

REALTIME FILE  
STUDY & STRUGGLE  
OCTOBER 27, 2020  
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The Study and Struggle program is the first phase of an ongoing project to organize against incarceration and criminalization in Mississippi through four months of political education and community building. Our Critical Conversations webinar series, hosted by Haymarket Books, will cover the themes for the upcoming month. Haymarket Books is an independent, radical, non profit publisher.

While all of our events are freely available, we ask that those who are able make a solidarity donation in support of our continuing to do this important work.

Donations from this event will go to support the Immigrant Alliance for Justice & Equity of Mississippi.

\*\*\*Register through Eventbrite to receive a link to the video conference on the day of the event. This event will also be recorded and will have live captions available.\*\*\*

The third webinar theme is Deconstructing Settler Colonialism and Borders and will be a conversation about how settler colonialism and border imperialism are foundational pillars of the US prison industrial complex. It will include reflections on how the fight for abolition can better integrate a decolonial politics into our organizing against policing, prisons, and borders of all kinds.

Speakers:

Kelly Lytle Hernández is a professor of History, African American Studies, and Urban Planning at UCLA where she holds The Thomas E. Lifka Endowed Chair in History. She is also the Director of the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA. One of the nation's leading experts on race, immigration, and mass incarceration, she is the author of the award winning books, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* and *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*.

Nick Estes is Kul Wicasa, a citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe born and raised in Chamberlain, SD next to our relative, Mni Sose, the Missouri River. His nation is the Oceti Sakowin Oyate (the Great Sioux Nation or the Nation of the Seven Council Fires).

Nick is an Assistant Professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico and a member of the Oak Lake Writers Society, a group of Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota writers. In 2014 he co founded The Red Nation in Albuquerque, NM, an organization dedicated to the liberation of Native people from capitalism and colonialism.

Harsha Walia is the award winning author of Undoing Border Imperialism. Trained in the law, she is a community organizer and campaigner in migrant justice, anti capitalist, feminist, and anti imperialist movements, including No One Is Illegal and Women's Memorial March Committee.

Lorena Quiroz is a 22 year Mississippi resident. Born in Ecuador, by way of New York, she's an organizer and mother of three amazing girls; first generation Afro Latinas born in the beautiful Delta flatlands. She is the founder of the Immigrant Alliance for Justice and Equity, an organization whose purpose is to amplify the voices of marginalized, multi racial, and immigrant communities by active participation in civic engagement in deconstructing barriers that perpetuate racial, xenophobic, socio economical, and gender identity and sexuality disparities and oppression.

Christine Castro (moderator) is a former migrant student and current postdoctoral fellow, researching the intersections of industrial agriculture and police militarization.

>> JOHN: Oh, okay great. Great. Just give me one second just so that I can set up quick.

Last check that I need to do quick is, um, can I get some simultaneous audio from folks just to make sure that I don't need to reduce the maximum volume here? So just people talk over each other for a second?

>> CHRISTINE: Sure. Test sound.

>> NICK: Testing. Talking, testing. Talking over people.

>> JOHN: Great. I'm getting a buzz on somebody's mic when we were doing that. I'm not sure whose it was, though.

>> CHRISTINE: Do you want to see if it's fine?

>> JOHN: I think it might be yours, yeah.

>> CHRISTINE: All right. I might need to switch to something.

>> JOHN: Okay. Oh, yeah, that's totally sounds like you must have a dusty Jack or something.

>> CHRISTINE: Just a second. Sorry.

>> JOHN: Cool. Kelly, your video is much cleaner, much better here.

>> KELLY: Good. Can you hear me nice?

>> JOHN: That's perfect. Okay. I hope it stays strong. I switched channels.

>> JOHN: Perfect, appreciate T all right. We got everybody. appreciate it. Well, Christine will be back in just a second, but we got everybody. In about 30 seconds I'm going to roll the intro video. Are everybody else ready to go?

>> KELLY: Does this sound okay?

>> JOHN: It does. It's picking up a lot. Give ME one check quick, so I can adjust that?

>> CHRISTINE: This is me speaking at my normal voice. I don't know why I'm saying that. Sorry about that.

JOHN: No, no, that's great, perfect.

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>> Before we begin, few housekeeping items.

We are moderating the chat. But we cannot guarantee that everyone will observe our community guide lines.

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People who violate these guidelines will have their comments deleted as quickly as we are able.

This event will have live closed captions.

Instructions for accessing the captions will be posted in the chat.

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We should have time for Q & A. So please post your questions in the u tube chat window and we'll get to those later in the program.

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Thanks for joining us today. Our event will begin shortly.

>> If we don't stick to, you know, an intensely radical policy.

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>> CHRISTINE: Hello to everyone joining us live and the recording of this conversation. Christine Castro, coming to you from California.

[Overlapping speakers]

I'll be moderating tonight's conversation, deconstructing settler colonization at the border, immigrant detention and prison abolition. This is the third of four critical conversations.

[Overlapping speakers]

Hosted by Haymarket Books. To see more information go to our website [studyandstruggle.com](http://studyandstruggle.com).

Study and Struggle has invested in building communities, working

[Overlapping speakers]

For prison and immigrant detention abolition for folks across the nation and with special attention to people currently a formerly incarcerated in Mississippi. Our 4 month curriculum.

[Overlapping speakers]

Any donations to Study and Struggle go to the immigrant alliance for justice.

[Overlapping speakers]

Before we begin, I'd like to express our gratitude to our interpreter and captioner and folks.

[Overlapping speakers]

Accessibility strategy. Herd is an abolitionist organization for the disabled community impacted by the system, which includes supporting the work of justice.

[Overlapping speakers]

For tonight we have live captioning and English and Spanish.

[Overlapping speakers]

[Overlapping speakers]

Team for their support.

[Overlapping speakers]

[Overlapping speakers]

To support herd's work, please see the link in the chat. Many thanks also to Haymarket Books for hosting this conversation.

[Overlapping speakers]

We've got a great group of people tonight. We have live captioning in English and Spanish and a new desk centered model of ASL interpretation that inverts the power Kelly Lytle Hernández

Kelly Lytle Hernández is a professor of History, African American Studies, and Urban Planning at UCLA where she holds The Thomas E. Lifka Endowed Chair in History. She is also the Director of the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA. One of the nation's leading experts on race, immigration, and mass incarceration, she is the author of the award winning books, *Migra! A History of the U.S.*

Border Patrol and City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles.

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>> Like I said, a great group of folks. We will start the group that is getting any donations, you can donate.

>> KELLY: Yeah. So our organization, it's a very new organization, although many of us, the folks that founded it, have been working in the state for decades.

This organization was really took its movement after the August 17th, twin, raids that affected 780 folks, 690 of which were detained and others lost their jobs immediately afterwards due to the raids. So the organization, it's a labor of love.

It's the work that was created through the organizers in Mississippi, but also from the region. The nationals came down to provide aid to the community.

It's also it also continues to be running by immigrants.

Just about the entire staff is immigrant or Indigenous or a person of color. And we want to continue to lift the voices of the community that has been silenced for so long.

It also continues to be run by immigrants, just about the entire staff is immigrant or Indigenous.

>> LORENA: That's wonderful work. And I want to get us introduced to all of us together, Nick, Kelly, Lorena, Harsha.

If you could each go one by one introducing yourself through the framework of be a decision and how the abolitionists struggled.

[Overlapping speakers]

Dismantling border imperialism.

[Overlapping speakers]

Nick, can I start with you?

>> NICK: Sure. I just want to greet you all.

[Overlapping speakers]

By introducing the language with an open heart and a handshake, coming from Albuquerque. It's the cross road there's Indian country that brings together over 290 different Indigenous nations, where.

[Overlapping speakers]

The Red Nation was founded.

And so I'm going to talk a little bit about traditional

[Overlapping speakers]

Red Nation and how it relates to the questions of abolition, but also Colonial impact. First of all, Indigenous people are often thought of as kind of rural, people who don't live within the city where the Red Nation was founded. And so the majority of Indigenous people live in the rural areas.

So for example, it's snowing here. We have unseasonal weather. Snow is a good thing. So we had to pause because of the problems with captioning. We'll wait for the captions to catch up. People to pay rent sure. So we had to pause because of the captioning. There was problem with the captions.

So we'll wait for the captions to catch up. Okay, so we're good to go.

So with the increase of cold weather and this particular moment in time, you have also the convergence of you know increased eviction, even though we live you know with a democratic mayor and city council. And they say there's no evictions happening. But you can see there's an increased level of people living on the streets. And most of those people are

[Overlapping speakers]

And so this is one of the reasons why back in 2014 she started a campaign called hash tag NDN, which stands for no dead native, where we sought to entirely eliminate.

[Overlapping speakers]

And we haven't been successful. And most of those people are Indigenous.

And so this is this is understanding abolition and care taking, it's between space and no dead natives.

And abolition.

[Overlapping speakers]

Entirely runs.

[Overlapping speakers]

Not a life rules.

And that is a question of

[Overlapping speakers]

Displacement from the reservation, but also nine constant displacement of Indigenous people within the city itself, right and so, with the work of the Red Nation right now, we're focused on I guess many.

[Overlapping speakers]

You know in Albuquerque, but also working in other cities as well. So for an example eight,.

[Overlapping speakers]

A place where I live, it's the heart of the nation in the black hills.

There's currently an encampment.

[Overlapping speakers]

, a camp that is in the what has set up an emergency sheltering system. Again, okay, so I think the captions stopped again. So I'll pause for a second. My apologies. I'm with you, Rhonda.

Are we good to go with the captions? I think we are trying to figure out the caption situation, for those who are listening and watching. Those who are tuning in, we're just waiting for captions, um, to get synced up. Who are tuning in, we're just waiting for captions, um, to get synced up.

>> LORENA: If you're just joining us, please be patient with us as we figure out this captioning. Accessibility is of the utmost of importance to us. So we're really grateful to all of you for your patience right now. If you're just joining us, please be patient with us as we figure out this captioning. Accessibility is of the utmost importance to us. So we're really grateful to all of you for your patience right now.

>> JOHN: Is anyone else hearing an echo at all? If you are, you can just type in the chat and let me know?

John, it's better now. I'm not hearing your voice for the second time.

Okay. I think we're good to go. Christine, would you mind posing the question again?

>> CHRISTINE: Absolutely, Nick. Thank you. You were speaking to us about your work specifically through the abolitionist struggle and the abolition lens and tying to the project of dismantling settler colonialism. And you told us about the really important work with the Red Nation and understanding how things like incarceration, policing and evictions especially now during COVID 19, are all a struggle. And you can tell us a little bit more about where you were going? I believe you were talking about a community in South Dakota?

>> NICK: Yeah, that's correct. So there is a temporary emergency encampment in Rapid City, a place that we call, um [ non English ] is that providing emergency shelter for mostly Indigenous people, but also anybody who comes there in the harsh winter months.

And so just to wrap up this intro, it's just to say that we're not just against, you know, police we're providing spaces.

And so here in this city, we have a beyond borders caucus with migrant communities that helps people as well.

And so we're trying to create, you know, the issues of incarceration in general. But we're trying to create a political alternative from the ground up by providing spaces.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you so much, Nick. Harsha, if we could hear from you and your work again through that abolitionist lens and the project of dismantling settler colonialism and imperialism and plans a little bit more to this tie of abolition and deconstructing borders as care work?

>> HARSHA: Sure. Thank you. Thank you all for having us. I'm on the territory here of the people.

And for me, that's very important in the context of talking about abolition, not just as kind of you know a land acknowledgement, but really to recognize the ways and let systems that are fundamentally written and underwritten by settler Colonialism.

And when I first came to these lands, I was actually under the rule of order and was briefly detained.

And so for me, when I was first offered citizenship, if you will it was by Indigenous weapons and Indigenous communities. I work that I worked alongside. So in terms of personally and politically, I express my gratitude, very much aligning with the nation, rather than the state. And for me that informs my politics around imperialism, as an acclamation of Indigenous lands and Indigenous sovereignty.

Right. So the U.S. border in particular, if you look at its founding and you know, there's many things that we can talk about. But I think one thing that I would highlight which is so clearly connected is very much to abolition, the ways in which the southern border was really misunderstood, in relation to anti black incitement, right. The border was solidified in order to keep its people from escaping to Mexico. The very foundation of the border has always been to control mobility. And the control of mobility is the border, prisons and borders are very similar in their capture and containment of people on the G and so I think that's so important when we think about migrant exclusion and deportation and detention that we recognize. The and particularly anti black and anti Indigenous history. I think we often lose that in politics.

It's important that we understand the ways of the border. Globally that is true, as well. It's the formations of so called modern nation states, and it was to use borders to capture labor and the movement of millions of people through indentured labor regimes which are the current formations of temporary labor programs.

So, there's a lot.

There but I think it's important for us to understand the ways in which the movement of people and the ways in which that is contained by borders is fundamentally a project, if we're talking about border, that is abolition. So no one is legal. For decades they articulated the vision. We do not want any detentions or deportations. And we reject the so called.

[Overlapping speakers]

For migrants.

And that in the ways in which abolitionist politics calls us to do. Similarly, you know, and of course echoing what Nick said, we do not want any detentions.

It's correlated sometimes our movement is called no one is illegal. We often say no one is illegal. Canada is illegal. And we use those together.

Legality is a completely social construct and no human being is illegal.

>> Thank you so much for that, Harsha. We're going to take a quick pause for our interpreters and our captioner to catch up.

>> Thank you so much for that, Harsha. We're going to take a quick pause for our interpreters and our captioner to catch up.

All right. Good to go. Kelly, if we could hear from you, also, about your work and understanding the intertwined history, maybe even symbiotic histories of border



imperialism and enforcement detention and an abolitionist project? Develop kill sure. Thank you very much.

I'm coming to you from the lands. I want to thank everybody for participating in this conversation tonight.

>> KELLY: I've never had an opportunity to meet Harsha, so it's wonderful to be with you and to listen and learn from you. And Nick is with us tonight, of course, I've been learning from Nick for request quite some time. So I can't wait to get to the conversation with you, as well, Lorena. So my own work, I enter abolition to through a variety of pathways.

Primarily, working on race, immigration and mass incarceration for about two decades now.

And when I began working, my most recent work called the city of inmate, that's when I really had the major political shift to understand the foundation, the foundation for the rise of mass incarceration.

And I came to that really through an archival and theoretical education that I received. So the archive was about how to deal with the largest jail sentence not just the nation, but on earth in the archives to track it back as far as you can go, criminalization, policing and incarceration in this city, this place now known as Los Angeles. It is the colonization of people. So when we archival and historically recall the origin story of mass incarceration in an area that's become one. Flash points of this cries in the world, it forced policing Colonialism, it's a form of invasion predicated among native elimination in body and in politic, and sovereignty; and how that became the foundation for a variety of communities across time here in Los Angeles.

It's a new way of learning. It's the foundation of occupation to the creation of regimes. And now, I've re interpreted my whole body of work especially when it comes to immigration control; that we do not live in this nation of immigrant, the myth. We live in a nation of settlers that has formulated rules to regulate, um, communities. It's understanding how this place became the home of the larges jail in the United States. But I also in the last couple of years have been doing be abolition work at very technical level some of I run a project here in Los Angeles or at UCLA called million dollar hood. And what we do at million dollar hoods is we collect the police and jail data to calculate and map how much is being spent on incarceration. And in some neighborhoods more than \$1 million per year is being spent locking up local residents.

Those are LA's million dollar hoods. Of course we are borrowing from and learning from the million dollar blocks project, who really came towns the zip codes of policing and incarceration.

So at million dollar hood, the work we've been doing in terms of abolition is technical, practical. It's about exposing the fiscal cost of mass incarceration in our local communities; and then driving a conversation and allocating resources, striping it out of policing and incarceration to move it into where Nick and Harsha have lifted up for us into education, jobs and rethinking our social relationships and our responsibility and accountability to one another as human beings.

So I'm a scholar of archives and also it's all tied together by understanding we continue to this very moment today.

>> Thank you so much for that, Kelly. And especially in making sure to call attention from this sort of shift from historical work into this technical work, all driven by care and changing systems.

Lorena, if we could go to you? And specifically so if you could also touch on the importance of that for your work? But before you do, if we could just take a pause for captioning? We are trying to get our captioning back up. I thank you all for your patience as we continue with this commitment towards accessibility. And it look like we're back. Lorena, if we could hear from you?

>> LORENA: Yeah. So, echoing you know the history of incarceration, how it was designed for profit and to suppress power and of course the settlers stealing land and then incarcerating the same folks that you know, that they, um, that they dispossessed. And then of course after slavery we know how in Mississippi and states how the prisons were built to ensure that black folks, um, you know were suppressed, and then directly my work is directly with the community. We see that ICE was created to suppress it came directly out of white supremacy to exploit our people. So we are at a very different stage in Mississippi, um, because of course of the systemic oppression. Also because immigrants' voices have been silenced for so long. And then of course we have the rural space so, we were a perfect target for ICE. So all these things, especially we know that EEOC and some of the poultry plants that the EEOC did Sue. So poultry plants and they won a case worth several million dollars. All of this was the perfect reason for ICE to come and target and punish our people. So again, we see this being the cycle of oppression and of punishing our people being repeated over.

But as I mentioned we are at a very different stage because our community does not have what you would call a movement. And so our work I would say is in the infancy stages, where we're trying to create leadership with the community. And that is when organizers speak slow and intentional, because the communities have been so silenced and then recently traumatized. We had ICE; we had, you know, COVID. Our focus is on creating leaders in the community, with of course the political education that goes along with that.

And helping people imagine that things could be different. Because we're in a rural area, people are not a lot the things that they hear in the media or they think or even that organizers from regional and national organizations have come to the table are difficult for people to imagine, for people to think that they can actually create this huge movement in the state such as ours and create change.

And so, what the way that we are addressing it is through these very small actions, very small activities and of course creating the power within each of our of our leaders.

It's it's emotional work because the folks that are doing this work are people that were affected by immigration. Of course, like you know, like some of you here directly. And

this is not issue based work. This is our life. You know, we feel T we've had either some of us, our parents are dealing with.

This we have organizers whose parents have been deported.

And so of course we want to make sure that that's something that's centered around the work that we do, where we want to abolish the systems of oppression that are causing so much pain to our folks.

>> CHRISTINE: Awesome, thank you so much, Lorena.

And I want to move to the questions that we had for this portion of the curriculum for Study and Struggle until the sessions five and six. I'll be going through each and letting you know where that question is directed to. But all of those questions will be open to you. And I want to start with one, because we're all coming from very different, you know, life experiences at the moment, different disciplines, different focuses.

And so the basic question here is just understanding the term what is settler Colonialism? And if I could hear from Nick on that and also Lorena? I think it's important to highlight that the community that you're working with has significant population of speakers from Waterefo, who are Indigenous folks themselves, but in what is now currently the United States.

See the question is, what settler colonialism so the question is --

>> NICK: It's the process by way foreign invading population seizes land, often by force, sometimes three -- or by any other means and attempts to replace the native population with that population.

And I would say that it's while, you know, there are kind of genocides that exist and do happen within this process, it doesn't target just human life, alone, like say the holocaust in Europe

But also, targets relations with non human life itself.

And that's like I would say specifically targeting relations with territories. So for example a city is a really good example to say it targets Indigenous people's relations with this territory, because it's not readily seen as an Indigenous space.

And you know, even in places like Mississippi, not seen as an Indigenous space, but nonetheless, is. And the other, the flip side of that would also be that, um, a lot of you know, a lot of Latin American countries aren't seen as settler Colonial. But nonetheless, do are settler colonial. And there's a really good book by Shannon Speed that I'd recommend people reach out to read because she does interview migrant women specifically in detention facility, most of woman or are of I think all of whom are Indigenous. And so that's another form of Indigenous elimination, when people cross the border. And so like settler Colonialism's primary function is Indigenous elimination.

But it's not only about Indigenous people as Kelly Lytle Hernández said Kelly Lytle Hernández.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you for that, Nick. Apologies. And Lorena, something that Nick just said really struck me, that Mississippi isn't seen as an Indigenous space, but in fact it is, right, not just in its history but in its contemporary form. How do you see that showing up in your work?

>> LORENA: So we know the refugees have incarcerated here now. And I'm sorry, something popped up on the screen. And that the weapon of choice of Colonialism is

genocide and part of that is the cultural of the people. And so you see that reflected here, where even the folks or the expert in the field that came to help our people didn't even acknowledge that the majority of the folks, about 130 percent of the folks that were detained were Indigenous. My mom kesh ay forgive me and several other Mayan people and so being aware of that is super important to be able to direct any kind of sustainable or effective work in Mississippi. If we enter into these spaces where the poultry plants are, the majority of the people are Indigenous and of Indigenous descent. But when you not familiar with the cultural nuances that exist in these populations, you tend to erase Indigenous people.

And that's what a lot of organizations have done. They have come in with this supposed knowledge, you know, that because people look a certain way, um, they speak Spanish, they're automatically from Mexico.

And we have a myriad of nationalities. And they try to erase that. And that's why the work that we're trying to do is so intentional in making sure we lift up the voices of the Indigenous people in our community. And anecdotally in these spaces, 30 percent of the for example are immigrant. That is not reflected in census numbers.

You know, I think it's barely in the single digits.

And so again, being aware of not just what is existing here, but also the history of folks that, you know, ended up and why they came to this country is so important, as we develop work and we continue to try to, um, to change things in the state.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you. And Lorena, if I could ask you this next question? What is set what does settler Colonialism have to do with territory and nation state borders? And I'm asking you that question because of the comment that you made, right, the supposed nation of Canada. So the question again, what does settler Colonialism have to do with territory and nation state borders?

>> LORENA: Sure, just that small question. Yeah. I mean, picking up on everyone's comments really, but you know, in the context of settler Colonial states like the U.S./Canada/Australia, Israel states in South America as well which are not offer considered settler Colonial state bus certainly have a history of settler colonialization, the entire formations of the nation state is connected to settler Colonialism and that its entire project is about us usurping Indigenous lands, about Indigenous elimination and it's about falsely imposing a new jurisdiction, right, like an interview new state structure tour. And I think one of the things in settler Colonial context like the U.S. and Canada that we need to think about is that we don't think about settler Colonialism as a form of imperialism, right? We think about U.S. imperialism is happening over there, right. It's a thing that happen notice global south, if you will. But you know, George Manuel, he talked about the location of Indigenous peoples within, you know, he was coming from the context of Canada, but really, arguably applicable elsewhere, as he talked about Indigenous peoples as being of the fourth world, right? So in the so called first world u but aligned with the third world in terms of settle earn Colonialism really being an extension of imperialism in that it's about conquest, it's about land, it's about theft of resource, it's about domination and very much about the imposition of a completely new jurisdiction that impacts as Nick pointed out Indigenous people, but also lands and

resources and non human being, right? It's extractive in that way. So it's entirely about territory and the creation of a whole new system, right, new laws that are intended to dominate. And I think the thing that is soldier insidious in our current context about the conflation of white supremacy in the nation state is this weird perversion where white supremacists are aligning themselves as the so called vanishing Indian troupes, right? They're the victims of migrant invasions, which completely erases of course the actual ongoing settler colonial project.

So I think always kind of centering the ways in which white supremacy is like a material structure, right?

It's not just about privilege or white privilege or being white passing. And it's also about that. But it's really about the material foundations of all of our social structures and the border and the nation state, very much about territory and land and Indigenous elimination.

And I think the other piece that I would point out, um, to pick up on what Lorena and Nick were talking about in the second round is how important it is that we not erase Indigenous peoples in contemporary conversations around migration, right. Like migration is somehow seen as a non indigenous issue, when in fact we know that the vast majority of people who are forced, as Shannon Speed calls it, to transit between settler states is are really Indigenous peoples.

from all over the world and in the U.S. context that's very specific to the Caribbean and south and Central America. But that migration is very much an a contemporary Indigenous issue, right? Indigenous people are not kind of statistic Nick that troupe and as Nick pointed out are very much and cities are, all space is Indigenous space and Indigenous peoples are everywhere.

So I think it's really important that we also center the experience of Indigenous peoples within migration and not think of migration as something that does not include Indigenous peoples.

So that's something that I think is really important as well in terms of how we think about territory in the state and movement. And this is of course on top of the very often, which is the ways in which the border itself criminalizes Indigenous nation, particularly those who are forced to deal with the imposition of borders on their territories. And this is very live right now in Tohonioto, where they're opposing the wall on their territories. With that, we see the confluence of the Indian wars and the border security industrial complex very much in one territory and one nation, which is one of the most militarized community notice entire United States. And that's similar in Canada, Akwasussnee is forced to straddle now the so called U.S. and so called Canada. And they have for decades been opposing the imposition, the foreign impact position of the Canadian U.S. border on their territory of territory. Chris.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you so much for, that Harsha. We're going to take a brief pause for our captioning and interpreting to catch up. Of

All right. Kelly next can ask you another small question? What the relationship is between settler Colonialism and the prison industrial complex? And if you can briefly

describe for our audience what we mean by the term prison industrial complex, that would be awesome.

>> KELLY: Oh, hello. Well, first, let me just say thank you to Vyron and Topher who are doing the interpretation. You are just really keeping up with all of us and helping us to make sure that we're open and speaking with everyone. So thank you for your work.

So the question was, what is the relationship between settler Colonialism and the prison industrial complex. So the way that I think about the prison industrial complex is the way in which a set of practices for policing incarceration have developed to extract profit from bodies, and to extract profit from that system.

So the prison industrial complex is profit oriented to make sure that people, a small group of people are benefiting financially in particular from, um, all of the games, all of the police, all of the guns, all of the borders they're being established across what is now known as the United States.

So that's how I understand the prison industrial complex and maybe other was like to add to that. Its relationship to settler Colonialism, we could certainly go back and look at border. The border is one of the most highly militarized zones of the United States. The construction of the wall to and across the course of the 20th century was a way of shifting resources from the federal government largely into the hands of private companies that profit from building these walls.

so that is one example, like a real clear cut example of how industries are benefiting; and therefore, driving the creation and the expansion of the carceral state.

We have many examples. I'm sure Lorena in Mississippi can give us local examples of what's happening there.

But the formation and the strength of mass incarceration is grounded in the profits that it delivers for a small segment of society. And what it extracts from black and Indigenous communities disproportionately, which only accentuates the hierarchies that have developed over time.

So that's how I think about the relationship between settler Colonialism and the prison industrial complex.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you, Kelly. And you brought up a really good point about letting us work in Mississippi and the sort of shift of resources from the federal government to private companies. Lorena, I was wondering if you could talk to us a little bit about how this complex shows up in the detention centers that are in Mississippi, whether they're publicly run, whether they're privately run, and if you feel like that has some sort of connection to settler Colonialism in the prison industrial complex?

>> LORENA: Yeah, of course. You know, I mean, ICE is pretty young so, we know it's completely profit based. We saw it reflected again on August 7th, when we had three detention centers where the majority of the folks were detained.

And as we sent out our organizers there, the detention centers started popping up everywhere. And so, we know a lot of these different cases that could be people that could have been released, that should have been released are being held because they are what they are you know is just a dollar amount. We have the judges that refuse to let folks in, because they are working with the system, refusing to give folks bail,

just to hold them on a little longer to, let them go by their third try. And so it's profit based. And there's just no denying it.

Did you ask for a specific I'm sorry, I didn't catch I was kind of following the flow of what Kelly was saying.

>> CHRISTINE: No worries. I was just asking about the detention center, which you touched on popping up after the August 7th raid. We are going to take a quick pause for a switch in interpreters. Chris credit all right. And we're back. Sorry, Lorena, did you have anything else to add? I think we'll move to the next question, if that's okay? And all of you in your answers so far have touched on.

This and if we can get to the specific point? How can we understand the relationship between settler Colonialism and racial capitalism?

And how can we make these connections clear? Several of you have already pointed out that settler Colonialism is an extractive system. How do we understand the connection between that extractive system and racial capitalism? I'm sorry. Nick, if we could start with you?

>> NICK: For sure. I was hoping to get this question. Just kidding.

[Laughter]

>> NICK: I would say that settler Colonialism is an iteration of racial capitalism. And the reason and we should talk about racial capitalism before we talk about settler Colonialism. The reason why we say racial capitalism and not just say capitalism is to understand that capitalism has its origins within a specific racial order. And the class based system that we understand or that we have inherited here was actually started in Europe. And this is what Cedrick Robinson documents in his book black Marxism. You're being colonized, Europe first, and created a racial order that, some people became the ruling class. Others became the modern day proletariat because their land was enclosed and privatized, thus creating a pool of labor workers to work in the factory system. So that's one side of it the second side of it is that the modern steam engine if we look at that and the birth of the fossil economy and the beginning of you know what a lot of people call you know whatever, you know, boy just say it's a that it's the birth of modern capitalism through the wage system. And the steam engine, you know, that happened that was created and invented and the cotton used in the cotton mills in England, I should say, required the labor you know, the enslaved labor of African people stolen from their own could not no, I don't pick that cotton, to go into those cotton mill, right?

That cotton had to be grown on stolen land from Indigenous people, right, through the process of settler Colonialism. And so that's why I would say I think the interpreter froze. Do you want me to pause?

>> CHRISTINE: Yes, please.

>> NICK: Settler colonialism set settler colonialism.

Okay.

>> NICK: So that system was exported here in the form of settler colonialism, right? This race based but also class based system, you know, founded on the profit motive in order to modify both labor and land ornate. And we can see this codified more I think

earlier than that in something called the doctrine of discovery, which was later codified in federal Indian law that basically granted European powers pre-emptive rights to entire continents and nations of people; thus, guiding the globe, right, into the Christian and non-Christian nations. And so what that says is that capitalism didn't produce racism, but racism was inherited primarily from the European kind of societies. It's not to say that non-European societies didn't have racism. But nonetheless, it was deeply embedded within this particular form of government and economy.

And this kind of preempts what WDE DeBois called the problem when the 20th century. And the present kind of global vision of humanity concerns those who live with war and suffering and those who live in countries that perpetuate it, right, the 21st century color line, right.

And I think what Harsha Walia does, so eloquently does in her book which I've had the opportunity and privilege to read is talking about borders aren't built just to keep people out, right? Because they hate brown people, right? And there's not this kind of essential character of the United States that it just hates brown people for whatever reason. It hates native people because of our language or religion or culture or whatever it is

It's because it's tied to a specific form of profit making, right? By creating precarious groups of people, you can drive down wages. You can pay them less, right? You can put them into constant fear where they can't organize effectively to demand higher wage, right?

That's a very basic way of putting it. But the world itself and you know, I'm glad that Harsha brought this up settler colonialism is fundamentally an imperialist project. The annexation of territory is fundamentally an imperialist aim, right? Any kind of annexation of territory.

So settler colonialism isn't a domestic thing. It's not a domestic issue.

So that project has been exported I'm just speaking of the U.S. project here has been exported to the rest of the world in the forms of economic sanctions, in the forms of 800 military bases to Kirk circle entire nations ever people, right to, assert and to control shipping lane, right?

And there's a reason why none of those sanctions are against European nation, right. It's a system of racial, global racial capitalism. And its iteration here on this land is a form of settler colonialism. Hope I explained that in simple terms.

[Laughter]

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you for that, Nick. And actually, since you brought up Harsha's book, Harsha, could we hear from you on what Nick is bringing up, this idea of borders aren't just built to keep people out? Which is what we see a lot of, in terms of sort of pop culture, understanding of what borders do. And in a way, in the simplest way, there is some truth to that, right, in terms of scene phobia, prejudice, racism? But can you speak a little more to this question, how we understand that relationship between settler colonialism and racial capitalism?

>> HARSHA: Sure. These are such amazing questions that I'm just like they're so profound and I'm just so honored to be in this situation. It's an honor and a delight, really.



I think, um, precisely as Nick said, the relationship I think there's two parts to that question, the relationship between settler colonialism and racial capitalism that I'll address first; and the second about the border and whether it's just to keep people out. And thank you, Nick, for plugging the book and mentioning T but you know, there are so many others who have written and are doing this good work as well.

In terms of the relationship between racial capitalism and settler colonialism, Nick's already outlined. And you know, really it's that race is not secondary to capitalism, right? And I think this is especially critical in our current context, where so much of the left, um, and really the white kind of social democratic left, if I may say that really believes that we can overcome the stratifications of race simply through economic justice, right?

And that somehow race secondary to the impacts of capitalism or that white supremacy is really a symbol of a kind of squeeze citizenry, right? That white supremacy comes from that kind of troupe of the white working class man, who's being treated by austerity. And I think what is so pivotal about the work of Cedric Robinson and others that we understand race is not secondary to capitalism; and that the division of labor actually also requires the division of laborers, right? It's not just a division of labor. It's also the division of laborers. And the division of land and territory. And that expropriation, the exploitation and expropriation and exploitation of capitalism mean there is a land and labor and people and humanity item are all divide and exploited; and that racism is so central to settler colonialism, so central to enslavement, so central to surveillance, so central to wage labor. Like it is just foundational to all of these forms. And in the context of settler colonialism, very much so specifically because settler colonialism is all about as we've all been talking about the annexation of land, right? So land as resources becomes so pivotal to how these systems operate. The kind of, um, I think one of the most kind of interesting maybe this is just kind of geeky but I find it really interesting that kind of modern system of private property was actually pioneered the and I use that word deliberately was pioneered not in the U.S., not in Canada but in Australia. And Australia is also a settler Colonial regime. And what we know how as the torrens system, which is the entire model of private property was based on the kind of confluence influence between settler colonialism, this idea of terra nullius of discovery, which is the idea that land is barren, right, terra nullius, no one lives here because it's not cultivated, and land is communally owned, therefore bar rent. So it conjoined this idea of the land being barren with private property that.

Is the foundation of the actual current land registration system.

And you know, if we look at that in the U.S. context, it's also telling that you know when a citizenship was imposed on Indigenous peoples, it actually required Indigenous peoples when citizenship was imposed on Indigenous people, land was allocated as private property, right. So tribal lands were separated apart or cut open and became private parcels of land.

And so it's inseparable to think about private property from the ways in which settler colonialism not only usurped land, but also targeted the idea of communal landownership and really converted that into private property. And we see that

continuing, thinking about and a half tanks free trade agreements. When NAFTA attacked the premise of the constitution in Mexico, you know, article 27 that protects [ non English ], protects communally owned land, that's what free trade agreements are all about it's about destroying what social organization and Indigenous legal organization looks like all around the world. And so I think that's a pivotal part of racial capitalism is destroying is us usurping land and specifically destroying Indigenous legal and social organization with respect to communally owned land and nationhood and sovereign activity

And so I think that's one of the many Canadian really centrality of settler colonialism to racial capitalism and our current regime of private property. And then maybe briefly, because Nick already said it better than I did in terms of the ways in which the border operates not only to expel people and not only to deport people, but to make people deportable, right.

So when you have people who are made deportable, whether or not they're actually deported, the fear of deportation and Lorena mentioned they with respect to the ICE raids and the raids that are happening everywhere, you know, it's to make labor more precarious, right?

It's literally to instill the fear of the everyday in people's lives.

And to have people accept the

[ Indigenous language ]

Any times of being paid less than minimum wage and not being able to unionize and really to create, you know, again, this is when George Manuel talks of Indigenous people as the fourth world, for when we speak about, um,, undocumented migrants or migrant worker whose don't have permanent residency status in whatever country they're located in, it really is to basically create the third world and the first world, right? So insourcing of that precarious labor, which is the flip side of outsourcing, so when we see companies and capitalists exploit and deliberately cheapened labor around the world, that's basically what the border does within the so called first world. It's to create that same pool of labor where people are not always deported but are made deportable through the fear of ICE raids, through the fear of deportation, through the fear of knowing that your bosses will deport you. And so that's really a function of the border, is very much connected to racial capitalism in terms of ensuring profits.

So it's something that capitalists can exploit. But it's very much something that the state and I really want to emphasize, that right the state is very much involved in creating this pool of cheap labor. And that's again why I circle back to how important it is to center the role of the state because sometimes when we talk about capitalism we think about just the capitalists and we forget how central the role of the state is and particularly the settler Colonial state to ensure that there is cheapened labor for capitalists to exploit.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you so much for that, Harsha. We are going to take a brief pause for our interpreter team. Thank you so much, Harsha and Nick, for tying together the sort of extractive nature of settler colonialism and taking us through that thread of how that then creates deportable populations, specifically with the example of

NAFTA, destroying [ non English ] and driving a lot of migration up into the United States.

I think it also gives us a really good tie to [ non English ] work in Mississippi. Is not a coincidence that the raids hit chicken processing plants.

It is not a coincidence that parchment is a prison farm. And so a lot of these racial capitalist systems that extract from the land, that extract from non human life, we see in the contemporary. And I'm going to move on to some excellent audience questions if you all don't mind?

I think in terms of [ non English ] in terms of a trans national scope and solidarity, an important question from the audience here is: Is there any effort to link our migrant movements, our deacon instructing settler Colonial movements with the Palestinian having you until and anybody who would like to answer.

>> NICK: I'll just say something really briefly. It doesn't [ non English ] like these struggles don't have to be linked by us because they're already linked by the state in the sense that you know, Harsha had mentioned [ non English ] struggle against the border wall. In Arizona and Scottsdale, Arizona, which is a kind of headquarters, right wing headquarters for a lot of different things, there are, um, Israeli security firms. I think the mayor of Scottsdale even like opened up you know, she had this like ceremony to welcome all these Israeli security firms in there, to begin you know exporting the technologies that had been pipe eared, again, using this unironically with no mess for against Palestinians and had been perfected against Palestinians to now use it against migrant folks within Arizona, but also, um, the [ non English ] like Harsha said, the [ non English ] Odem territory, what they call the [ non English ] has been completely militarized by security tower, et cetera, which is like, you know, Alb a is an Israeli firm that use motion detectors and all those kinds of things to track Palestinians' movements within their own territories. And so by default, and I always say this, empire, especially when it comes to border security regime is already intersectional, right. It's lard thinking about where it can learn, you know new forms of surveillance and technology.

And I would say that like the other aspect of that is there's a really good book by Todd Miller called empire borders that everyone should read, we were he does this kind of survey, documentary survey of where homeland security, right, and U.S. customs and border patrols operates.

Homeland security's mandate is to only operate within the so called homeland of the United States. But nonetheless, advises border security regimes throughout the world, right?

Including in places like in Israel, so called Israel. So this is something that is already kind of in the works.

But I will say that going to Palestinian, there were a lot of connections.

And there has been work on the ground to make those connections more clear and apparent.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you, Nick. We're taking a brief pause for interpretation team. Thank you. And again, immense gratitude to our captioning and interpreting team.

I'd like to start with Lorena for this question and then hear from all of you. Lorena, question from the audience is, what actionable steps can we take to abolish ICE and DHS?

>> LORENA: When we when we gathered as an organization with national organizations to discuss this, some of the things that we were doing were instant to us, right. My background is community.

And so as organizers we work on instinct.

And it was very difficult for us to identify that what we were doing was working through these national lenses.

Until someone told us, this is what you're doing and this is what's working.

And I say this because as I mentioned before, with the community taking these baby steps and creating and trying to create a movement in a space where obviously, if you noticed this entire it seems like t as you know, Harsha, Nick, Kelly mentioned, the entire it feels like the entire, um, structure or the whole system, if we were to be the perfect example of racial capitalism, I mean, if we were to have a perfect t would be us, what's happening here in Mississippi, in that, you know, we are on stolen land. We are on the shoulders of our black brothers and sisters. We are being commodified. We have modern day slavery. And so right now, some of the things that we are doing, um, is, first, is to teach the community that ICE can be abolished.

People don't even, even think that that is a possibility.

So I start with education of the community, having conversations that people can have power. And then there's power in relational in relational conversations and in numbers.

And so letting people know that even though they're undocumented, they can build huge movements like you know has been done in the past is number one. To build people's confidence, people's leadership skills, so that they know that organizing, creating a movement will be essential to eliminating ICE.

And then of course, you know, you have what other organizations do is contacting legislation, you know. When we engage a lot of media to a lot of the things that we're doing is getting stories from these detention centers and lifting up the voices of the folks, particularly in Mississippi. We don't get a lot of attention because we don't have the capacity. We don't have the leadership. Right now what's happening in Georgia is happening right here in Adams.

Cameroonians are being abused, they're being just completely, know you know, they're losing their human activity.

They're being why aren't we getting attention to what's happening?

We don't have the capacity. So I'm going to bring it right back down to the community. You know, we need to build people. We need to build up people. We need to build up leadership. First, we need to educate the community and let them know that they are the power to Comp publish.

So things that are being done in California, in Texas, into Mexico. So that they can know that by working together they can create these kind of movements that can abolish ICE. And of course plug in where we can in the national and the regional work.

Right now there are many oranges that are working specifically, we have the detention watch networks and so where we plug in where we K

But as a newborn organization, my answer is always going to be build leadership of the people. Let them know that they are capable of making a change and then engage politically specifically.

>> CHRISTINE: Amazing. Thank you, Harsha. Kelly, can we hear from you in terms of what actionable steps we can take to abolish ICE and DHS? And how you see million dollar hoods maybe as a part of some abolitionist project?

>> KELLY: Well, let me first say I loved Lorena's answer, that's always the answer, right, the power of the people and our ability to imagine the world in which we want to live.

So thank you for the work that you do and for that answer. If you believe in the elector politics of the white state with you can support the dream act, right? So that would be one move for people looking toward next week and the weeks to come and months to come. I would approach a question like in from my perspective as an historian. And doing the work of sharing the story of where deportation and immigration control and deportability come from. How they are yoked into our institutions and our culture. And that is absolutely a story of the white settler state. In the late 19th century, attempting to throw barriers of entry against non white immigrants in particular and control the mobility, create the deportability of those who, um, who are within the territory.

So when you think about the fact that there was no deportation, there was no immigrant detention prior to the Chinese exclusion period and those were invented invented to prohibit Chinese immigrants from entering the country and living without the fear of deportability, then it becomes very clear about what this tool is supposed to do. This tool across time from its very origins of immigration control in general, deportation in particular, was designed to advance and protect the interests of racial capitalism and the white settler state. And so I think history can also be our friend in helping to expose the origin stories that lay at the heart of these regimes and these systems that we confront today; and that really, we can't reform them.

They are unreformable. Abolition really is the only option. We have to truly imagine a new future for ourselves. And we have to build new infrastructures and sets of relationships to one another. So I think that would be my contribution to the movement. Unfortunately in million dollar hoods we have not been working in the world of immigration control at this point. But that is something we look to do. And the tactic there is to acknowledge and confront big data as a new tool of whiten washing white supremacy and empowering young people in particular and formerly incarcerated folks to dissect that tactic, right it's not to say that big data will save us, because it will not. But it often is a tool used against us. And we need tomorrow power ourselves to dissect algos rhythms, to die dissect the power of statistics and numbers to rationalize what is happening to us. So at million dollar hoods we train community organizers and others to do data analytics and visualization in ways that help us move toward our own algorithms of liberation.

>> CHRISTINE: Amazing. Thank you, Kelly and Lorena for the work that you're doing to support the community. They are the leaders. They will lead their own communities forward.

And it's amazing to hear you support them. We are close to time here. And I just want to give everybody an opportunity to brief live just share with us any closing statement that you might have on the importance on a specifically decolonial abolition movement as we've talked about, the central role of the settler colonialism and mass incarceration. And we'll start with Harsha.

>> HARSHA: These questions, man, straight to the heart.

Thank you for all the time thinking through these. I think you know, I guess I'll return to something I mentioned earlier, which is that the no one is illegal movement that I'm part of and have been part of, we really strongly believe in the idea of no one is illegal Canada is illegal. Like that that is not just a slogan, that that is an ethical, political orientation and it's the work through which we do our community organizing.

And that's you know for me so important in so many ways.

It's to, um, both absolutely affirm the idea that no human being is illegal, right. Because such a big part and you know, if I can extrapolate from Lorena's incredible words, like so much of the work in community is really to get rid of that shame, right, the idea when you have a removal order, when have you a deportation order, when you're living in fear in any system of oppression is that stigmatization. And to revert the gaze back on the state to say like, like we're not doing play this game of who's worthy, who's not worthy and to narrate your story and prove your worthiness. A statement like no one is illegal or no human being is illegal really just starts from the starting ninth we believe that this is all state violence, right. That nobody should have to prove their humanity. And that is core to the abolitionist project and the abolitionist vision, which is that we are all worthy, and that it is state and social structures that criminalize and dehumanize and oppression and exploit and create these divisions.

And that it's Canada is illegal is an affirmation of alliance with Indigenous nations and to say that you know we absolutely do not accept the jurisdiction of the Canadian state to decide on citizenship, um, and that we align with Indigenous nationhood. And that is that's not something that's like a pan kind of thing that one can say. But it's really grounded in the specific science contexts of diverse Indigenous nations. And that is the work, right. The work is to do migrant justice work, to oppose all detentions and deportations and to also learn what Indigenous laws are on the lands that we reside on. Those laws are not historic. They are alive today

What are those laws today?

And one of the most kind of amazing it's not a project; that's not the word for it one of the most kind of intimate organize experiences that I've had is sitting with Indigenous elders and hearing about different nations' immigration laws. What were the ways in which reciprocity is practiced? What are the ways one is welcomed to the nation? What are the responsibilities that come with being on that territory and on that land? And for me, it's those intimate relational care based reciprocity based relationships that are deeply local. I don't mean local in a way that they're small, but that really, um, we

have to expand on. Are those ways of relating with the communities and the nations whose lands we're on and in a kind of trans national way, for me the guiding principle really is the freedom to move and the freedom to stay. We can't have an immigration politics that doesn't look at fundamental reason why is people move. And I think that is also one of the kind of one of the gaps in our movements, we tend to treatment immigration as domestic issue, very mill to the ways in which we tend to treat settler colonialism as a domestic issue as Nick pointed out

When in fact this is a global project of imperialism. And I think that one also part of what a decolonial and anti imperialist migrant justice kind of no borders movement that we have to orient ourselves around. Why are people moving?

It is not a coincidence that millions of people are on the move. And this is not just about the U.S.

This is you know, the medicine Iranian is the world's deadliest border Mediterranean. I think that's also part of the strength of community organizing, when people tonight have to justice if I were they're here, when that embedded intoed into our politics and our practice. We are here because you are there, that kind of affirmation and assertion I think is another kind of central pillar to this work, which is the freedom to stay and the freedom to move cannot be separated from each other.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you for that reminder, Harsha, that we are also fundamentally speaking about the right to mobility and the right to stay as well. If we could have a closing statement from Lorena?

Is there anything that you'd like to leave us with today, before we close out this wonderful session?

>> LORENA: I just want to you know Harsha, you mentioned about the work with the Indigenous people. I have done so much I think that as a lead, as a person, my work here with the Indigenous dig community in Mississippi I know that I lost it. I left it, you know in connection with my country. My mom was Miss Deza. But you lot of the cultural practices that the Indigenous community has I know that my mom at one time practiced.

And so I think that just being aware that as we deconstruct these systems of oppression we're mindful not to classify everyone under this idea that all immigrants are the same.

That's very important to also make sure that the voices of our Indigenous people are lifted, changing the narrative as you said, that we came here just, you know, to work. People came to the country to be free, you know?

They're escaping these horrible systems oppression in their countries of origin, not to be enslave used in the United States for you know less than a minimum wage and to work seven hours.

They came for freedom.

And so we just want to be mindful of the spaces that we enter when we're doing this kind of work, and realize that, um, that our people, that we're seeking liberation and that's why this work means so much to us that are doing just the daily work, holding hands with the folks that are on the ground.

>> CHRISTINE: Thank you for that, Lorena. And we're at end of our conversation. I hope that all of you all have had the pleasure that I've had listening to everybody. And are walking away with more questions to learn from. I want to thank our speakers again, Lorena Quiroz, Harsha Walia, Nick Estes and Kelly Lytle Hernández. Gratitude to our captioning and interpreting team and to Haymarket Books for hosting this conversation. As Lorena was just reminding us and as Harsha said at the beginning, let us reject the division two between good and bad. Migrant, let us refuse in a sense and let us all work together as a community towards the abolition of prison systems and immigration and detention and border enforcement. Thank you all. Have a wonderful night. Best wishes to all your [ non English ]

>> JOHN: And we're clear. Thanks, everybody. It thank you, everybody. Thank you so, everyone.