



# THE RED DEAL

INDIGENOUS ACTION TO  
SAVE OUR EARTH

PART ONE

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END THE OCCUPATION

THE RED NATION

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# WHO IS THE RED NATION?

## **PRINCIPLES OF UNITY**

We are Indigenous revolutionaries. We are comrades and relatives first and foremost. We practice radical democracy and compassion for all relatives. Despite differences in organizational role or affiliation, we are equals in struggle. We are anti-capitalist and anti-colonial.

We are Indigenous feminists who believe in radical relationality. We do not seek a milder form of capitalism or colonialism—we demand an entirely new system premised on peace, cooperation, and justice. For our Earth and relatives to live, capitalism and colonialism must die.

We belong to long traditions of Indigenous resistance. We claim our rightful place among all freedom fighters around the world. We are not the first, nor will we be the last. We are the ancestors from the before and the already forthcoming. By carrying this history forward, we actively create the world in which we want to live.

We seek to not just challenge power, but to build power. We are not simply a negation of the nightmarish colonial present—colonialism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy, imperialism, and white supremacy—we are the embodiment and affirmation of a coming Indigenous future, a future in

which many worlds fit.

We believe that all oppressed nations have the right to self-determination—to decide their own destinies. We, The Red Nation, are self-determining peoples. We enact the principles of freedom and integrity in how we seek to live as good people of the earth.

We organize through education and agitation for revolutionary change. We encourage our relatives and comrades to believe in revolutionary change. We advocate for global decolonization. We agitate among the poor, the working classes, the colonized, and the dispossessed to instill the confidence to fight back and take control of our destinies.

We believe in pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will. We remain accountable to our people and our nations. We do not have “perfect” politics. We do not believe in factionalism or rigid ideology. We can die having had the “correct positions” but having accomplished nothing and freed no one. The desire to be “right” or “perfect” is the highest form of cynicism. Our role as revolutionaries is to cheerlead the movement at all turns. Above all else, we desire to be free and believe we will win. Optimism will thrive so long as we struggle for freedom.

We believe in correct ideas, which only come through revolutionary

praxis and struggle. Our power and judgement comes from the labor of our struggle.

We are not “above” the people. When the people move, we move with them. We are the “permanent persuaders” who believe revolutionary change is not only possible but inevitable. Like our hearts, our politics are down and to the left. And because we are the “five-fingered ones,” our fists are the size of our hearts. We raise our fists to lift the hearts of our people. We give everything and take nothing for ourselves.

We uphold personal and organizational integrity at all turns of the movement. Change is dialectical and full of contradictions. It often comes without notice or without being noticed. Reactionary tendencies and contradictions will seek to destroy our momentum, diminish our optimism, and test our integrity. They will come in many, and oftentimes unexpected, forms. Even when in doubt, we pledge to remain faithful to our political principles and steadfast in our commitment to revolutionary struggle and optimism.

We are The Red Nation.

## MISSION

The Red Nation is dedicated to the liberation of Native peoples from capitalism and colonialism. We center Native political agendas and struggles through direct action, advocacy, mobilization, and education.

## WHO WE ARE

We are a coalition of Native and non-Native activists, educators, students, and community organizers advocating Native liberation. We formed to address the invisibility and marginalization of Native struggles within mainstream social justice organizing, and to foreground the targeted destruction and violence towards Native life and land.

## AREAS OF STRUGGLE

**Indigeneity:** We struggle for the defense and livelihood of Native peoples and lands. Indigeneity is a political condition that challenges the existence and domination of colonial nation-states.

**Liberation:** We struggle for the repatriation of Native lives and land. Liberation is not about 'healing' or 'getting-over-it.' It is a struggle for material and structural transformation.

**Resistance:** We continue the long history of Native anti-colonial resistance by reviving active resistance as fundamental to liberation.

**Coalition:** We mobilize for widespread action and community engagement for Native struggles for liberation.

"OUR FISTS ARE THE SIZE  
OF OUR HEARTS. WE  
RAISE OUR FISTS TO LIFT  
THE HEARTS OF OUR  
PEOPLE."

## 10-POINT PROGRAM

WE DEMAND AN END TO  
VIOLENCE AGAINST NATIVE  
PEOPLES AND OUR  
NONHUMAN RELATIVES  
THROUGH

### 1) The Re-Instatement of Treaty Rights

From 1776 to 1871, the U.S. Congress ratified more than 300 treaties with Native Nations. A provision in the 1871 Indian Appropriations Act withdrew federal recognition of Native Nations as separate political entities, contracted through treaties made with the United States. As a result, treaty-making was abolished; and it was established that “no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty.”

*We demand the reinstatement of treaty-making and the acknowledgement of Native independence. We demand Native Nations assume their rightful place as independent Nations guaranteed the fundamental right to self-determination for their people, communities, land bases, and political and economic systems.*

### 2) The Full Rights and Equal Protection for Native People

Centuries of forced relocation and land dispossession have resulted in the mass displacement of Native Nations and peoples from their original and ancestral homelands. Today in the United States four of five Native people do not live within reservation or federal trust land. Many were and are forced to leave reservation and trust lands as economic and political refugees due to high unemployment, government policies, loss of land, lack of infrastructure, and social violence. Yet, off-reservation Native peoples encounter equally high rates of sexual and physical violence, homelessness, incarceration, poverty, discrimination, and economic exploitation in cities and rural border towns.

*We demand that treaty rights and Indigenous rights be applied and upheld both on- and off-reservation and federal trust land. All of North America, the Western Hemisphere, and the Pacific is Indigenous land. Our rights do not begin or end at imposed imperial borders we did not create nor give our consent to. Rights shall be enforced pursuant to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the historical and political doctrines of specific Tribes.*

### **3) The End to Disciplinary Violence Against Native Peoples and All Oppressed Peoples**

In the United States, more than three million people are incarcerated in the largest prison system in the world. Native peoples and oppressed peoples are disproportionately incarcerated and persecuted by law enforcement. Within this system, Native people are the group most likely to be murdered and harassed by law enforcement and to experience high rates of incarceration. This proves that the system is inherently racist and disciplines politically-disenfranchised people to keep them oppressed and prevent them from challenging racist institutions like prisons, police, and laws that maintain the status quo. Racist disciplinary institutions contribute to the continued dispossession and death of Native peoples and lifeways in North America.

*We demand an end to the racist and violent policing of Native peoples on- and off-reservation and federal trust lands. We demand an end to the racist state institutions that unjustly target and imprison Native peoples and all oppressed peoples.*

### **4) The End to Discrimination Against the Native Silent Majority: Youth and The Poor**

Native youth and Native poor and unsheltered experience oppression and

violence at rates higher than other classes and groups of Native peoples. Native people experience poverty and homelessness at rates higher than other groups. Native youth suicide and criminalization rates continue to soar. Native youth now comprise as much as 70% of the Native population and experience rates of physical and sexual violence and PTSD higher than other groups. Native poor and unsheltered experience rates of criminalization, alcoholism, and violence at higher rates than other groups. Because many Native youth and poor and unsheltered live off reservation and trust lands, they are treated as inauthentic and without rights. Native youth and Native poor continue to be marginalized and ignored within Native nations, dominant political systems, and mainstream social justice organizing.

*We demand an end to the silencing and blaming of Native youth and Native poor and unsheltered. We demand an end to the unjust violence and policing they experience. Native youth and Native poor and unsheltered are relatives who deserve support and representation. We demand they be at the center of Native struggles for liberation.*

### **5) The End to the Discrimination, Persecution, Killing, Torture, and Rape of Native Women**

Native women are the targets of legal, political, and extra-legal persecution,

killing, rape, torture, discrimination, and disenfranchisement in North America. This is part of the ongoing process of eliminating women's political and customary roles as leaders in Native societies. In the United States more than one in three Native women will be raped in their lifetime, often as children. Since 1980, about 1,200 Native women have gone missing or been murdered in Canada; many are young girls. Native women are at higher risk of being targeted for human trafficking and sexual exploitation than other groups. Native women continue to experience sexism and marginalization within Native and dominant political systems, and within mainstream social justice approaches.

*We demand the end to the legal, political, and extra-legal discrimination, persecution, killing, torture, and rape of Native women. Women are the backbone of our political and customary government systems. They give and represent life and vitality. We demand that Native women be at the center of Native struggles for liberation.*

## **6) The End to the Discrimination, Persecution, Killing, Torture, and Rape of Native Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Two-Spirit People (LGBTQ2+)**

Native LGBTQ2+ people experience persecution, killing, torture, and rape

within Native Nations and within dominant society. The processes of colonization and heteropatriarchy impose binary gender roles, nuclear family structures, and male-dominated hierarchies that are fundamentally at odds with Native customary laws and social organization, where LGBTQ2+ people historically held positions of privilege and esteem. The effect of this system for Native LGBTQ2+ is violent. Native LGBTQ2+ experience rates of murder, sexual exploitation, hate crimes, discrimination, substance abuse, and homelessness at high rates. Like Native youth, poor, homeless, and women, Native LGBTQ2+ continue to be marginalized and ignored within Native and dominant political systems, and within metropolitan-based social justice approaches that ignore the mostly rural-based issues of Native LGBTQ2+.

*We demand an end to the legal, political, and extra-legal discrimination, persecution, killing, torture, and rape of Native LGBTQ2+ in Native societies and dominant society. Native LGBTQ2+ are relatives who deserve representation and dignity. We demand that they be at the center of Native struggles for liberation.*

## **7) The End to the Dehumanization of Native Peoples**

The appropriation of Native imagery and culture for entertainment, such as sports mascots and other racist portrayals, and the celebration of genocide for holidays



and amusement, such as Columbus Day and Thanksgiving, dehumanize Native people and attempt to whitewash ongoing histories of genocide and dispossession. These appropriations contribute to the ongoing erasure of Native peoples and seek to minimize the harsh realities and histories of colonization. These appropriations are crimes against history.

*We demand an end to the dehumanization of Native peoples through cultural appropriation, racist imagery, and the celebrations of genocide and colonization. Condemning symbolic and representational violence is an essential part of any material struggle for liberation.*

## **8) Access to Appropriate Education, Healthcare, Social Services, Employment, and Housing**

Access to quality education, healthcare, social services, and housing are fundamental human rights. However, in almost every quality of life standard, Native people have the worst access to adequate educational opportunities, health care, social services, and housing in North America. Native people also have higher rates of unemployment on- and off-reservation than any other group in the United States. Access to meaningful standards of living is historically guaranteed

under many treaty rights, but have been consistently ignored and unevenly applied across geography and region.

*We demand the universal enforcement and application of services to improve the standard of living for Native peoples pursuant to provisions in treaties and the UNDRIP, whether such peoples reside on- or off-reservation and trust lands. North America is our home and we demand more than mere survival. We demand conditions to thrive.*

## **9) The Repatriation of Native Lands and Lives and the Protection of Nonhuman Relatives**

The ethical treatment of the land and nonhuman relatives begins with how we act. We must first be afforded dignified lives as Native peoples who are free to perform our purpose as stewards of life if we are to protect and respect our nonhuman relatives—the land, the water, the air, the plants, and the animals. We must have the freedom and health necessary to make just, ethical and thoughtful decisions to uphold life. We experience the destruction and violation of our nonhuman relatives wrought by militarization, toxic dumping and contamination, and resource extraction as violence. Humans perpetrate this violence against our nonhuman relatives. We will be unable to live on

our lands and continue on as relatives recognized by the ancestors if this violence is allowed to continue.

*We demand an end to all corporate and U.S. control of Native land and resources. We demand an end to Tribal collusion with such practices. We demand that Points 1-8 be enforced so as to allow Native peoples to live in accordance with their purpose as human beings who protect and respect life. Humans have created this crisis and continue to wage horrific violence against our nonhuman relatives. It is our responsibility to change this.*

## **10) The End to Capitalism-Colonialism**

Native people are under constant assault by a capitalist-colonial logic that seeks the erasure of non-capitalist ways of life. Colonial economies interrupt cooperation and association and force people instead into hierarchical relations with agents of colonial authority who function as a permanent occupying force on Native lands. These agents are in place to control and discipline Native peoples to ensure that we comply with capitalist-colonial logics. There are many methods and agents of enforcement and discipline. There are the police. There are corporations. There are also so-called 'normal' social and cultural practices like male dominance, heterosexuality,

and individualism that encourage us to conform to the common sense of capitalism-colonialism. These are all violent forms of social control and invasion that extract life from Natives and other oppressed peoples in order to increase profit margins and consolidate power in the hands of wealthy nation-states like the United States. The whole system depends on violence to facilitate the accumulation of wealth and power and to suppress other, non-capitalist ways of life that might challenge dominant modes of power. Political possibilities for Native liberation therefore cannot emerge from forms of economic or institutional development, even if these are Tribally controlled under the guise of 'self-determination' or 'culture.' They can only emerge from directly challenging the capitalist-colonial system of power through collective struggle and resistance.

*We demand the end to capitalism-colonialism on a global level. Native peoples, youth, poor and unsheltered, women, LGBTQ2 and nonhuman relatives experience extreme and regular forms of violence because the whole system relies on our death. Capitalism-colonialism means death for Native peoples. For Native peoples to live, capitalism and colonialism must die.*

#SEIZETHEBANKSNOTTHELAND  
#ALLSTRUGGLEISCLIMATESTRUGGLE  
#BUILDCOMMONSTRUGGLE  
#FROMTHEBOTTOMUP  
#DEFEATFOSSILFUELS  
#INTHEWAYHERETOSTAY  
#SAMEOLDDEAL  
#BEYONDTHEGND  
#PROTECTTHELAND  
#PROTECTTHEPEOPLE  
#NOGREENCAPITALISM



# WHAT IS THE RED DEAL?

## INTRODUCTION

The Red Nation (TRN) invites allied movements, comrades, and relatives to implement the Red Deal, a movement-oriented document for climate justice and grassroots reform and revolution. This is not a region- or nation-specific platform, but one that encompasses the entirety of Indigenous America, including our non-Indigenous comrades and relatives who live here. This is a platform so that our planet may live. We cannot expect politicians to do what only mass movements can do. Join us as we build this movement! No skirts required. All are welcome. Skoden!

## BACKGROUND

The proposed Green New Deal (GND) legislation is a step in the right direction to combat climate change and to hold corporate polluters responsible. A mass mobilization, one like we've never seen before in history, is required to save this planet. Indigenous movements have always been at the forefront of these struggles.

Democratic socialist congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the main proponent of the GND, is herself a Water Protector who began her successful congressional run while she was at Standing Rock protesting the construction of the Dakota Access

Pipeline. Thus, the GND and the climate justice movement in North America trace their origins to Indigenous frontline struggles.

With this background in mind, TRN is proposing a Red Deal. It's not the "Red New Deal" because it's the same "Old Deal"—the fulfillment of treaty rights, land restoration, sovereignty, self-determination, decolonization, and liberation. Ours is the oldest class struggle in the Americas: centuries-long resistance for a world in which many worlds fit. Indigenous peoples are best suited to lead this important movement. But it must come from the ground-up.

The Red Deal is not a counter program to the GND. It's a call for action beyond the scope of the U.S. colonial state. It's a program for Indigenous liberation, life, and land—an affirmation that colonialism and capitalism must be overturned for this planet to be habitable for human and non-human relatives to live dignified lives.

The Red Deal is not a "deal" or "bargain" with the elite and powerful. It's a deal with the humble people of the earth; a pact that we shall strive for peace and justice and that movements for justice must come from below and to the left. We do not speak truth to the powerful. Our shared truth makes us powerful. And this people's truth includes those excluded from the realms of power and policy-making.

In the spirit of being good relatives, the Red Deal is a platform that calls for demilitarization, police and prison abolition, abolishing ICE, tearing down all border walls, Indigenous liberation, decolonization, land restoration, treaty rights, free healthcare, free education, free housing, full citizenship, equal protection for undocumented relatives, a complete moratorium on oil, gas, coal, and carbon extraction and emissions, a transition to an economy that benefits everyone and that ends the exploitation of the Global South and Indigenous nations for resources, safe and free public transportation, restoration of Indigenous agriculture, food sovereignty; restoration of watersheds and waterways, denuclearization; Black self-determination and autonomy, gender and sexual equality, Two-Spirit, trans\*, and queer liberation, and the restoration of sacred sites.

Thus the Red Deal is "Red" because it prioritizes Indigenous liberation, on the one hand, and a revolutionary left position, on the other. It is simultaneously particular and universal, because Indigenous liberation is for everybody.

Where will we get the resources to achieve these monumental tasks? We call for a divestment away from police, prisons, military, and fossil fuels (four of the biggest drains on public spending) and reinvestment in common humanity for everyone, including health, dignity,

and wellbeing, as well as the restoration of Indigenous lands, waters, airs, and nations.

"WE WILL BUILD A NEW WORLD FROM THE ASHES OF EMPIRE, A WORLD WHERE MANY WORLDS FIT."

## PRINCIPLES

### 1) What Creates Crisis Cannot Solve It

We've all heard the term 'divestment.' During the NoDAPL uprising in 2016, Water Protectors called upon the masses to divest from financial institutions investing in the pipeline as a strategy to reduce harm to people and the planet and, specifically, Indigenous peoples. The Red Deal continues this call for divestment from fossil fuel industries, but we go one step further. We draw from Black abolitionist traditions to call for divestment away from the caging, criminalizing, and harming of human beings *and* from the exploitative and extractive violence of fossil fuels.

But divestment is only half of the equation. What will we do with the resources that will become available once we divest from prisons, military, the detention industry, and fossil fuels? As of 2015, military spending accounted for upwards of 54% of all discretionary spending at the federal level. Proposed discretionary spending for "national security" in 2020 comes in at \$750 billion, \$718.3 billion of which is slotted specifically for the US military. In a given year, the US provides \$3.8 billion in military aid to Israel. \$182 billion is spent each year on cops and prisons. And *eight white dudes*—all except one an American citizen—own over half the world's wealth. This doesn't even include the revenues from the fossil fuel industry.

Compare these figures to the \$68 billion allocated for education in 2016 and the \$186 billion allocated for mental health services in 2014. And only \$66 billion of discretionary funds are spent on healthcare each year, with \$5.4 billion allocated to Indian Health Services. Despite this allocation of resources, healthcare is still unaffordable for almost half of Americans. Despite treaty and federal obligations, Native people (especially those living in urban locations) experience the worst healthcare of any demographic, and industries like pharmaceuticals control public services through lobbying and getting millions of people hooked on opioids.

Yet these already-low allocations for health and human services aren't low enough for the ruling class and their elite friends in government office. The U.S. government is threatening to cut spending on education, healthcare, food stamps, and other crucial health and human services in order to further inflate military spending. Imagine if the U.S. military had to hold a bake sale to keep its doors open instead of preschools, domestic violence shelters, art and language programs, and family planning clinics?

This is what the Red Deal proposes. Instead of scraping pennies together to salvage a barely livable life, imagine if we had over a trillion dollars to invest in healthcare for everyone? To increase teachers' pay so they can provide quality, free education to everyone? To repair roads and provide safe and accessible public transportation for everyone? To invest in large-scale language revitalization programs in every Indigenous nation on the continent? There is an overabundance of resources that go into demonizing Indigenous Water Protectors and Land Defenders, Muslims, Black people, Mexicans, women, LGBTQ2+, and poor people, while the health of the earth and human beings receives barely a sliver of attention or resources. With the resources we gain from divestment, we could end world hunger, illiteracy, child hunger, homelessness, and build renewable energy tomorrow. Literally.

## 2) Change From Below And to The Left

Sixteen states have passed anti-protest laws in the wake of Black Lives Matter and NoDAPL, with twenty more currently considering similar laws. This backlash proves that people who demand a dignified life threaten the powerful. It has been forgotten that the current GND legislation was only possible because its main advocate, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, was inspired by the NoDAPL uprising. Indigenous people are, and have always been, at the forefront of the struggle for climate justice.

While politicians withdraw from the social justice demands of the GND like healthcare, housing, and education, we embrace them. But we know that we must go further. We must throw the full weight of people power behind these demands for a dignified life. People power is the organized force of the masses; a movement to reclaim our humanity and rightful relations with our earth. With this, not only will we topple power, but we will build a new world from the ashes of empire, a world where many worlds fit.

There can be no rich people without poor people; the rich depend upon the poor. But the poor don't need the rich. This is our power: people power. Although Indigenous peoples live in a capitalist society, we continue to practice people power. For example,

Pueblo communities feed for nearly every ceremonial event. The original purpose of this was to pry surplus from those who held more wealth and redistribute it amongst those who didn't so that neither a poor class nor a ruling class could form. Everyone's material needs were met; there was no starvation, no homelessness, no alienation. Everyone was a relative, and everyone had relatives. Capitalism destroyed this world. We must destroy capitalism to bring it back.

People power is the most direct form of democracy. Everyday people decide what's best for themselves, not the elite and powerful. The wealthiest in the world have refused to pay taxes for more than a century while Indigenous people starve and die of preventable diseases. We believe that crying on the shoulder of the man who stole your land is the opposite of people power. You can't smudge the murder out of capitalism, nor can you expect the powerful to give up their wealth out of the kindness of their hearts. So how do we get things to change? Lobby Congress and politicians? No. We reach out directly to our people, hitting the streets and galvanizing the support of the community. Once community support is established, politicians will follow. Our leverage is people. Leverage comes from a movement behind you. Only when people move, do we build enough power to force concessions and eventually win.

### **3) Politicians Can't Do What Only Mass Movements Do**

Everyone has heard the term 'reform.' Politicians use it all the time when they're describing their plans for social change. We believe in reform, too. But we're proposing a different kind of reform. Reform typically means asking the powerful to implement gradual changes that we hope will eventually improve our lives. This approach attempts to treat the symptoms of crisis, rather than the structures of power that create crisis in the first place. For example, in March 2016, white police officer Austin Shipley had a mandatory lapel camera on his uniform when he murdered 27-year old Navajo mother Loreal Tsingine in broad daylight in Winslow, Arizona. Lapel cameras are often cited by police reformers as a necessary deterrent to police violence and killing, yet Shipley murdered Tsingine with impunity and faced no charges. Cops in Winslow continue to harass and harm our relatives.

In the same year that Tsingine was murdered, police arrested over 800 Water Protectors and brutalized and traumatized countless others at Standing Rock. That same year, police killed Native people at higher rates than any other group and killed Native women at six times the rate of white women. Yet, when proponents call for Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) reform, the



solution is more police to address the killing, rape, imprisonment, and torture of Native women.

In 2018 and 2019, we saw an increase in deaths of Indigenous children in migrant detention centers along the U.S.-México border. We witnessed the shooting by US border patrol of Claudia Patricia Gómez González, an Indigenous woman from Guatemala. And we mourned the death of trans Indigenous woman Roxana Hernández in an ICE detention facility.

Immigration reformers have called for border patrol to keep families together and have also filed lawsuits to call for the construction of “more humane” cages for these families and individuals.

The question these reformers ask is: How can we improve the police with “cultural sensitivity” training? Which politician should we lobby to make these improvements? Instead, we ask: Why are police considered the solution to the crisis of Indigenous life? Why do we even need the police? “Chinga La Migra,” “Abolish ICE,” and “No Ban on Stolen Land” are not mere slogans. They are demands for a dignified life. The police, military, and border patrol exist to protect the interests and wealth of the elite. Instead of providing homes, healthcare, and food, all we get are more cops, more soldiers, more walls, more poisoned water, and more cages.

The interests of the few always outweigh the needs of the many. This is how power works in a world structured by capitalism.

Reformists misunderstand this fundamental truth about capitalist states. States protect capital and the ruling class, not life. This is true for police who protect private property while caging and murdering people. This is true for U.S. military campaigns that protect the interests of multinational corporations by bombing villages, schools, and mosques. Reformists who appeal to the state for change compromise our future. We refuse to compromise. Our philosophy of reform is to reallocate social wealth back to those who actually produce it: workers, the poor, Indigenous peoples, the Global South, women, migrants, caretakers of the land, and the land itself. The types of reform we seek include the complete moratorium on oil, gas, and coal extraction; the restoration of Indigenous land, water, and air to a healthy state; and special protections for workers and the land. These “non-reformist reforms” are crucial to achieving abolition, decolonization, and liberation.

Where will we get the money to fulfill these reforms? We will dispossess the wealth from corporate polluters and settler governments and redistribute it to the masses, restoring dignity and creating jobs to caretake and heal the planet and build our collective future.

#### 4) From Theory to Action

Bosses run the world, from the White House to the highest executives of the multinational corporations that plunder the earth. Yet, there is no unified left that poses a real threat to the bosses. We have witnessed massive grassroots rebellions against the fossil fuel industry, police violence, racist immigration policies, and labor exploitation, yet nothing has coalesced into a unified mass movement. We believe that struggling for these reforms to restore the health of our bodies and the earth will serve as the most powerful vehicle for building a mass movement. We cannot simply be against something; we must be for something.

We will make policy recommendations that can be used at any level of government, from the grassroots to the tribal council to the city council. We cannot turn away from the state because the state has its sights set on us at all times. Indigenous people know that every moment of our existence is mediated by the state: it is illegal to give birth in our traditional homes without state permits and we aren't even allowed to visit our sacred sites that lie within federal lands without proof of identity. The state harasses us wherever we go because we are not supposed to exist; we are supposed to be gone, erased off the lands the U.S. so desperately wants to exploit for profit. However, we do not appeal to the state

to right these wrongs. Instead, we must organize and agitate wherever the state has set its sights—urban Indigenous youth, women, migrants, Black people, LGBTQ2+, our sacred mountains and waters. We cannot simply build isolated utopias while the rest of the world burns, nor can we wait for the slow process of reformist reform to kick in. We cannot simply heal our individual trauma, nor can we consume better to save the environment. We cannot vote harder and place all our hope in a few individuals in Congress. Climate change will kill us before any of these strategies liberate the planet from capitalism.

By fighting for non-reformist reforms in and with our most vulnerable communities, we will drain power and resources from state surveillance and harm and reinvest these resources in the wellbeing of all. We will regain our collective power. We will be inspired by a vision for the future that will outpace the state at every turn. We will be able to capture the momentum of the next rebellion and catapult it into a full-blown mass movement. We will fight for the redistribution of the wealth stolen from us, whether it's land, water, air, or labor. We will carry each other's dreams and dignity in our hearts. We will remain steadfast in our commitment to each other. We will seek peace and right relations between all life. We will do this in such a way that adheres to the principles of abolition, anti-capitalism, and decolonization. Join us in this struggle!

## AREAS OF STRUGGLE

### 1) End the Occupation: divest from the following police and military institutions

- Defund Police/La Migra/Child Protective Services
- End bordertown violence
- Abolish incarceration (prisons, juvenile detention facilities, jails, border security)
- End the U.S. Military occupation everywhere
- Abolish imperial borders

### 2) Heal Our Bodies: reinvest in the following institutions and services

- Citizenship and equal rights for everyone
- Free and sustainable housing for everyone
- Free education for everyone
- Free healthcare for everyone
- Free and accessible public transportation for everyone
- Suicide prevention
- Non-carceral mental health services
- Healthy, Indigenous, and abundant food for everyone
- Clean water and air
- Sexual and domestic violence services
- End MMIWG
- Reproductive justice

### 3) Heal Our Planet: create jobs by reinvesting in the following

- Clean, sustainable energy
- Traditional and sustainable agriculture
- Land, water, air, and animal restoration (above and below ground)
- Protection and restoration of sacred sites
- Enforcement of treaty rights and other agreements

**"IMAGINE IF THE U.S. MILITARY HAD TO HOLD A BAKE SALE TO KEEP ITS DOORS OPEN INSTEAD OF PRESCHOOLS, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SHELTERS, ART AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS, AND FAMILY PLANNING CLINICS."**

"WE CANNOT SIMPLY BUILD ISOLATED UTOPIAS WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD BURNS, NOR CAN WE WAIT FOR THE SLOW PROCESS OF REFORMIST REFORM TO KICK IN. WE CANNOT SIMPLY HEAL OUR INDIVIDUAL TRAUMA, NOR CAN WE CONSUME BETTER TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT. WE CANNOT VOTE HARDER AND PLACE ALL OUR HOPE IN A FEW INDIVIDUALS IN CONGRESS. CLIMATE CHANGE WILL KILL US BEFORE ANY OF THESE STRATEGIES LIBERATE THE PLANET FROM CAPITALISM."



ALL MY

# DIVEST: END THE OCCUPATION

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The following areas are priority targets for divestment because they cause the most harm to the planet and humans. Divestment will drain the enormous amount of energy that goes into producing and justifying this state-sponsored harm. By divesting both money and labor from institutions of harm like the military, police, prisons, border patrol, and child protective services, we will decrease violence on a mass scale. Divestment will also increase the quality of life and genuine safety of millions across the world who suffer at the hands of U.S. wars; wars against terrorism; wars against poverty; and wars against Indians.

## **AREA 1: DEFUND POLICE, LA MIGRA, AND CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICES**

### **Why is this important?**

Defunding police, La Migra, and Child Protective Services is an essential step to the liberation of Indigenous and other colonized peoples. The genesis of the police state is concurrent and foundational to the birth of the United States, a white supremacist state where capitalism is on steroids and wears the crown of the most imperialist power to ever exist. The same star badges given to Indian and runaway slave hunters during the early years of this nation are the same badges given to police today.

Today, Indigenous people are most likely to be killed by the police and, along with other minorities, are victims of the vast majority of police violence. The police state does not protect the people, nor does it serve them. The police protect the creation and flow of capital and the white supremacist nature of the state. When capitalists demand that lands, waters, and relatives be poisoned to create more wealth for their own pockets, the protectors of these lands, waters, and relatives are criminalized for standing in the way. When a person possesses no capital, they are brutalized--sometimes to the point of death--for existing in the "wrong" time and place. Workers from south of the border are criminalized by La Migra for crossing borders, yet capital knows no borders and the United States creates laws to ensure it flows freely.

When children are too young to be incarcerated in prisons, they are taken away from their families and placed under the care of the state as wards. We've heard that one before; "Indians are wards of the state." Child removal from Indigenous families is an imperial legacy, from attempts to "kill the Indian and save the man" during the boarding school era to the removal of children from their parents and into cages at the U.S.-Mexico border. Let's not forget that the United States is responsible for thousands of misplaced migrant children in 2019. Capital and the strict rules that maintain it will always be

more valuable than human life in the U.S.

Billions of dollars are spent to maintain systemic violence because the state would cease to exist without it. It is an unnatural, inhumane, and unnecessary force. The United States didn't just grow out of the lands that it now claims as its own. Like all nation-states, the United States is a fiction that requires massive ideological and physical infrastructure to justify its existence. The enforcement of borders is key to this, and requires constant persuasion, often with violence and force. Almost 80% of the police workforce and 76.5% of the U.S. population is white, yet Indigenous, Black, and Chicax folks, who collectively add up to 33% of the population, experience the vast majority of police violence. The single largest allocation for resources in U.S. cities go to local law enforcement, and a whopping \$324 billion is estimated to go to the Department of Homeland Security annually, doubling since its creation in 2003.

Defunding the police state is essential to the progression of humanity and a life-affirming and truly free world. We don't need policing; we need protection, care, and resources. Imagine a world where we call for help and actually get help instead of discipline, punishment, death, and coercion. Divesting from police and reinvesting in the people is due justice.

## What needs our urgent attention?

- State and vigilante violence along the U.S.-Mexico border
- Defunding collaborations between U.S. police and the Israeli military
- In Canada, 90% of children in the custody of the state are Indigenous, and 33% of all missing Indigenous persons are children. There are more Indigenous children in the custody of the state today than there were at the height of residential schools. In the U.S., right-wing forces are funding lawsuits to overturn the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). Child welfare in these settler states is a new form of genocide. According to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, "forcibly removing" children is an act of genocide (Article 7). We must recognize the child welfare apparatus in settler states as a carceral institution that polices and coerces Indigenous families. We must challenge this at all turns.
- The culture of policing in the U.S. is still normalized around the narrative that cops (and military personnel) are community/national heroes who deserve discounts at restaurants, extra airtime on local news stations, or special thanks for doing their job. The presumption is that cops are a cut above the rest of us. Cops are not extraordinary individuals. You can become a cop without a college

degree, yet make three times what a highly educated teacher does. Teachers and mothers do not receive celebration or special societal perks for their contributions. Why do cops? We need to denormalize the idea that cops are special. They're not special and their lives don't matter more than ours.

## What can you do about it?

- Organize community defense tactics
- Create informal networks of support and sanctuary for migrant families and children that don't require conscription into religious or non-profit messaging
- Develop MMIWG2 campaigns that do not propose better policing or more police as the solution to the problem. Police prey on Indigenous women in numbers that match civilians, especially in bordertowns. When it comes to Indigenous women and LGBTQ2+, police are predators, not protectors.

## **AREA 2: END BORDERTOWN VIOLENCE**

### **Why is this important?**

Borders manifest themselves in multiple ways outside the common depictions of walls and fences. They can take the form of urban spaces barricading and policing the movement of Indigenous Nations. A bordertown refers to a settlement sitting outside of a Native reservation. Some examples include Gallup, New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Winslow, Arizona, and Rapid City, South Dakota. Bordertowns emerged from the dispossession, relocation and ethnic cleansing of Indigenous people. The function of a bordertown is to exploit the identity, labor, and death of Indigenous people.

Policies such as the Dawes Act of 1887 and the Homestead Act of 1862 allowed land to be sold and claimed by settlers, forcing Indigenous peoples off their homelands and onto reservations. Following forced relocation and land dispossession, Indigenous Nations became dependent on nearby trading posts and mercantile stores to exchange rug weavings, pottery, and wool for day-to-day necessities. Today, it is not uncommon for lenders, pawn shops, and trading posts to offer Indigenous peoples a small profit for family heirlooms or artwork whilst selling these items at a higher price. Lenders

keep Native families in an endless cycle of debt, forcing them to forego basic necessities like food to make monthly payments. Car dealerships and megastores like Wal-Mart function the same way. The owners of most of these businesses are white men who also have a monopoly on political power in bordertowns. This economic dependency creates predatory whiteness (and heteropatriarchy) that profits off Native communities. This relationship of exploitation is essential to the operation of capitalism.

Bordertowns have a longstanding history of violent anti-Indian sentiment. A common form of violence inflicted upon Indigenous peoples is “Indian rolling,” or the targeted torture and murder of Native people. This term was coined in 1974 to describe the murder of three unsheltered Navajo men in the bordertown of Farmington, New Mexico by a gang of white teenagers. It’s important to underscore that Indian rolling targets Native people. It’s equally important to highlight that the perpetrators of Indian rolling are overwhelmingly white men and boys, some of whom are members of white supremacist organizations. White supremacy flourishes in bordertowns where high numbers of Native people are seen as a threat to the colonial order of things.

### **What needs our urgent attention?**

- Murdered and Missing Indigenous



- Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit (MMIWG2) is rarely framed as an example of bordertown violence, which is itself often described as a recent phenomenon. Bordertown violence is a form of state violence that has upheld the colonial project of resource exploitation, relocation, displacement and genocide since the first military outposts and forts were constructed along the western “frontier” of the fledgling United States. Native women and girls were lured, sold, and kidnapped to be sex trafficked to soldiers and traders who manned these outposts and forts. Bordertowns are the original mancamps. One of the first lines of struggle to end bordertown violence is the campaign to end MMIWG2.
- Unsheltered Native populations are often on the frontlines of bordertown violence, yet never receive justice when racist violence is inflicted upon their communities by police, Indian rollers, white supremacists, or white business owners. Direct advocacy and support, as well as politicized organizing with unsheltered communities (like tent cities), must be a priority.
- Hold a People's Tribunal that investigates police violence and other acts of discrimination against Native people. Make recommendations for justice that you present to city politicians.
- Lobby tribal politicians to enforce a citizen-based form of treaty rights (rather than a form of rights attached only to specific territories) for Native individuals off-reservation. These rights travel with Native people and protect them even when they are not on tribal lands.

### **What can you do about it?**

- Organize with unsheltered people in your city to design a campaign for repealing anti-poor laws like trespassing and aggressive panhandling ordinances that criminalize homelessness/poverty

**"POLICE PREY ON  
INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN  
NUMBERS THAT MATCH  
CIVILIANS, ESPECIALLY  
IN BORDERTOWNS.  
WHEN IT COMES TO  
INDIGENOUS WOMEN  
AND LGBTQ2+, POLICE  
ARE PREDATORS, NOT  
PROTECTORS."**

## **AREA 3: ABOLISH INCARCERATION (PRISONS, JUVENILE DETENTION FACILITIES, JAILS, BORDER SECURITY)**

### **Why is this important?**

The problem of incarceration stems from the time of slavery. Modern police forces in the United States have their origins in the people employed to police and capture runaway slaves and enforce the laws of the white male ruling class. Continuing this legacy, the modern police forces actively contribute to the incarceration of people to maintain a system of cheap labor which also separates them from their respective communities. Some information regarding incarceration in the United States is as follows:

- At the end of 2007, 1 in 31 adults was behind bars, on probation or on parole
- \$148,000 is spent per person, per year, on incarceration
- Youth are targeted, especially youth of color, with 93,000 incarcerated youth at an approximate cost of \$400.00 daily
- Approximately \$5.7 billion is spent annually to incarcerate non-violent youths
- The U.S. imprisons a larger percentage of its Black population than South Africa did at the height of apartheid

- The United States has 5% of the world's population, but 25% of the world's prisoners.
- More than 96% of convictions in the federal system result from guilty pleas rather than decisions by juries.

The statistics speak for themselves. The United States is obsessed with incarcerating its population. Incarceration at all stages of life is so common for Black and Indigenous families that it is their primary mode of interaction and participation with the state.

"Re-entry" programs don't do anything to limit numbers and stop repeat sentences. Approximately twenty percent of prison admissions come from technical violations of parole. These staggering numbers demonstrate that abolishing incarceration must be centered in our revolutionary work. We must protect our families from the violent practices of exploitation via cheap labor and humiliation tactics such as lack of privacy and lack of access to basic needs that prisoners experience while incarcerated.

### **What needs our urgent attention?**

- LGBTQ2 folks are disproportionately criminalized and incarcerated. They are forced onto the streets where they are further criminalized and made vulnerable to both vigilante and police violence.

- Poor single mothers/parents of color are especially vulnerable
- Migrant youth are incarcerated at 1,400 people per day, 42,000 people per month

### **What can you do about it?**

- Fund and organize community based youth and domestic violence shelters that are safe for Indigenous women and LGBTQ2+ relatives.
- Prisons and cops are often tasked with the providing mental health services. An Indigenous youth recently described to us that his experience in the psychiatric ward of a prominent Albuquerque hospital was like being in prison. A large percentage of our relatives on the streets are disabled or experiencing mental health issues. The intersection of mental health and incarceration-policing is an understudied area of carcerality that needs our attention. Design and conduct a community-based research project that attempts to capture this information so that we may better organize to support all our relatives who are targeted by carceral violence.
- Research existing prison divestment campaigns (there are many) and organize a local chapter in coordination with national efforts.

**"INCARCERATION AT ALL STAGES OF LIFE IS SO COMMON FOR BLACK AND INDIGENOUS FAMILIES THAT IT IS THEIR PRIMARY MODE OF INTERACTION AND PARTICIPATION WITH THE STATE."**

## **AREA 4: END U.S. OCCUPATION EVERYWHERE**

### **Why is this important?**

The United States owns the deadliest and most funded military power in the world, so much so that the next seven military powers still do not match the spending that the United States invests into its defense. The United States military also owns more international military bases than any other country, and that too is not even a close race. The question now is why does the United States invest so heavily into its military and its expansion beyond Turtle Island? The answer is the same as it has always been since the creation of the United States: colonization and imperialism.

When the United States wanted to expand westward from their settler colonies, they created the Administration of Indian affairs within the Department of War in 1789 to negotiate treaties with Indigenous peoples to take land in a “fair trade”. However, when Indigenous peoples refused to sell their land, George Washington and the United States were ready to wage war, or more accurately in Washington’s words, “extirpate” Indigenous people. This same violence enacted by the United States military continues to this day, all in the name of natural resources, territorial positioning, and profit. Look at Standing Rock in 2016 when

Indigenous people defended their treaty lands against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. We saw the National Guard sent in to detain and assault water protectors and land defenders. Look at Hawai’i and Mauna Kea where Kanaka Maoli continually face violence from U.S. military bases, along with being arrested for protecting their sacred sites. Look at Venezuela, which is under sanctions for refusing to cave to U.S. bullying for oil. Look at Palestine, which is surrounded by two of the largest U.S. military aid recipients: Israel and Egypt. Look at Okinawa, where earlier in 2019, tens of thousands of Japanese citizens called for the closure of U.S. military bases.

Violence upon the land is violence upon the people, and vice-versa. For people to live dignified lives, U.S. military occupation has to end. This is not just an “Indigenous”, “Native American”, or “Indian” problem. This is a global problem. “Los Pueblos Unidos Jamás Serán Vencidos.” The people united will never be divided.

### **What needs our urgent attention?**

- Ending U.S. occupation everywhere means having a strong analysis and stance on U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is the #1 enemy of the planet. Center imperialism in your politics by challenging the common notion that the U.S. left is the vanguard of global change. It's not. As a comrade

in Venezuela recently stated, the U.S. is holding back the rest of the world from revolution. We are not the solution. We are the problem.

- Historically, a strong anti-war movement has united different forces of the U.S. left. Let's build a strong anti-war movement for today!

### **What can you do about it?**

How do we win when we're fighting imperialism in the "belly of the beast?"

- Offer our solidarity to others around the world. Lift up Water Protectors and Land Defenders in Palestine, Hawai'i, Venezuela, Brazil, and Japan. Donate to grassroots movements educating and fighting against imperialism and western intervention.
- Organize and educate your community on why fighting against imperialism is important. Hold film screenings, reading groups, listen to podcasts. Educate. Educate. Educate.
- Be principled about U.S. imperialism. When "U.S. intervention" is being sold as the solution to a human rights crisis, say no! Say no emphatically! "We will bomb you to save you" is an imperialist logic. Not to mention twisted. Advocate the bare minimum standard for anti-imperialism in your organization: NO U.S. INTERVENTION.

**"A COMRADE IN VENEZUELA RECENTLY STATED, "THE U.S. IS HOLDING BACK THE REST OF THE WORLD FROM REVOLUTION." WE ARE NOT THE SOLUTION. WE ARE THE PROBLEM."**

## **AREA 5: ABOLISH IMPERIAL BORDERS**

### **Why is this important?**

Western European countries have long held that the exercise of dominance over territory requires the definition and protection of borders. This pattern of dominance over territory and the militant defense of borders crossed the Atlantic Ocean with the arrival of British, Spanish, French, and Portuguese colonialism. When the United States came into existence after a revolution of the bourgeoisie broke away from the British crown, it embraced the European idea of controlling territory through border supremacy. This was codified in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 that allowed the fledgling United States to exert its influence in the so-called “New World” without disturbance from “Old World” (European) colonial powers.

Since that time, borders have been used to control and restrict the movement of people (but only certain people) but free up and allow the movement of capital. The United States recognizes no borders other than its own when it seizes land through violent military force or topples governments of other nations who refuse to bend to the will of its corporations. This is the definition of imperialism, and borders play a key role.

Referring to the U.S.-México border, the U.S. media has proclaimed that we are in the midst of a 'border crisis.' This narrative, largely promoted by the U.S. National Security apparatus, paints the border as a threat to national security and to U.S. sovereignty. While this narrative has long justified U.S. imperialism as a means to “secure” the nation, it has been on steroids since September 11, 2001 and the creation of an entirely new arm of the U.S. government: the Department of Homeland Security.

This merging of borders with nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism requires us to develop a comprehensive analysis of how borders restrict, control, and govern the movement of Indigenous and other racialized people. The U.S. military force and capital have no borders; only people of limited means are bound by these borders. And what of our other-than-human relatives like animals; their migration routes and free movement to fertile lands is denied by border? The infamous livestock reduction program that was implemented by the U.S. government in the 1930s in the Navajo Nation is an example of this. Citing a lack of space for grazing, colonial administrators set out to reduce the number of sheep to “fit” the size of the Navajo reservation. But the borders of the Navajo Nation did not exist before the nineteenth century.

And they certainly weren't enforced as such through programs like livestock reduction prior to that period, which was a time when the United States aggressively sought to consolidate its territory and quell any competing claims to land held by Indigenous nations. Had imperial enclosures not been placed around the Navajo Nation, sheep could graze anywhere and Navajo families could follow in traditional seasonal movement patterns. Yet today, Indigenous people and our other-than-human kin are caged in our own lands.

These forms of border imperialism demonstrate how important it is to recognize the regulatory control that borders represent. This control happens through the surveillance of bodies, management of exclusion, and administration of punishment. Borders function as structures of segregation and weapons of empire. The abolition of border imperialism is critical to the idea that the free movement of people is an intrinsic human right, as stated in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Given the mass migration of humans and other-than-humans from the Global South to the Global North, which itself is caused by U.S. imperialist-colonialist practices and capitalist-driven climate change, we must open and abolish all borders to assist in the free movement of all life. Let us not forget: no one is illegal on stolen land except for those who haven't stolen it.

## **What needs our urgent attention?**

- Pan-African migration northwards into Europe
- Migration of plants and wildlife to natural feeding and breeding grounds
- Tribal reservations that are bisected by the U.S.-México Border

## **What can you do about it?**

- Fight for sanctuary resolutions at the Tribal level
- Organize events that connect Indigenous peoples from the Global South (Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, etc.) with Indigenous movements in North America, Asia, and the Middle East
- Indigenous nations should play a role in the international community, specifically in the areas of international relations with other Indigenous nations and communities across the world (excluding nations that are complacent with the U.S. imperialist project)

THE RED DEAL

# ENDING US OCCUPATION EVERYWHERE

DIVESTING FROM POLICE AND MILITARY INSTITUTIONS

- / Defund Police, La Migra, & Child Protective Services
- / Ending Bordertown Violence
- / Abolish Incarceration: Prisons, Jails, Juvenile Detention Facilities, Border Security
- / Ending US Occupation Everywhere
- / Abolish Imperial Borders

NON-DEFENSE ( 56%)

DEFENSE/MILITARY EXPENDITURES (44%)

In 2015 the total cost of violence in the US was  
**\$582 billion**

There are over 800 US military bases around the world, an operation that costs up to  
**\$200,000,000**



*Divestment is only half of the equation. What will we do with the resources that will become available once we divest from prisons, the military, the detention industry, and fossil fuels?*



SPENDING IN A GIVEN YEAR (BILLIONS)

"US military force and capital has **no borders**; only people of limited means run into these borders."

-Harsha Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism*

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