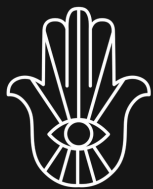


Abolishing the War on Terror, Building Communities of Care

A Grassroots Policy Agenda

MuslimAbolitionistFutures.org



MUSLIM
ABOLITIONIST
FUTURES



CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| VISION | 3 |
| FRAMEWORK AND DEFINITIONS | 9 |
| DIVESTING FROM WAR, VIOLENCE, AND IMPERIALISM | 16 |
| 1. Dismantling the War on Terror Infrastructure | 16 |
| 2. End Wars, Imperialism, and Militarism Abroad Under the War on Terror | 20 |
| 3. End Military Funding to Israel and Support Palestine | 22 |
| 4. Abolish Inhumane Immigration, Refugee, Asylum Policies, Programs & Institutions | 24 |
| 5. Abolish Mass Surveillance | 27 |
| 6. Abolish Prisons, Jails & End All Pipelines to Prison | 30 |
| INVESTING INTO COMMUNITIES OF CARE | 32 |
| 1. Invest in Covid-19 Recovery, Anti-Poverty Initiatives, Health Justice & Housing Justice | 32 |
| 2. Invest in Climate & Environmental Justice | 34 |
| 3. Invest in Justice for Indigenous people | 35 |
| 4. Invest in Community-Led Justice & Racial Justice | 36 |
| 5. Invest in Gender Justice & End Gender-Based Violence | 38 |
| 6. Invest in Reproductive Justice | 40 |
| 7. Invest in Disability Justice | 42 |
| 8. Invest in Voting Rights, Census, & Structural Democratic Shifts | 43 |
| RESOURCES | 44 |

VISION

Justice for Muslims Collective, HEART Women & Girls, Vigilant Love, the Partnership to End Gendered Islamophobia, Project South, the Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans (PANA), and the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR) collaborated together to build a policy agenda with demands rooted in grassroots and community-based organizations that work with African, Black, Muslim, Middle Eastern, Arab, and South Asian communities across the country. We are grateful for the input of the following organizations: Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Coalition for Civil Freedoms, Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative, Muslim Justice League and the STOP Countering Violent Extremism (#StopCVE) Coalition.

As groups on the frontlines of defending our communities targeted by punitive government policies, our organizations collaborated together to create a visionary and transformative policy agenda on abolishing the War on Terror and building communities of care in order to uplift our collective demands at the national, state, and local-level.

As grassroots groups we firmly believe a critical intervention that calls for the abolition of the War on Terror is necessary, rather than focusing on reforming the current system. As we approach the twentieth anniversary, we are calling for abolishing the War on Terror and reinvesting resources into structures of community care to protect the future of our people. It is our hope that this agenda is used as a tool to further engage our communities, grassroots organizations, movement groups, and policymakers in order to build power, heal, and enact change.

We draw inspiration from the powerful movement demands of #AbolishICE, #DefundPolice, and abolitionists like Ruth Wilson Gilmore who have used abolition as a theory of change. We are grateful to groups like Critical Resistance and Black organizers who have offered us divest and reinvest frameworks to couple dismantling violent systems with beautiful visions of liberation. As groups whose communities have been deeply impacted by the War on Terror for the past two decades and beyond, we believe the demands to #AbolishICE and #DefundPolice are connected to dismantling the War on Terror (WOT) infrastructure.


We recognize the War on Terror is built upon and sustained through structural Islamophobia and the dehumanization of Muslim communities and anyone perceived or racialized as Muslim. We also recognize that the US-led War on Terror was built upon the broader structures of anti-Black racism, white supremacy, settler-colonialism, and imperialism. In other words, the existence of these systems and the carceral state paved the road to the War on Terror and hence these structures now reinforce each other. The War on Terror is sustained through them and is being deployed to expand the carceral and police state domestically and globally.


The War on Terror infrastructure created the Department of Homeland Security and Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and intensified existing police militarization, surveillance, and brutality against Black people, including Black Muslims and immigrants, indigenous communities, and other people of color. We know that the infrastructure of surveillance and violence created by the War on Terror has global implications and our platform insists that there can be no real distinction between domestic and foreign policy-- inspired by decades of internationalist organizing and in particular, the recent Feminist Peace Initiative.


We assert that ‘just as the call for defunding the police is an entry point for a critical conversation on abolition,’ that call to dismantle the military and war on terror complex, ‘should be part of a broader discussion about global justice and transforming systems to provide care, protection and repair for communities at home and abroad.’ We echo the call of Black abolitionist organizers to #FreeThemAll. In particular, we support the BREATHE Act’s policy agenda to move away from a carceral society, including placing a moratorium on new prison construction, moving to end pre-trial detention, abolishing mandatory minimum sentencing laws, abolishing the federal death penalty, ending life sentences, having a time bound plan to close federal prisons and immigration detention facilities. Further, we believe that dismantling settler-colonialism and supporting the call of Indigenous groups with the #LandBack Movement and the Red New Deal is a critical component of dismantling the foundational violence that allows for the War on Terror to exist.


We hope this policy agenda can be used as a roadmap to further engage grassroots movements and organizations to build deeper relationships across movements and to make clear demands of policymakers. We have organized this agenda by laying out the structures and policies we want to divest from, followed by a section of issues that must be prioritized. Our joint vision and demands for our communities are organized around the following key themes:


Divesting Trillions From Violence, War, Imperialism & Dismantling the War on Terror infrastructure:


 Ending the US War on Terror, including the use of the War on Terror's legal and policy framework to advance militarism and occupation in countries around the world and in the US.


 Ending wars and imperialism abroad and ending arms sales to dictatorships and occupying powers.

 Ensuring COVID-19, pandemics, and climate disasters aren't being used to further expand the national security and War on Terror infrastructure.

 Ending the carceral national security state.

 Reparations for victims and their families targeted under the War on Terror globally and at home.

 Providing free medical care to those in the United States and globally who have been harmed due to the War on Terror.

 Dismantling settler-colonialism and supporting the LandBack campaign.

Re-Investing Trillions into Community Care & People-centered systems:



Investing in anti-poverty initiatives, climate justice, disability justice, economic justice, housing justice, and reproductive justice.



The prioritization of COVID-19 relief efforts that include Congressional legislation to further eviction moratoriums, cancelling all rent and forms of debt, and offering monthly adequate stimulus checks that are sufficient enough to cover the living costs of families and individuals who have lost employment or are underemployed, and have been impacted by COVID-19. Making available accessible housing units to homeless people with disabilities. In addition, ensuring safe and dignified working conditions for all workers, especially our frontline essential workers. Muslim, African, Arab, Middle-Eastern, and South Asian workers are essential and frontline workers. This includes ensuring that all Americans, irrespective of citizenship status, are included within pandemic relief efforts at the federal, state, and local level.



Rooting out systemic poverty and inequality, particularly in public health efforts. This includes calls for universal free healthcare and special attention to how COVID-19 vaccinations will reach communities of color who have been historical targets of medical racism. This includes ensuring that vaccination processes are inclusive of people with disabilities who fall into lower age limits. While vaccinations are in progress, make sure that hospitals are not denying medical treatment to people with disabilities and are not making the decision on who has the best quality of life to save.



#FreeThemAll: Ending the use of immigration enforcement to incarcerate immigrants and migrants. Ending deportations, detentions, and mass surveillance of our communities. This includes shutting down Guantanamo Bay permanently, and acknowledging US complicity in supporting the jailing of children, political prisoners and others around the world, including in Palestine. This includes the liberation of people with disabilities who are kept in psychiatric facilities against their will, abolishing congregate settings for people with disabilities, and making sure all individuals can live in community settings.



The abolition of all prisons, jails, and detention centers that currently imprison a disproportionate amount of African, Black, Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, South Asian community members, especially migrants and refugees.



The investment of unrestricted funds into the community to ensure access to food, accessible shelter, education, and other necessities, and the end to all conditional funding through the Department of Homeland Security and affiliated bodies.



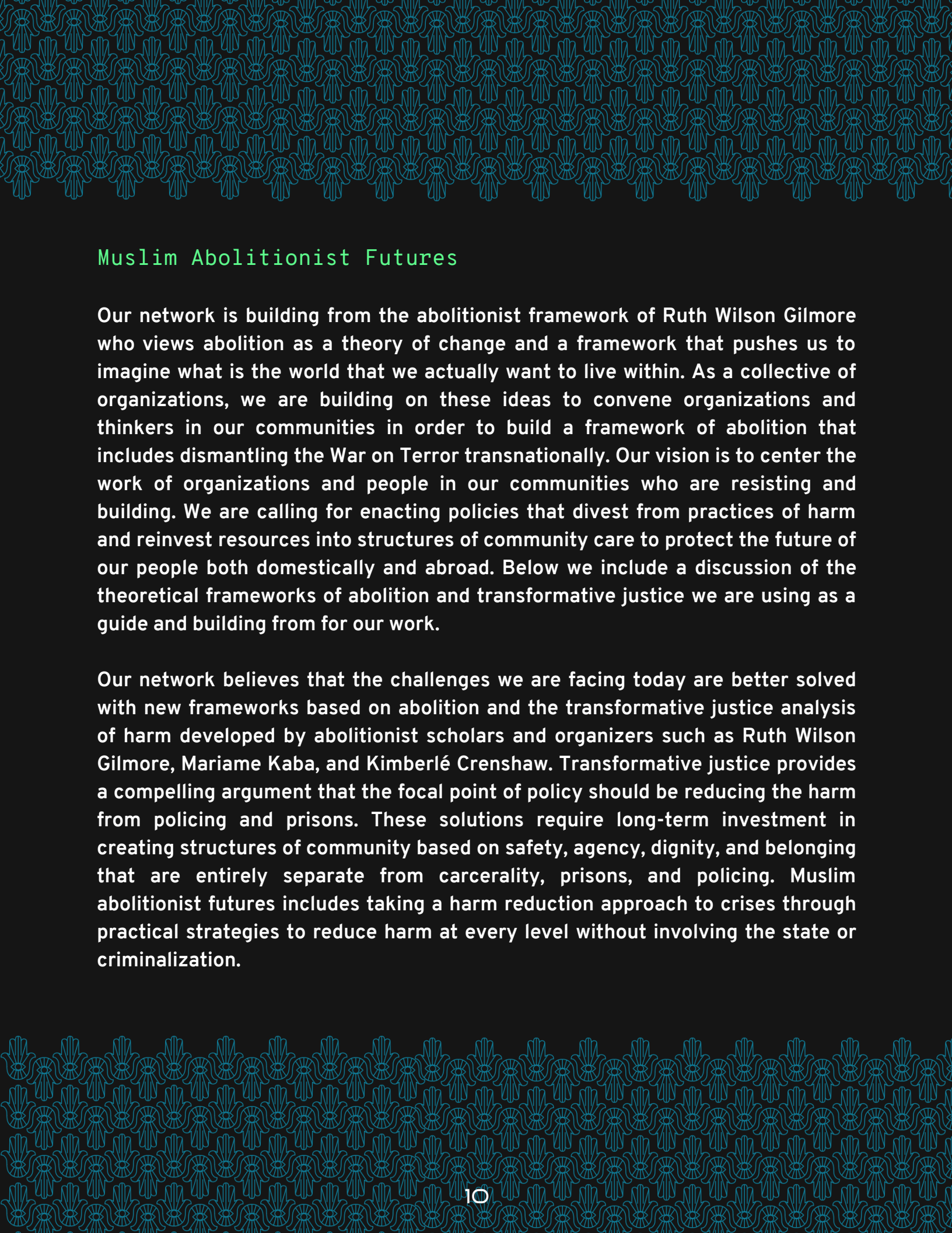
Investing in community-led and driven justice, supporting community-led mutual aid efforts, community led living for people with disabilities, and community-led transformative justice efforts.

FRAMEWORK AND DEFINITIONS

NEW FRONTIERS OF WAR:

As a collective of organizations that built this joint agenda, we take an expansive view on what constitutes war. We include economic sanctions, the arming and training of rebel groups without regard to local power imbalances, proxy-wars, asymmetrical warfare, and the use of surveillance and warfare technologies to kill communities as warfare. We include the support of dictatorial leaders, and reliance on humanitarianism as justification for war as aspects of warfare. Moreover, we include lateral violence and horizontal violence, which is directed at peers and community members, that is a direct or indirect consequence of wars, as a component of war. For us the direct and indirect consequences of war are part of war. We have consistently seen international tactics that are used abroad have served as a model for domestic counterinsurgency in the U.S., first against Black and Muslim communities and recently recategorizing domestic targets to include anti-war, immigration, and ecological activism, and erroneously equating protests against police brutality with white supremacist violence.

Our network rejects the cycle of violence perpetuated in the War on Terror. This includes the co-optation of refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced peoples as a tool to propagate the innocence of state and non-state actors in their displacement. In this we recognize how humanitarianism has been utilized by states to perpetuate war in the name of humanity whilst absolving itself from their war on humanity. The new frontiers of war aren't wars between nations or non-state actors, but the imagined world built by neo-liberal non-government organizations that have exploited the notion of "peace." In this we reject the exploitation of children and women, and their images and personal data as propaganda to further insinuate the innocence of state and non-state actors in their displacement. Furthermore, we reject notions of peace obtained through violence, including military occupation, and states that refuse to take accountability for the conflicts they have caused. This is also to acknowledge that state humanitarian efforts are not apolitical and should be refrained from being treated as such. Mass displacement of refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced people is inherently political. It is a consequence of state violence, and our collective organizations reject this depoliticization.



Muslim Abolitionist Futures

Our network is building from the abolitionist framework of Ruth Wilson Gilmore who views abolition as a theory of change and a framework that pushes us to imagine what is the world that we actually want to live within. As a collective of organizations, we are building on these ideas to convene organizations and thinkers in our communities in order to build a framework of abolition that includes dismantling the War on Terror transnationally. Our vision is to center the work of organizations and people in our communities who are resisting and building. We are calling for enacting policies that divest from practices of harm and reinvest resources into structures of community care to protect the future of our people both domestically and abroad. Below we include a discussion of the theoretical frameworks of abolition and transformative justice we are using as a guide and building from for our work.

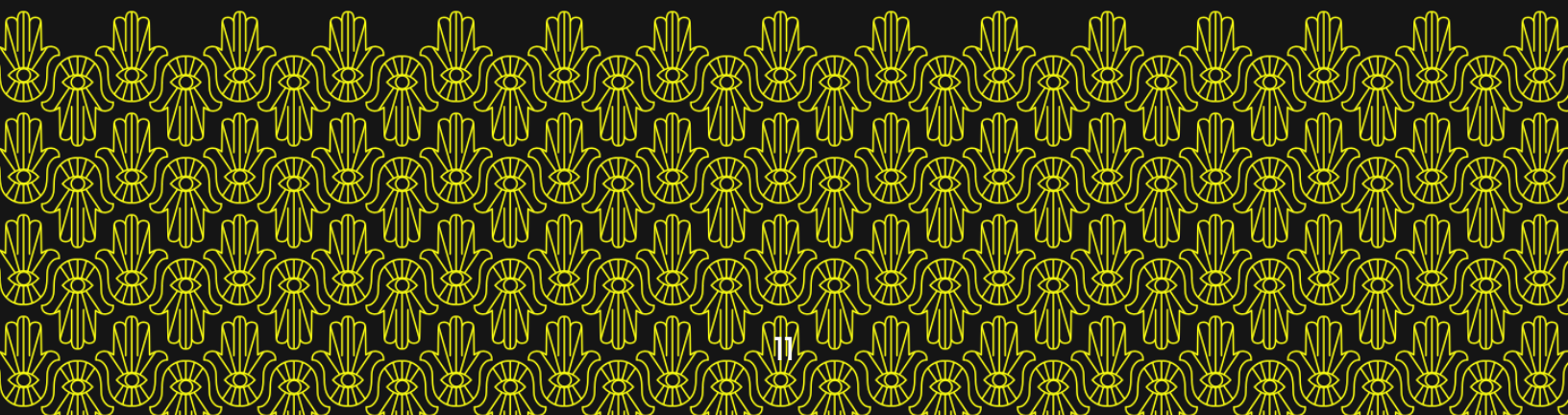
Our network believes that the challenges we are facing today are better solved with new frameworks based on abolition and the transformative justice analysis of harm developed by abolitionist scholars and organizers such as Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Mariame Kaba, and Kimberlé Crenshaw. Transformative justice provides a compelling argument that the focal point of policy should be reducing the harm from policing and prisons. These solutions require long-term investment in creating structures of community based on safety, agency, dignity, and belonging that are entirely separate from carcerality, prisons, and policing. Muslim abolitionist futures includes taking a harm reduction approach to crises through practical strategies to reduce harm at every level without involving the state or criminalization.



Our network’s framework centers the abolition of the war on terror and its legal, political, and military components. As scholar Atiya Hussain writes,

“for conservatives, terrorism typically refers to non-state political violence—mostly from the left and from people of color—and it should be crushed with the full weight of the state. Liberals are mostly in agreement with this definition, but add that the violence committed by white supremacists and other far-right extremists should be considered terrorism as well. In both conservative and liberal readings, it is not possible to conceive of abolishing the concept and infrastructure of counterterrorism.”

The third option, provided by abolitionist scholars, illuminates a “path to safety from non-state and state violence” by questioning the War on Terror and “generat[ing] new possibilities that conventional liberal and conservative approaches both rule out.” *Id.* This includes recognizing the violence of the non-profit and NGO actors in the War on Terror and holding accountability as an active process with community members. In this, we are inspired by traditions of mutual aid that reject charity-focused philanthropic provision of state, non-profit, or NGO services and instead center community ties and connections as the solution to reducing the harms of the War on Terror.



International Wars & Legal Definitions of War

The last twenty years of the War on Terror have demonstrated new frontiers and tactics that have drastically expanded legal definitions of war. Under international humanitarian law, the right to go to war is regulated through *jus ad bellum* legal norms and the conduct of warring parties are regulated through *jus in bello* norms. Since the post World War II development of these international legal standards of conduct, however, warfare has evolved to be primarily conducted through “cold” wars, proxy wars, and economic wars and sanctions, none of which require an official declaration of war which would trigger compliance with the Geneva Conventions to not engage in torture and provide avenues of legal redress for victims. These undeclared wars have been used as tools of U.S. and Western imperialism that have survived decolonial movements in the twentieth century.

The United States Constitution explicitly grants Congress with unilateral authority to declare and appropriate funds for war in Article I, Section 8. However, Congress has not officially declared war since 1942, and in 1973, passed the War Powers Resolution limiting “the U.S. president’s ability to initiate or escalate military actions abroad.” During the War on Terror, however, the Executive Branch has steadily gained powers through Congressional authorization and judicial deference to the national security doctrine, leading to new frontiers of war that have expanded without reference to international legal standards of conduct.

Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF)

On September 18, 2001, Congress passed the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF), which authorized the President to use force against “those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.” The AUMF’s vagueness as to what actors the delegated Presidential authority covered led to the haphazardly conducted War on Terror that crossed national borders, included both state and non-governmental targets, and blurred lines as to what constituted prohibited wartime conduct under international law.

Gendered Wars

Like the policies enacted during the War on Drugs and the War on Crime eras, the War on Terror is a “perpetual war,” with no real end in sight and no clear conditions to resolving it. The War on Terror has been justified by U.S. presidents on humanitarian, feminist, and pacifist grounds, which Gayatri Spivak has aptly termed “white men saving brown women from brown men.” This has often required the reification of culture as a precursor to war, which anthropologist Lila Abu Lughod, writing in 2002, states “prevented the serious exploration of the roots and nature of human suffering in this part of the world.” The 2021 Partnership to End Gendered Islamophobia Community Report describes this form of “gendered Islamophobia” as “the ways the state utilizes gendered forms of violence to oppress, monitor, punish, maim, and control Muslim bodies” as sites of simultaneous oppression and threat.

The War on Terror explicitly justified intervention on feminist grounds, as seen in George W. Bush’s wife Laura Bush’s 2002 radio address where she stated that, “because of our recent military gains in much of Afghanistan, women are no longer imprisoned in their homes. They can listen to music and teach their daughters without fear of punishment. The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women.” These cultural explanations for the War on Terror have been used to justify military intervention, regardless of what the actual outcomes for women are. As law professor Aslı Bâli writes,

“Portraying large swathes of the world as plagued by anarchy and violence has long been a formula to legitimize the use of state violence in the name of pacification. American interventions are often justified, to borrow former President Obama’s words, on the grounds that ‘the instruments of war do have a role to play in preserving the peace.’ So American forces are deployed abroad to restore order, end violence, and protect civilians in allegedly barbarous or failed states. These interventions, in turn, apply overwhelming force together with counterinsurgency techniques that often brutalize the civilians they purport to protect and produce further violence.”

Gendered Islamophobia can thus be seen in both domestic and international contexts when foreign aid is dependent on the acceptance of a U.S. military presence, linking social services with criminalization and national security, and the state exploitation of intimate relationships.

Domestic Wars

The international policies of the War on Terror have also sparked a radical change in domestic intelligence gathering and policing, as authorized in the 2001 Patriot Act and further outlined in the 2004 9/11 Commission Report. The Patriot Act gave sweeping new powers to law enforcement agencies to conduct pre-criminal investigations of suspected terrorist activity. The following year, Congress passed the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to create the Department of Homeland Security, whose primary mission was to “prevent terrorist attacks within the United States.” 6 U.S.C. 111 Sec. 101 (b)(1)(A). Asli Bali notes the “mutually constitutive relationship between militarized policing at home and imperial interventions abroad” has resulted in U.S. military tactics abroad serving as “laboratories for counterinsurgency methods that are imported back into domestic policing.” These include increased government capabilities for surveillance at the federal, state and local levels, in addition to increased information sharing between local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies in JTTFs and fusion centers. In the last 20 years, government funding has fueled the rapid expansion in counterterrorism initiatives, further financially incentivizing state and local police departments and military units to engage in new forms of surveillance, pre-crime investigations, and racial targeting.

The increase in Executive agency power for surveillance over domestic U.S. individuals in connection with international targets during the War on Terror have blurred the lines between international and U.S. persons for privacy protections, leading to the current expansion of domestic terrorism laws that are modeled from the FBI’s tactics deployed against Muslim communities throughout the War on Terror. In the FY 2016-17 pilot program of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), Muslim communities in Boston, Minneapolis, and Los Angeles were surveilled by federal law enforcement through partnerships with local police and state attorney general offices. This early CVE approach has now been redesignated to the Biden administration’s supposedly “racially neutral” term of Domestic Violence Extremism (DVE), which equates acts of protest by ecological, native American, and Black activists with neo-Nazi white supremacist violence. Our network believes that we must “refuse frameworks that define white supremacist violence as exceptional ‘extremism’ or ‘domestic terrorism’ as these narratives reinforce anti-Muslim, anti-Black, and anti-immigrant antiterrorism initiatives and policing practices.”

Technologies of war

The War on Terror's development of increased technological capabilities for war have drastically altered the political deterrents that underlie the political branches' constraints in declaring and executing war. The use of unmanned drone strikes against individuals in the SWANA region have sharply increased international civilian deaths while leading to the rapid erosion of an important political deterrent of U.S. military deaths, which in previous eras would have increased political engagement with the deployment of war. The increased international capabilities for international warfare have been supplemented with a judicial decrease in privacy rights enabling the development of increased governmental capabilities for surveillance.

National Security justification

The political branches of the U.S. government are limited by the (allegedly) non-political judicial branch's interpretation of law. In law professor Sirin Sinnar's analysis of the "hundreds of cases challenging government national security practices for violating human rights or civil liberties," she has found that "national security deference manifests in legal decisions that limit a court's authority to hear a case or particular claims, reduce the legal standard of review for a claim, or defer to the executive's conclusion on a factual question." The justification of national security has been used extensively throughout the War on Terror to limit the rights of plaintiffs to legal redress of harm and to justify encroaching powers to surveil and criminalize U.S. individuals. As such, the judicial branch's traditional purpose of protecting the rights of minority populations against political majorities has been severely limited.

DIVESTING FROM WAR, VIOLENCE, AND IMPERIALISM

1. Dismantling the War on Terror Infrastructure

The global War on Terror has resulted in the murder of 12 million individuals since 2001. According to the Brown University's Cost of War project, the War on Terror has produced 38 million refugees and has cost the American public \$8 trillion dollars. Currently, the US is running counterterrorism operations in at least 85 countries globally. While this agenda doesn't exhaustively cover the depth or extent of the violent apparatus codified through laws, policies, and programs on a global scale, we recognize that multiple different countries are using the War on Terror apparatus to harm minority communities within their own states, our groups have compiled our concerns around specific programs and policies we have been advocating and organizing against.

One core area of concern we have is the expansion of programs targeting "radicalization" and "extremism" that have used widely disproved social science and psychological frameworks to target individuals. These programs have disproportionately targeted East African, South Asian, Arab, African American, and other Muslim communities across the US. As policy experts with legal, medical, and educational backgrounds, we assert that these expansions will only result in further discrimination against East African, South Asian, Arab, African American, and other Muslim communities. Since their inception, programs such as Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE), and Targeted Violence and Terrorism Prevention (TVTP) have worked to isolate these communities for their religious backgrounds, their racial and ethnic backgrounds, their socioeconomic class, and their documentation statuses. These programs have now resulted in the Biden administration's supposedly "neutral" category of Domestic Violence Extremism (DVE) which applies to all U.S. residents engaged in protest activity and lumps legitimate protests for racial justice with white supremacist violence under the category of "racially motivated violent extremism."

See footnote on page 24 that a high-end calculation of the victims of the War on Terror exceeds 12 million individuals. The Cost of War Project has reported out the direct victims of the war in conflict. Their estimate for victims killed directly in warfare in their 2021 report is 929,000. The 12 million estimate includes victims who are killed directly and indirectly through war. As noted in their 2020 report, according to the Geneva Declaration, for every individual killed directly in war, an additional 15 are killed indirectly.

From *Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post 9/11 Wars* by David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup accessed on https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement_Vine%20et%20al_Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf

With the Trump presidency, we have seen a dramatic increase in criticism of white supremacist “extremism,” most notably surrounding Trump’s salute of the Proud Boys. Before this moment, the aforementioned government programs already referenced white supremacy as a type of extremism to be targeted. However, following such public endorsements of white supremacy from the president himself, popular opinion has been misguided toward the expansion of these programs under the guise of targeting white supremacist extremism and domestic terrorism, when it is ultimately communities of color that will face the brunt of state surveillance and criminalisation through these programs.

As we approach the twentieth anniversary of the launch of the current War on Terror, we collectively demand from the Biden Administration and Congress an end to the War on Terror in all of its forms domestically and globally, including:

1. **Abolition of the post 9/11 global, federal, state, and local infrastructure used to detain, deport, dehumanize, surveil, and engage in the mass criminalization of our communities.** This includes the abolition of ICE and DHS. It includes federal and local institutions that have been built as part and parcel of the post 9/11 national security apparatus that have been harmful to our communities. Moreover, this includes any and all “peace-keeping” initiatives that necessitate the deployment of troops and the implementation of CVE/TVTP and other counterterrorism programming. We demand that the U.S. government:
 - Abolish ICE and DHS.
 - End the build-up of border militarization.
 - End the militarization of local law enforcement agencies and the transfer of military technology through the 1033 program. We support H.R. 7143 that calls for ending the Department Of Defense’s 1033 program.
 - End the use of Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF) across the country and around the world. The US has been exporting this infrastructure globally and built their first JTTF in Kenya last year.
 - End the use of Customs and Border Protection Tactical Terrorism Response Teams (TTRT).
 - End the use of Fusion Centers.

- Ensure that police departments aren't engaged in exchange training programs across the world that are built upon policing and responding to minority communities through a counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency lens. This apparatus often has been weaponized against minority communities and those engaging in protest and dissent on a global scale.
- End the use of preemptive prosecutions, entrapment, informants, and an end to DVE programs that target vulnerable community members.
- End the use of informants to infiltrate, police, and report on our community members.
- End all community policing initiatives that rely on informancy, "non-violent" intervention, and the deputization of public entities such as schools, religious spaces, non-profits, and universities.
- Repeal laws such as the PATRIOT Act and the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) that gutted the federal writ of habeas corpus.
- End COPS, DVE, and other related programming that provides conditional funds on the premise that community leaders allow DHS-affiliated entities into their communities.
- Restore and increase non-conditional funding to communities of color and immigrant communities for social services.
- Ensure the domestic terrorism apparatus isn't expanded under the guise of fighting white supremacy, pandemics (COVID-19), national emergencies, and natural disasters:
- No new domestic terrorism laws, policies, or programs that work on "violence prevention," that use threat assessments, or other means of targetting "terrorism," "extremism," and "radicalization," that will be deployed against communities of color, Black Lives Matter, and social justice activists and organizers.
- NO use of counter-terrorism technology for tracking or enforcement of regulations in order to fight pandemics and natural disasters. Currently, we are seeing language responding to COVID-19, pandemics and natural disasters from the vantage point of national security.
- NO charges of bioterrorism spread.
- NO use of hate crimes against East Asian communities to ramp up CVE and larger conversation about white supremacy.
- No martial law, emergency law, or other declarations that warrant the increased monitoring of communities and necessitate the deployment of police, military, or other personnel.

- End the use of Torture and Indefinite Detention as a US policy
- Close Guantanamo Bay and every prison and detention facility in the U.S. and around the world built post-9/11 under the War on Terror apparatus.
- Appoint a special envoy for the closure of Guantanamo Bay to facilitate expeditious transfers.
- Hold government officials who ordered, authorized, or participated in torture, accountable without qualification.
- Make the conditions of resettlement, whether in a home country or third party country, known to prisoners transferred out of Guantanamo.
- Release all information pertaining to the identities of anyone previously detained in CIA in custody (including the whereabouts of former CIA detainee's body, Gul Rahman).
- Government transparency and release of remaining information on the use of these policies, including the use of Black sites in the War on Terror.
- Make all attempts to resettle prisoners in their home countries or in countries where there is a community of people that can support them.
- Government apology, compensation without any continuation of surveillance, and community forms of incarceration for individuals and their families who have been wrongfully detained and tortured by the US government and its allies in the War on Terror.
- Prisoner Release: We demand the release of all wrongfully detained prisoners of the War on Terror, including the Holy Land Foundation Five. We call for an end to the politically motivated prosecution of "material support for terrorism" laws aimed at silencing and intimidating organizers, and sending a chilling affect across our communities.
- Repeal the Material Support Law: Specifically end the use of federal terrorism prosecutions under 18 U.S.C. § 2339A and 18 U.S.C. § 2339B.
- Abolish the Terrorism Sentencing Enhancement.
- Close discriminatory and punitive Communications Management Units, dubbed "Gitmo North".
- Reunification of families who have been incarcerated and separated by deportations and incarceration due to War on Terror policies.
- End the Use of National Security loopholes in laws: The end of using national security loopholes in immigration reform, racial justice issues, and other policies that continue to leave out Muslim communities and more broadly African, Arab, Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian communities.

2. End Wars, Imperialism, and Militarism Abroad Under the War on Terror

1. **Repeal and do not replace the 2001 and 2002 Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) which has given the US legal authority to essentially treat the whole world as its battlefield.** We call for the sunseting of the AUMF so that it can no longer be used to justify military strikes and use of drone strikes anywhere in the world under the guise of fighting terrorism.
2. **End the use of drones for surveillance and targeted killings:** We call for an end to kill lists and the use of drones for surveillance and targeting killings.
3. **End the use of counterterrorism and peace-keeping:**
 - End the use of private corporations and military contractors to implement the War on Terror.
 - End the use of the economic sanctions to harm communities and entire populations who are punished using the logic of collective punishment.
4. **End the United State's material and financial support of fascist and authoritarian states globally** that seek to use the War on Terror framework to commit ethnic cleansing, genocide, military occupations, and violence against communities in their state.
 - Introduce legislation similar to Representative Omar's Stop Arming Human Rights Abusers Act, which “establishes red lines based on internationally recognized gross violations of international human rights and international humanitarian law. Once a country crosses those lines, it automatically triggers a prohibition on security aid of any kind, arms sales including those controlled by the Commerce Dept. (tear gas, etc.), and exchanges with U.S. law enforcement.”
5. **End U.S. involvement in the war on Yemen:** Yemen is considered one of the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. According to the Yemeni Alliance Committee (YAC), since 2015 the US has provided significant military support, intelligence-gathering and logistical support to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates' assault on Yemenis. It is estimated that this conflict has caused the death of 233,000 Yemenis. The YAC has put forth the following demands to the Biden administration and Congress:
 - Stop foreign aggression on Yemen, including the use of drones;
 - Stop weapons and war support for Saudi Arabia and the UAE;
 - Lift the blockade on Yemen and open all lands and seaports;
 - Restore and expand humanitarian aid for the people of Yemen.

6. End Police Exchanges with Foreign Militaries

- Law enforcement exchanges are predicated on sharing tactics of racial profiling, surveillance, and violence against communities of color, activists and human rights defenders.

7. Defund the Pentagon and Divest from Global Arms Trade

8. Ensure Accountability for War Crimes & Enact Legislation Providing for Reparations, Healing and Truth Commissions:

To date, the individuals and agencies that have carried out the harms of the War on Terror globally or domestically have not been held accountable. In order to remedy the harms caused by the War on Terror and prevent the ongoing precedent of immunity, there should be accountability. In order for the US government to hold itself accountable to the communities it has maimed and killed, we call for the establishment of truth commissions that center the ways impacted communities domestically and globally have been harmed by the War on Terror. Truth Commissions should be established alongside accountability for individuals and state actors, and reparations for impacted community members. Far from being forums to immunize perpetrators, these commissions should be focused on creating an accurate historical record in order to address almost two decades of grave harms and violence, as well as establishing material accountability measures to truly hold perpetrators and the US government to account. We also call for reparations for the victims of the War on Terror domestically and abroad.

9. Divestment and Reinvestment into Black and Brown Communities: We call for a divestment of the trillions of dollars that have been wasted in implementing and sustaining the War on Terror. We call for a divestment and reinvestment of those funds into building structures of care for Black, Brown, and indigenous communities in the US. Those funds are better used for issues like COVID-19 recovery, investing in free and affordable housing, universal health care, employment that guarantees a living wage and a just work-week, free education, and investment into creating healthy and thriving communities. In the next section we will further expand on these demands.

For more policy recommendations, we support the call of Center for Constitutional Rights's 100 Day Agenda.

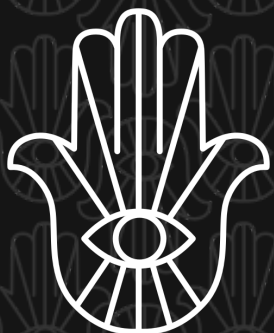
3. End Military Funding to Israel and Support Palestine

We see the fight to dismantle the War on Terror as integral to the fight for the liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian people. One facet of the War on Terror is enforcing the Zionist agenda through the repression of Palestinians in the U.S., Palestine, and all over the world. The Biden administration has made clear its intent to maintain Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and to continue to unconditionally support Israel. Following demands from Palestine advocates in the US, including the Palestinian Letter to Congress and the Freedom is the Future values statement, as well as the organizing led by Palestinian grassroots movements, we demand an end to military funding to Israel. We demand an end to US investment in Israeli human rights violations against the Palestinian people and supporters. Our demands include supporting legislation such as two bills introduced to the 116th Congress. Our demands include the following:

1. End the \$3.8 billion in annual military funding to Israel.

2. Supporting the following pieces of legislation or their equivalents in this Congress:

- **H.R. 2407 Promoting Human Rights for Palestinian Children Living Under Israeli Military Occupation**, which divests US military funding from the torture and military detention of Palestinian children, and invests in reparations and rehabilitation for Palestinian children harmed by the Israeli military.
- **H.R. 8050 Israeli Annexation Non-Recognition Act**, which prevents US military funding from being used to facilitate or support annexation of the West Bank or support activities in areas that are annexed and prevents federal recognition of any annexation.
- Introducing additional legislation to end facets of US-funded Israeli apartheid that are causing ongoing harm, such as ending the 14 year blockade of Gaza, ceasing continued home demolitions and de facto land theft and annexation, rectifying ongoing medical neglect, and halting the continued extrajudicial state killings of Palestinians.



3. End Political Repression of Palestinians and Palestine advocates

- End the vilification and legislation against the Palestinian civil society's call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions.
 - The use of time-honored social justice tactics of boycotts, divestment, and sanctions is modeled on the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and upholds the simple principle that Palestinians are entitled to the same rights as the rest of humanity. These tactics seek accountability for institutions and corporations that are either complicit in or profiting from Israeli abuses of Palestinian human rights and three goals are achieved: "freedom for Palestinians and Syrians living under Israeli military occupation, justice for the Palestinian refugees who are denied their right to return to their homes, and equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel."

4. End the use of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-semitism by all federal departments, including the State Department and the Department of Education

- The IHRA definition wrongfully conflates criticism of Israel with anti-semitism.
- Repeal Trump's 2019 EO #13899 which requires the Department of Education to use the IHRA definition of anti-semitism.



4. Abolish Inhumane Immigration, Refugee, Asylum Policies, Programs & Institutions

The War on Terror is able to sustain itself because it is built upon interconnected criminalization structures. The entanglement of immigration enforcement structures with the national security and the War on Terror structure is an important intersection to address. This places additional barriers for our communities who have to navigate immigration, asylum, and refugee systems. While all of the demands below don't fall under the War on Terror, we believe they are important to address. Our demands include the following:

1. **Immediately establish humanitarian corridors in Afghanistan to evacuate all those harmed by the War on Afghanistan and adjust the status of all Afghan humanitarian parolees as refugees.** Open the borders to allow all refugees that have been created due to the War on Terror in Afghanistan and other impacted countries to resettle in the United States. Expedite the process for refugee resettlement to allow refugees fleeing to safety a fast and easy path to resettlement. Follow the demands of Afghan-led organizations and invest in the Afghan-American communities. Refugee resettlement should also cover countries and regions where the US has directly or indirectly harmed communities. Currently, US-led wars are one of the leading causes of the global refugee and displacement crisis. Hence, the US owes reparations to communities who have been harmed. This also includes refugees and migrants who are fleeing due to US-led neoliberal economic policies and climate refugees.
2. **Moving away from the "Comprehensive Immigration Reform" framework** which allows some immigrants access to legal status and protection in exchange for border militarization and criminalization of other communities.
3. **End the immigration consequences to the War on Terror:** We want to ensure that there are no national security loopholes in forthcoming legislative proposals, nor elements that further surveil our communities. We need system change that is transformative and recognizes the humanity of people over their immigration status.
 - Disentangle and disconnect immigration from national security in order to prevent the de facto criminalization of immigrants.
 - Eliminate the USCIS "Controlled Application Review and Resolution Program" (CARRP).

- End the No Fly list and, in the meanwhile, create a transparent process that allows individuals the ability to contest their placements on such lists.
- Prohibit in absolute terms the use of coercion of non-citizens by federal agents to spy on their communities in return for reprieve of a precarious immigration status.

4. Prevent USCIS from instituting Denaturalization policies.

5. Repeal the legacy of the Muslim and African Bans.

- Pass the No Ban Act.
- Fast-track the visa process for individuals negatively impacted by the Muslim Ban whose applications were either denied or put on hold due to the Muslim and refugee ban executive order.
- End restrictions on the Visa Waiver Program for dual-citizens, which was the foundation of the Trump's administration's Muslim Ban.

6. Redesign Refugee Resettlement to ensure refugees can meaningfully rebuild their lives in the United States, especially those impacted directly by US wars.

- Restore the Refugee resettlement program and increase the Presidential Determination to 150,000 in the first year and to 175,000 in FY2022.
- Reverse Executive Order 13888 which required local and state government approval for refugee resettlement.
- Appropriate funding to ensure that the federal refugee resettlement program provides safe, healthy, and affordable housing for three to five years in order to give families a fair shot at rebuilding a sense of home, find training and apprenticeships that onramp into family-supportive employment, and ensure their successful transition.
- Appropriate and target federal funding to ensure States prioritize employment training and apprenticeship programs that pathway into local family-sustaining jobs.
- Terminate the April 13, 2018 memorandum of agreement (and accompanying system of records) that requires the Office of Refugee Resettlement to give DHS biometric and biographical information submitted by potential sponsors (and household members) of unaccompanied immigrant children.

7. Expand Temporary Protected Status (TPS) and create an expedited process for permanent residency and citizenship for TPS holders.

- Expand TPS to other countries affected directly by the war on terror.
 - Designate TPS for Afghan nationals.
 - Designate TPS for Cameroon and other African countries facing war and humanitarian crises.
- Expand Deferred Enforcement Departure (DED) for Liberians.
- Redesignate TPS for countries affected by the Trump administration.
- Create an expedited process for residency and citizenship for TPS holders.

8. End Discriminatory Immigration Enforcement.

- Restore trust and security with immigrant communities by halting ICE raids and CBP's militarization of our border communities and collaborations with local law enforcement agencies.
- Stop all removal proceedings and put an end to all deportations.
- End all incarceration and detention on immigration charges.
 - End Operation Streamline.
 - Provide flexibility to immigration judges to process cases.
 - Provide access to counsel to all detained individuals.
 - Increase the number of immigration judges to prevent backlog.
- Phase out detention centers/immigration jails and invest in community-based case management systems.
- Halt border wall construction and tear down the wall built under the Trump and Biden administrations.

9. Expand DACA and DAPA and work with Congress to create a pathway to citizenship.

- Expand the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA) programs.
- Work with congress to develop a path to citizenship for all immigrants with longstanding ties to the United States that does not include the qualification to work, nor exclusions based on criminal history or national security loopholes that exclude AMEMSA and black immigrants.
- Enact executive action to repeal the public charge rule under Immigration and Nationality Act Sec. 212(f) and companion rules across the federal government. Eliminate obstacles for low-wage workers, people with disabilities and other low-income individuals and families who are not documented.

5. Abolish Mass Surveillance

The War on Terror has deeply exacerbated and expanded mass surveillance against our communities. As organizations who work with communities who have grown up being surveilled and monitored, we believe it's critical to delve deeper into ways mass surveillance and the War on Terror impact our communities, and demand an end to this violent and dehumanizing apparatus.

1. End institutions and policies of mass surveillance and information sharing from local to state to federal levels.

- Repeal the Patriot Act.
- Repeal the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA).
- End DVE programs.
- Ensure Hate Violence Reporting and Training programs aren't used as a cover to further push DVE/TVTP programs.
- End the use of facial recognition, characteristic tracking systems, stingrays, predictive policing software, and any use of biometric technology to surveil and harm communities.
- End social media vetting surveillance programs that harm communities.
- Remove police and surveillance from schools.

2. Review and end the use of registries and watchlists that are biased and harm the rights of Muslim, Arab, South Asian, and more broadly communities of color: This includes the FBI's Terrorist Screening Database, FBI's National Crime Information Center's (NCIC) Violent Gang and Terrorist Organization File (VGTOF).

- End Joint Terrorism Task Force.
- Dismantle the Department of Homeland Security.

3. Terminate contracts with companies that indiscriminately surveil the public, including:

- Clearview AI for access to its web crawling face scanning system.
- Thomson Reuters for access to its automated license plate reader system.
- Venntel for access to its geolocation tracking services.
- General Dynamics for access to its social media monitoring services.
- Palantir for access to its suite of data visualization and analysis software.

4. Eliminate federal surveillance databases and related information sharing, and provide individuals placed on databases with notice and an opportunity to seek removal.

5. Divert public funds used for surveillance to meet community needs.

- Eliminate the surveillance of targeted communities, including people accessing public benefits, hospitals, and services, disabled people, people seeking and providing information about self-managed abortion, political activists, Arab, Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian people and communities, and people on probation or parole.
- Adopt a policy prohibiting access to or collection of electronic records and physical documents derived from electronic databases, officials, or employees at essential and life-saving service providers like schools, child welfare agencies, hospitals, places of worship, departments of motor vehicles, and utilities companies.

6. Legislate a new Privacy Act that protects all Americans' data and institute the policy recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission arising out of the Senate hearing, Revisiting the Need for Federal Data Privacy Legislation, to ensure that internet companies provide consumers with:

- Clear and conspicuous notice of its data practices, including what data it collects, how it uses the data, and whether other entities are collecting data through its website;
- Choice as to how consumer data is used beyond the use for the data was provided;
- The ability for consumers to review, correct, and/or delete their data; and
- Reasonable security measures to protect the data from unauthorized access.

7. Pass the Fourth Amendment is Not for Sale Act, prohibiting the government from buying commercial data about the public if the government would need a warrant, court order, or other legal process to directly demand access to it from an internet, telephone, or other service provider.

8. Pass the Facial Recognition and Biometric Technology Moratorium Act, prohibiting the federal government from acquiring, possessing, accessing, or using facial recognition technology in the United States, except as explicitly authorized by Congress.

9. Adopt a policy prohibiting DHS use of facial recognition technology or information derived from the use of facial recognition technology, including a prohibition on issuing requests for facial recognition searches on:

- databases maintained by federal agencies, including DHS's IDENT/Homeland Advanced Recognition Technology (HART) database;
- databases maintained by state agencies, including state departments of motor vehicles; and
- databases maintained by commercial sources and data aggregators, including the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators.

10. Suspend the biometric entry-exit face scanning system, the Traveler Verification Service, and withdraw its corresponding Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (85 FR 74162, Nov. 19, 2020) requiring the collection of face scans from travelers at airports, land ports, and seaports.

11. Amend Policy Directive 047-02 (Oct. 19, 2015), the Department Policy Regarding the Use of Cell-Site Simulator Technology, by:

- (1) establishing a prohibition on seeking warrants to use cell site simulators when the only offense presented in the probable cause statement is illegal entry or illegal reentry; and
- (2) eliminating the policy's "exceptional circumstances" exception.

12. Adopt a policy prohibiting the warrantless search of a person's electronic device at the United States border.

13. End information sharing requirements for community and religious centers in the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP).

6. Abolish Prisons, Jails & End All Pipelines to Prison

The United States continues to be the world's leading jailor, incarcerating the highest number of individuals in the world. We firmly believe mass incarceration, anti-Black racism, and the prison-nation paved the road to the passage and normalization of the War on Terror. The state uses heavy sentencing for petty offenses to entrap vulnerable community members or coerce them into being informants. Therefore, we demand:

1. Defund prisons, detention centers, congregate institutions and jails, and invest in community-determined alternatives to safety and justice in line with the Movement for Black Lives' proposed **BREATHE Act**.

- Decarceration must also address structures of state control and restriction outside of prisons and jails, including parole, probation, and e-carceration, without an accompanying expansion of home arrest or GPS monitoring or other forms of e-carceration.
- Institute a moratorium on all prison, jail, immigrant and youth detention construction, congregate settings where people with disabilities are held and institute a time bound plan to close federal prisons and immigration detention centers.

2. Immediately enact legislation directing democratic community control of local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, ensuring that communities most harmed by destructive policing have the power to hire and fire officers, determine disciplinary action, control budgets and policies, and subpoena relevant agency information.

3. Eliminate restrictions and exclusions on access to housing, education, employment, social programs and benefits, voting rights, parental rights, and other civil rights based on prior criminal convictions.

- This includes making sure that housing, education employment, social programs, benefits, voting rights, parents rights and civil rights are fully accessible under WCAG AA standards in all facets to the public.

4. Divest public resources from mass incarceration and state control and invest in non-punitive, non-carceral approaches to community safety by shifting public safety from the Department of Justice to a new agency in the Department of Health and Human Services in line with the **BREATHE Act**.

- Grants and investments must be made in community-based services, infrastructure, and efforts, such as community programs to address food insecurity, homelessness, education, and access to healthcare.

5. Enact H.R. 7143 (2020) to demilitarize police forces by ending the Department of Defense's 1033 Program and all associated transfers of military equipment and vehicles to local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, including Customs and Border Protection.

6. Rescind Executive Orders 13774, 13776, and 13896, which aggrandized law enforcement power without meaningful oversight, and withdraw all reports and recommendations issued by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice.

7. Rescind Executive Order 13950, and require mandatory anti-bias training requirements for federal, state, and local law enforcement, as a condition of receiving Department of Justice grants and funds.

8. Repeal and replace the 1994 Crime Bill with legislation that acknowledges and repairs the harms and failures of reliance on surveillance, policing, criminalization, punishment, incarceration, and detention to produce public safety.

9. Repeal and do not replace the Prison Litigation Reform Act of 1996 to eliminate obstacles for prisoners to file lawsuits in federal court.

10. Pass the Federal Death Penalty Prohibition Act of 2021 to abolish the federal death penalty, and end life without the possibility of parole (LWOP), and death by incarceration.

For more in-depth information, please reference the Movement For Black Lives (M4BL) policy agenda.

INVESTING INTO COMMUNITIES OF CARE

1. Invest in Covid-19 Recovery, Anti-Poverty Initiatives, Health Justice & Housing Justice

Nationally, more than 630,000 individuals have died because of COVID-19. There have been over 39 million confirmed cases across the country. As we all grapple with the consequences of COVID-19 and reflect on the systems that brought us here, it is imperative for us to reset and invest in systems of care. Over half a million individuals are dead because of organized government abandonment and unjust systems. As organizations, we firmly believe the trillions of dollars invested into death, destruction and murder must be redirected into building structures of relief and care.

Inequalities in resources before and during this pandemic continue to disproportionately impact the health and safety of communities of color. Many members of our communities are kept from accessing key relief efforts by design. The exclusion of returning citizens, undocumented community members, and mixed-status families at the federal and local level represents how citizenship, race, and status are used to determine who deserves access and doesn't. While members of our communities are denied or excluded from key resources, many are "essential workers" on the frontlines of fighting this pandemic.

While we are deeply inspired by the direct Mutual Aid and solidarity funds that communities have created to support community members who have been excluded by the government, we must demand an immediate reset and investment from the government into actual systems that work for communities and affirm life. As part of our agenda's investment priorities, we demand the following:



1. A COVID-19 Relief and Recovery Bill that includes everyone, irrespective of immigration status, disability status or incarceration status and truly meets the economic, housing, health (including mental health) needs of communities.

2. Full and free access to vaccines for communities with historical barriers to medical access and all those incarcerated and in detention centers:

- Fund local organizations who are trusted messengers to educate the community, including an emphasis on language access and accessibility.

3. Provide resources for localities to provide adequate housing to individuals impacted by COVID-19. This must include adequate housing that is accessible to people with disabilities.

4. Food justice: Address hunger and poverty for families and individuals. Ensure everyone can apply to public benefits, irrespective of immigration status.

- Make sure applications for Food Assistance are electronic, in person and over the phone to ensure all can access the services.

5. Address ways Islamophobia, anti-Black racism, xenophobia, patriarchy, and other systems of violence prevent access to services for our communities.





2. Invest in Climate & Environmental Justice

1. Enact the **Green New Deal** that advances comprehensive structural reform toward national climate resiliency and preparedness; ensures public control of key industries, utilities, and natural resources; and catalyzes people-oriented public spending that transforms the national economy to one that is just, equitable, and sustainable.

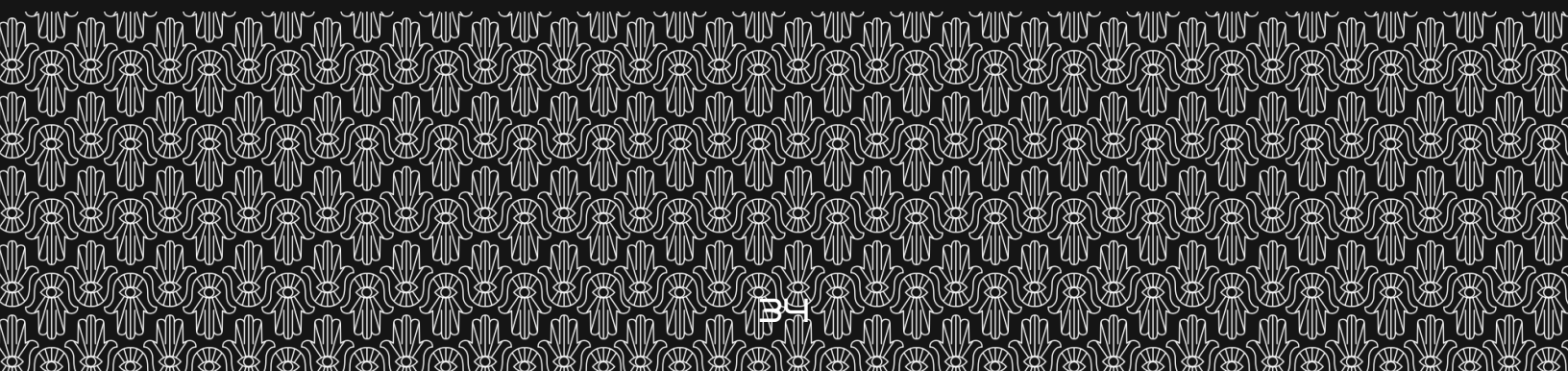
2. Pass legislation to guarantee jobs for all displaced workers and employ millions to transform our economy towards renewable energies that stabilize both our nation and our climate under the Green New Deal.

3. Enact **S. 828 (2019)** and enforce a moratorium on oil, gas, and methane hydrate-related exploration activities.

4. Enact the **Red Nation's call for the Red Deal**, which is focused on demanding an end to violence against Native peoples and the end of capitalism to colonialism.

5. Address the impact of environmental racism on communities of color, which includes issues such as access to clean and fresh water, toxic waste dump sites, sewage works, landfills, power stations, lead poisoning, and other environmental and chemical hazards.

6. Hold corporations accountable and liable for environmental harms.



3. Invest in Justice for Indigenous people

1. Create a commission to examine, assess, and propose reparations for Native people and nations for historical and ongoing injustices, including genocide, forcible transfer, land dispossession, dehumanization, racial inequity, the murder and disappearance of Indigenous women and girls, and all forms of violence against Native people.

- Establish a commission to examine the impacts of environmental racism on Black and Indigenous people; to assess and propose reparations to remedy historic injustices; and stop current and prevent future oppression of Black and Indigenous people and exploitation of land.
- Establish a universal right to land, clean air, clean water and housing and an end to the exploitative privatization of natural resources, including land and water. We seek democratic control over how resources are preserved, used, and distributed.

2. Reinstate treaty-making with Native nations and acknowledge Native independence, guaranteeing the fundamental right to self-determination for Native people, communities, land bases, and political and economic systems; and recognize full rights and equal protection for Native people by ensuring treaty rights and Indigenous rights be applied and upheld in accordance with The Red Deal.

3. Support NDN Collective's #LANDBACK Campaign that calls for a “restoration of ecological health to Indigenous lands and the actual recovery of Indigenous land ownership in order to empower Indigenous people across Turtle Island.

4. Invest in Community-Led Justice & Racial Justice

1. Enact H.R. 40 (2019), the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act.

2. Enact the **BREATHE Act** in full to divest from carceral systems and invest in community needs.

3. Provide reparations to survivors of police violence and their families, and to survivors of prison, detention and deportation violence, and their families.

4. Investigate Jan 6 riots and enact **H.R. 276 Congressional Oversight of Unjust Policing (COUP) Act**. Enact a full, public investigation into the federal and local police planning and response. Terminate and prosecute all officers & officials found to have condoned or colluded with the white supremacists.

5. Invest in making communities stronger and safer through quality, affordable and accessible housing, living wage employment, public transportation, education, and health care that includes voluntary, harm reduction and patient-driven, community-based mental health and substance abuse treatment.

6. Invest in community-based transformative violence prevention and intervention strategies that offer support for criminalized populations:

- Reallocate police and incarceration funding to long-term safety strategies such as quality, affordable housing, education, healthcare, and community-based violence prevention and response, and social safety net and employment programs that have been shown to improve community safety.

7. Remove law enforcement mandates from public programs, including mandatory mental health, drug treatment, schools or abstinence. Decouple welfare policies with criminalization and empower communities to solve their own problems through direct funding for social programs without any government involvement. Remove the need for police reporting for victims of sexual violence to be able to access services.

8. Review Legal Services Corporation Grants policies and institute new policies allowing grantees to engage in community-based lawyering. Increase funding to community-based legal services and allow for democratic community participation in legal services programs.

9. Invest in anti-racist education and address white supremacy and anti-Black racism within all institutions and structures of our society. This includes ending executive orders banning critical race theory and the attack on ethnic studies programs.

10. Free all those in prison charged with protest-related crimes and ensure that violations of property should never be equated with the violation of human life. Immediately enact an executive order or legislation preventing the use of lethal force against protestors, and launch Department of Justice investigations on police and prisons known to have used lethal force on protestors.

For more policy recommendations, we support the call of Center for Constitutional Rights's 100 Day Agenda.

5. Invest in Gender Justice & End Gender-Based Violence

1. Support Abolition to end Gender Based Violence. Services and Funding for Gender Based Violence should shift from a focus on criminalization to trauma informed community-based solutions that center restorative and transformative justice.

2. Move the Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) from the Department of Justice to the Department of Health and Human Services. The current placement of the Office on Violence Against Women as determined by the Violence Against Women Act re-inforces the use of the criminal justice system for survivor justice. For African, Black, Muslim, Middle Eastern, Arab, and South Asian communities, there is a deep mistrust with law enforcement and particularly the FBI-- a department of the DOJ. While the programs and services offered through OVW may be survivor centered, culturally responsive and critical for survivor healing, the funding from OVW often requires organizations to name the DOJ as a source. For individuals in the community who have been impacted by state violence from the DOJ or know the War on Terror apparatus, the DOJ label on services leads to mistrust, suspicion and legitimate paranoia about information sharing with other DOJ departments. This creates a barrier for those in need to seek services and programming and a barrier for the service providers who are trying to reach the most vulnerable in their communities.

3. Move from Criminalization to Community Driven Transformative Justice. In the years since VAWA was passed, categorizing gender based violence as crimes has led to few attaining justice for the violence they experienced. Rates of GBV have not reduced and prosecution efforts have only led to increased disparities in the justice system where privileged white men are able to escape accountability. Forced partnerships with law enforcement to access services have also led to delayed justice and prolonged violence for many survivors who do not trust the cops and do not wish to see their communities or the individuals harming them criminalized. In alignment with abolition, the policy recommendation is to shift resources from law enforcement and increased criminalization to community driven transformative justice models and services. Survivors need the behaviour to stop. They need individuals in their communities who are harming to hold themselves accountable and communities to support the facilitation of that accountability. And they need law enforcement, the government and other state funded institutions who contribute to the harm to not be the only avenue for justice.

4. Stop Gender Based Violence in Prisons and Jails. Incarcerated, detained and entrapped African, Black, Muslim, Middle Eastern, Arab, and South Asian communities community members, like others navigating the carceral system, experience gender based violence. Often, there is an intersecting layer of violence from the Islamophobia they face within the system that make safety, bodily autonomy, and justice difficult to attain. From rape and sexual harassment with the forced removal of hijab, to minimizing survived violence due to cultural stereotyping, the harm experienced by those in the carceral system must end. Additionally, the right to comprehensive sexual and reproductive healthcare where post partum care is accessible in prisons, jails and detention centers should be prioritized, as well as the end of all forced sterilizations and hysterectomies. Abolition of all prisons, jails and detention centers is a starting point. As is the end to the War on Terror that systematically profiles, entraps, and incarcerates our communities.

5. End Informancy Strategies and Stop Intimate Partner Violence. Several law enforcement agencies including the New York Police Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation use informancy tactics to entrap individuals in Muslim communities. In several informancy cases, the informants became romantically involved with women in the community and never revealed their true identities. This is state sanctioned sexual violence where consent is not informed and the state is violating the trust of members of the community. The harm that came from such cases was never accounted for and the trauma remains for many in the community. The recommendation is to abolish FBI, any existing informancy or entrapment strategies and ban the use of such strategies.

6. Repeal laws that harm sex workers, and disproportionality criminalize women, including women of color, such as Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA)/Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA).

Additional recommendations for sexual and reproductive health, rights and justice that we support can be found at <https://reproblueprint.org> .

6. Invest in Reproductive Justice

As communities whose bodies are constantly surveilled, profiled, interrogated, objectified, and violated, the centering of reproductive justice is imperative for our policy agenda. Reproductive Justice is the right to build families, the right to not have children, the right for our communities to thrive in safety and abundance, and the right to bodily autonomy. Bodily autonomy demands freedom from power-based violence of all kinds, including state sanctioned gender based violence. Reproductive Justice provides an additional pathway for our communities to be freed from the gaze and control of the state. We echo the calls for the following federal policy changes made by reproductive justice organizers, and provide additional context for the demands as they relate to the experiences of our community members:

1. Ensure access to reproductive and sexual healthcare for all, domestically and globally. Access should include funding, insurance coverage for all services including birth control and abortion, and the promotion of culturally empowering frameworks that refrain from stereotyping immigrant and faith-based communities as absent from those seeking care and services. In alignment with the anti-poverty values set forth by this policy agenda, the following recommendations are in service to those who rely on the state's resources for their health and wellness. Reproductive and sexual healthcare services are financially burdensome and disproportionately impact women, trans individuals, people with disabilities, and non-binary individuals.

2. Reject the weaponization of religious doctrine. For too long the conversation on the political front has been led by white cis-males who weaponize religious doctrine and politics to limit access to and support for critical reproductive and sexual healthcare services. We reject the notion that individuals who identify with religious/faith communities are opposed to access to reproductive and sexual healthcare. This narrative adds to the invisibilization of reproductive health care advocates in faith communities. It is critical to bridge the gap and provide culturally empowering services that take into account a person's religious beliefs and lived realities. Moreover, it renders invisible the many individuals in our religious and cultural communities who need access to these services and who find empowerment from their faith tradition to access reproductive and sexual health care. We reject the notion that reproductive rights including and especially abortion, in particular, on moral grounds, must be regulated and demand that our government trust people who are pregnant to make the decisions they need to for their wellbeing and their families.

3. Repeal the Hyde Amendment as promised in Biden's budget proposal. The Hyde Amendment was passed by Congress to block federal funds from being used to pay for abortion services with the exception of rape, incest, or if the pregnancy is determined to endanger the pregnant person's life. The individuals impacted the most by this are those insured by Medicaid (many of which are people with disabilities) or accessing services through other federally funded programs who are largely low income, under the age of thirty, and from racially marginalized communities. Muslims are directly impacted by this, particularly in the states that rely heavily on federal funding. Many of those same states also have histories of racism and Islamophobia, so the barriers to care and access to services are multiplied. Gendered Islamophobia in the healthcare system is difficult enough to navigate without the added complication of limited access and funding for abortion services.

4. Repeal the Helms Amendment

The Helms Amendment was passed as an addition to the Foreign Assistance Act in the 1970s and since then been used to prohibit the use of foreign aid funds to pay for abortion. Taking the regulations of the Hyde Amendment one step further, there have been no exceptions interpreted for the Helms Amendment with regards to rape, incest or endangerment of the pregnant person's life. This law extends the harms of U.S. imperialism in many of the Muslim majority countries that receive aid in the aftermath and continuation of the Global War on Terror. In alignment with the policy platform's values of being anti-war, anti-imperialist and committing to solidarity across borders, this recommendation is particularly important for us to see implemented in the countries where the United States has militarily intervened and extracted resources.

5. Support the Abortion is Health Care Everywhere Act (H.R. 7816)

This bill has been introduced and we strongly recommend supporting it as it will repeal the Helms Amendment and uplift the necessity to provide coverage for abortion services across the globe. Too often, unsafe abortions aren't the only option for many; this bill will provide a funded, accessible, and safe alternative that minimizes the risk to the pregnant person's life. In many of the countries impacted by the War on Terror, to not have such an alternative is an added burden on the individuals who are navigating the trauma of war and violence.

6. End the Global Gag Rule/Mexico City Policy which bans U.S. aid to groups that make referrals for abortion or discuss abortion as an option abroad, as promised by President Biden.

7. Invest in Disability Justice

1. Ensure all press releases from the White House have captions and ASL interpreting.

2. Education

- Fully fund the Individuals with **Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)**.
- Make sure schools across the nation are being held to standards of the Americans with Disabilities Act and WCAG AA. All students should have access to physical and electronic materials and spaces.

3. Labor

- **Repeal Section 14(c) of the Fair Labor Standards Act** so that no person with a disability may be paid less than the minimum wage in the United States.

4. Health

- **Ensure COVID vaccine plans include young people who have immunocompromised disabilities** who may otherwise be left out of earlier phases of the vaccine roll outs.
- Ensure hospitals are providing accommodations to people with disabilities and have the option of having an advocate or loved one present with them.

5. Immigration

- **Ensure there is a path to citizenship for people with disabilities who may not be able to work.**

6. Ensure marriage equality to disabled people

- **Ensure that disabled people do not lose access to governmental benefits by choosing to get married.**

8. Invest in Voting Rights, Census, & Structural Democratic Shifts

1. Abolish the electoral college.

2. End the filibuster.

3. Implement plans for Statehood for DC and Puerto Rican self-determination.

4. The Right To Vote:

- Pass **H.R. 1 For the People Act of 2021** to allow for vote by mail and online voter registration and enact automatic voter registration.
- Pass the **Democracy for All Amendment (H.J. Res. 1)**: a bipartisan act to get big money out of politics and overturn the widely unpopular Citizens United Supreme Court decision.
- Push for universal automatic voter registration.
- Provide the right to vote to all Americans regardless of present or past incarceration status.
- Pass the **John Lewis Voting Act** to prevent states from enacting voter suppression laws.
- Enact universal automatic registration measures.

5. Ensure all Americans, regardless of citizenship or financial status, have access to the internet as a public utility and improve internet infrastructure across rural and underserved communities.

6. Ensure there is federal funding for state and local communities who were undercounted by the Census.

- Create a new MENA category to ensure Middle Eastern and North African communities aren't consistently counted as White.
- Make sure all people are included, including undocumented individuals.

RESOURCES

Syllabi:

- 1.Radical In Progress
- 2.Prison Abolition Syllabus
- 3.Prison Abolition Resource Guide

Agendas :

- 1.Afghans For a Better Tomorrow Demands
- 2.Blueprint for Sexual and Reproductive Health, Rights, and Justice
- 3.M4BL Vision for Black Lives
- 4.Red, Black and Green New Deal
- 5.Red New Deal: Indigenous Action to Save Our Earth
- 6.The Red Nation: End the Occupation
- 7.#Defund Hate Vision
- 8.Working Families Party People's Charter
- 9.The Rising Majority
- 10.Feminist Peace Initiative (led by MADRE, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance and Women Cross DMZ)
- 11.Center for Constitutional Rights: Rights-Based Vision for the First 100 Days and Shifting Power to the People
- 12.Dissenters Vision

Campaigns :

- 1.NDN Collective's #LandBack Campaign
- 2.#DefundHate
- 3.#AbolishICE
- 4.#DefundPolice
- 5.Palestinian Letter to Congress
- 6.Freedom is the Future values statement
- 7.#STOPCVE
- 8.Afghan Diaspora for Equality & Progress
- 9.Afghan-American Coalition Call to Action
- 10.Abolitionist Futures

Legislation:

- BREATHE Act
- H.R.276-117th Congress (2021-2022) H.R. 276 Congressional Oversight of Unjust Policing (COUP) Act
- H.R.1-117th Congress (2021-2022): For the People Act of 2021
- S.1265 - 117th Congress (2021-2022): Fourth Amendment Is Not For Sale Act
- H.J. Res. 1-117th Congress (2021-2022) Democracy for All Amendment
- H.R.7143-116th Congress (2019-2020): Demilitarizing Local Law Enforcement Act of 2020
- H.R.5880-116th Congress (2019-2020): Stop Arming Human Rights Abusers Act
- H.R.2407-116th Congress (2019-2020): Promoting Human Rights for Palestinian Children Living Under Israeli Military Occupation
- H.R.40-116th Congress (2019-2020): Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act
- H.R.7816-116th Congress (2019-2020): Abortion is Health Care Everywhere Act of 2020
- H.R.8050-116th Congress (2019-2020): Israeli Annexation Non-Recognition Act
- S.4084-116th Congress (2019-2020): Facial Recognition and Biometric Technology Moratorium Act of 2020
- S.4263-116th Congress (2019-2020): John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act
- S.828-116th Congress (2019-2020): Atlantic Seismic Airgun Protection Act
- H.Res.109-116th Congress (2019-2020): Recognizing the duty of the Federal Government to create a Green New Deal.
- H.R.7816-116th Congress (2019-2020): Abortion is Health Care Everywhere Act of 2020