

Supplemental Readings for LRNA Revolutionary Education's "Deeper Dive" October 23rd conversation

1. **From Communism to Communism** - RC March/April 2016;
<https://rallycomrades.org/2016/03/from-communism-to-communism/>
2. **Demanding a Government that Meets Human Needs** - RC
September/October 2021; <https://rallycomrades.org/2021/09/demanding-a-government-that-meets-human-needs-2/>
3. ***The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism.* Georgi Dimitrov 1972 [1935]**

The Class Character of Fascism

Fascism in power was correctly described ... as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital. ... Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state." Fascism is not a power standing above class, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the *lumpen-proletariat* over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations. ... The true character of fascism must be particularly stressed because in a number of countries, under cover of social demagoguery, fascism has managed to gain the following of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie that has been dislocated by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism if they had understood its real character and its true nature. ...

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie -- bourgeois democracy -- by another form -- open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to *underrate* the importance, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries* -- measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist

camp itself -- a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries. All this, however, does not make less important the fact that, before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages *is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.* ...

What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. ...

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses but it approaches them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagogy, taking advantage of the deep hatred of the working people against the plundering bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and financial magnates, and advancing those slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. ...

Fascism delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt and venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for "an honest and incorruptible government." Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption.

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the *vehemence of its attacks* on the bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude to the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, fascism *adapts* its demagogy to the national *peculiarities* of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagogy of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a *party of attack* on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the mass of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a "revolutionary" movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of "the whole nation" and for the "salvation" of the nation.

But whatever the masks that fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways by which it comes to power

- ***Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;***
- ***Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;***
- ***Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;***
- ***Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people.***

4. Fascism and Social Revolution. R. Palme Dutt. 1978 [1934]

You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of political power. Marx. 1851. On the Communist Trial at Cologne.

Communism 'springs up' from positively all sides of social life, its sprouts are everywhere, without exception-the 'contagion' (to use the favorite and 'pleasantest' comparison of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois police) has very thoroughly penetrated into the organism and has totally impregnated it. If one of the 'vents' were to be stopped up with special care, 'contagion' would find another, sometimes most unexpected. Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, let it work itself into a frenzy, commit stupidities, take vengeance in advance on the Bolsheviks, and endeavor to exterminate in India, Hungary, Germany, etc., more hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of the Bolsheviks of yesterday or those of to-morrow. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as did all classes condemned to death by history.

The Communists must know that the future at any rate is theirs; therefore we can and must unite the intensest passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and soberest calculations of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.... In all cases and in all countries Communism grows; its roots are so deep that persecution neither weakens, nor debilitates, but rather strengthens it. Lenin.1921 "Left-Wing" Communism.

WHAT is Fascism? ...

Fascism ... is the most complete and consistent working out, in certain conditions of extreme decay, of the most typical tendencies and policies of modern capitalism.

What are these characteristics which are common, subject to a difference in degree, to all modern capitalism and to Fascism?

The most outstanding of these characteristics may be summarized as follows:

1. The basic aim of the maintenance of capitalism in the face of the revolution which the advance of productive technique and of class antagonisms threatens.
 2. The consequent intensification of the capitalist dictatorship.
 3. The limitation and repression of the independent working-class movement ...
 4. The revolt against, and increasing supersession of, parliamentary democracy.
 5. The extending State monopolist organisation of industry and finance.
 6. The closer concentration of each imperialist bloc into a single economic-political unit.
 7. The advance to war as the necessary accompaniment of the increasing imperialist antagonisms.
- All these characteristics are typical, in greater or lesser degree, of all modern capitalist states, no less than of the specifically Fascist states. In this wider sense it is possible to speak of the development towards Fascism of all modern capitalist states. ... Nor is it necessarily the case that the development to Fascism takes the same form in detail in each country. The sum-total of the policies of modern capitalism provide already in essence and in germ the sum-total of the policies of Fascism. But they are not yet complete Fascism. ... The specific character of complete Fascism lies in the means adopted towards the realization of these policies, in the new social and political mechanism built up for their realization. This is the specific or narrower significance of Fascism in the sense of the Fascist movements or the completed Fascist dictatorships as realized in Italy, Germany and other countries. Fascism in this specific or narrower sense is marked by definite familiar characteristics: in the case of the Fascist movements, by the characteristics of terrorism, extra-legal fighting formations, anti-parliamentarism, national and social demagoguery, etc.; in the case of the completed Fascist dictatorships, by

the suppression of all other parties and organisations, and in particular the violent suppression of all independent working class organisation, the reign of terror, the "totalitarian" state, etc. It is to this specific sense of fascism, that is to say, to fully complete fascism, that we now need to come. ...

Fascism and social revolution - What is the future of fascism? What is the future of the fight against fascism?

Fascism is a historical phenomenon, arising in a concrete historical situation. ...

Fascism is the outcome of modern capitalism in crisis, of capitalism passing into the period of the proletarian revolution, when it can no longer maintain its power by the old means, but is compelled to resort to ever more violent methods for the suppression of all working-class organisation, and also for the attempted authoritarian economic unification and organisation of its own anarchy, in a last desperate effort to maintain its existence and master the contradictions that are rending it. ...

Fascism is the consequence of the delay of the proletarian revolution ... when the whole objective situation calls for the proletarian revolution as the only final solution and ever more visibly raises the issue of the struggle for power, but when the working-class movement is not yet strong enough and ready owing to being disorganized and paralyzed by reformism, and thus lets the initiative pass to capitalism. ... But fascism cannot solve the contradictions or prevent the collapse of capitalism. On the contrary, Fascism carries the contradictions, both within the capitalist world, and between the two worlds since 1917, the capitalist world and the socialist world, to the highest point; Fascism brings an extreme intensification of the class struggle and of the process of revolutionization. ...

Fascist tendencies are common in greater or less degree to all modern capitalism, including Western Europe and America, wherever the process of decay and the advance of the class struggle have reached a certain point, and advance in proportion as working-class resistance is paralyzed or weakened by reformism.

5. Lessons from the League of Revolutionary Black Workers - class, race & revolution

Walda Katz-Fishman & Jerome Scott. *Oxford handbook of Marxism*. 2018

Black labor in the U.S. represents a concentrated expression of capitalist alienation, exploitation, and oppression. The consolidation of white supremacy within capitalism created the conditions for the super-exploitation and racial oppression of black labor. From the era of forced chattel slavery, through sharecropping and Jim Crow conditions, to factory production, service sector employment, prison labor, and increasing redundancy in the labor force, black labor has been central to capitalist profit and control. Black labor has also been central to forms of class struggle from movements for abolition, to labor, black liberation and civil rights, and welfare, to resisting environmental racism and state violence. Black workers are a conscious and powerful force within today's multiracial, multinational, and multigendered class struggle for humanity and the planet.

At the same time, white supremacy, rooted in material benefit and socio-political privilege for whites, also created deep divisions among workers based on color and nationality that persist, despite changing forms, to this day. This ruling class strategy profoundly complicates the movement toward class unity and class struggle in the twenty-first century. But, today's objective conditions and intensifying capitalist crisis - erosion of the bribe and privilege for ever greater sections of white workers, along with deepening crisis for workers of color and of all genders - are creating new possibilities for motion toward class unity across the many differences and diversities among US workers and toward revolutionary change.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers (League) led the fight for racial and economic equality at the point of production in Detroit auto and related industry plants in the late 1960s and early 1970s – within both the corporations and the union. The League was an important expression of the Black Liberation Movement and ending Jim Crow apartheid in US society as part of global anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles in the turbulent 1960s. In the twenty-first century many former League members are actors in the rising US and global multiracial, multinational, and multigendered revolutionary struggle against global capitalism, in motion toward socialism and communism.

League members, informed by Marxian analysis of the color question and labor in the United States, were powerful voices within the working class struggle. They spoke to the class content of capitalist exploitation and oppression and infused class consciousness within the reform movement to end racial discrimination

Jerome lifts up the class nature of all labor, including black labor:

"... There was a high level of racial discrimination in the plant and they recognized that. But that wasn't the motivating force. The motivating force was more of a mixture of, "Alright, they treat us like dogs. But not just because we're black. They're treating these white folks like dogs, too. They put us in the worst jobs, so we understand that they have this racial overtone. But the real content is that they're making a ton of money off of us. And that exploitation is true for us and it's true for everybody else that works in this plant." ...

The dialectics of race and class and tactics for working class struggle shift in relation to the objective historical conditions. The League pointed the way forward toward a long haul strategy.

Jerome speaks to this process of analysis and planning.

"The moment you say to someone in order for you to really understand the way this world functions – why exploitation and oppression are part of the same coin, part of that monster that is standing on our chest. You can't eliminate one without the other. You can't eliminate exploitation and not eliminate oppression. And you certainly can't eliminate white supremacy without eliminating exploitation, because that's the basis of white supremacy. Once people begin to look at concepts like that, I think they begin to understand – it takes more than just working and practice to get a grasp on "how do you develop a plan for what we gotta do?"

The current political moment: the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle

The dialectics of class and race within the revolutionary process has to be contextualized in the new conditions of twenty-first century capitalism and class struggle. Global society is in transition and embodies an irreversible capitalist crisis, and intensifying state violence, white supremacy, xenophobia, patriarchy, ecocide, political polarity, and struggle from below. In the United States the Trump presidency ushered in an intensification of the polarization of wealth and poverty, democracy for billionaire capitalists, and developing fascism for the masses. Forces of protest, resistance, and revolution are rising up. Former League members in Detroit and throughout the country remain active in struggle and study. Their vision and strategy is in motion toward communism and the working class power imperative to realize the world that is now possible.

Marian, a former League member and now a leader in welfare and housing struggles and water wars in Detroit, speaks to this dynamic relationship. She expresses the powerful unity of theory and practice, of political education and addressing the needs of the working class today.

“My longevity in the movement is because education was the key to understanding what was happening and where we had to throw the blow. I love my working class. I hate the capitalists for what they have done to society. In this country we have enough food for people around the world. We have so much food, people shouldn't even have to pay for it. We got the technology to produce this abundance everywhere. And we don't have to pollute the air – I can barely breathe sometime when I wake up. You get to the point that you hate to see what they're doing to society and the environment. It gets me angry, but I get up ready to move.”

The lessons of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the Detroit plants and community, from the 1960s to the current moment, are grounded in the leap in the productive forces, deepening social and ecological destruction, and intensifying state repression. Their understanding of Marxism – of revolutionary theory and practice – and their vision and strategy of realizing a communist society has sustained them over the decades.

They lived through the qualitative change from machines to electronics and robotics in the plants and throughout society. They stayed the course during the ebbs and flows of the working class struggle. Their ongoing study of Marxism – of theory and philosophy – and their consistent praxis gave them the weapons to make critical assessments of the objective conditions in this new period, and to make adjustments to their tactical struggles within the spontaneous movement and to the strategic direction of the revolutionary process.

The League was part of the power of the working class struggle at the point of production in the 1960s and 70s that was the center of gravity of the revolutionary process then. But as robots replaced workers and production became globalized, the working class lost jobs and wages, and Detroit became an epicenter of the capitalist crisis and developing fascism. An essential question was how much power would labor have when workers were in competition with robots and artificial intelligence? The strategic center of gravity had to shift to that section of workers increasingly dispossessed, outside of capitalist social relations, and in the front lines of struggle for survival and the necessities of life. The strategic focus shifted from the point of production to direct confrontation with the state. It is a new quality of class struggle for Detroit, and across the country and the globe.

Former League members grappled theoretically and practically with the dialectic of class and race within the US multiracial, multinational, and multigendered working class. They consistently fought for class consciousness and class unity within the political struggle for social transformation, human emancipation, and ecological survival. They grasped this new quality within the revolutionary process. They were and are clear that today's technological revolution has made the communist vision possible for the first time in social history and has brought society closer the realization of communism. The strategic resolution moves through a political revolution that negates capitalism, abolishes private property, and qualitatively transforms the state and power relations. Survival of humanity and the planet requires all of to take up this revolutionary work. Make it happen!

6. *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South*

by Keri Leigh Merritt

The following selections from *Masterless Men* reveal how fascistic measures were developed by the slaveholding elites to control poor whites prior to the Civil War. White supremacy is the strategic core of capitalist control of the U.S. working class. At its

center is the dual lie that slavery and later Jim Crow fascism benefitted all whites, and that all Southern whites supported slavery and the Confederacy. Debunking these lies facilitates defeating fascism by re-asserting key truths of class power in our history. 1/3 to 1/2 of Southern whites were landless, slaveless, and were deeply impoverished by slavery. Slavery forced them to compete with slave labor. As a result, they increasingly saw slavery as their enemy, and increasingly did not cooperate with the slave-owning class. In the Civil War they massively deserted, hid, or actually organized and fought against the Confederacy.

P. 90-91: By the 1850s states such as the Carolinas and Georgia lost significant numbers of slaves to the newer plantation lands of the southwest..... Not only did they need more slaves to work their plantations, they also desired to reduce the numbers of troublesome poor white workers who consistently served to undermine the South's racial hierarchy. some members of the master class began to advocate for slavery in the abstract – essentially, slavery regardless of race. The powerful slave owning politicians further advocated abolishing democracy and republicanism, lest the lower classes gain some control of politics

Introduction, P. 32: Slaveholders used their positions of power to keep tight control over the poor white population, policing and jailing those who could possibly cause trouble or disrupt the established hierarchy. Masters generally charged poor whites with nonviolent, behavioral “crimes” like vagrancy, trading with Blacks, selling liquor to slaves, gambling, lewd behaviors, and public drunkenness. The point of many of these arrests was neither to punish nor to reform. Instead, slave owners used these laws to dominate and scare poor whites into docility, jailing them for months or years at a time – often without the chance to stand trial.

P180: Antebellum laws were geared to the preservation of slavery, ... Because masters were never able to achieve complete segregation between the two underclasses, the Deep South's slave owners were compelled to police the non-slaveholding population heavily, incarcerating lower-class white people for a variety of relationships with African Americans. ... thousands of poor whites were imprisoned (and sometimes killed) for crimes ranging from slave stealing to “lewd behavior.” ... Most historians purport that behavioral crimes like vagrancy were created during Reconstruction to control the labor and activities of African Americans. In reality, many of the same laws had been used for decades to control poor whites.

P. 276: Slaveholders unquestionably realized that they were losing the support of ... lower-class whites. Masters began forming quasi-military organizations ... to force the population into acquiescence. Vigilance committees, existing in the Deep South as early as the mid-1830s, began rapidly springing up throughout the region in the 1850s. these ... (precursors to the Ku Klux Klan) were essentially bands of slave- and property-holders who monitored both the behaviors and beliefs of less affluent whites. Slaveless whites increasingly found themselves inhabiting a world in which they had to censor every utterance and defend every action.

P. 277: In terms of economic class, there was quite a lot of overlap between members of vigilante groups and slave patrols. When the occasional non-slaveholder did join these terroristic groups, he generally owned land, and was likely on the cusp of slave

ownership. Truly impoverished whites rarely if ever became members of these brutal gangs. Undoubtedly, vigilance committees and mob violence were to poor whites what slave patrols were to African Americans. ... slave patrols served a dual purpose: not only did they monitor and control the behaviors of slaves and free blacks, they also policed poor whites.

P. 283: Thus, by the time of secession, poor whites had few options. Inhabiting a police state, with no economic standing and virtually no civil rights, they simply had no recourse for their many grievances. Short of an all-out rebellion, they had to either fight for the Confederacy or hide out from the military authorities for the duration of the war.

P. 309: A little more than half a year after battles had started, slaves in Port Royal, South Carolina reported “that many poor white men were dragged off in chains to join the army.” After coming into contact with Confederate troops after the Battle of Fort Donelson, Yankees described the impoverished men Many of them “do not hesitate to declare that they were forced or deluded into taking up arms.”

P316; Anti-Confederates and Union sympathizers were numerous enough to have taken over several areas of the Deep South by the end of the war. The backwoods areas “became contested ground” early on.... In South Carolina, the hill country was overrun with deserters, while in the piney woods of Louisiana, jayhawkers claimed to have established an anti-Confederate “government.” ... In northern Alabama, the “Free State of Winston” seceded and in southern Mississippi, the “Free State of Jones” was established. Considered the heart of the Confederacy, Alabama and Mississippi ironically sustained some of the most passionate and well-organized opposition to the slaveholding oligarchy. One particularly large group of 700 to 800 men followed the infamous McLeod brothers throughout the two states. The McCleods ... were avowed Unionists who “compared the slaves to the children of Israel and said they were meant to be free.”

7. The Red Deal of the Red Nation

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.

Nick Estes, co-founder of The Red Nation, on strategic and anti-fascist issues raised at Standing Rock

"That's why Standing Rock mattered. The states of North Dakota and South Dakota have always feared poor white people and Natives getting together and taking their destinies into their own hands. The media and the institutions of power have instilled fear into white people that the Indian Problem is out of control and that they will all be kicked off the land if we give the land back. The opposite happened. We invited them into our circles and we stood together (at Standing Rock).

That's the fundamental misunderstanding when we talk about racism and colonialism. We are taught racism and colonialism are meant to control Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples. And they do control us. But racism and colonialism are really meant to control white people. That's a lesson from Standing Rock worth remembering."

Dr. Nick Estes is a citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and co-founder of The Red Nation, an Indigenous resistance organization.

Intercept interview with Nick Estes

The Intercept's coverage of NoDAPL focused on the collaboration between police and private interests and the criminalization of Indigenous resistance. How does Standing Rock fit into the more quotidian role of police in Indigenous people's lives?

"In the past, Indian people in certain communities could not leave the reservation without a pass. They could not leave without permission from an Indian agent. To leave the open-air prison was to be an outlaw, and you were subject to being captured or hanged or imprisoned. Even though that may not be true today, culturally and socially it's still a practiced norm. In Albuquerque and places like Rapid City, South Dakota, one of the common refrains that police say when they're enacting violence on Indigenous people is "Go back to the reservation." Indigenous people are seen as not belonging even on their own homelands.

I would say that the everyday forms of violence are much more deadly than the police violence that happened at Standing Rock, even though it was brutal, and it caused a lot of trauma. [Police] intensified the things they had already mastered. They already knew how to profile Indigenous people — they're border-town cops. This is Morton County, just north of the Standing Rock Indian reservation. For a while, they had Red Tomahawk, the guy who killed Sitting Bull, on their State Highway Patrol patches. They embrace that history; they're not confused about the role that they're playing. They're just the modern iteration of the 7th Cavalry."

8. Links for short videos from "Standing Rock DAPL protests" & "Rednecks for Black Lives"

Standing Rock DAPL protests - very shortly after this moment police & military were pulled out of Standing Rock sites

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OjotPIIRqw>

NowThis x Rednecks for Black Lives - political education tool on class unity, white supremacy & radical/revolutionary white workers historically and today

<https://twitter.com/nowthisnews/status/1304425212084019200?s=20>