24th Annual California Indian Conference
California State University, East Bay
Coordinator: Tsim D. Schneider

Friday, October 30

At Coyote Hills Regional Park
4-8 PM

Conference Reception and Fieldtrip
Coyote Hills Regional Park
East Bay Regional Park District
8000 Patterson Ranch Road
Fremont, CA 94555
Info: (510) 544-3216

4:00-5:00: Visit the Coyote Hills Visitor Center exhibits.
4:30-5:30: Naturalist Beverly Ortiz will lead a tour of a more than 2,000-year-old Tuibun Ohlone village site.
5:00-6:00: Dinner will be shared out-of-doors at the park’s Dairy Glen group campsite.
5:45-6:00: Ruth Orta (Jalquin Ohlone/Bay Miwok) and Beverly Ortiz will cook acorn soup with heated stones in a basket.
6:00-8:00: Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone), Gregg Castro (t’rowt’raahl Salinan, rumsien Ohlone) and friends will share songs, stories and other cultural traditions.

Saturday, October 31

At California State University, East Bay
9 AM to 7 PM
See abstracts below for further details.

Meiklejohn Hall 2038

9 AM to 4 PM (Lunch 12-1)

9-12: How can California Indians influence the future practice of archaeology? Seeking ideas about the process: How to move from the White Papers to setting new policies and laws
Organizer:
Janet P. Eidsness, Co-Chair of Society for California Archaeology (SCA) Native American Programs Committee (NAPC), Tribal Heritage Preservation Officer (THPO) for Blue Lake Rancheria, Member of State Historical Resources Commission’s (SHRC) Archaeological Resources Committee (ARC), Native American Outreach

Discussants & Facilitators:
Janet P. Eidsness, Co-Chair SCA NAPC
Cassandra Hensher (Karuk), Co-Chair SCA NAPC
Gregg Castro (t’rowt’raahl Salinan/rumsien Ohlone), Member ARC (Native American Outreach)
Pattie Tuck, THPO for Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, Member ARC (Native American Outreach)
Anthony Madrigal, Counsel to Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC), Proxy for NAHC to ARC
Wayne Donaldson, California State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), Chairman of SHRC

1-2:30: Persisting Native American Identity
“Cultural Identity and Cultural Knowledge: An Exploratory Study of Young Native American Men in Urban Areas,” Hoest Heap of Birds (University of Southern California)
“How All the Brown People Became Mexican and the Struggle for Native American Ethnic Identity in the Central Valley of California,” Katherine Valenzuela (Center for Regional Change, University of California, Davis)
““We are both Native and Catholic”: California Indian Participation in the National Tekakwitha Conference,” Kellie J. Hogue (Indiana University, Bloomington)

2:30-4: “The Salt Song Trail Map”
Philip M. Klasky (San Francisco State University)

Meiklejohn Hall 2078

9 AM to 3 PM (Lunch 12-1)

9-10:30: “Chumash healing and arthritis treatment,”
James D. Adams, Jr. and Cecilia Garcia (Chumash) (University of Southern California)

10:30-11:30: “Estanislao’s Revolution Against the California Mission System”
James D. Adams, Jr. (University of Southern California)

Co-Chairs: Lowell John Bean (Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, CSU East Bay) & Beverly R. Ortiz (Ethnographer/Naturalist, East Bay Regional Park District)
Panelists and contributors: Paul Apodaca (Associate Professor of Sociology and American Studies, Chapman University), Maree Cheatham (Actress), Shelly Davis-King (Davis King and Associates), Thomas F. King (Cultural Resources Management, SWCA Environmental Consultants), Daniel McCarthy (Tribal Relations Program Manager, San Bernardino National Forest), Richard Milanovich (Chair, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians), Leslie Mourniquand (Archaeologist & Tribal and Cultural Liaison, Riverside County), Sean Owen (Filmmaker), Harry M. Quinn (Coachella Valley Archaeological Society), Joan Schneider (Associate State Archaeologist, Colorado Desert District, California State Parks), Patricia Tuck
Archaeologist, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians), and Kevin Siva (Councilmember, Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla Indians)

Meiklejohn Hall 2090

9 AM to 4 PM (Lunch 12-1)

9-10:30: “Adding Voices to History”
Participants:
Ben Graber (San Francisco State University)
Philip M. Klasky (San Francisco State University)
Steve McBride (San Francisco State University)
Monika Nakadate (San Francisco State University)
Jake Stillman (San Francisco State University)

10:30-11:30: Medicine Trails
Organizer: Lillian Fleer
Participants: Mavis McCovey (Karuk), John Salter

1-2: “What Czech Students Make of American Indian Literature”
Rebekah Bloyd (California College of the Arts)

2-3: “Lanny Pinola: Renewing Native American Dance Traditions in the San Francisco Bay Area”
Patricia Bulitt and Susie Moore

Meiklejohn Hall 2100

10:30-12: “Seeing in Another Way: Sacred Sites of the Bay Area”
Corrina Gould (Chochenyo Ohlone) (Shellmound Walk, Vallejo Intertribal Council, Indian People Organizing for Change, Nuuma), Rebecca Z. Holder (Omaha) (Shellmound Walk, Nuuma)

University Library, Biella Room

2:30 PM to 4 PM

2:30-4: Cultural Landscapes
“The San Francisco Bay Moundbuilders and the Need for a Comparative Study With Other Moundsites Both in the U.S. and Around the World,” Stephanie Manning
“San Francisco Bay Area Shell Mounds and New Insights from Marin County, California,” Tsim D. Schneider (University of California, Berkeley)
“Inscribed On the Land: Irrigation, Vegetculture, Farming, and the Rise and Decline of Cultures,” James Comer (Victor Valley College)

Meiklejohn Hall 2064
Film Screening: “Buried Stories”
Directed by Julie Kirkenslager and Emily Wick. Produced by Allen Pastron
Introduction and comment: Rob Edwards

Buried Stories unearths the life story of a Native American (Ohlone/Esselen) woman named Ella Rodriguez, who, in her seventies, still resents that she was taken from her rural California home at age thirteen and sent to an Indian boarding school. After running away from the school and becoming ensnared in the juvenile justice system, she was forced into marriage by a parole officer at eighteen, then labored as a migrant worker. In the 1970s, when Ella was 44, she protested for weeks to stop the destruction of a Native American cemetery site and dedicated her life to preserving her heritage. After two decades of working on endangered construction sites to oversee and protect Native American burial grounds, Ella obtained an informal but comprehensive education about her ancestors. Ella’s later years bridged her Native American past and modern archaeological research. A resilient and wisecracking woman in a hard hat, Ella fought to preserve her ancestors’ history. In the process, she connected with her painful personal past as she unearthed troubling official documents relating to her youth. Told through Ella’s charismatic and poignant lens, her story incites curiosity about the historical and cultural forces that shaped her destiny and identity

Meiklejohn Hall Central Plaza

Evening Event TBA

Vendors
Meiklejohn Hall Southeast Mezzanine, 9-4

Contact Information:

To RSVP please email: calindconf@gmail.com or call (510) 885-3237

Vendors please email: khal.schneider@csueastbay.edu

Maps and Campus Information:

Meiklejohn Hall
http://www.testing.csueastbay.edu/maps/mapsmi2000.php

University Library
http://library.csueastbay.edu/wp-content/uploads/03-02-09-lm-floor-plan-mast.jpg

Campus Map
http://www20.csueastbay.edu/about/visitor-information/maps-campus-locations/hayward-campus-map/index.html
Submitted Abstracts:

Adams, James D.
“Estanislao’s Revolution Against the California Mission System”
Cucunuchi was a Yokuts Indian from Laquisimas. After baptism at the Mission San Jose, September 24, 1821, he was given the name Estanislao. By 1823, Estanislao was Alcalde at the Mission San Jose. On February 21, 1824, the Chumash revolted against the Missions La Purisima, Santa Barbara and Santa Ines. Lead by Pacomio, several Chumash escaped to the San Emigdio hills. In 1827, Estanislao escaped with 400 Mansos from the Mission San Jose to the Laquisimas area. They began raids on the mission in order to encourage the Spanish to return to Spain. Soon after this, Cipriano and about 100 Mansos from the Mission Santa Clara joined Estanislao. In 1828, Pacomio and several of his followers joined Estanislao. They created two large, log forts, perhaps based on advice from the American beaver trapper, Jedediah Strong Smith. Estanislao’s army raided the Missions San Jose, Santa Clara and perhaps Santa Cruz during 1828. Estanislao’s army may have been as big as 4,000 at one time. In the Spring of 1829, the Mexican Governor, Jose Maria de Echeandia, sent Ensign Mariano Vallejo to fight Estanislao. Estanislao outwitted Vallejo, even with his 12 foot long cannon. After the battle, Estanislao went to the Mission San Jose and asked Father Narciso Duran for forgiveness. Soon afterward, the Governor wrote a letter of pardon for Estanislao and his followers. In 1831, Yoscolo and several hundred Mansos from the Mission Santa Clara joined Estanislao. They raided several missions and ranchos and were never defeated.

Adams, James and Cecilia Garcia
“Chumash healing and arthritis treatment,”
Arthritis is a condition that inflames joints producing pain and swelling. The normal treatment of arthritis is aspirin, naproxen, ibuprofen and other NSAIDs. These drugs inhibit the synthesis of inflammatory prostaglandins that are involved in arthritis. However, NSAIDs are used excessively resulting in kidney toxicity and ulcers. Chumash treatments for arthritis include soaking the feet in a sun tea made from black sage (Salvia mellifera), soaking hands and feet in a sun tea made from momoy (Datura wrightii), soaking the body in a hot bath containing California bay (Umbellularia californica) and applying a tincture of California sagebrush (Artemisia californica) to painful joints. Black sage contains diterpenoid pain relievers that absorb across the skin of the feet and relieve pain throughout the body. Momoy contains
scopolamine that is absorbed across the skin and is a good pain reliever. It is important to use momoy as a dilute aqueous solution since scopolamine in high doses can inhibit respiration. California bay contains several monoterpenoids, such as methyleugenol, that are powerful pain relieviers and absorb across the skin to some extent. California sagebrush contains several monoterpenoids that relieve pain and inflammation, and are absorbed across the skin. California sagebrush also contains thujone, that causes seizures and kidney toxicity, and should not be taken internally. These Chumash treatments for arthritis do not contain NSAIDs and can be used safely in the treatment of arthritis.

Bean, Lowell John and Beverly R. Ortiz


This panel will honor and commemorate the lives, contributions, and legacy of seven Cahuilla elders who have recently passed away. It will include the northern California premier of *Sing Birds*, featuring Anthony Andreas, Robert Levi and Alvino Siva, and recently nominated by the American Indian Film Institute for Best Documentary Feature at AIFI’s 2009 American Indian Film Festival in San Francisco. Tribal historian Anthony Andreas (Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, 1938-2009) was a bird song and dance leader, tribal council member, and archaeological consultant who served on many boards. Alec Dominguez (1944-2009, Torres-Martinez Reservation) was a speaker and teacher of Desert Cahuilla, and translator of Desert Cahuilla sacred narratives, who helped to set up the first language classes in his area. Hazel Ann Duro (1942-2009, Torres-Martinez Reservation), Chair of the Torres-Martinez Senior Program, worked at the Malki Museum and Jenny Lyons Cahuilla Foods. Cultural Consultant, basketmaker and basketry teacher Donna Mae Largo (1944-2009, Santa Rosa Indian Reservation) served as coordinator for the Hemet School District Indian Education Program, as Community Health Representative for Riverside-San Bernardino County Indian Health, and co-founded and served as President of Nex’wetem, the Southern California Indian Basketweavers Organization. Cultural consultant and historian Robert Levi Sr. (1918-2007, Torres-Martinez Reservation), the first American Indian graduate of Palm Springs High School and a maintenance worker at Sherman Institute in Riverside for about 40 years, preserved and taught Cahuilla bird songs to members of the Pechanga, Pala, Cahuilla, Morongo, San Manuel, and other reservations, as learned from his father and uncles. Businesswoman and cultural consultant Josephine May Modesto (1945-2008, Santa Rosa Indian Reservation) was involved in tribal administration, and served on her tribal council, as a tribal monitor, as a member of the Cahuilla Economic Advisory Council, and as a commissioner of the All Mission Indian Housing Authority. 20-year Army veteran and Cahuilla cowboy Alvino Siva (Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla Indians, 1923-2009), was a cultural consultant and teacher of Cahuilla songs, language and traditions who was mentored by Joseph Patencio, Moreno Patencio, and Pedro Chino. Panelists and contributors include tribal leaders, community members, family members, archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, and filmmakers who knew, worked with, and studied with the elders being honored.

Bloyd, Rebekah

**“What Czech Students Make of American Indian Literature”**

In this presentation, I explore the meaning-making process students in the Czech Republic undergo when in conversation with poetry and prose by American Indians. My goal is to show
how the students’ understanding of Czech historical, social, and political considerations affected my teaching of these texts and their meaning-making of them. From 1998 through 2000, I taught Ethnic American Literature at two universities in the Czech Republic, where I was a Fulbright Scholar. After months of engagement with African American, Asian American, and American Indian literature and orature, I prompted students to explain how a position inside Czech culture facilitates or complicates a response to these works. The student responses highlight the ways in which key occurrences in Czech social and political histories—from the 16th century through Communist occupation—impact Czech students’ desires and abilities to identify with the American experience as viewed through the lens of ethnic literature. American Indian writers referenced in responses include Joy Harjo, Gladys Cardiff, Carolyn Marie Dunn, Carol Lee Sanchez, Debra Haaland Toya, and Leslie Marmon Silko. I’ll also note major influences that have shaped Czech popular conceptions of American Indians. Finally, I will mention a recent anthology of American Indian prose translated into Czech “Vinnetou Tady Nebydli” (Winnetou Doesn’t Live Here. Eds. Vanderziel, Jeffrey Alan, and Jiri Rambousek), and its reception among Czech students of today.

Bulitt, Patricia and Susie Moore

“Lanny Pinola: Renewing Native American Dance Traditions in the San Francisco Bay Area”

Excerpts from oral history collected with Lanny Pinola. The oral history was collected in Pt Reyes, California during 1995-1996. Themes discussed will be Kule Loklo, the re construction of the Miwok Village, forming a Native American Dance Council, the ceremonial function of dance / regalia/ women's and men's roles in the Strawberry Festival Dance, Community Participation from Elder's Council& non-native audiences. The role of serving as a teacher/dancer and Lanny's view on the future of Native American Dance in California.

Comer, James

“Inscribed On the Land: Irrigation, Vegeculture, Farming, and the Rise and Decline of Cultures”

The decade of the 1770s, which saw the birth of the United States of America, also saw the foundation of missions in Baja California and in the “Ohio Country.” Moravian Protestants founded missions among the Eastern Woodlands Natives on streams, dry-farming maize and wheat and adapting elements of the native way of life when appropriate. In Baja, the Jesuits and Dominicans located missions at water source among the Yuman-Cochimian natives, but drought and flood wrecked almost all the attempts at farming, even when aqueducts were built to bring water in from springs. In several cases in Baja, the use of springs for aqueducts lowered the water table and made the place useless, even fostering the growth of invasive species which use the water themselves. The natives could support a larger population in the Central Desert by hunting and agave semi-farming (using the mescal hearts for food, not for pulque) than the later mestizo farming and ranching settlers could. The natives' ways of living with water fitted the landscape. The Spaniards' did not. Based on research trips to the sites, this paper will explore the cultural origins of the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries and use primary sources, oral traditions, geographic and hydrographic data to reconstruct the ecological transformations of California and of the Ohio country.

Eidsness, Janet P., Cassandra Hensher, Gregg Castro, Pattie Tuck, Anthony Madrigal,
Wayne Donaldson

“How can California Indians influence the future practice of archaeology? Seeking ideas about the process: How to move from the White Papers to setting new policies and laws”

The Final Archaeological White Papers are nearing completion, taking into account 47 sets of comments submitted by individuals, agencies, governments and organizations. The overwhelming majority of comments came from California Indians and Tribes, who clearly expressed their interest in participating in the process of improving practices, especially with regard to CEQA, that take into account Native American cultural values at various levels. These position papers are the product of the Archaeological Resources Committee (ARC), first convened in 2006 by the State Historical Resources Commission (SHRC) for the purposes of increasing public awareness of archaeology and improving the quality of professional archaeological practices in California, consistent with the SHRC’s charges under sections 2050.4 and 2050.5 of the California Public Resources Code. They address goals and objectives of the 2006-2010 California Statewide Historic Preservation Plan (HPP), namely to begin to identify and affect changes in a number of areas related to Standards & Guidelines, Preservation, Interpretation, Conservation and Curation. Once the White Papers are finalized and adopted by the SHRC (early 2010), we anticipate that it will instruct the ARC to establish a working committee. This working committee would begin strategically defining the process and taking action to draft various guidelines and standards for White Papers topics that take into account opportunities for public participation and comment by California Indians and various stakeholder groups. This workshop will summarize and present an update on the White Papers, and seek ideas and comments from California Indians on how their concerns can best be represented, considered and met in shaping the future practice of archaeology across the state. Funding to support this workshop is provided by the Society for California Archaeology's Native American Programs Committee.

Graber, Ben, Philip M. Klasky, Steve McBride, Monika Nakadate, Jake Stillman

“Adding Voices to History”

We are a non-profit interdisciplinary oral history project. Our team consists of students at San Francisco State from a variety of disciplines, both undergraduate and graduate, and is guided by Professor Phil Klasky of the AIS department at SFSU. The purpose of the project is to involve students in conducting ethnographic recordings and oral histories of culture bearers to contribute to cultural preservation and revitalization. Our goal is to get students engaged with communities and develop a relationship of reciprocity with those we record as we provide a valuable service to the community. In this way, we hope to make education more tangible for students. The project is focused on, but not limited to, American Indian language, story and song, and production of media that can be used in cultural preservation and revitalization programs. Final media products have included audio CD’s, DVD’s, photographs, and investigative reports. According to the memoranda of understanding we have developed, we provide a master recording to the culture bearers and ask to retain a copy for fund-raising, instructional, and archival (our own archive that we are creating) use. All intellectual and cultural property rights over recordings are retained by the culture bearers. The project has compiled an ethnographic field equipment kit including both hardware and software. The field kit contains equipment representing different levels of technical complexity appropriate for use by students and communities.
Before European contact, tribal people of the Bay Area created shellmounds, most of which were burial grounds for their ancestors. In the early 1900’s, archeologist Nels C. Nelson mapped 425 shellmounds surrounding the bay which, by his own admission, was a partial count of existing shellmounds. In the intervening time, degradation of shellmounds has been the norm in city after city and on the land between. Development now and then has not only changed the natural landscape of this area, but has desecrated these sacred and significant burial sites. This workshop will provide an historical overview of Bay Area shellmounds in the context of shellmounds which exist worldwide. An annual Shellmound Walk held in the Bay Area from 2004-2008 attracted international participation and brought awareness to the fact that there are sacred sites in the Bay Area. The Shellmound Walks will be discussed and a virtual tour of some of the sacred sites visited on the walks will be conducted. Locations will be described in a manner protective of the mounds. SB18 and NAGPRA will be reviewed as they apply to shellmounds of the Bay Area.

Heap of Birds, Hoest

“Cultural Identity and Cultural Knowledge: An Exploratory Study of Young Native American Men in Urban Areas”

Urban Native American populations are threatened by a crisis of cultural identity through modes of assimilation to dominant society and isolation from traditional cultural centers. Drawing on in-depth interviews this analysis seeks to understand the complexity of cultural identity and cultural knowledge for young Native American men living in urban America, quite separated from rural and reservation communities. The population’s cultural identity is measured through participation in cultural activities, community type, and socialization experiences. This research finds three distinct cultural identities in the urban context Grounded, Semi-grounded, and Un-grounded. Grounded types, who were raised in rural tribal communities, have an established Native American cultural identity and participate in cultural activities regularly. Semi-grounded types, raised in an urban context, have a moderate sense of Native identity and occasionally participate in cultural activities. While the Un-grounded types, also raised in urban or suburban areas, have much less of a sense of Native identity and seldom participate in cultural activities. The majority experienced isolation from other Native people and sought traditional culture from rural communities. The identity types account for a nuanced identity and serve as a theoretical framework for investigating the lives of Native Americans in urban areas.

Hogue, Kellie J.

“"We are both Native and Catholic": California Indian Participation in the National Tekakwitha Conference”

As part of a larger dissertation project that probes a relationship that emerges from the colonial encounter and remains situated at the nexus of race, religion, and gender, this paper presents a brief introduction to the history of California Indian participation in the National Tekakwitha Conference and the larger movement to canonize Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha. Named for a 17th century Mohawk-Algonquian woman, Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha, local parish groups of Native men and women called Kateri Circles participate annually in a conference that fosters the opportunity to create a social and religious space that celebrates Native Catholic identity. Collectively, Kateri Circles bridge the gap between Native American spirituality and American
Catholicism. In this presentation, I argue that the ongoing historical involvement of California Indians in the National Tekakwitha Conference has been critical in the transformation of the organization from an institution initially comprised of European and American religious to a vibrant Native-led collective of more than three-hundred tribal groups.

Klasky, Philip M.
“The Salt Song Trail Map”
A discussion of the new Salt Song Trail Map of over 50 sacred sites (please see attached map) described in the Nuwuvi (Southern Paiute) Salt Songs. The map is the result of three years of research and will serve as an important resource for the Nuwuvi as well as students, scholars and researchers in a number of fields.

Manning, Stephanie
“The San Francisco Bay Moundbuilders and the Need for a Comparative Study With Other Moundsites Both in the U.S. and Around the World”
Prior to 1999, the word "shellmound" was known very little by lay people, including indigenous people around the S.F.Bay Area. Thanks to the threat posed to the huge site at Emeryville by a proposed and later constructed 325,000 square foot shopping mall, people took up arms and finally said "No!" to the destruction of these sacred sites we now know as shellmounds. But what exactly are these shellmounds? They are composed in large part by shells but how did they get there and what is their story? No one knows for sure but scientists have been studying these sites since about 1900 at the dawn of the field of archaeology when native people were the victims of outright descrimination by the european encroachers. A fresh look at these mounded sites is offering more questions than answers and providing fuel for many theories, both in the scientific arena and among the Ohlone descendants. I would like to offer a new avenue for research, one which looks at not only California mounded sites, but at sites all around the U.S. and the world.

McCovey, Mavis, John Salter, and Lillian Fleer
Medicine Trails
Heyday Books has just come out with Mavis McCovey's Medicine Trails, one of very few first-person accounts of Native American healers. It is invaluable for its insights into the experiences of a modern-day medicine woman and McCovey is a warm and engaging guide not only to her life, but also her family's history and the history of the Karuk, Yurok, and Hupa peoples of the region. Dr. John Salter, cultural anthropologist, teacher, and writer, has worked intermittently with the Karuk Tribe of California and Karuk people since 1968 and helped Mavis write the book. The presentation will include both Mavis telling her story of her life and experiences and Dr. John and Mavis telling their story of writing the book.

Schneider, Tsim D.
“San Francisco Bay Area Shell Mounds and New Insights from Marin County, California”
A century ago archaeologists systematically recorded over 400 shell mounds in the greater San Francisco Bay area. One hundred years later, shell mound research remains an important area of study for understanding the lives of prehistoric hunter-gatherers, and new scholarship examines the role of shell mounds in the lives of hunter-gatherers negotiating waves of colonial settlement. This paper presents an overview key research in California mound studies, and highlights interpretations of function and meaning for shell mounds in particular. On-going research at
three shell mound sites in Marin County is then presented and the paper and suggests their persistent habitation by hunter-gatherers during the period of Spanish settlement and missionization. Preliminary findings are contextualized within the broader study of shell-bearing sites in the San Francisco Bay area, as well as within vibrant archaeological discussions of colonial encounter in California and other regions of the world.

Valenzuela, Katherine
“How All the Brown People Became Mexican and the Struggle for Native American Ethnic Identity in the Central Valley of California”
This paper is my attempt to unveil the relationship between Native American and the Central Valley. I feel that the history of natives in California combines with the power of agriculture and changing demographics in the valley to undermine tribal attempts to preserve their culture. Through symbolic ethnicity and whiteness theories, I conclude that circumstances in the valley increasingly lead tribal people such as my family to identify as Latina/o, resulting in a demise of the culture that is difficult to recover in future generations. Thus, the underlying context in the valley is slowly converting natives into the ranks of migrant Latinas/os, instigating a tribal struggle for ethnic preservation that I think will continue in this region for generations to come.