: it wasn't their drinking water or bottled water, it was their feces, their urine, their death, all that had died on their ships. All the Europeans brought to us was tuberculosis, smallpox, they brought herpes and syphilis and gonorrhoea, they brought influenza, they brought e. coli, they brought ebola. They brought these things far from their shores and brought them into our waterways in what's called "virgin shore epidemics"

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So before we had even seen one of those black robes, our population was decimated by fifty percent. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, there were over seventy million Indigenous people on these lands. Now understand: let's go back to history, we aren't just talking about North America, but we're talking about North, Central, and South America: one continuous water system from the Great Lakes Basin from the Hudson Bay, draining into the Great Lakes, draining into the Mississippi River, the Mississippi going into the Rio Grande, Rio Grande going into the Gulf of Mexico, the Gulf of Mexico going into the Amazon. One continuous water source, one continuous food source, more importantly, one continuous political source.

We were there thirty-thousand years prior the arrival of the Europeans. We had civilizations at Machu Picchu. We had civilizations at Cahokia. Same places. When you talk about Machu Picchu, for us of the Indigenous people of the Americas, that's our cradle of life. That's able to be proven through the DNA that has been stored in institutions like this. Institutions like the universities that around this nation hold our remains. These are things that were set forth by what was referred to as

the Doctrine of Discovery by the King of Spain in the fourteen hundreds, a policy set forth to commit genocide by anybody who did not believe in the Sons of Abraham. Anybody who believed else of the Sons of Abraham.

00:39:00

Ballew:

That holy war has been waged on every continent around this planet. When it was brought here, it was first brought to us with disease. Then when we finally met these black robes and they brought their way to us, because that's their policies, right? To "evangelize", to spread the word of God around the world.

Whenever Indigenous people hear the word "civilization", it is a nightmare word. They take your children when they civilize you. They take your language when they civilize you. They take your lands when they civilize you. They take your women when they civilize you. They take your entire being when they civilize you.

I refuse to be civilized. My friend in the audience will attest to that at times. I have been invited here by him to talk about diversity to the staff of this institution. I can never place blame on the modern-day people: those of you sitting in the audience, those of you participating in the institution. You inherited this; this is an historical trauma that you inherited. This is a genocidal policy that you have inherited. Until you stand up against that policy, until you make your voice heard, until you tell the Church "wait, you need to tell those Pokagons, especially the Pokagons,"—because eighty-six percent of my community, of the six-thousand and two-hundred of the citizens of the Pokagon Band of the Potawatomi, eighty-six percent of them refuse to go anywhere else but the church. They won't participate in our language. They won't participate in our ceremonies. The females, the women, were the ones who legislated our societies prior to the arrival of the Europeans. They are the ones to make law. They are the only ones to declare war upon another nation, and that included hunting. If we were to go out and take the life of a strawberry, the life of a deer, we had to get permission from our women, and then we had to ask permission of that strawberry. Have you ever asked a strawberry "may I eat you?" And have you ever taken the time to listen to whether that strawberry is ready or not? And so we have teachings about "don't eat the first one you find, and don't eat the last one you find."

00:41:20

Ballew:

That should go the same for your spirituality: don't treat Indigenous people like that strawberry that those Europeans stepped on (us). We're innovative. Those strawberries? Their seeds are on the outside, and every time they ground one of us in, we sprung up along that trail that they took. The blood of our

ancestors. We have to look at the federal government and blame them a little bit too, because in the eighteen-hundreds the Indian Removal Act (which was unconstitutional), and just like the current sitting-day president, an act of war—a current sitting-day president or president back then can act in a time of war and do as he pleases and no wrong can come to that individual. Andrew Jackson went out literally on horseback and slaughtered hundreds of Native Americans in the Indian removal process in order for it to be legal. The Supreme Court of the United States said “whoa, that’s illegal to do. You cannot remove people based on the color of their skin, based on their creed.”

Now the neat thing about the Pokagon Band of the Potawatomis is that we got this individual. When he was little, his name was Pokégnese,¹ which means “he who bothers.” We found him, Topinabee found him in a war party that was coming out of Cross Village, which was the very first place of biological warfare in the United States of America. Smallpox eradicated a civilization of 1.2 million Odawa and Chippewa people. When that happened, and that little boy was found in a war party that the Lakota were bringing back home, Topinabee raised that little boy. Topinabee is the great-great-grandfather of Gary that you see here. Sawaulk, Topinabee’s brother, is my great-great-grandfather. So you are sitting upon our family land. Literally. That’s his grandfather’s land, my uncle. The reason it was his grandfather’s and not mine was because that was the eldest one that was born and he survived.

00:43:19

Ballew:

You have to understand that prior to European arrival, that firstborn child was so significant because not only did the child survive, but more importantly the mother did to have more. That firstborn, they get that right to speak first. That’s their process, with the approval of their families. When Topinabee raised that little Pokégnese, he became Leopold Pokagon. Well a neat thing happened to Leopold: he got to meet some of those black robes that didn’t do so well for some of us. They educated him, and then the Treaty of Chicago in 1827, three years prior to the Indian Removal Act, it stated that under treaty the United States Government cannot and will not remove any Potawatomis based upon their creed.

There was only one creed to the land. We still know what the one creed of this land is, do we not? It’s Catholicism. We have to understand that the holy war that was happening here at this

¹ Approximate transliteration from Bodéwadmik.

time was between Protestants and Catholics. Indiana had their foothold right at the mouth of the South Bend tributaries where all the trade was coming in. Us, the Pokagon, Leopold specifically, under that Treaty of 1827, he received \$28,000 dollars in annuity monies. Those tribes that were taken out West were only given \$10,000 for seven other bands that were moved to Kansas and Oklahoma.

00:44:26

Imagine: grandmas, grandpas, you're sitting on your front porch on a bright, sunny day, just like today in the middle of winter. The sun's out, you're having your coffee, tea. Here comes down the middle of your road military men with children, women, men, and elders, shackled, and drug behind those horses. You, as a grandmother, a loving Christian woman, go out there to give water and food and blanket in the middle of the day, would be shot dead for giving aid to the enemy in the streets of South Bend, Indiana. Here, in eighteen hundreds, good Christians were shot dead for giving us aid, for giving us water and blankets. That dehumanized us, made us people that were being watched, marched through Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Ohio, Iowa. Has anyone ever driven to South Dakota? Have any of you taken three or four days to drive? Imagine driving in a horse and carriage. Walking in your barefoot moccasins which are now holey. You had to leave your child behind to die or else they would kill the rest of you. We were trying to survive.

By 1830 when the Indian Removal Act came through and Andrew Jackson said, "get rid of the rest of 'em", that original treaty of 1827 was violated because we were supposed to be able to stay here. That \$28,000 bought this property. When Fr. Badin came here he bought a tract right next to us. The Baptists were here earlier and they couldn't deal with us because we didn't want to leave. In Niles, Michigan—anyone here from Niles, Michigan?—That is where the first missionary school was set up to carry the mission.

00:46:33

Ballew:

And so the real issues that are happening is that the Church, the Church has set up standards and made it okay to steal children. Made it okay to steal women. Made it okay to steal the soul of us because we didn't believe in your God and Abraham. Now, if I were to come around and ask for all of you, "please! Give me the keys to your home. You only get two choices: you give me your keys or you bow down and convert to Islam. Or, you die." That would be the other third that you get.

Those murals that he talks about: you'll always see that Pope, that sacred man of the black robe of the cloth, holding the cross in one hand and next to him is the conquistador with the spear. We are only given those choices.

[In Ojibwe] Do you want to live a good life with me?²

I'm asking, "do you want to live a good life with me?" Because we didn't understand them, they gave us the sword into our heart and killed our children and women. That's not a choice. The United States of America is still the only civilized government in the world to not sign the Geneva Convention dealing with genocide. If they did, what would happen? We already know: what happened to Germany when they agreed to the terms of their genocide? What would happen to the world? What would happen to the United States of America? What would happen to the universities if the United States was taken away because of their genocidal policies.

00:48:22

There is 2.1 million of us left in the United States of America. 2.1 million: y'all just had an election. At the bottom of your screen it says plus or minus three percent margin of error. That's us. That's us. Now put on top of us poverty and felonies—we have less than two-tenths of a percent to make a difference in an election. Nobody wants to listen to us. Still, to this day, 5,417 are missing this year. 5,800 last year. 6,200 the year before that. They steal our women. You want to know why? It wasn't until three years ago that the federal government reissued the Women Against Violence Act. This specifically protects Native Americans on federal land. My daughter was raped on the Isabella Reservation by her best friend's father who was non-native. Because we lived on the reservation and that was a non-native man, I was not allowed to prosecute that man who raped and openly admitted to raping my daughter. There's no laws protecting states against federal citizens and federal crimes. We have specific legislation: 1906 they created legislation, anti-trade and intercourse. Intercourse: that's not okay to have intercourse with us. Do we understand that as Blacks, also?

The Underground Railroad created another process for us. Here in this area, we are heavily inundated with Black within our Native bloodlines. My great-grandmother, Eva May Batiste, is half Black and half Potawatomi. Right out of Webster Hills in Hartford, she was taken and her daughter was taken, Elizabeth

² Bimaadiziwin phrase.

May Rose. That was our grandmother, my great-grandmother, my dad, my uncle's mom, and brought up to the boarding school with her siblings. Her two siblings ran away from that school and were raised by the gypsies. They came back here and the University of Notre Dame contacted them and gave them food baskets.

00:50:26

Ballew:

I was raised in Los Angeles, California. The last time I received a food basket was in 1991 in Los Angeles. I knew about my agreement with this at Notre Dame because it had always been told that it wasn't just Leopold Pokagon who did this agreement. It was all of the Catholic Potawatomi who were trying to survive and who were trying not to get taken away from Michigan and Indiana. That is where we stand today. We ask if you can help us. We need access to spiritual places, places like this property here, where our tribes can't give us that. They are giving us housing and health. We have had our homelands taken and our spirituality taken, and only a place like this can give permission to other Catholics that it's okay to pray to another God. Thank you.

[applause]

00:51:22

Page:

Thank you very much for that spirited intervention. I know we are going to have some comments about that when we get to the end. I would not like to say last but not least, but we will next hear from Savanna Morgan. She is the Spokesperson for End Hate at Notre Dame. Savanna?

00:51:42

Morgan:

Good afternoon. This is a lot to follow up. I want to thank everyone for their well thought-out and thought-provoking opening statements. I want to acknowledge that approaching this conversation from a bit of a different lens because I have only been a part of this community for a short time compared to the other panelists. The communities of Notre Dame of South Bend, being that I've only been here three and a half years, I want to acknowledge my perspective is only that: a Black student on campus and also a student living off-campus who frequently engages with the community around me.

What I love so much about this panel, *Reparations & Reconciliation at Notre Dame*, is that it forces us to reckon with contemporary implications of America's past at the local level. Instead of asking, "what can I do for my country?" We must ask, "what is our responsibility to our neighbors?" When it comes to serving our neighbors, what we see in the case of Notre Dame is a need to attend to a gap between belief and

practice. We proudly tell the principles of Catholic Social Teaching as the foundation of our academic mission, yet our deeds do not show solidarity or compassion for the poor and disenfranchised communities of South Bend. We have programs that are meant to serve communities all over the world such as the International Summer Service Learning Program, and so many research apprenticeships that are dedicated to studying disparity abroad. Yet we turn away from the disparity in lives of our own brothers and sisters in South Bend, and even the disparity on our own campus, within our own community.

00:53:36

Morgan:

We talk in theory about alleviating the world of the broad structural burdens of oppression, but fail to apply these frameworks in our relationship to South Bend. We turn a blind eye to the poverty and injustice that burdens the lives of many living right next door, including people who are even hired to work here. Black and Indigenous communities across America have a right to pursue reparations. There is no exception in Notre Dame or the South Bend community. In fact, I argue that because of Notre Dame's character as a Catholic and pro-life community, it has a responsibility to lead by example of how American institutions shall repair the damage caused by America's transgressions against Black and brown communities.

It is built into America's moral imagination beginning with its founding fathers to vary from the rule of reason, to quit principles of human nature, to violate the moral law and commit crimes against fellow members of humanity in pursuit of capitalistic gains. For every dollar earned, the moral depths have accumulated. In the words of Black scholar activist Ta-Nehisi Coates, "it is as though we have run up a credit card bill and have pledged to change no more, but remain befuddled that the balance does not disappear." The debt is accruing exponentially, day by day, and it is all around us. It is true that the lives of Black Americans are better than fifty years ago. There's no more humiliation of "whites only" signs, the rates of Black poverty have decreased, teen pregnancy rates have decreased, however, we are still only a half-step away from our long centuries of despoilment. Only a half-step away from the promise "never again."

00:55:32

Morgan:

Over these past fifty years, the income gap between white and Black households has not changed, the average white household is worth twenty times that of the Black household. While whites in affluent neighborhoods are likely to stay there,

Blacks are likely to fall out. Regardless of income, Black people are less wealthy. When financial hardship falls, it falls hard. Medical emergencies, divorce, and job loss send Black Americans tumbling down the economic ladder while for the average white American, these are more often minor financial inconveniences.

In South Bend, there are multiple intersecting crises that keep Blacks at the bottom of the economic scale. You don't have to drive far up Notre Dame Avenue before seeing the clear lines of distinction of who belongs where in this city. Maybe the streets Napoleon Boulevard, Corby, and St. Louis, and Minor Street ring a bell. These are the roads we navigate routinely without regard to the violence of gentrification present in many of our surrounding neighborhoods, neighborhoods that not long ago hosted a disadvantaged but still vibrant Black and brown South Bend community, and where dozens of homes have been evicted and sit vacant within ten blocks of Angela and Twyckenham.

00:56:51

It is only fifty years ago that African Americans in South Bend could not buy a home, receive a loan, or even live in certain neighborhoods. Inside of the Civil Rights Heritage Center downtown, there are posters from the Civil Rights Era with covenants from local neighborhoods that say that a home could only be bought or leased from a white person. Young people say, "wow, I thought that happened so much longer ago than it did." Even today, safe and affordable housing is a problem for many Blacks across this city.

It is easy to place the problem of poverty entirely on the de-industrialization of the Midwest, but we cannot deny the truth that Notre Dame is incredibly responsible for pushing people into worse situations, while several properties on all sides of campus have been bought by Notre Dame realtors to sell to students and tenured professors. In a report by the Eviction Lab, South Bend is ranked thirteen among the top evicting large cities in the United States. On average, in 2016 South Bend had three evictions a day and a 6.7 percent eviction rate. With facts so pressing, one has to ask the question, "what is holding Notre Dame back in exercising the preferential option for the poor?" Instead, we contribute to these oppressive and classist structures.

00:58:17

We should support reparations, submit our questions and concerns to study, and then assess the proper methods. But Notre Dame is not interested. This is because it is Black and

Indigenous people who are making these claims. Not only do we believe, we as in America and Notre Dame, that reparations are impractical, the problem is much more existential. We conclude that the conditions in South Bend and Black America are not inexplicable, but are instead precisely what you'd expect of a community that for centuries has lived under American terrorism.

But we cannot grow complacent with these struggles. We must acknowledge how white institutions contribute to Black disadvantage and commit to the appropriate remedies. What do these appropriate remedies look like? It looks like calling gentrification what it is: classism. It looks like reversing these effects by actively creating affordable housing options in the community. It looks like eliminating the Notre Dame Bubble and establishing true kinship with the Black and Indigenous folks outside of our walls. It looks like taking our \$3.8 billion endowment outside of this one-mile radius and sharing this wealth with the people Notre Dame has historically robbed of their right to a safe and secure life.

00:59:39

Morgan:

In addition to the work to be done in South Bend, there is also much to be done on campus as it concerns our students. We treat affirmative action as the policy that recognizes the difference in social advantages, but affirmative action's exact aims have often proved elusive. Is affirmative action meant only to increase diversity? If so, it only tangentially relates to the problems that are specific to Black people. The problem of what America has taken from them over several centuries. When the goal is to increase diversity, this form of reparations becomes a struggle, becomes a question of pragmatism and practicality rather than a question of compassion for the Black struggle. In merely embracing a "feel-good-about-yourself" diversity, we fail to prevent preferential treatment of white people and white things.

Everything at this school is extremely white, even our curriculum. Black and brown voices are not equally prioritized in the classroom or the dorm. So how can we expect students and faculty to value our contributions as equal? Over the past three years, I've witnessed and experienced enough incidences of racism and classism at this University to confidently tell all of you that not enough has been done to promote cultural consciousness and awareness to the power dynamics at play in the world and on campus.

- 01:01:03 **Morgan:** It is a shame that, given the University's history of gentrification, Catholic evangelism, and colonization, that any student could graduate from here without ever engaging with Black or Indigenous scholarship. While reparations are indeed monetary, they should be equally psychological and symbolic. This school is in dire need of diversity and inclusion programming and diverse curriculum that is mandated and highly-incentivized for all students. Without it, it is as though we Black and brown students have been given a seat to the table without a plate to eat. Thank you.
- [applause]*
- 01:02:02 **Page:** Thank you so much, Savanna. I think that was a perfect ending for the panelists to speak. I just want to highlight a few of the things we've heard. As Savanna mentioned, and Brian as well, and many of you have noted, some of the things we *can* do and things that are actually quite easy to do that are not very complicated. I would just like to highlight a few of them and then we can open it up to the floor.
- I think it's important, especially as Debra mentioned: the notion of education, and that we have not even been educated about our own history. Our history which is often rewritten by the winners. We need to know more about our history and have that change so that we can actually understand where we're coming from. This would help in going a long way towards humanizing the Indigenous population. I somewhat, like Savanna, I've only been here a semester, so not quite as long as you have the three-and-a-half years, so this is actually very new to me. I apologize for not knowing as much as I should. Similarly, I am ashamed I was never taught much of the history of the Indigenous populations. I have done my own research, but that is a flimsy excuse for what should have been taught to all of us.
- 01:03:36 I noted Gary was talking about the inability to access directly the archives, even if they've been changed, even if some of the material is missing, to have to go through a second party, a third party in order to get your own history: that's problematic. There should be no reason why that cannot be accessible. Being ignored, having absolutely no building, no anything of mention on Notre Dame's campus of the Potawatomi or of the Pokagon Band, I think is shameful. I'm embarrassed to admit that I did not know that we should've had the Pokagon flag flying and I am sorry that we did not do that. I would've liked to have acknowledged that and would have been proud to do so. I

pride myself on knowing a lot of diplomatic rules of procedure and protocol, but that one was not mentioned to me, so again a lack of understanding and education on my own part. I apologize for that.

01:04:45

Page:

The free tuition: given that there is only one Pokagon student here, as you have all noted, I don't see why that should be such a problem. Of course, when it comes to pragmatism as Savanna mentioned, that's when we get down to how we find reasons not to do what could be done. "Oh, well this would start a precedent", if you're not following the rules then you don't want to start a precedent.

I think in terms of the things that we could do in the curriculum, I will note that I am teaching an undergraduate class this semester on Africa. I have made it a point to only have African or people of color as writers and researchers in the curriculum. I have tried hard to go outside of my way and I included an addendum for the people in my class—they all have to choose a country in Africa to write about—the appendix that I've attached gives them tips on how to find authors of color and African writers on history and whatnot.

01:06:09

We also talked about the fact that...the indoctrination versus education. I think that's really important. I think in terms of the curriculum, just as I have had to go outside of my comfort zone because I am a new faculty member. I've never been a professor, but there's nothing that stops me from looking outside of what is provided in other peoples' curricula. I did a lot of research on other peoples' syllabi. That should not be something that is too difficult for us to do for professors who are interested in having other authors included in their curriculum.

I think also, in terms of the votes of the Student Government, I am new to the whole hierarchy of Notre Dame and higher education, so I don't want to get too far in the weeds, but that is an interesting point that three times in the last ten years the Student Government has voted to have a Native American program and it has not occurred. These are some of the things we can look forward to pushing as we talk more about the next steps. So with that not-glorious summary, I'd like to open it up to the floor and I am particularly interested in comments; it does not have to be a question. What I'd like to do is take them in batches if they're questions especially, take them in batches of about four. We have about forty minutes...

- [whispering]
- 01:08:11 **Page:** We have a little less than forty minutes for comments and questions. I'll take them in batches of about four so that the panelists can answer them and not go back and forth and back and forth. We have roaming microphones. Put your hand up and I will direct the microphone people to you. Thank you.
- 01:08:57 **Mirando:** Thank you. My name is Tony Mirando. I was born here. I left, went to Europe, went to New York. I direct theater. Lived in LA for a long time. There was a lot that when I grew up here, South Bend was a different town. There was a lot of darkness that no one knew about this campus. There was a façade here. It was when Hesburgh was president that I knew about Notre Dame because two of my uncles came here. I want to just say a couple of things quickly. For Gary, don't ever apologize when you speak. I'm not kidding. Your words were very heavy.
- [applause]
- For Jefferson: [sighs] you broke my heart. You also brought tears to my eyes. I didn't know this. There's a book that I have called *The Dark Side of the Black Robes* that I just gave someone. I always wanted to be educated by Jesuits because they're brilliant, but the history is very dark. I would like to follow you on Facebook if you're on Facebook.
- For Savanna, there's a question that you made that I'm going to ask that you may not know about, and if anyone has an answer to this you may know about this, Debra. In 1932, the Michigan Street Bridge, there was a three-day riot that the KKK brought trainloads of white sheets into this town. The Notre Dame football players and a lot of the priests met them with baseball bats with spikes in them, and fought for three days. By the end of the fight, the story goes—and you can see it in the press—that the St. Joe River was red with blood and white sheets.
- 01:11:23 If that happened, if the priests and the students and the football players fought the KKK then, who wanted to come in and make South Bend an anchor city, and if Notre Dame defended the city against the KKK, what happened? What happened?
- 01:11:48 **Morgan:** I want to acknowledge that the KKK was also anti-Catholic, so yeah. I don't see it necessarily as a solidarity thing.
- [applause]

- 01:11:59 **Page:** Thank you.
- 01:12:00 **Morgan:** That's just how I see it, I mean, I can't talk to anyone from the time who, like, actually did that. So, I think there's no real way of knowing entirely.
- 01:12:11 **Mirando:** There's a good book called *Notre Dame vs. The Klan* on this exact topic. The library owns a bunch of the Klan robes that they stripped off the Klansmen. From time to time this library [Hesburgh Library] will display them, usually without a sign which is bothersome, but...
- 01:12:28 **Page:** Thank you, thank you very much. Yes, you. That's very impolite: "yes, you."

[laughing]
- 01:12:42 **Lucero:** Hi, Cecilia Lucero, I am an advisor here at Notre Dame. I first of all want to say how proud I am of Savanna. I've known her since she was a first year student. I think she's pretty awesome. And if people don't know, she's the...

[applause]
- ...she's going to be, well she is the Executive Director of *Show Some Skin* this year. Watch out for that production because she'll do a fabulous job with that. But I really appreciate all the practical things because I do think sometimes when we think about social justice we think "pie in the sky" and think we have no agency in changing them. Some of the things I've been thinking about and I think maybe throw it out there as a suggestion for people on campus who have some control over events: one of the things I've been thinking about is making sure we patronize minority-owned businesses in this community. When I organize events, I try as much as possible to find minority-owned catering businesses in town to bring in for students.
- I am frustrated that Notre Dame does not think of that when it was thinking about the Crossroads Project. It brought in three eateries that I think are not even based in South Bend. They benefit people who are already wealthy. There's some great ethnic restaurants in South Bend that should've been part of that or part of Eddy Street Commons. I don't know necessarily why Notre Dame doesn't think to its own neighborhoods to build that up.

- 01:14:21 **Lucero:** I agree, too, with the gentrification. It's really sad to me that, you know, right behind Eddy Street Commons and the Triangle Neighborhood we've got public housing with a fence or a gate that basically delineates where low-income neighbors live versus the very posh—I think posh—living conditions for students at Notre Dame. So I think some of those things are right in front of our faces and I just think that we tend to, we meaning Notre Dame, tend to sweep those things under the rug. We look to, like, saving other countries when we have a responsibility to recognize the dignity of our neighbors here. I don't really have a question, just comments.
- 01:15:14 **Page:** Thank you. Let me just make one thing clear here: Let me just make one comment I think that's important as we're talking about some of the practical things. As you noted, we can also go to the organizers of events. I know many of the institutes here, Kroc, Kellogg, etc., have an events planner or manager who is responsible for, with the people sponsoring the event. We can go to these people and say "have you considered using this caterer or this service?", or, "have you considered inviting these people?" or those who make the publicity for the programs, things like that. You can exercise that and not just say "oh they don't think about it". Well, we can help them remember to think about it by telling them to think about it. Yes, in the middle.
- 01:16:18 **Liangga Kumala:** Hello, my name is Novita [Liangga Kumala]. I am a peace studies student from Indonesia, so just only a tiny bit of experience here in South Bend. But also I have a comment and a question. The first one, because I am from Indonesia I also have kind of have a little bit of lived experience of what it is to be a double minority in my country. I always try to actively see from the other peoples' perspective in an institution. I did a class project last year about the [Columbus] mural which is still very much controversial. One of the things I did back then was I tried to follow the Notre Dame official tour from the Visitors' Center. Again, probably if people are not familiar with what white privilege is that they have in this life, white people, male, whatever, they might find one of the videos that starts the whole tour, there's nothing wrong with it.
- For me, I found a tiny bit of problems. I considered that video is very old. I encourage people who have never taken part in that tour to take it and think and reflect a little bit about that "official" tour. I didn't see a lot of problematic stuff, but some stuff that if you're not part of the minority you will not notice.

- Basically, there's this video where, I forget who said it, but they say all the priests came here and it was "brave" kind of action in the middle of nowhere. I'm like, "it's not in the middle of nowhere." There's someone living here. There are a lot of people living here. That example. Can you revise that old video into, like, a really new one that represents a new spirit that we are trying to achieve here for example.
- 01:18:24 **Liangga Kumala:** The second one, I want to ask a question—I don't know to whom exactly—but for example, just talking about the mural again: it is a little bit of a very difficult issue. When I interviewed people last year, I could say I am from Indonesia so I'm a little dis-attached from this issue. But of course I have my own bias. That's why whenever I would try to interview people I would just, like, "oh, yeah. Sure. That's a good point. Whatever." But how to have that constructive discussion between two very different groups or people here. That, also there is also the Native American Association [NASAND]. There are also other associations that are not so pro about the decision to cover, for example. Or, why not to cover and basically other. Sometimes the discussion can be quite hostile. How to try and build that discussion that can be really constructive and consistent? Not once a year every time there is a celebration for MLK, for example. That's it. Thank you.
- 01:19:30 **Page:** Thank you very much. There's a hand right at the back, last row, yes.
- 01:19:41 **Henderson:** I don't know...should I stand? Or...
- 01:19:43 **Page:** You can sit but if you could tell us who you are that would be great.
- 01:19:46 **Henderson:** Yes, ma'am. Hi, my name is Angelle Henderson. I am a senior here at the University of Notre Dame. I study political science and international economics, Arabic. I lived in Flaherty Hall. I would like to answer the first gentleman's question about what happened, and I just want to say nothing happened. This University and many of the people here at this University continue to fight for what is important to them and what matters to them. This University time and time again has shown us that they personally do not care about Black and brown people, even the ones who specifically go here. A few quick tangents/stories in regards to this point:
- First and foremost, the first Black student was not allowed on this campus until over a decade after that incident took place.

- Second, my mentor, who came here in 1974, was ran out of her dorm room—she’s a Black woman—was ran out of her dorm room and was told by multiple people, over fifty people calling her the n-word. The University did nothing.
- 01:20:45 In 2016, one of my mentors, Gregory Jenn, was here and he was ran out of his dorm room being called racial slurs telling him to go back to his country the day after Donald Trump won. The University did nothing.
- A few people in here have reported to the University several times including myself that they’ve been called racial slurs, that they’ve had multiple microaggressions done to them, and once again the University has done nothing. So to that point: per usual, the University does nothing because obviously we are not a part of their priorities.
- 01:21:18 **Page:** I’m...I’m...deeply troubled by that. Although, I obviously don’t represent the administration, I am really sorry to hear that you and many other students have had those experiences. That’s a terrible thing. Yes, over there.
- 01:21:43 **Heller:** Yes, hi. My name is Darryl Heller. I am the Director of the Civil Rights Heritage Center downtown. I just want to say a couple of things. One, this event: thank you so much for, and also for you, Jefferson. I learned from Debra, actually, this whole notion of truth-telling. I was actually on Debra’s show *Truth-Telling Time* a while ago. But it’s important not only these stories but we tell the truth. What history is, I’m an historian by training, history is not—for me—not so much a fascination with the past but is really about trying to understand our present. How did we get here? We can’t understand how we got here without understanding the history that produced our present.
- As was said: education and learning is often not about liberation but is really about subjugating, and that history that we learn is so often about propping up a minority at the expense of a majority. And the majority, distinctly Black, brown, and Indigenous people, have been written out of the stories that have been told. So I think that when we talk about history and we teach about history, that we have to call things for what they were. Not just learn the history, but learn the structures, the power, the interests that were being served in its production as well. As importantly, that we can’t be fully present without having that sense and understanding.

- 01:23:22 It's all really about ideology. The second-to-last point I want to make: what history has often been used for is to support an ideology. We have to call white supremacy for what it was. That language didn't exist in one sense one hundred years ago or two hundred years ago, but that's what it was and that's what it continues to be. I think everything that Savanna was sharing and teaching us was really about that. We also have to use the words and use the language that clarifies it for what it is.
- The last point is that I'm relatively new here as well. I've been in and out of South Bend for four-and-a-half years. South Bend is not unique in what's happening to Indigenous people, and I think Jefferson was alluding to that. What's happened to the Potawatomi here in South Bend, in Michigan, is what happened to Indigenous people throughout the hemisphere. Just being new here or being relatively new in a particular location doesn't disqualify one from being able to speak truth and to engage as Debra would say "truth-telling". Because the truth as told about what happened here is also the truth that is operative in many other parts of certainly our country but the world, and certainly in this hemisphere. So, that's my thoughts.
- 01:24:47 **Page:** Thank you, very much. I would like to maybe offer, maybe you would like to come and speak to one of my classes and I offer the same to the panelists. I think that would be a nice way of including especially from the historical perspective of the Native community.
- 01:25:04 **Ballew:** May I comment on education a moment?
- 01:25:05 **Page:** Absolutely. What I'd like to do now is give all the panelists an opportunity to respond or add to, and then the next set of questions I'd like to see if we can get to some of the issues around the justice part of the foundation that Laurie laid out for us. So please, panelists, go ahead you can start. Jefferson.
- 01:25:32 **Ballew:** So, I hear people talking about how we're educated, how the higher learning institutions aren't properly educating American citizens on not only the genocidal policies of America that happened to Indigenous people of this area but both of slavery within the Black communities and within our Orient communities. I was a Montessori teacher for six years on the Mount Pleasant Reservation, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe, where the largest mission Indian boarding school was placed in the Great Lakes, The Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School. This housed over 38,000 students over its period of

time, including my grandmother and many of my aunts, uncles, and teachers have gone through there.

When we set up that Montessori, we set up in mind that we're having to deal with the direct descendants of seven generations of genocide, of institutionalized racism, of community racism. We had to be very careful at how we were doing this because on our reservation in the Isabella community, there were five churches within our reservation: Methodist, Nazarene, Catholic, Presbyterian, and I forget the other one. There were five churches, excuse me for not remembering that fifth one. As we were setting up the curriculum, of course, us cultural teachers—those who have learned about culture and language—I've spent twenty-six years going into the woods, going into homes, traveling throughout Michigan, Canada, Wisconsin, going to ceremonies. I've lost jobs because of this. I wasn't able to go to college because of it. I have this extensive knowledge that not many of our population has but I am only a high school graduate.

01:27:32

Ballew:

I was asked by the Robinson Center down the road to run their after-school program three years ago, when I first was introduced to this community. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to apply for that job because I didn't have at least an associate's degree. Come to find out, there were other things that didn't happen for me. When we started to look at how we are going to educate these children that was surrounded by the enemy, we couldn't send these kids into a battle zone against the churches, against the Christians and their community, without giving them the understanding of what they were doing.

We were teaching them about the historical effects that had happened, the genocide, but what we had to keep in mind was that: whenever you teach the truth—we talk about truth-telling—you can create for us we call it "Native pride", the white folks call it "white pride", Black folk "Black pride." These institutions like KKK and the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement were created for social reasons, but very much differ in aims. The Black Panthers were there to solve hunger and to solve children's problems, and identity, and give out these sources that no other services were being offered to. So we were getting kids that were getting extremely hostile. They were extremely mad, they were finding out that this was done to them right here, their grandmothers and grandfathers. That it was okay to come onto their reservation and rape Indian women. Those men and women who did those crimes could

01:29:19

leave without being persecuted, and this was happening time and time again.

We really had to teach about loving oneself, loving the ancestors and what those teachings are about, looking at the language and looking at the culture. If you just start inundating youth with knowledge, with the truth—you tell them the truth, truth can be a dangerous weapon. That white pride can turn into Native pride even though we're trying to include our Native children. We can make warriors and monsters just by telling them the truth unless it's tempered with compassion, love, and dignity. You can't just say "yes, they killed us", you have to explain why.

We have to understand that this is not going to sit well with these Millennials who are coming up. This is why they did it: why they did it? Because we could. That is the simplest reason they did it, because they could. They continue to do it because they can. Because 12% of the world's population which is Caucasian controls 98% of the trade and intercourse throughout the world. It's not okay and it's the way that we're educating our children. We're telling them lies and telling them, "you have to believe this." Then when they go out and read books like *Education for Extinction*, which I understand Brian brings this individual in, he talks about a war was waged on our children with schoolteachers.

White women, Victorian women, waged war on us. Kill the Indian, save the man. So when you educate, don't just tell the truth, but share love and compassion. Thank you.

01:30:55

Page:

Thanks, that's very helpful. Thank you.

[applause]

Anyone else? We can go in order. Go ahead, Savanna.

01:31:02

Morgan:

I wanted to just "Amen" to Angelle's comments earlier. Oh no, she left.

[laughing, "she's here" someone says.]

She is? Okay. Angelle is one of my favorite people on campus. I would just like to personally attest to some of the claims she made. Last semester, End Hate ND began as a response to a personal account to racist and homophobic slurs directed at me within two different residence halls on campus. I can tell

you personally what it's like trying to pursue change from within the system. Sitting across the desk from senior-level officials who heard about the incidents and were made aware of the ways me and my co-organizers who, some of them are here, have organized against the structural burdens on Black and brown students.

The bureaucracy that's present in these conversations are out of control. It's hard to get anywhere with people who are hell-bent on not acknowledging that Notre Dame has problems. That's why when we talk about change I think it's really important to note that a lot of it will have to come from the bottom, which is why this student-led initiative—kind of like a grassroots initiative—thought was the most productive way of going about change at this University, despite the fact that many of us have been threatened with expulsion for protesting against some of the structural problems at this University. I think my main point in saying all of this is that change will have to come from professors, from faculty, from students who aren't necessarily in the Main Building, in the Office of Student Affairs, and all those other entities.

01:33:26 **Page:** Anyone else want to add anything? If not, we can just take another round of comments. Please.

01:33:32 **Stanley:** So one of my most favorite quotes, it's from the President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, and it goes like this:

"When the missionaries came," *[laughing]* yes I love it, I love it. "We had the land and they had the Bible. They taught us to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened our eyes, they had the land and we had the Bible."

[laughing]

That's some of how what I see Notre Dame. Under the auspices of this religion they do harm. They do great harm. That's how they took the surrounding community. Coming forth as this...so we have to be careful that we don't become co-conspirators because when they formed that committee to gentrify the East Side, they took a couple of folks from the neighborhood and put them on their little board to put them out front to sell it to communities. Then those folks looked up and looked down, and they had nothing. They are the ones that went to the poorer of the poorest and said "you better take what they give you 'cause that's all you're going to get." Then you see the others up the street, who weren't the poorest of the poor, who

- were actually the white people, who went to court and got a whole lot more.
- 01:35:06 There is a reason, you know, as Darryl was saying, in understanding that history because it goes way back. You can look at the first explorers to the continent of Africa when they wrote back to the king and queen, and talked about all the glory and the riches and the architecture of Africa. When they decided they wanted to take it, then all of a sudden the people of the continent became these heathens, these soulless, tail-wearing people, who needed Jesus Christ. So the missionaries came. So it is being mindful, as Darryl was saying, the history, the techniques that continue to happen over, and over, and over again.
- There was a reason why there was this blonde, blue-eyed Jesus Christ hanging in the Black church, looking down on the people. There was a reason why the master read from the Bible every morning before you went to the fields and every morning. There was a reason why the Black man was given the power, the Church: keep your people ignorant, powerless, and looking forward to the pie in the sky and accepting of this life here on earth.
- 01:36:30 **Stanley:** So again, to continue to look at these things, to tell our truths, because that question needs to occur. That's something I ask the ministers today: "are you going to continue as the master gave it to you, or are you now going to use this as a tool of freedom, *and* are you going to reach back and find some of our spirituality and connect it?" Because, again, these things are global. Talking to some of the students here on campus, and seeing that on the continent of Africa, they are taught Dutch history, they are taught French history. There is this whole attempt to just wipe us not only from the history books but wipe us off the planet except as we can be used. With that I'll pass.
- [laughing]*
- 01:37:21 **Page:** Okay.
- [applause]*
- Laurie?
- 01:37:27 **Nathan:** Just two remarks: the first is to acknowledge the prejudice, the violence, and the hatred to which many of our friends here have been subjected, historically and contemporaneously. It

would be tragic enough if this were simply a matter of history, but it isn't. It's ongoing, it's alive as we hear. I want to acknowledge that and acknowledge the pain.

Second, to say that this is not simply a forum for talking. I hope that this is a platform for action. For the activist, it's not sufficient to criticize and lend base, to pour scorn and moan and groan, for the activist the question is always "what is to be done?" That question can be answered in terms of what can I do and what can we do. Every one of us can do something. Exactly what that is depends on where we locate it in the University and outside the University. Every one of us can be something. That's a challenge to each of us: what am I doing? What can I do? What can I do more? What can we do, which is the collective? There are many opportunities I can see here for collaboration, for solidarity, and for partnerships that strengthen what each of us is doing as individuals and in our respectable organizations.

- 01:38:59 **Nathan:** As you can see from the framing of this event, the focus is local. It's not "what can we do in Guatemala or Namibia" or somewhere out there which is kind of romantic, it's "what can we do *here*?", meaning inside the University and inside our town, I think a real strength that would emanate from this forum would be if we could reinforce and build new links between town and University. I can see many opportunities for that, so I would really encourage all of us to take the initiative to follow up with those you think can provide solidarity and partnerships so that this event has a legacy beyond simply sharing our views with each other.
- 01:39:40 **Page:** Thanks, I think that that's really important. I would like to give Laurie a thank you for that.
- [applause]*
- Let's take another round of comments and questions. I saw your hand up first.
- 01:39:59 **Delilah:** Thank you. My name is Delilah. This is such a wonderful conversation to have, especially after the conversation that we had last year which was centered on whiteness. I'm a former Notre Dame employee. I remember after that event I did a post on social media on why I left Notre Dame. The answer was simply because of the overwhelming whiteness of this place. It's not just that there's a lot of white people here, but it's a place that centers whiteness.

I'm glad that we're having these conversations, but I think it was actually Jefferson Ballew who mentioned at that panel last year, who really posed a question how any person of color can practice Christianity when it is, and Debra you were mentioning this earlier right now, when it has been this tool of hatred, of violence, of death for so many of us. I want to urge caution when we're thinking about these practical solutions to whiteness, to colonization, to oppression, because often times what happens is that we create these very simple solutions that we put in place that further subject people of color to harm.

01:41:26

I have to question how this institution can ever reconcile with that because you can't decolonize an institution that at its core, by definition, is colonial. I do appreciate the challenge to each and every one of us to take steps, but I also have to ask: what good are those steps going to be when this institution will always be colonial?

01:42:01

Page:

I don't have much of a comment to that. Thank you. I think that's well-noted. Let me go, I think there's someone in the middle over here. Yes. The man with the cap.

01:42:47

Sylvester:

Hello. My name is Baye [Sylvester]. I work with Debra and I represent this community as well. I got a couple of things. We're talking about, by and large, I was asked a question once: where is the struggle at right now? My response along with some others after much thought was that the struggle is for the minds of the people. I'm going to say that again: the struggle is for the minds of the people. That's what you all are talking about, trying to win people over to the mindset of liberation. When we talk about reparations, then, it is imperative that we win the people over, their minds, liberate their minds to understanding what reparations is. What we have the tendency to do and what we can find ourselves subject to, true to what she was just saying, is that in other words, the success of the demand cannot depend on the goodwill or the integrity of the imperialist state.

The same folks who created these circumstances and conditions are the ones who have us here right now. So as we push for the struggle for the minds of the people, we have to be reminded of what she just said. The primary contradiction confronting not just African people, not just Indigenous people of this here country but around the world is colonialism. It started with colonialism and we have to address it as a colonial relationship. That means we have to define what we're going to

be, where we're going to align ourselves with: are we working class people? Are we part of the liberation of the world? When I look at this University, I don't see a symbol of spirituality but a reflection of the internationalist, expansion under the guise of organized dogma. In other words, religion, which was used as part of the colonial imperialists, too.

01:44:20

That's where we're at. So if we're not struggling for the minds of the people to win them over to positions of liberation, I don't care how uncomfortable it is. Because many of us would rather deal with the known aspects and trembling of slavery, of mental slavery, than to struggle against it and the unknown of being free. Thank you.

01:44:44

Page:

Thank you.

[applause]

In the way back, on this side.

01:44:51

Anderson:

Hello. My name is Adrienne Anderson and I'm the Staff Diversity Recruiter here at Notre Dame. I'm also from South Bend, so I wanted to let you know I'm very familiar with the area. My question: a lot of times we have events like this, we have diversity events throughout the year, and I've noticed that the people who attend are usually allies. It's the people who look at The Week at ND every week and never attend any of all of the events that we have to offer: those are the ones that need to be reached. So my first question is: how do we reach them?

My second question is: in attending all of these diversity events, I noticed that I don't see senior leadership. I would like to know: what are your suggestions on how to reach them also?

01:45:41

Page:

Thank you. Yes, in the middle.

01:45:49

Van Duzer:

Hi, my name is Nate [Van Duzer] and I'm a second year peace studies student here in the master's program. My question is: are there other, or I'm wondering if there are other Universities or institutes of higher education that are a step or two down the journey of this conversation around reparations from whom we can learn or draw inspiration from that perhaps have successfully engaged higher administration, or things along that line?

- 01:46:16 **Page:** I want to take, I think there's one last question, then we need to get comments from the panel and then we'll wrap up. Thank you.
- 01:46:26 **Bobby:** Hi. My name is Bobby. I'm a senior here who has lived on campus all four years. I just want to talk from the perspective of someone who has been ensconced in the Notre Dame bubble as my experience with South Bend. Talk about what might be sort of the toenail in the water when we're talking about education, like, forcing as part of the curriculum to reckon with these sorts of things, and that's the First Year Experience class, the Moreau Program.
- Those of you may not know, it is a one-credit, yearlong class that all freshmen have to take starting I believe the year before me, starting with the class before me. In that class we do get some discussion of these sorts of issues, but they have to share time with things like learning how to do time management and sleep properly. That seems to be the one thing a lot of people get from it is naps. But to express frustration and sadness at I think a lot of the ways even these very tentative and half-measures are treated by I think a lot of the members of the—I'm going to emphasize the white population—because these are the examples I grapple with most consistently. Anywhere from reluctance to contempt for some of the issues that we talk about with regards to racial and class-based acknowledgment, the “diversity training” let alone even something like reparations. I do want to echo the sentiment that education, what Mr. Ballew said from his perspective saying that education was not enough and that focusing on dignity. I don't know how we do that. I just, I don't. I hope...
- 01:48:46 We are engaging with a hostile enemy in many cases. So, I've never had slurs directed to me but I've heard them used in casual conversations in at least a couple of occasions amongst...I'm just a white straight guy, you know? Like, so...
- 01:49:06 **Page:** Thank you. Thanks for raising these issues and for saying it as a person of privilege in the bubble. We appreciate that. I said I was going to stop but can you make it really fast?
- ["yes!" from the audience.]*
- 01:49:26 **White:** Hi. My name is Steve White. I am a resident of South Bend Indiana. I really appreciate this forum today. But we also have a group in South Bend that is working on reparations. We are

- trying to collaborate and get more members involved. As a matter of fact, Darryl is kind of the lead mindset of this organization and we have several members here. I just wondered if I didn't know if they wanted to get a hold of us. I don't know who the contact person is, but you can get to...
- We also have—I got a brainfreeze—yeah, George. On Washington Street, that's where we meet at. So get my name—
- 01:50:07 **Page:** Could you give the name of the organization? Do you have a website? A phone number?
- 01:50:12 **White:** *[to another person]* What is the name of the organization? Civil Rights Heritage Center.
- 01:50:17 **Page:** Okay great. "Civil Rights Heritage Center." They're working on reparations. Thank you very much.
- 01:50:23 **White:** Thank you very much.
- 01:50:25 **Page:** Okay, I'm going to give the panelists a—WHOOOP—any last comments that they would like to say and then we will unfortunately wrap it up because we have a hard stop at 4:30. Let's just start at the end, Savanna, and we'll just make our way this way.
- 01:50:41 **Morgan:** I want to do a plug mixed with an—a plug is "Millennial" for an advertisement—or "Gen-Z" or whatever I am, and also an answer to Adrienne's call to include senior-level officials in the conversation. There's been an effort on my part and on part of dozens of students who have been collaborating with me for End Hate at ND to get senior-level officials, rectors, professors, all in the room. We have an event this Friday in the same auditorium at 4:00pm called *Identity & Belonging: Highlighting Diverse Voices in the Classroom and in the Dorms*.
- 01:51:34 **Page:** And that's when?
- 01:51:36 **Morgan:** It's this Friday at 4:00pm in the same auditorium. And—
- 01:51:39 **Page:** Great, thank you. 4:00pm Friday, this Friday.
- 01:51:44 **Morgan:** Yeah. So, End Hate at ND is hosting that along with the Department[s] of FTT and Gender Studies. We're bringing in the Associate Provost, Dean Page as well as faculty from Gender Studies and Pamela Nolan Young who is the Executive Director of Academic Diversity & Inclusion, so a lot of people who are in

charge of policy. I don't necessarily know what's going to come out of it because, like I said, there are a lot of people who don't want to come to terms with their precious Notre Dame having problems.

I think if more students got involved with more grassroots, more—I don't want to say “bottom of the ladder”—non-hierarchical movements happening on campus and in South Bend, I think the outcome would be a lot more effective. We can't just depend on people at the top of the rungs at the ladder to fully accept our proposals until we show them what they look like. For instance, there are professors who are most notably Dr. Mary Kearney from Gender Studies, who are organizing syllabus workshops and teaching other professors how to incorporate non-male and non-western/white perspectives into their scholarship. That's the type of thing that I would encourage other faculty members who are here who might not necessarily be in charge of policy to pursue.

01:53:36 **Page:** Thank you.

01:53:39 **Ballew:** Humanity is quickly losing it's humanity. We're no longer allowed to have discussions when we disagree in America anymore. We can't give opinions, we can't give factual information, there's too much fake news, nobody knows. When you start talking about genocide with people, you become the downer of the party. Most people want to hear Indians talk about just stars and pretty beadworks and singing songs and dancing around and wearing feathers.

Those are tribal customs that aren't specific just to the Great Lakes Basin Ohio River Valley. Those are tribal customs for all tribes of Indigenous people, those four sacred races of mankind that I spoke about in that prayer: red, yellow, black, and white, each offering those aspects of knowledge, growth, strength, and wisdom. Without those, we can't do anything together. If we are constantly at odds with each other, then we won't have this opportunity to heal.

01:54:45 There are so many instances where Native people have seen the promises made of a better tomorrow by politicians, by churches, by good-hearted individuals, yet nothing has happened to this day. Not one single treaty of the United States of America has ever been upheld. Our women still have no rights, they can still be kidnapped and raped and murdered and nobody be charged with it. These are things that are in the dogma of this religious, holocaustal, Sons of Abraham. When

you talk about these things: we have watched this for five hundred years.

You have been fighting with others for five thousand years, and now you are arguing about ten thousand years has been when humans were placed upon this earth, when us Indigenous people have been telling you we have been here since Pangaea. We were placed here in the time when all the continents were placed here, just like each sacred race. And when that moves it clockwise and you can put it in a puzzle, we did it at the Montessori school all the kids did this, you can take the globe apart and put it all back together to be the original Turtle Island, when we were side-by-side learning those original tribal customs. Religion continues to be the most decisive discussion we will ever have. In that discussion, fear is the biggest motivator to do nothing. Please stop doing nothing. Speak to your god and let them tell our god that it's okay that our gods can talk. We are humans and we're supposed to talk, and we're not doing that any more. We're pointing fingers.

01:56:27 **Page:** Thanks, I think that's a good comment. Brian?

01:56:33 **Collier:** Steve [Bobby], cause you're a white guy and that's me, I feel I should talk to you. One, you're already doing it. You asked what you could do, you're here. That's step one. Step two, and it's super scary, go talk to somebody you don't know who said something that you liked and wanted to hear more about, and then get involved in that thing. That's step two. You'll figure the rest out from there.

01:57:02 **Page:** Thank you.

01:57:06 **Morseau:** I don't know if I mentioned this earlier, but I actually do live in South Bend. I live maybe seven minutes down the road and I call it the urban war zone because that's where all the shootings and gunshots you hear about, that's a nightly thing in my neighborhood. That's neither here nor there.

One of the things I wanted to point out, and I just thought about this earlier, with the talking of the mural and stuff, with Columbus. For many years that I protested with my friends to change that, not the mural but Columbus Day. It just goes to show how Catholicism works in the community. One of the saddest days I had was when our Tribal Chairman called me and I said, "oh no he's calling me. Something is up here; he never calls." He said, "Gary, I just want you to know that it's going to hit the news that the tribe is not supporting making it

Indigenous Day in South Bend because it will upset high-ranking Catholics in the community. We just can't afford that right now because it will take away what we're trying to build." I just couldn't believe that. Basically, we were referring to the University and Catholic community that *they* don't want that change. We're seeing that here: they said they were going to take it down? It's still there. They're very good at deceptive things now.

01:58:34

One of the good things I can put out there that I think that Russell Means wrote it the best way, that American language, it was invented to deceive people. Every time something is written in American English, it is there to deceive and not mean anything. From our treaties to everything. It's written in their language, even when we deal with the government stuff. This is one thing I did like about the U of M [University of Michigan], we were doing an agreement with them. It was just over rematriating cedes. They wanted the paperwork to be written in Potawatomi and it would be tried in our court if there was ever any issue or dispute. They just said that's what they do at the University when they deal with other countries and stuff. We just don't do that here. We use our U.S. language or English language to deceive people and lie, and that's the language that's written on lies and dishonesty. That's all I really have.

01:59:42

Page: Thanks, Gary. Debra?

01:59:47

Stanley: When I'm working with young people, really young people, I always say: learn how to read and comprehend. If you can read and comprehend, they cannot keep the truth from you. My rejection of formal education is because they wouldn't teach me anything I wanted to know. It is kind of like, I was forever questioning those things: why is European history required? If Africa is the cradle of humanity, why isn't African history required? Why should I have to sit and learn, because the first thing we learn of European history starts in Africa, but it's all slashing and burning and barbarianism and conquest. That's not my nature, that's not in my soul. Why should I have to learn that?

The whole thing, even the founding of my organization was to get out from under those kinds of decisions that were made in compliance of oppression. The whole thing is that we have to be very, very intentional when we want to learn, when we want to use our brains, when we want to think for ourselves, when we want to define ourselves, when we want to trace our own

history. Then, once we have knowledge, it's nothing unless we share it. Thank you.

[applause]

02:01:15

Nathan:

I shall end. We can debate ideology, we can debate our objectives, we can debate strategy, what we can't do is give up. What we can't do is walk away from the fight. I invite all of you who would like to make contact with the Mediation Program and the Kroc Institute to support us, or to request our support if there's anything we can do that would strengthen your endeavors through partnership. Whether you are organizations or individuals, we welcome that collaboration. Let me thank Susan very much for moderating and thank all of you very much for your good energy, and to thank our speakers for their fantastic contributions and to wish them well in their struggles, and to remind you of the event that takes place at 4:00 on Friday in this venue which continues this conversation.

02:02:09

Page:

Thank you all very much.

[applause]

END OF TRANSCRIPT.

Transcribed by Liam Maher with contributions and translations from Jefferson Ballew IV (Potawatomi Bear Clan).