



# 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."



# 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 Chicanx 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 man camps. 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?*



**\$182**

**COPS AND PRISONS**

**\$3.8**

**MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL**

**\$66**

**HEALTHCARE**

**\$5.4**

**INDIAN HEALTH SERVICES**

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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# THE RED DEAL

## INDIGENOUS ACTION TO SAVE OUR EARTH

PART TWO

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HEAL OUR BODIES

THE RED NATION  
THEREDNATION.ORG



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## PART THREE

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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 state. 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. Wherever the state and forces of capital set their sights—urban

Indigenous youth, women, migrants, Black people, LGBTQ2+, our sacred mountains and waters—we must agitate and organize. 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 disciplined and organized 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 and non-carceral mental health services
- Healthy, Indigenous and abundant food for everyone
- Clean water and air
- Sexual/domestic violence services and reproductive justice
- End MMIWG2

## **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
- Multi-species caretaking
- Enforcement of treaty rights and other agreements
- Child care
- Elder care
- Domestic work

"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."



# REINVEST: HEAL OUR BODIES

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We are in a time of great suffering.

The last few months have been filled with popular uprisings in Lebanon, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and elsewhere. Although different in important ways, these protests have one thing in common: everyday people are fed up with the state. They are fed up with the burden of austerity policies. They are fed up with political corruption. They are fed up with politicians and wealthy elites getting richer while a growing majority of the world's population gets poorer and suffers more.

Today, almost half of Americans cannot

afford a medical or life emergency exceeding \$400, and the majority of the world's population struggles to pay for basic necessities like food, housing, transportation, and education.

The culprit of this current state of affairs is neoliberal capitalism. Under neoliberal capitalism, everyday people have had to work longer and work harder while wages have decreased, benefits have dried up, and state-sponsored support mechanisms have evaporated through privatization or budget slashing. Women and caretakers who perform care work like childrearing and domestic labor have been hit hardest because their labor doesn't qualify as 'work' worthy of wage

compensation, despite the net increase in actual work they have had to do because of the collapse of social and economic stability across the board.

Neoliberal capitalism is enshrined in state austerity policies that shrink public programs for food, housing, education, transportation, and healthcare in the name of 'fiscal responsibility' while simultaneously offering subsidies and incentives for multinational corporations to continue plundering the earth.

As they facilitate new forms of capital accumulation for these corporations, neoliberal states simultaneously claim to have a scarcity of resources, which is a narrative they peddle to justify the slashing of social welfare. This is simply false. Why else would military spending increase during the neoliberal period, or the wealthiest five percent of the world's population get even richer? The truth is that the state hoards these resources for the ruling class, which watches with indifference while millions (billions?) perish.

Capitalism creates and accumulates wealth based on speculation and searches constantly for new frontiers of value. Under neoliberalism, capitalism has turned our wellbeing (and suffering) into a marketplace where human life is sold, commodified, traded, and consumed. All aspects of life and death have become horizons for exploitation and profit in the

interests of capital. The result is suffering. Not only is the land dying and water evaporating, but we are also now expected to live in ever-expanding deserts of social abandonment.

Is the state responsible for these new forms of social violence and abandonment? Yes. But the larger structure at work is *capitalism*. Many of us within the left argue about the role of state power in building revolutionary movements and mechanisms for permanent transition out of capitalism. The Red Nation believes that divesting from state institutions like the military and redirecting those resources towards basic human rights is a necessary step towards dismantling capitalism. This means that we must turn towards, not away from, the state. Whatever our differences may be, state power matters in times like these when suffering is so profound and widespread that basic distribution of resources like healthcare and clean water can make the difference between life and death for millions—tomorrow.

Will we wage successful revolutionary struggles by resurrecting our dead? This might work if we had proletariat zombie hoards at our disposal. But we don't. This is why we must wield the state to heal our bodies and build a successful revolutionary struggle that fights for life before we, too, are dead and unable to fight any longer.



## **AREA 1: CITIZENSHIP AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR EVERYONE**

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

There are currently an estimated 47 million immigrants within the borders of the United States, with an estimated 12 million being undocumented. War, unequal trade relations, global wage disparities, underdevelopment, and climate change have created the conditions for massive migration from the Global South to the Global North. Migrants from the Global South face treacherous journeys, criminalization and detention, family separation, trafficking, unsafe and underpaid working conditions, murder, and severe restrictions on becoming citizens or legal workers.

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

While progressives, leftists, and radicals in the United States have shown outrage about the flagrant brutality of U.S. immigration policy along the U.S.-Mexico border, there is still a culture of (willful?) misunderstanding when it comes to the role of U.S. imperialism in causing migration in the first place. We urge everyone to understand how U.S. imperialism operates in the following ways:

The United States continues to play a pivotal role in causing war, conflicts, and overthrowing Global South governments in Libya, Syria, Somalia,

Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Honduras, Bolivia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, Colombia, and elsewhere. Using hybrid war techniques that combine ideological and military justification for intervention elsewhere in the world, the United States also foments economic and political destabilization in countries like Venezuela and Iran that it deems 'hostile' to American interests, i.e. capitalism. According to the United Nations, neoliberal economic policies are responsible for most of the migration from these areas of the world to the Global North (and to other Global South nations).

The United States has also shaped a world economy predicated on free trade agreements. These agreements open up markets in the Global South to heavily subsidized food commodities from the Global North, causing farmers to go out of business. In addition, these agreements open up land and resources for privatized development, causing the displacement of Indigenous populations and leaving environmental catastrophes. Enshrined in these agreements are rules that ensure low wages and global wage disparities, as well as little-to-no protections for the environment. These conditions force many to migrate in search of jobs.

Climate change caused by the burning of fossil fuels is also causing desertification, drought, stronger hurricanes, rising sea levels, and

increasingly extreme weather patterns. This is exacerbating conflict and forcing migration. The United States has about five percent of the world's population but consumes 25% of the world's oil. Additionally, the U.S. military is the number one consumer of oil. The United States is also the number one greenhouse gas emitter on the planet since 1750.

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

- Ensuring citizenship in the United States is the basement of what we should be trying to achieve when we call for migrant justice. All progressive movements in the United States must demand at a minimum that all 47 million immigrants regardless of current legal status be given the unconditional option of citizenship which will guarantee basic protections. This must include shutting down the camps, shutting down all detention facilities, abolishing ICE, ending family separations, and allowing people to migrate freely.
- We must also have an internationalist outlook and commitment. Building a mass anti-war and anti-imperialist movement to end war, sanctions, and resource extraction must be the priority of every progressive and left organization regardless of their specific 'issue.' Strengthening the international labor movement and uniting workers from the imperial core with workers in the Global

South must also be a priority. One of the demands of such efforts should be the creation of a global minimum wage to end the global wage disparities.

- Another priority for activists and comrades in the United States is demanding that the United States, as the number one polluter, pay reparations for war and climate debt. The United States climate debt as of 2015 was estimated at \$4 trillion. Reparations will ensure that countries in the Global South will be able to develop sustainably and guarantee sustainable livelihoods for their citizens.

## **AREA TWO: FREE AND SUSTAINABLE HOUSING FOR EVERYONE**

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

Efforts that are currently in place to resolve the housing crisis in the United States are simply not enough. Although the United States is one of the wealthiest nations in the world, poor and working-class people suffer from a lack of adequate housing, forcing them into uninhabitable homes or going without shelter at all. Beyond the more widely researched urban regions lurks an invisible housing crisis. Forced into over-crowded, substandard homes, Native people are suffering the most from a lack of adequate, livable homes. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 42,000 to 85,000 Natives would be homeless if sacrifices of squeezing into overcrowded homes and other situations were not made. Furthermore, HUD estimates an approximate total of 68,000 new housing units are needed in tribal areas to combat this invisible housing crisis, a total that matches the more visible 10-year housing plan already in the works for New York's crisis. While poor, working class and homeless people are suffering through this housing crisis, a surplus of empty private properties exist across the United States and funding could be made available for housing if it was a priority. However, housing is inaccessible when profit cannot be made of it. It's clear that we cannot

depend on a capitalist political system that values profit over bodies to fix this ongoing crisis in housing.

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

Federally recognized tribes in the United States have relied heavily on funding from the Indian Housing Block Grant, established through the Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act of 1996, to provide them housing over the past couple decades. In addition to the fast-growing Native American population, inflation has eroded the fixed amount of this funding since 1996. What makes the housing crisis on Native American reservations a threat to survival is the difficulty to sustain homes without the most basic of amenities, such as running water and electricity. Approximately 40% of homes in Navajo Nation, for instance, do not have running water and/or electricity. To equip rural reservation homes with water and heat usually requires frequent long-distance travel to haul water and firewood. Public health becomes another concern when Native people in remote areas like the Southwest must haul water from windmills and other water sources from the ground. In many areas of the Navajo Nation, groundwater is contaminated due to the 521 abandoned uranium mines across the reservation. These largely ignored problems, added to the housing crisis, make it increasingly difficult for the day-to-day survival of

Native people. While efforts are made to protect urban areas, progress to provide adequate, safe housing and basic amenities is stagnant and severely underfunded in rural Native communities.

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

The Red Deal proposes free and sustainable housing for everyone. Our relatives deserve the basic human right of shelter without having to worry about the possibility of homelessness and displacement.

- Demand the right to free and sustainable homes through grassroots direct action to place unsheltered people and families in empty surplus housing. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, for example, there are hundreds of vacant single-family homes on the westside of the city that are available immediately for this type of use.
- Move towards ending private ownership of housing by practicing collective living instead of commodified relationships with land and space. This includes challenging the idea of the nuclear family as the most important social unit for determining housing designs and options.
- Share best practices in how to stop gentrification in multiple cities and geographies.

"BUILDING A MASS ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT TO END WAR, SANCTIONS, AND RESOURCE EXTRACTION MUST BE THE PRIORITY OF EVERY PROGRESSIVE AND LEFT ORGANIZATION REGARDLESS OF THEIR SPECIFIC 'ISSUE.'"

## **AREA THREE: FREE EDUCATION FOR EVERYONE**

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

Since boarding schools like the notorious Carlisle Indian school opened in 1879, Indigenous children have been stolen out of their homes and subjected to physical, verbal, and even sexual abuse to force them to unlearn their languages and cultures and, ultimately, break Indigenous resistance to U.S. dominance. Although the school was closed in 1918, the legacy of Carlisle lives on in modern day colonial state practices that remove Native kids from their homes, adopt them into white families, and strip them of their identities. Contemporary child welfare practices work in tandem with the public school system to continue this legacy of harm that targets Native children. Public schools in New Mexico, for example, are funded mostly by gas and oil revenues generated by destructive extractive industry that poisons water, land, animals, and people. This means important gains like teacher salary increases and tuition breaks for working class college students are made at the expense of Indigenous people. While this scenario may not be the case in all contexts, we cannot ignore the fundamental connections that exist between environmental justice, public education, public health, Indigenous liberation, the labor struggle of teachers, and the rights of children.

When we call for free education for everyone, it cannot be at the expense of land, water, or Indigenous people.

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

- LGBTQ2+ students are more likely to experience violence in schools than other students. Ten percent of all LGBTQ2+ students have reported being threatened with a weapon in school and 34% report being bullied in school.
- Teaching is a highly gendered and therefore undervalued profession. Over 77% of all K-12 teachers are women, but they make almost 19% less than college-educated workers in other professions.
- Regarding Native education, most K-12 cultural curriculum that is available for Native students is overseen & decided upon by non-Native school boards and is really only limited to language learning.
- Graduation rates for Native people are shockingly low. Only 69% of Native students in public schools graduate high school. The percentage drops to 53% for Native students enrolled in Bureau of Indian Education schools (some of which are boarding schools). Of all Native students, only 17% go to college, and only 13% have postsecondary degrees.



## What can you do about it?

- Tribal leaders or officials should be the only ones deciding what should be taught to Native students. This includes public schools that are not technically under the control of tribal jurisdictions.
- There needs to be more resources and support for LGBTQ2+ students when experiencing violence or bullying.
- Until we can end our dependence on fossil fuels, the revenue made from gas and oil on reservations needs to be given directly to Native communities to support their students on and off the reservation.
- There needs to be more cultural inclusion in public schools. The first place to start is mandatory Indigenous American history in all K-12 social studies classes.
- Given that the overwhelming majority of teachers in the United States are working class women, we must frame the struggle for free and universal education as a feminist labor issue.

"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."

## **AREA FOUR: FREE HEALTHCARE FOR EVERYONE**

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

For the working class, interaction with the current healthcare system is violent. Even in the most favorable conditions, people attempting to use their private- or employer-provided health insurance are met with a web of confusing bureaucracy, exorbitant hidden charges, denials for necessary procedures, and limited pharmacy formularies. Under capitalism, a worker's worth is tied directly to their ability to generate profit. Once a body is broken and no longer able to perform labor for ruling class owners, capitalism sees no problem with cutting a worker (and usually their family) loose from their income and health insurance. Meanwhile, pharmaceutical companies drive up the prices of essential drugs like insulin, leading to deaths because people who cannot afford the appropriate type and dosage attempt to ration their drugs in dangerous ways. And with each change in healthcare norms like the 'pain management' revolution of the 1990s, doctors receive kickbacks from pharmaceutical companies to over-prescribe addictive medications like opioids, which has led directly to tens of thousands of overdose deaths in the United States alone. An estimated 27.5 million people, 8.5% of the U.S. population, went without health insurance in 2018, directly contributing to more deaths.

And in 2019, fewer than half of American households can afford a \$400 health emergency—even if these families have health insurance! Almost as many report that a \$1,000 health emergency would put them on the streets and at risk of going hungry. Our current healthcare system trafficks in the death of ordinary people. We want healthcare that values life.

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

- Trans health
- Nutrition
- Dental (teeth are currently treated as "luxury bones")
- Behavioral/Mental health/Addiction/Suicide
- Disability
- Reproductive health, sexual health, HIV/AIDS, birth, abortion
- Elder care

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

- Support new mothers! A significant portion of childbirth-related deaths happen in the weeks and months after birth, not during birth itself. Contemporary reproductive health practices completely ignore follow-up care for new mothers. Check in. Help. We all have mothers. The future needs mothers. Let's value our mothers.
- Organize direct action health services for unsheltered and poor relatives. This can include offering needle exchanges, providing regular,

free nutritious community meals, distributing Narcan to prevent opioid overdoses, or handing out condoms. The list of possibilities is endless!

- Encourage people—especially youth—to join grassroots organizing efforts. Organizing with other people creates a social context of accountability and relationality that helps with a number of health-related issues. It helps to alleviate anxiety, stress, and depression related to alienation and isolation under capitalism. Instead of taking our anger out on ourselves or our families, organizing allows us to channel our feelings into concrete steps that facilitate our liberation. Because they are collective and working class, grassroots organizations often practice lateral caretaking, especially for those who have been abandoned by society because they are poor or considered abnormal. Caretaking often comes in the form of assisting relatives with material needs like food, transportation, housing, and education. Grassroots organizations are also often safe spaces for relatives who otherwise experience social violence in their homes or families. To put it simply: organizing makes you feel good because you are supported and part of a group working towards a common destiny of wellbeing.

## **AREA FIVE: FREE AND ACCESSIBLE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION**

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

As it currently stands, public transportation in the United States and among Native Nations is largely inadequate and inaccessible. Although public transportation releases fewer emissions per person than the use of private vehicles, it is not made accessible to most people as a form of consistent and reliable transportation, even though almost 10% of households do not have access to a private vehicle. Most urban areas do have some form of public transit, but even with that there are problems with it that discourage and prevent folks from using the public transit that does exist. For example, in Albuquerque, the largest urban area in New Mexico, the primary form of public transit is the bus system, and although it provides service to nearly all of Albuquerque, there are only some areas that receive regular service. On some routes, usually those providing service to poorer communities and communities of color in Albuquerque, buses can sometimes come once every 45 minutes to an hour, and many times the buses servicing these areas only operate until around 4 or 5 PM, which is inadequate for most working folks. In many metropolitan areas, less than 50% of workplaces are accessible by folks using public transportation. Even then, this statistic considers an 'accessible' workplace to be one that

can be reached within 90 minutes, meaning that fewer workplaces are reasonably accessible for folks accessing public transportation. This contributes to folks remaining in poverty since access to reliable transportation is one of the biggest factors that prevents people from being in poverty.

Although surveys show that over 70% of people in the United States want increased funding for public transportation, it still isn't a priority for federal or city governments across the U.S. The largest source of funding across state and local governments is law enforcement, whose funding is often increased year to year, while projects and efforts that would actually benefit poor and working folks are overlooked and underfunded, with governments at every level showing that they are more committed to oppressing working folks—especially those who are Black, brown, and Indigenous—while simultaneously protecting and benefiting the rich and powerful. Funding for the police can sometimes be three times higher than the amount put aside for public transportation. In some places, such as in Pennsylvania, funding is being actively and intentionally diverted away from public transit programs and being funneled into police departments across the state.

Among Native Nations in the United States, lack and underfunding of public transportation and poor road conditions make travel from place to place difficult for many folks, as well as making things

like doctor's visits and other necessities practically inaccessible to many. As compared to state and local funding of road maintenance, road maintenance on all roads on reservation lands can be funded up to ten times less per mile, with the average amount of funding being \$500 per mile, while state and local funding is often between \$4000 and \$5000 per mile. Road conditions are also often poor, with over 60% of roads being unpaved and almost a quarter of bridges being deficient, making public transportation unfeasible in most places. Tribal governments are unable to address this since tribal governments own and maintain less than 10% of roads on reservation lands, with the rest being under federal, state, county, and private ownership. When it comes to public transportation, although there is a large need for it, the vast majority of tribal entities do not have any form of public transportation, leaving folks to rely on service specific transportation like the Indian Health Service or Head Start for their transportation needs. This combined with poor road conditions makes it extremely difficult for a lot of folks to access groceries, hospitals and clinics, educational facilities, community centers, etc., and downright inaccessible for some.

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

- Law enforcement being funded vastly more than services like public transportation that actually benefit people.

- Public transportation having short hours, long waits between buses, limited routes, and limited access to workplaces, especially for folks living in poor communities.
- Native Nations having no ownership or sovereignty over most of the roads on their lands.
- 80% of federal transportation appropriations are used for highways (which privilege and encourage private vehicle ownership), whereas only 20% goes towards transit.

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

- Design campaigns that demand an increase in areas of service so more places are accessible through public transportation. Transit systems often own a significant portion of land in cities, especially land adjacent to important routes. This land can be used for building affordable homes that are close to these routes. Combining housing justice with calls for better public transportation in our local organizing can facilitate these connections and strengthen our efforts to support poor and working class populations in urban areas.
- Advocate for your city governments to defund law enforcement and divert those funds into better public transit.
- Increase hours of service so more people, especially poor and working folks can rely on public transit at hours they need to use it. This would mean more jobs for bus drivers, whose labor struggles should always



be connected to movements for free and accessible public transportation.

- Always advocate for Indigenous people to have complete sovereignty over their lands and infrastructure, including roads, highways, and transportation systems.
- Most federal funding (i.e. public money) that goes to city transit programs is used for capital development projects like building roads or buying/building buses. Most of these projects are contracted out to private corporations. Basically, public money doesn't go towards ensuring free and accessible public transportation, it goes to private corporations. Advocate for public money to go to operational costs like driver wages, gas, and bus maintenance. Advocate for public money to pay workers to build and maintain buses as a form of green jobs.
- Most cities make very little money off of transit fares. Meanwhile, they spend millions on private corporations who own the whole production chain. Advocate for city governments to stop paying private corporations with public money and instead funnel federal appropriations into subsidizing transit so it is free for everyone regardless of income or access to resources.

## **AREA SIX: SUICIDE PREVENTION AND NON-CARCERAL MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES FOR ALL**

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

Suicide is the second leading cause of death for people aged 15-34 in the United States and the second leading cause of death for people aged 15-24 in the world. These numbers increased by over 30% between 2001 and 2017. This means that our youth are killing themselves more frequently than they did twenty years ago. Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Montana, South Dakota, and Wyoming rank among the states with the highest suicide rates in the country. What do these states have in common? High Native populations. Native people are at the top of the charts when it comes to suicide and they kill themselves at rates higher than any other demographic in the country. While men commit suicide four times more often than womxn, womxn attempt suicide three times more often than men and are twice as likely to experience depression. LGBTQ2+ youth are three times more likely to attempt suicide than cishetero youth and 41% of trans adults report having attempted suicide at some point in their lives. This means that Native youth across the board—LGBTQ2+, men, and women—are at greatest risk of attempting and committing suicide.

Youth suicide deaths are so common in Indian Country that it's impossible to talk about healthcare, mental health, gender, sexuality, education, housing, or incarceration without also talking about suicide. Native youth are the literal future of our nations; future caretakers and caretakers of the future. Their deaths, whether by suicide or other forms of violence, are the single most important mental health issue we face. It is thus impossible to talk about mental health without specifically addressing Native youth suicide as a particular crisis in need of immediate and urgent redress.

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

- Access to mental health services in Indigenous communities is limited and often expensive. As a result, the correlation between mental health issues like depression and suicide rates are overlooked, especially for youth.
- Indigenous children face extremely high rates and types of violence from an early age. Violence accounts for 75% of deaths for Native youth, 12-20 years of age. There is a strong correlation between early exposure to violence, mental health, and suicide.
- More than 90% of people who commit suicide suffer from depression, have a substance abuse disorder, or both. We must address depression and substance abuse in order to address suicide.

## What can you do about it?

This is not an issue that can be fixed through better services or suicide prevention campaigns. Studies show that suicide rates are lower in Native communities that have strong self-determination over land, education, health, and governance. The only way this will happen is if everyone promotes decolonization, the return of Indigenous lands, and true self-determination for Indigenous people.

"ADVOCATE FOR CITY  
GOVERNMENTS TO STOP  
PAYING PRIVATE  
CORPORATIONS WITH  
PUBLIC MONEY AND  
INSTEAD FUNNEL FEDERAL  
APPROPRIATIONS INTO  
SUBSIDIZING TRANSIT SO IT  
IS FREE FOR EVERYONE  
REGARDLESS OF INCOME  
OR ACCESS TO  
RESOURCES."

## **AREA SEVEN: HEALTHY, INDIGENOUS AND ABUNDANT FOOD FOR EVERYONE**

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

People should not be going hungry. The United States is the largest food exporter in the world, and third in total food production. However, 30-40% of the food produced is wasted and dumped in landfills, which, according to the USDA in 2010, amounted to \$161 billion and 131 billion pounds worth of food. Additionally, around 41 million people in the United States face food insecurity, including 13 million children.

But this issue isn't just about the lack of access to food, it's also the access to healthy and fresh foods. Food deserts are an issue all across the United States. From low-income communities of color to mostly-white, conservative, red-leaning communities, food insecurity and access is an issue. Dollar stores are not a solution, as they carry only foods loaded with preservatives and saturated fats, and often leave out fresh meat, vegetables, and dairy products. Fast food places are not a solution either.

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

Reservations are often the epitome of food insecurity, access, and prices. A 2014 report from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) found that only 25.6% of the population residing in tribal reservations lived one mile or less

from a supermarket, compared to 58.8% of the U.S. population. In addition, almost half of all residents in tribal reservations had incomes at or below 200% of the federal poverty level—for example, a household of five in 2019 had an annual income less than \$30,170. Moreover, of those living in extremely low-income conditions on reservations, only 27.8% live in walking distance from a supermarket, compared to 63.6% of low-income individuals in the rest of the United States. Despite these challenges, food isn't reduced in price. In fact, it's the opposite. A study from the Native Agriculture and Food Systems Institute found that on average, people living on reservations pay upwards to 100% more on food than those living off-reservation.

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

The solution to providing healthy, Indigenous, and abundant food for all is food sovereignty. You can promote food sovereignty by:

- Supporting local community food programs
- Supporting local co-ops
- Organizing a community garden and seed bank
- Financing and opening municipal-owned grocery stores (e.g. Baldwin, Florida)
- Creating a community network where you know others do not go hungry (e.g. PotBangerz in St. Louis, Missouri)



## **AREA EIGHT: CLEAN WATER AND AIR**

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

In 2015, we saw the Animas and San Juan Rivers—rivers that are the main waterways for Diné farmers and ranchers in the Four Corners region of the United States—turn yellow from the Gold King Mine spill. In early 2016, thousands of Water Protectors fought against the Dakota Access Pipeline to protect Mni Sose, or the Missouri River, which is one of the largest waterways in North America. Earlier this year, we watched as Indigenous people in Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia grieved the burning of their homelands in the Amazon, which many consider to be the result of deforestation. In four short years, we have seen catastrophic assaults on the earth and suppression of Indigenous caretakers who protect and defend the waters and lands that comprise the world's lungs and arteries. This devastation has happened in the name of profit. For the capitalists of the world, clean water and air don't matter so long as there is a buck to be made by plundering the land and water.

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

- NGOs and nonprofit organizations, which dominate the environmental protection sector, unwittingly contribute to derailing and destroying Indigenous movements to protect Pachamama (Mother Earth). We need a movement that decenters

NGOs and nonprofits because they hold a considerable amount of resources and power. These resources could be distributed to the people and communities who hold the solutions and knowledge on how to take care of the land and water.

- Another factor is our collective reliance on resources that affect air, water, and health of the communities. In the Four Corners region, the shift from coal to fracking still affects fresh water aquifers and air quality in New Mexico along with causing higher cancer rates and respiratory disease. In the Permian Basin in Texas, an increase in fracking has led to higher methane rates that affect air quality. In the Pacific Northwest, the warming of waters and rise of sea levels due to climate change affect land and water ecosystems. And in the Midwest, Monsanto farms release chemicals into rivers that make water undrinkable and even dangerous to touch. The shift in consciousness in how we consume resources, but also who we take leadership from, is crucial in restoring land, air, and water.

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

- Stop taking leadership from NGOs and environmental nonprofits, and instead take leadership from grassroots Indigenous and frontline organizations, communities, and people.

- Educate and organize around stopping fracking, mining, and resource extraction in Indigenous communities.
- Understand that what happens to the land and water, happens to the people, children, women, and LGBTQ2+ relatives.
- Support Indigenous-led movements and organizations that protect air, land, and water.
- Understand that there are multiple levels of organizing and work that goes into protecting our air, land, and water, not just work done by nonprofits.
- There is strength in unity. Sharing resources and successes is important to forming a collective front against monsters destroying the environment.

## **AREA NINE: SEXUAL/DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE**

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

Many of us are familiar with the epidemic of MMIWG2 but what is often left out of the conversation are the conditions that many of these people experience prior to their deaths and disappearances. Rampant sexual violence and domestic abuse in Native households, both on- and off-reservation, create hostile environments that render Native people more vulnerable to continued violence and death at the hands of the state, racist vigilantes, the extractivist industry, and non-Natives. However, the disturbing frequency of domestic and sexual violence among Native people is nothing other than a result of centuries of settler colonial violence and dispossession. Violence upon queer and feminine bodies was used as a primary tactic for the obliteration of Indigenous governance structures. Because Indigenous bodies stand in the way of access to the land and because women are seen as the producers of Native nations through the European heteropatriarchal lens, violence against women, particularly sexual violence, is used as means of separating Native people from the land. Non-men represent alternative political orders that replicate Native nationhood, but women and queer people, especially when in positions of power, become

the biggest threat to settler projects of dispossession.

Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson states that sexual violence is such an effective tool of conquest because of the overwhelming damage it inflicts upon families, and it lasts for generations, instilling shame and humiliation that discourages any efforts to resist. This use of sexual violence as a means of disconnecting Native people from their land and culture persisted throughout the boarding school era where Native children were frequently subjected to sexual violence and physical abuse in residential schools. Even after the boarding school era Native woman and families were stripped of their autonomy via forced sterilizations, lack of access to equitable prenatal and postnatal care, poor reproductive health services, poverty, assimilation, exotification, and objectification. To this day forced sterilizations are rumored to still be taking place in Indian Health Service facilities in the form of misinformation about birth control and malpractice.

This ongoing violence is not confined to just Native people. It deeply impacts all colonized people worldwide. In consecutive reports released in 2017 and 2019, the United Nations revealed that women and girls are killed by domestic violence more than any other crime. This information was released in a global study on homicide, focusing on

gender-related killings. The study revealed that out of 87,000 women who were murdered around the world, 58% were killed by family members or partners, with 34% being murdered by intimate partners and 24% murdered by other family members. According to the Indian Law Resource Center, in the United States, violence against Indigenous women has reached unprecedented levels. Four out of five American Indian and Alaskan Native women have experienced violence, and one in two have experienced sexual violence. Alaska Native women continue to suffer the highest rate of forcible sexual assault and have reported rates of domestic violence up to ten times higher than the rest of the population.

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

- **Youth:** Native youth who see violence in the home are 75% more likely to become a future victim of violence or a perpetrator. And according to Indian Health Service data, violence accounts for 75% of deaths for Native youth, 12-20 years of age. Among Native youth alone, more than 60% have been recently exposed to violence in different sectors of their lives—at home, school, and within their community.
- **Native Men:** Native men also have high victimization rates. More than four in five American Indian and Alaskan Native men have experienced violence in their

lifetime. 27.5% have experienced sexual violence, 43.2 % have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, and 73% have experienced psychological aggression by an intimate partner.

- **Trans relatives:** 65% of American Indian and Alaskan Native respondents to the 2015 U.S. transgender survey have been sexually assaulted at some point in their lifetimes. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents experienced some form of intimate partner violence, including acts of coercive control. Nearly half (46%) of respondents who worked in the underground economy (such as sex work, drug sales, and other currently criminalized activities) in the year prior to the survey release were sexually assaulted during that year.

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

Everyone deserves access to a safe, loving home and all of the resources required to heal from ongoing intergenerational violence. The Red Deal proposes:

- Readily available resources for those fleeing domestic violence such as violence shelters that are mindful of the specific needs of Native women, and easy to reach from the rural reservation and urban spaces. To do this, consider volunteering at already existing shelters or organizing community members to provide safe

spaces and basic necessities to those fleeing domestic violence. This can look like creating mutual aid networks where people can create call lists or listservs of those able to house or assist people fleeing domestic violence with basic necessities such as transportation, childcare, groceries, etc.

- Access to accurate sexual education and access to the full range of reproductive health services. To do this, consider organizing a campaign calling for the destigmatization of safer sex practices and full body sovereignty. This includes the destigmatization of abortion, birth control, STI and HIV testing, and teaching youth about consent.
- Freedom from domestic and sexual violence for all. To do this consider hosting teach-ins in your community where important discussions about unlearning toxic masculinity and heteropatriarchal violence can be held. Provide spaces where individuals might be able to obtain more resources about sexual health, healthy relationships, mental health, and having these difficult conversations in the home.

"BECAUSE INDIGENOUS  
BODIES STAND IN THE  
WAY OF ACCESS TO THE  
LAND ... VIOLENCE  
AGAINST WOMEN,  
PARTICULARLY SEXUAL  
VIOLENCE, IS USED AS  
MEANS OF SEPARATING  
NATIVE PEOPLE FROM  
THE LAND."



## **AREA TEN: END MMIWG2**

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

The epidemic of missing and murdered women, girls, and two-Spirit people (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. Bordertown violence is nothing more than contemporary frontier violence. Most bordertowns today were once centers for the most horrendous frontier violence, places like Chamberlin, South Dakota and Gallup, New Mexico served as centers of trade where white settlers not only sold and traded goods like fur, but also Native women and children. 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 man camps. One of the first lines of struggle to end bordertown violence is the campaign to end MMIWG2.

Today most people are familiar with man camps as a result of gas and oil extractivist projects. The presence of gas and oil makes it clear that the United States never stopped its project

of displacement and elimination of Native people. The land continues to be stolen for these projects. The poorest and most vulnerable communities are coerced into selling their land to multinational oil companies, yet remain in poverty once corporations have taken all the land can offer. Meanwhile, the richest in the world continue to siphon wealth from these communities. As a result of this continual displacement, 71% of Indigenous people live in urban spaces.

There is no escape from this cycle of violence on or off the reservation. MMIWG2 is a continuous violent struggle in our communities. Homicide is the third leading cause of violence against Native womxn in the US. In a recent report from the Urban Indian Health Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico has one of the highest numbers of MMIWG2. This is no coincidence, as New Mexico depends on gas and oil development to fund important social services in the state. The Urban Indian Health Institute (UIHI) interviewed 71 police departments across the United States and identified over 500 cases of MMIWG2. Yet the Santa Fe, New Mexico police department admitted to not keeping track of MMIWG2 and domestic violence cases because "Most Native women have Spanish surnames."

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

- STOP ADVOCATING FOR MORE COPS TO ADDRESS MMIWG2!

Countless efforts to bring awareness through federal legislation and state task forces are created while the ongoing settler violence continues. It is clear that we cannot depend on state institutions to put an end to MMIWG2. This includes cops. We cannot depend on cops to take MMIWG2 cases seriously when over 40% of cops are domestic abusers themselves. Cops are part of the problem, NOT the solution.

- LGBTQ2+ relatives: Our queer, trans and gender non-conforming relatives experience domestic violence and police violence in bordertowns at the highest rates. Because they are frequently disowned by families and discriminated against in workplaces, they can become dependent on underground economies like sex work, which makes them more susceptible to trafficking that takes place in and around man camps, as well as police violence because of criminalization.
- Missing and Murdered Indigenous Men/People (MMIM/P): Though Native people make up less than a percent of the U.S. population, they are murdered by police at the highest rates. On top of this, unsheltered Native people are victims of vigilante violence in bordertowns, a practice known as “Indian rolling”. Some of the most heinous examples of this racist violence are the Chokecherry Canyon murders in Farmington, New Mexico and more recently the torture and killing of Cowboy and Rabbit and the

murder of Ronni Ross in Albuquerque.

- Domestic violence: Domestic violence is fundamentally about power and control over someone through male privilege, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and intimidation. These forms of violence happen in the realm of everyday life in our homes, families, and intimate relationships. Domestic violence occurs so often that it is normalized and often times goes unreported because people don’t see it as violence. We need to change how we think about violence; violence isn’t just about war or extreme physical altercations like fights. The most common form of violence is domestic violence.

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

- Get involved with an existing campaign. Organizations doing vital work are Sovereign Bodies Institute, The Coalition to Stop Violence Against Native Women, and Native Youth Sexual Health Network. You can also start your own campaign if there is nothing being organized around you. Start by hosting workshops, study groups, fundraisers or other events that bring awareness to MMIWG2.
- Host actions, demonstrations or protests when there is no justice for MMIWG2. When Diné mother Loreal Tsingine was murdered by the racist cop Austin Shipley in the bordertown

of Winslow, Arizona in 2016, he was left free to roam the streets. The Red Nation along with her family demanded action and held a number of protests, which led to the creation of the Bordertown Violence Coalition, a report on bordertown violence, and an investigation by the Navajo Nation of the Winslow Police Department.

- Create accessible literature and online documents that can be easily circulated within your community that contain facts about MMIWG2 and information about what someone can do to assist those fleeing domestic violence, sexual violence, and those that may be victims of sex trafficking. It's important to have conversations with family about how negative attitudes about women and LGBTQ2+ relatives contribute to the epidemic of violence.

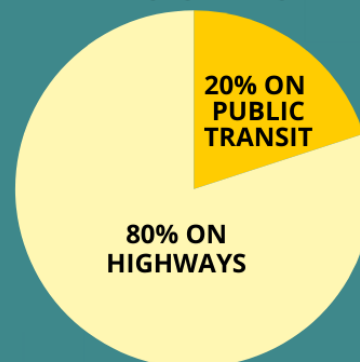
THE RED DEAL

# HEAL OUR BODIES

REINVESTING IN THE COMMON HUMANITY OF EVERYONE

- / Citizenship & Equal Rights for Everyone
- / Free & Sustainable Housing for Everyone
- / Free Education for Everyone
- / Free Healthcare for Everyone
- / Free & Accessible Public Transportation for Everyone
- / Suicide Prevention
- / Mental Health Services
- / Healthy, Indigenous, & Abundant Food for Everyone
- / Clean Water & Air
- / Sexual & Domestic Violence Services
- / End MMIWG2
- / Reproductive Justice

U.S. FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR TRANSPORTATION



Only 39% of Americans have enough savings to cover a \$1,000 ER visit or car repair

“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.”

139% 20 YR INCREASE IN SUICIDE RATES FOR NATIVE WOMEN IN THE U.S. (2019)

69% INCREASE IN INTL MIGRATION UNDER NEOLIBERALISM

45% AMERICANS WITH NO ACCESS TO PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

16.4% U.S. HOUSEHOLDS THAT ARE FOOD INSECURE

Abolition is “both a long-term goal and a practical policy program, calling for government investment in jobs, education, housing, health care — all the elements that are required for a productive and violence-free life. Abolition means not just the closing of prisons but the presence, instead, of vital systems of support that many communities lack.”

- From *Is Prison Necessary?* Ruth Wilson Gilmore *Might Change Your Mind*

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# THE RED DEAL

INDIGENOUS ACTION TO  
SAVE OUR EARTH

PART THREE

HEAL OUR PLANET

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.*

"THE PROCESSES OF COLONIZATION AND HETEROPATRIARCHY IMPOSE BINARY GENDER ROLES, NUCLEAR FAMILY STRUCTURES, AND MALE-DOMINATED HIERARCHIES THAT ARE AT ODDS WITH NATIVE CUSTOMARY LAWS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, WHERE LGBTQ2+ PEOPLE HISTORICALLY HELD POSITIONS OF PRIVILEGE AND ESTEEM."

#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**

Several 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 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 recommendations that can be used at any level of governance, 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—amongst 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 disciplined and organized 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 and non-carceral mental health services
- Healthy, Indigenous and abundant food for everyone
- Clean water and air
- Sexual/domestic violence services and reproductive justice
- End MMIWG2

### **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



"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."



# CREATE JOBS: HEAL OUR PLANET

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is no hope for restoring the planet's fragile and dying ecosystems without Indigenous liberation. This isn't an exaggeration; it's simply the truth. Indigenous people understand the choice that confronts us: decolonization or extinction. We have unapologetically renewed our bonds with the earth by implementing our intellectual traditions in our movements for decolonization. There is no turning back; these bonds are sacred and will never be broken. This is why Indigenous water protectors and land defenders throughout the world are criminalized and assassinated on a daily basis. We have chosen life,

therefore we've been marked for death.

Despite this grim reality, Indigenous people continue to caretake the land even under threat of daily attack. Like mothers, nurses, and educators, Indigenous water protectors and land defenders perform one of the most important types of labor we depend upon as a species for social and biological reproduction: caretaking. Humanity would not exist without caretakers. But caretaking is labor. It takes work to plant crops. It takes work to hunt. It takes work to raise children. It takes work to clean homes. It takes work to break down a buffalo. It takes work to learn the properties of medicines.

Healing the planet is ultimately about creating infrastructures of caretaking that will replace infrastructures of capitalism. Capitalism is contrary to life. Caretaking promotes life. As we note throughout the Red Deal, caretaking is at the center of contemporary Indigenous movements for decolonization and liberation. We therefore look to these movements for guidance on building infrastructures of caretaking that have the potential to produce caretaking economies and caretaking jobs now and in the future. We also look to the infrastructure of caretaking that is currently emerging where capitalist nation-states have failed to save lives from COVID-19. Under the current system of global capitalism, caretaking is undervalued and often unrecognized as a form of labor. Caretakers like mothers and water protectors make up a huge percentage of workers who produce the social and material means by which we live, yet they're not paid. In a world shaped by pandemic, caretakers have become the most important sector of workers, saving people's lives and keeping whole families and communities afloat. Mutual aid networks populated by caretakers are proliferating, providing relief to the most vulnerable and paving the way for robust caretaking economies to potentially replace the crumbling system of global capitalism. Current mutual aid efforts are neither state-sanctioned nor state-funded; they are entirely people-led and the result of

working class solidarity between nurses, service providers, students, domestic workers, migrant farmers, and families. Mutual aid networks affirm life by caretaking humanity rather than denying life by abandoning and exploiting humanity. However, the monumental challenge that confronts us is how to turn caretaking labor into life-affirming mass movements that can topple global capitalism once the emergency conditions of the pandemic lift. Only when we are able to mount a real threat to the hegemony of global capitalism through such movements will we be able to heal the planet.

Like the development of mass movements, restoring our relationship with the land is not optional if we wish to avoid extinction. But this isn't some mystical vision where we go out and hug trees. This is a serious agenda for decolonization that requires comprehensive land return programs and funding for mass Indigenous-led land restoration projects. Healthy reciprocity with the environment also depends upon Indigenous peoples having unrestricted access to land, unencumbered by colonial borders and free of harassment from agents of the state. We understand that the land is our means of production as Indigenous people; this is why decolonization and land return are not metaphors. Land is also the means of production for settler economies, which require property as a basic building block (often called primitive accumulation by Marxists) for

the accumulation of capital and power. We cannot successfully wage class war until Indigenous land repatriation is taken seriously as a precursor to seizing the means of production more broadly. And US imperialism--the greatest threat to the future of the planet--will never end if land remains in the hands of First World settler capitalists. The collective future of us all depends upon the ability of Indigenous caretakers to work with the land, restore its health, and re-establish balance with our relations.

With threats like radioactive contamination, wildfires, chemical pollution, and biodiversity loss, we will also need to seek new and alternative technologies, something Native people embrace because we have always been technological innovators, scientists and engineers. But as we know, capitalists have a monopoly on technology, with the majority of the most advanced technology being used for war efforts. Scientists are denied funding for projects that are not considered profitable or that directly disrupt the flow of capital to the already-wealthy. What if technology was created for the benefit of all life on Earth? In order to answer this question, we must turn to Indigenous knowledge. The following pages prove that our traditions of science, technology, and diplomacy are key to ensuring a future for all living beings on this planet.

What does it mean to take up healing

as a revolutionary concept, one that transcends the neoliberal realm of individual trauma and allows us to imagine a world that prioritizes collective well-being and healthy relationships? Many of us in the United States--especially Indian Country--have spent the better part of 40 years accepting our status as injured subjects stuck in endless cycles of trauma that make it seemingly impossible to transform our own DNA, let alone our social conditions. Trauma-informed thinking has taken over Indigenous governments, institutions, nonprofits, revenue streams and even movements. Like electoral politics, trauma-based healing sucks all the political and emotional energy out of the room, leaving little space for other possibilities and visions for change. The narrowing of our collective energies into trauma has come at the expense of building vibrant and militant struggles for liberation with other colonized and oppressed peoples of the world. Rather than allying with revolutionary movements in the Global South to overturn US imperialism once and for all, we argue on social media and academic panels about injury: who is more injured and who injures more. This is entirely a First World discourse. Movements outside the United States rarely traffic in the language of trauma and injury to develop political positions or tactics of organizing. In this time of global pandemic, we must reclaim healing from the First World (neoliberal) jargon of trauma and injury and instead

globalize our efforts. Healing is real and possible--and necessary. The Red Deal advocates for healing our bodies and the planet, but not from trauma. We must heal from colonialism and capitalism--together. COVID-19 is a harsh but crucial lesson about the need for collective healing, which will require militant movements to liberate the planet from systems and structures that target whole nations and species. Although there are many points-of-entry into this global struggle, there can be no doubt that Indigenous movements for decolonization and liberation must be at the center of our collective efforts.

"THERE IS NO HOPE FOR  
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SIMPLY THE TRUTH.  
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE  
UNDERSTAND THE CHOICE  
THAT CONFRONTS US:  
DECOLONIZATION OR  
EXTINCTION."



## AREA 1: CLEAN SUSTAINABLE ENERGY

### Why is this important?

The world is transitioning from fossil fuels to clean and renewable energies, but not fast enough. Resource extraction is still ravaging Indigenous, Black, migrant, and other-than-human communities. The Amazon forest fire of 2019 resulted in the burning of over 2,000,000 acres and the assassination of Guajajara Indigenous leader and land defender, Paulo Paulino, all in the name of mining and logging. In early 2020 Canada invaded sovereign Wet'suwet'en territory to remove Unist'ot'en land defenders who had successfully stopped construction of the Coastal GasLink Pipeline for close to a decade. And the Navajo Nation is still one of the largest resource colonies in the United States, supplying energy through coal and natural gas conversion to some of the largest cities in the American West while many of its own citizens live without basic infrastructure like clean water and electricity.

For Indigenous and poor communities throughout Turtle Island, the fracking revolution of the past decade has been particularly violent. Fracking is a type of drilling that injects chemicals and water into the ground to break up underlying shale rock, releasing the oil and natural gas contained within it. Fracking produces more natural gas than crude oil for the US economy; two-thirds of natural gas in the United States comes

from fracking, while approximately fifty percent of the nation's crude oil is procured through the same method. Corporations like TC Energy--formerly TransCanada, the corporation that built the Dakota Access Pipeline--claim that natural gas is one of the world's cleanest and safest energy sources. Natural gas is often called 'clean' because it emits 50 percent less carbon than coal when you burn it.

Governments like the state of New Mexico have partnered with fracking corporations to create shiny PR campaigns about the benefits of natural gas as a bridge fuel that will help the planet transition from dirty fuel sources like coal into zero-net-carbon renewables like solar. Native people know the truth about this so-called 'clean' energy source. While the natural gas boom has created billions in profits for extractive corporations, governments, and investors, the fracking required to extract natural gas from below the earth's surface has devastated Indigenous communities in eastern Navajo. Infrastructure like the Coastal GasLink Pipeline that carries natural gas from fracking fields to ports for sale violate Wet'suwet'en sovereignty. And the explosion of temporary fracking labor in the Bakken Oil Shale region has increased rape and human trafficking by oil workers of Indigenous women and girls from nations like the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara.

Meanwhile, extractive corporations are

investing billions in renewable energy technologies to ensure they have a new source of profit once 'dirty' energy is phased out in favor of 'clean' sources. Renewable energy corporations and start-ups proliferate, creating a new class of millionaires and billionaires who invest in green technology to make a buck and proclaim they are saving the planet. The United States backs right-wing coups in Indigenous nations like Bolivia to access green energy sources like lithium. Whether extractive capitalism or green capitalism, profit is all the ruling class cares about. Not the future of humanity. Not Indigenous sovereignty. Not the health of the earth.

It is thus crucial that we imagine and organize for new sustainable energy alternatives led by Indigenous people. Indigenous people have lived sustainably since time immemorial, and can continue to live in reciprocity with all those we share the earth with. But sustainable does not mean primitive. We must reclaim Indigenous intellectual traditions of the Western Hemisphere, which have some of the most advanced technology in human history. We have millennia-old mathematical and scientific theories that allow us to track the movement of the solar system, map out stars and galaxies, and create functional plumbing and aqueduct systems. We had these technologies long before Europeans discovered such things. Science and technology have never

been at odds with Indigenous life ways; it is only because of capitalism's monopoly on technology that science is used to destroy the planet. Today the most advanced technology in the world is used to create military weapons that kill millions rather than harnessed to save life. Because of their total control by private corporations, the health sciences are incapable of saving human lives during the COVID-19 pandemic. Imagine if technology was developed by the humble people of the earth for the humble people of the earth? Capitalism can never be compatible with clean, sustainable energy. Capitalism kills the earth. For the earth to live, capitalism must die.

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

- Green energy jobs are often touted as the rationale for promoting renewable energy projects. However, if we look at renewable energy projects like Kayenta Solar Project, Moapa Southern Paiute Solar Project, and the Tsilhqot'in Solar Farm, the majority of employment for tribal members is temporary and only comes from construction and planning. The maintenance is done by outside contractors. From vision to completion, solar jobs are not a sustainable source of jobs for local communities unless maintenance, monitoring, and remediation are taken into account. Saying that renewable energy will "create more jobs" simply isn't enough. We must

have a clear understanding of the spectrum of labor that goes into green energy and demand that local communities--not private contractors--work these jobs.

- The materials that are used in solar panel systems are extremely important to consider. Lithium-ion batteries, according to the US Department of Energy, are and will be the main storage of renewable energies. Lithium-ion batteries are made from two main minerals, cobalt and lithium. The Democratic Republic of Congo holds 60% of the world's cobalt, while Bolivia holds 70% of the world's lithium. Both countries face heavy exploitation from the world's economic powers like the US, China, Canada, France, and India. While these countries are supplying the Global North with green energy for the future, they remain some of the poorest nations in the world. We must not replicate the injustices and inequalities between the Global North and Global South that exist under our current structure of global capitalism by simply replacing fossil fuel extraction with renewable energy extraction. Even with the transition to green energy, the capitalist (and colonial) relation remains intact. This is called imperialism, whereby the wealth and power of Global North nations depends entirely upon the poverty and exploitation of Global South nations. We must fight against a system that deems the world's poor and Indigenous expendable for the sake of progress and profit.

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

- We demand that all corporate polluters be held accountable and pay for full remediation of the land and reparations to the people who have felt the impacts of extraction for generations. This can look like boycotts and divestment campaigns, or urging tribal leaders to break contracts with corporate polluters.
- Educate tribal communities on the histories of resource extraction. Regardless of how clean and green the technology is, the process by which corporations extract value from Indigenous life for the benefit of settler colonialism remains the same. Organize to stop all forms of energy extraction from Native communities and lands, whether it is coal mining, fracking, or solar farms.
- Now more than ever we need people to understand that we have to actively create the world we want to live in. Man-made disasters like climate change and the unnecessary spread of COVID-19 are not manifestations of "the earth healing itself." Such deadly events are a direct result of the actions of those who pillage the earth: the ruling class. These capitalists view the earth as a resource to be exploited instead of a relative to be protected. Wherever you are, create campaigns that pinpoint the central role of capitalism in creating this suffering, and the need to dismantle capitalism for the sake of our common future.

## **AREA 2: TRADITIONAL AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE**

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

Indigenous people have always adjusted our life ways to maintain sustainability. For example, when Pueblo peoples left Chaco Canyon, it was realized that irrigation farming alone was unsustainable in times of severe drought, and dry farming methods were developed. Simultaneously, areas were nurtured where natural food systems already existed in addition to continuing the use of ditch systems. Forest management was crucial in maintaining healthy watersheds, minimizing fire damage, and promoting healthy game and grasslands. Scientific racism works to invalidate and exclude land-based knowledge and wisdom. Modern science is only now recognizing the benefits of Indigenous knowledge that has been known for centuries, while refusing to restore lands to these same Indigenous experts.

Extractivism and militarization on Native lands disrupted our land-based economies, which have always allowed for sustainable food production. One of the first weapons of colonial violence was to destroy crops and food systems to weaken people, often coinciding with the forced adoption of non-native diets and the outlawing of growing traditional foods. An example of this is

how the Spanish outlawed the Mayan and Aztec Peoples from growing amaranth, even going as far as to cut off the hands of anyone caught growing it. Later, in Pueblo communities, a tithe of the best of a family's crops needed to be turned over to the Spanish missionaries at the end of each season or face harsh punishment. They were required to fill up the length of a manta (dress) with food that was then seized. Imperial borders are also sites of militarization that have inhibited the flow of the seed trade and knowledge sharing amongst Native people throughout Turtle Island. Historically, Native communities have preserved seeds by sharing them with other communities so that they wouldn't go extinct, and have actively worked to strengthen crop diversity.

The forced relocation and displacement of First Nations separated us from our lands, medicines, spiritual sites, and food sources. Native people experience the highest rates of food scarcity. Despite the fact that so much Native land has been stolen by big agricultural companies for mass food production, Native people continue to live in food deserts. In these food deserts, up to 85% of food is processed, and fresh fruits and vegetables are rarely available. On average Native people living on reservations pay seven dollars more per basket of food and travel three times further than the average person to access groceries. This can be especially difficult for elders

who often do not have access to reliable transportation. One in four Native homes does not have enough food regardless of whether they live on or off the reservation. It is unrealistic to expect the most marginalized to make a full return to land-based agriculture as a primary means of sustenance. We know the crushing weight of capitalism and land theft has forced us into the wage economy. Oftentimes, the jobs available force a separation of people from their lands. We know that we cannot heal lands and the substance they provide until capitalism and colonialism no longer exist.

The blatant theft of Native lands for resource extraction, settlement, big agriculture, military projects, etc. is directly to blame for this epidemic of food scarcity. Projects of extraction and militarization prevent people from living off the land, and long after they're gone they leave the land poisoned. Radioactive contamination of our lands leaves them unusable for centuries. Seed sovereignty is constantly threatened by commodity culture through big agricultural seed patents, cross-pollination with genetically engineered contaminants, and laws catering to agricultural companies that make traditional seeds illegal to grow and possess. Seeds also have very specific ties to the birthwork movement. The experiences and environmental exposures impact three generations in one pregnancy. Seeds have cultural connotations related to

birth, belonging to a place, and ceremonies around how we claim our kin. Food is quite literally medicine and a cultural foundation for a community to thrive.

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

### Seed Sovereignty

- Traditionally, seed sovereignty has a direct tie to reproductive health and body sovereignty. Promoting reproductive justice promotes seed sovereignty.
- Imperial borders directly affect our trade and seed sharing with relatives internationally that we traditionally traded with in the past.
- Big agriculture actively suppresses and kills the varieties of sacred foods and plants in favor of mass produced GMOs.
- Monsanto, a food monopoly tycoon, is trying to patent Indigenous seeds that we have grown since time immemorial, therefore stealing and monopolizing sacred and life sustaining plants.
- Many genetically engineered crops such as corn and wheat cannot be grown without the use of the cancer causing herbicide Roundup (a byproduct of Agent Orange). Roundup creates widespread environmental and waterway degradation and is being used in combination with toxic pesticides that are also just as harmful to life and the environment.



- The introduction of big agricultural crops into small Indigenous economies across Turtle Island is systematically destroying local economies, as they cannot compete with price differentials. In Mexico, the birthplace of corn, GMO seed companies drastically reduced the price of corn so much that local markets crashed, causing an uprising to ban GMO seeds across regions.
- worldview and practices, such as cap and cover, excessive soil removal, less protective standards of clean up, and the production of waste dumps adjacent to poor communities.
- Federal food programs, such as commodity distribution programs, try to compensate for the destruction capitalism and colonialism have caused to Native food systems. However, distributing foods that are not Indigenous has a negative impact on health and wellness in the long term, creating issues like unhealthy bodies, diabetes, cardiovascular disease and other health impacts.

## Food Deserts

- Indigenous people, on and off the reservation, need foods that are whole, healthy and Indigenous to their diet. Children, elders, and birth givers are the most marginalized groups for food security.
- Accessibility. Capitalism is why only the cheapest foods, and not a variety of healthy foods, are able to make it to the most rural areas. It is also the reason why healthy foods are inaccessible for low income families. In rural and urban communities this translates into having to travel great distances (and therefore spend more income) to get to a grocery store that sells healthy food at affordable prices.
- Resource extraction depletes and pollutes the soil, making the land unusable for generations and minimizing available land for growing food. This creates the need for expensive, long-term environmental restoration, usually siloed into Western/European

## Land Return

- Our land, air and waterways are polluted from capitalist endeavors, government mismanagement, and militarization. Traditional caregiving and sustainability does not disrespect or cut kinship with our land, water, air, and other-than-human relatives.
- Our mountain relatives are under military control and have been contaminated with nuclear waste and radiation. This has affected every corner of life and our ability to sustain our relatives, from contaminated water to contaminated animals and plants, and even the clay we use. This is a catastrophic offense and will take years beyond our generations' lifetimes to clean and restore.

- Having control over our ancestral territories is vital to our ability to care for them, and is a generations-long pathway to true sustainability.
- Only when land is restored and returned can we begin to rebuild our economies and our nations with true sovereignty.

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

- We can incorporate hydroponic and aquaponic food systems into our life ways while the land is in remediation from extractive, and military projects that have caused immense devastation.
- For Indigenous people, we can decolonize and restore balance and harmony to our food security and sovereignty through planting community gardens using our planting, harvesting, and ditch work songs. We can use our knowledge of waterways, seed storage, seed exchange, dry farming, and waffle gardens to revive our gardening traditions. We can do this in a way that is culturally and spiritually grounded so our prayers support the health and well being of our communities.
- Everyone can help to restore Indigenous seed economies by trading with Indigenous folks around the world. We can disregard imperial borders imposed upon us by reinvigorating non-capitalist, ancestral trade networks. We can revive and reintegrate traditional ways of harvest management through cooperating and exchange with others, thereby strengthening traditional and sustainable economies.
- In order to survive current challenges and any future challenges to our food sources, we suggest remaining flexible, open, and willing to learn new ways to be healthy. These ways include how food is prepared and handled. Having direct contact from seed planting to harvest honors traditional food sovereignty. We suggest reviving old recipes and creating new recipes in which nutrient-rich foods are centered, where fruits and vegetables are our main source of vitamins.
- The widespread labeling of foods containing genetically engineered and transgenic ingredients must be mandated for food justice, allowing people the option of informed consent for what they are consuming. We must be in solidarity with Indigenous communities globally in shared resistance to banning GMO and transgenic seeds, and work towards creating genetically engineered free zones across Nations. We look to the work that has already been done to preserve traditional and sustainable agriculture by the The New Mexico Food & Seed Sovereignty Alliance, which created A Declaration of Seed Sovereignty: A Living Document for New Mexico on March 11, 2006. The document offers 30 points highlighting the devastation

of land and agriculture and lays out a framework for restoration. A link to the Declaration of Seed Sovereignty can be found [here](#).

- We can pressure our tribal governments to cut ties with corporate polluters who aid the devastation of land in the name of economic development. We can divest from big banks that fund extractive projects both as individuals and Native nations. We can stand against continued land devastation by organizing and participating in protests, blockades and encampments. We can urge our tribal governments to assert their sovereignty and rebuild our relationships with Native peoples beyond US borders to restore knowledge and trade that can allow us to heal land and rebuild our own economic frameworks to end dependence on the settler state.

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## **AREA 3: LAND, WATER, AIR, AND ANIMAL RESTORATION**

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

Recent studies show that although the world's 370 million Indigenous peoples make up less than five percent of the total human population, traditional Indigenous territories encompass between 22-25% of the world's land surface and they coincide with areas that hold 80-90% percent of the planet's biodiversity. Also, the greatest diversity of Indigenous groups coincides with the world's largest tropical forest wilderness areas in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, and eleven percent of world's forest lands are legally "owned" by Indigenous peoples and communities. These forests--like the Amazon--are the world's lungs.

Climate research shows that the most serious aspect of our current environmental crisis is the loss of biodiversity, which affects human survival by interfering with crucial ecosystem services such as crop pollination and water purification while also threatening the land, air, and water, relatives with whom we share this world.

Of the four billion or so species that have evolved over the last 3.5 billion years, some 99% have gone extinct. Over time, the rate of extinction has been balanced by the evolution of new species. But there have been five

exceptions to this pattern--periods of mass extinction when the rate of species loss was so great that the biodiversity of the earth was substantially reduced.

The number of species on earth at this point in time is estimated to be 8.7 million, with perhaps another million or so yet to be identified. Knowing how many species there are on the planet means we also know how fast they are going extinct. A 2015 study in *Science Advances* shows that there has been an exceptionally rapid rate of species loss over the last few centuries when compared to "normal" background rate of species extinctions. Findings show that species are going extinct at a rate of up to 100 times the background rate, or to put it bluntly: extinction rates have reached levels unparalleled since dinosaurs died out 66 million years ago. There is no longer any doubt: we have entered the sixth mass extinction in earth's history. The last mass extinction event occurred 65 million years ago and it took hundreds of thousands of years for species biodiversity to recover.

A key difference between this extinction event and previous events is that all of the past mass extinctions have been caused by sudden cataclysmic events such as a series of massive volcanic outbursts, major asteroid impacts, or dramatic sea-level change. Today, mass extinctions are being driven by the effects of just one single species: human beings. Certainly, not all human beings

are responsible for the mass extinction, but rather those who uphold the institutions that destroy the earth: capitalism, settler colonialism, and imperialism. A small minority of rich humans benefits from the constant pillaging of the earth for profit while the majority of the world's species struggle to survive or simply die because of these human-created systems of greed and exploitation.

There is a reason why the mass reduction of biodiversity via multi-species extinction is related to land restoration: in places where the health of the land has been destroyed through pollution and hyper-exploitation, biodiversity disappears. Yet, where Indigenous people have freedom to caretake the land, biodiversity flourishes. This is because, as opposed to capitalism, Indigenous people around the world do not see ourselves as separate from the land. For us, land, plants, animals, and water are our relatives. The soil is alive and interacting with the air, waterways and all other-than-human creatures. The Indigenous perspective looks forward to the future of our children, our children's children, and to the wellbeing of all living things. It also looks back to the wisdom of our ancestors. This intimate relationship between past, present, and future allows for close observation of the interactions and interdependencies between species across time and

space. It allows for reverence of the land in which humans live in balance with all other beings. Water, air, animal, and human restoration depends upon the health of the land. Restoring the land, and our commitment to living in balance with our relatives, is thus key to securing a future for all. Current statistics about mass extinction, biodiversity, and air quality show irrefutably that land cannot simply be "restored" through technological fixes or environmental protections adjudicated in settler institutions. Land restoration must center Indigenous land stewardship and multi-species caretaking--and thus the mass return of land to Indigenous nations and the implementation of true Indigenous self-determination--if we are to have any hope of a future on this planet.

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

- Soil degradation has global ramifications on resource sustainability. Capitalism, in its unrelenting demand for profit, uses and destroys the land with no consideration for those ramifications. Through its myopic lens, capitalism has no regard for future generations. It does not see the land as a living thing to be cared for and respected. For capitalism, the land is simply another tool with which to satisfy greed and gratification. We must understand that capitalism is the enemy of the future.



- Extractive industries: logging, encroaching infrastructure, deforestation and improper agricultural practices such as monocropping and overgrazing, all contribute to a decline in soil structure. Soil degradation, in the form of salt and water imbalances, is often caused by waste disposal, chemical pollutants, and leaking pipelines. The compression of soil, which decreases air and water retention, is the result of compaction brought on by heavy equipment, floods, and building structures. Excessive irrigation and fertilizers induce soil fertility depletion, while logging and deforestation lead to accelerated erosion.
- Healthy soil is essential for the production of vegetation. A diversity of vegetation attracts insects, birds and other animals that serve important functions in the maintenance of ecosystems. Land restoration is imperative to restoring biodiversity. Biodiversity is the key to a vibrant and thriving planet.

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

- Design ecological restoration projects in your area. Traditional practices for ecological restoration include re-vegetation by combining native, domestic and wild plant species, crop rotation, agroforestry, burning practices as utilized by the Aboriginal people of Australia, intercropping and water harvesting.

These practices are designed to increase the health of the soil, protect crops and create biodiversity.

- Promote food sovereignty in your local context by gardening on a small or large scale. Stewardship of the land ensures food security, which is increasingly important in these times of global pandemic.
- Find, join, and help a local organization that is pushing back against pollution or contamination caused by industry and resource extraction. Ending all forms of toxic capitalism will take us a long way in restoring the land to health.
- Indigenous peoples have played a key role in climate change mitigation and adaptation. The territories of Indigenous groups in Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua and elsewhere who have been given the rights to their lands have been better conserved than adjacent lands. Promote the return of land to Indigenous people wherever you are. Popular tactics for Indigenous land return include land trust campaigns and honor taxes. It is easy to see that Indigenous people are the most suited and knowledgeable caretakers of the land. Giving land back to Indigenous people is the first step in land restoration.
- The two greatest threats faced by Indigenous peoples are the loss of land and the loss of ancestral knowledge. This is as serious a threat as the massive extinction of species on Earth. Ancestral wisdom and

- Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) must be preserved and protected. Gatherings of elders where they share their knowledge with tribal members and other Indigenous groups can be an effective mechanism for ensuring that knowledge is not lost, especially if Indigenous youth are active participants. Support for Indigenous women's networks is also needed, as they are the carriers of ancestral knowledge.

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## **AREA 4: PROTECTION AND RESTORATION OF SACRED SITES**

The United States is an empire, bringing death and destruction to those within its grasp. According to imperial logic, the land is a source of profit to be consumed. Those who try to protect the land from imperial violence are cast as obstacles and deemed expendable and criminal. In 2016 we saw the brutalization of water protectors at Standing Rock by militarized police. Oil and gas industries continually target Chaco Canyon and mark the surrounding communities as sacrifice zones. In 2019, 38 elders were arrested for blocking access to the Thirty Meter Telescope atop Mauna Kea. Tohono O'odham relatives face daily harassment and restriction of movement in their own homelands by the US Border Patrol. Police demand consent (How can you 'demand' consent?) at gunpoint, yet it is the Wet'suwet'en who are criminalized for protecting their territory. Indigenous land defenders of the Amazon are murdered for protecting forests that sustain life for the entire planet.

The criminalization of land defenders and water protectors is a tactic to eliminate and uproot Indigenous Peoples and other-than-human relatives. Indigenous Peoples will always resist imperialism and capitalist development because we recognize the United States as an invader. We

understand that protecting our relatives--land, water, air, ancestors, women, two-spirit, animals, medicines, children, and others--is at the heart of our customary forms of governance; it is what makes us who we are. While phrases that emphasize the sacred, including "sacred sites," "women are sacred," and "we are sacred" are now common for describing why we should practice the art of protection, protecting is, at its base, simply about being a good relative. Given the violence and destruction that US imperialism forces upon us, protecting our relatives is a direct rejection of capitalism and empire. We demand the liberation of all our relatives. We demand a future.

The Red Deal extends solidarity to Indigenous peoples across the world who are fighting to protect our relatives from the ongoing ravages of imperialism. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples explicitly states in Article 25 that "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard." We recognize the need for international leaders to hold imperial nations accountable for their attacks on Indigenous lands and bodies. Locally,

the continued violation of our relatives stems directly from colonial land loss policies and genocidal attacks by the US government. For as long as the settler occupation of our lands exists, our relatives will continue to bear the brunt of capitalism. Therefore, capitalism (and imperialism) must die to protect the sacred.

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

- The criminalization and brutalization of water protectors and land defenders.
- We must understand that what happens to the land, happens to the people (and vice versa). The protection of relatives must include all relatives. No one is free unless we're all free.
- Public land is stolen land. Outdoor recreation is often on land that has been stolen and converted into public land. Conservationists and nature lovers who participate in progressive causes must respect the sacred, even if this means they can no longer use land for recreational activities.
- Mass movements must be willing to educate about what is sacred and why it is important to respect and protect what is sacred.
- Stolen lands must be returned. Ba whyea--or Blue Lake--is an area which is sacred and only used by the Indigenous people of Taos Pueblo. Blue Lake was returned to Taos Pueblo in 1970, ending the

termination era, which devastated Indigenous nations and caused the loss of a further 1.4 million acres of tribal land. The Blue Lake example shows how the protection of sacred sites is key to the retention, return and restoration of stolen land.

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

- Greater Chaco Canyon: support people and communities directly dealing with oil and gas infrastructure; stop government-initiated lease sales for fracking operations; protest at Bureau of Land Management offices; raise concern about MMIWG2 and "man camps;" go to local organizing events and meetings to end fracking in your area.
- Mauna Kea: Protest to stop the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope; offer solidarity; support the struggle through writing.
- Support international movements and grassroots organizing through education, solidarity events, film screenings, teach-ins, protests and rallies.
- Provide free legal work and services for water protectors and land defenders.
- Donate to legal funds like Unist'ot'en Camp [here](#) and Water Protectors Legal Collective [here](#).

## **AREA 5: ENFORCEMENT OF TREATY RIGHTS AND OTHER AGREEMENTS**

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

Colonial presidents, congresses, and courts see treaties as business transactions to open up Indigenous territory for the expansion of plantation slavery, agriculture, commerce, trade, and resource extraction. It is as common for politicians to pledge to 'honor the treaties' as it is for them to break or ignore treaties. To do otherwise would be contrary to the intention of invaders, which is to secure permanent white settlement by eliminating Indigenous nationhood. The colonial approach to treaties has resulted in nothing less than theft and genocide for Indigenous peoples. But it is arrogant for invaders to think their systems of diplomacy and trade are the only traditions that matter. Indigenous diplomacy proliferated before European invasion and continues to this day. For example, Anishnaabe intellectual Leanne Betasamosake Simpson considers the Gdoo-naaganinaa a precolonial treaty for sharing territory between the Nishnaabeg nation and Haudenosaunee Confederacy in what is today southern Ontario. Lakota historian Nick Estes notes that Wolakota (meaning "peace" or "treaty") originated from the Pte Sa Win, the White Buffalo Woman, who brought the Lakota nation into to correct relations with the animal and plant nations. Both of these examples show that discord is resolved

through creating permanent political relations between parties (including other-than-human nations) based on moral responsibility and good-faith pledges.

The consequences for violating these Indigenous covenants extends far beyond the human world. Global warming and the sixth mass extinction event are the apocalyptic results of this cascading unbalance. While those most responsible for climate change--imperial nations--have proposed remedies through capitalist markets and techno-fixes, none so far have sought to rectify their own responsibility. Their failure to act holds the entire future hostage.

Original instructions, which emphasize peaceful and mutual relations between humans and between humans and other-than-humans, inform the way Indigenous people have historically entered into relations with European nations. Even if original instructions are not reciprocated, each party to a treaty has equal power to interpret the meaning of the agreement. While colonizers have chosen to interpret treaties to advance their own genocidal interests, Indigenous people have never surrendered the moral authority, responsibility, or sense of justice that original instructions mandate. One of the most important expressions of this commitment is the People's Accords, which were ratified in 2010 in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The accords



proposed not only just relations with the other-than-human world, but also upending the cause of unequal relations between entire nations and humans themselves: imperialism and capitalism. Under the Indigenous leadership of the Movement Toward Socialism, the People's Accords infused traditional ecological knowledge with eco-feminism, eco-socialism, and anti-imperialism.

The Indigenous Andean cosmovision of Vivir Bien, or "Living Well," and Pachamama, or "Mother Earth," are central to understanding the People's Accords. Living well is not anthropocentric, or focused solely on human relations; it is earth-centric, focusing on the whole. It understands that capitalist domination over nature is patriarchal, and that over-consumption, which is driven by the First World, is not the solution but the problem. If all of humanity consumed as much as the average US citizen, we would need four earths to sustain it. We only have one planet to share, and just relations with the natural world are impossible without just, equitable relations among humanity first.

Like the Red Deal, the People's Accords are an Indigenous treaty — a covenant — with the earth and its people. The US-backed rightwing military coup that deposed MAS leader and Bolivian president Evo Morales in 2019 was also a coup against this eco-covenant and

Indigenous socialism. It is necessary now more than ever to re-establish correct relations by enforcing the original covenant, a living document or treaty with the earth. This begins by upholding the Indigenous interpretation and authority over all treaties and agreements made with colonial powers, whether these agreements were struck three hundred years ago or yesterday. There are also hundreds of multilateral agreements and treaties with social movements and the humble people of the earth that require enforcement. We can't and won't wait for colonizers. The power is in our hands to enact natural law and restore balance in accordance with Indigenous principles.

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

- Decolonize the atmosphere: Restore to oppressed nations and the developing countries the atmospheric space that is occupied by First World greenhouse gas emissions. This means the decolonization of the atmosphere through the reduction and absorption of their emissions.
- Transfer technology: First World countries must assume all the costs and technology transfer needs of oppressed nations who have lost development opportunities due to living under the boot of US imperialism or in a restricted atmospheric space.

- Open the borders. First World countries must assume all responsibility for the hundreds of millions of people that will be forced to migrate due to capitalist-driven climate change. They must eliminate their restrictive immigration policies and instead offer migrants a decent life with full human rights guarantees in their countries.
- Pay climate debt. First World countries must assume all adaptation debt related to the impacts of climate change on developing countries by providing the means to prevent, minimize, and deal with damages arising from their excessive emissions.
- Mass land return. Return land to its original caretakers: Indigenous nations. Billions of acres of territory have been taken out of Indigenous ecological stewardship, resulting in mass extinction. Restoring land to Indigenous caretakers is a necessary step towards ensuring any kind of future on this planet.
- Adopt and implement a plurinational governance structure or constitution that recognizes, upholds, and defends Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood.
- Adopt and implement the 2011 Mother Earth Accords (read them [here](#)).
- Adopt and implement the Indigenous Principles of Just Transition (read them [here](#)).
- Adopt and implement the 2013 Treaty to Protect the Sacred from Tar Sands Projects (read it [here](#)).
- Adopt and implement the United Nations Universal Rights of Mother Earth (read them [here](#)).

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

- Restore treaty-making with Indigenous nations.
- Respect and uphold Indigenous treaties as international agreements and the supreme law of the land.
- Adopt and implement the 2007 United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Rights (read it [here](#)).
- Adopt and implement the 2010 People's Accords (read them [here](#)).

THE RED DEAL

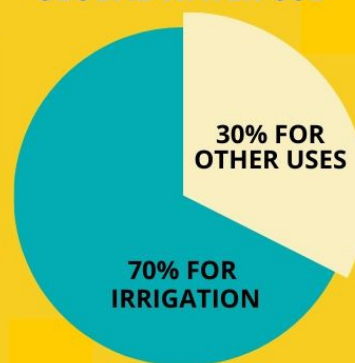
# HEAL OUR PLANET

## REINVESTING IN OUR COMMON FUTURE

- / Clean & sustainable energy
- / Traditional and sustainable agriculture
- / Land, water, air, and animal restoration
- / Protection and restoration of sacred sites
- / Multi-species caretaking
- / Enforcement of treaty rights and other agreements

Indigenous people make up 5% of the world's population but protect 80% of the world's biodiversity and 11% of the world's forests.

### GLOBAL WATER USE



“As opposed to capitalism, Indigenous people around the world do not see ourselves as separate from the land. Water, air, animal, and human restoration depends upon the health of the land. Restoring the land is the key to securing a future for all.”



"Only by developing ... loving relationships can we as humans heal ... from the damage done to us by an economic and political system bent on creating wealth at the expense of all living things. Through healing ourselves and our communities we can enable ourselves to stop reacting to oppression and begin the process of projecting healthier, more human alternatives that don't benefit us at the expense of the rest of the world."

- Grace Lee Boggs, *Organization Means Commitment*

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