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Indigenous-led Resistance to Environmental Destruction: Methods of Anishinaabe Land Defense against Enbridge's Line 3

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**Indigenous-led Resistance to Environmental Destruction:
Methods of Anishinaabe Land Defense against Enbridge's Line 3**

Environmental Analysis Senior Thesis
Environmental Justice: Race, Class, and Gender

Charlotte Degener Hughes
Pitzer College, Winter 2017-18 graduating class
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And finally, thank you to those who continue to organize against Line 3 through ceremony and art, in the courts and on the frontlines. We must protect the land together, *miigwech*!

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Preface: Who am I?

I write this as a student at the Claremont Colleges while hosted on the land of the Tongva nation, a nation still unrecognized by the US federal government. I am deeply grateful to have built relationships with a few Tongva elders here who have guided my work in navigating Native-settler coalitional spaces while in college.

Before I begin the content of this piece, it is important for me to explain who I am and why I have chosen to write on an aspect of sovereignty and resistance to settler colonialism as a non-Native person. As Shawn Wilson writes in his book *Research is Ceremony*, it is important for researchers to be accountable to all our relations; I hope to introduce you to who I am so you can move forward with me with trust through this text.

My name is Charlotte Degener Hughes and I was born and raised on Anishinaabe and Dakota territory in what is now called Minneapolis, Minnesota. My mother is Amanda Louise Degener who was born to Glenn Degener and Patsy Norfleet on Illini territory in what is now called Saint Louis, Missouri. My father is Robert Earl Hughes Jr. who was born to Robert Hughes Sr. and Francis Wells on Erie territory in what is now called Akron, Ohio. Our ancestors are largely from land in what is now known as France, Germany, England, and the Netherlands and settled on land that is now called the east coast of the United States over ten generations ago. My role as a white settler and my family's long history with settler colonialism on this land prompts me to work towards understanding and dismantling settler colonialism and white supremacy on the lands I continue to settle on.

I want to make clear that I chose *not* to write about Anishinaabe culture—that is left for Anishinaabe people to do if they choose—rather I am writing about the multifaceted political and social resistance to settler colonialism which continues to deny sovereignty to Native nations.

My ancestors and I have directly and indirectly perpetuated, enabled, and benefited from settler colonialism and white supremacy which contextualizes this resistance. I believe firmly that if it is anyone's duty to resist the long reaching arms of the settler colonial empire, it is the duty of the settlers themselves.

A few years of study on settler colonialism and Native-settler alliances have guided my engagement and organizing work today. Having grown up in Anishinaabe territory specifically, I feel more dedication to use my energy against Enbridge's Line 3 and other extractive projects in what is now called Minnesota. This summer, I interned with Honor the Earth, a non-profit organization run out of White Earth Reservation by Winona LaDuke and other Anishinaabekwe,¹ dedicated to pipeline resistance and land protection. My work included organizing horse rides bringing many nations together to ride in ceremony against the current of the oil in Line 66 in so-called² Wisconsin and Line 3 in so-called Minnesota. These experiences helped inform my understandings of Native-settler alliances, tactics of organizing, and was the impetus for this thesis. While I clearly have bias against Enbridge and the projects this corporation invests in, I hope to guide readers through a holistic understanding of the current situation and the processes that have occurred to bring us here today. Above all, I hope to center Indigenous resistance to megaprojects such as Line 3 as rooted in sovereignty, self-determination, and the land itself.

¹ Anishinaabekwe refers to Anishinaabe women.

² "so-called" is utilized to remind readers of how the land has been renamed by the colonizing US government to become what it is known as today, overwriting what the land had been called by Indigenous nations for thousands of years prior. I use this interchangeably with "what is now known as."

Introduction: (De)colonization, (Re)presentation, and the Environment

We understand that the issue is the land, the issue is the Earth. We cannot change the political system, we cannot change the economic system, we cannot change the social system until the people control the land, and then we take it out of the hands of that sick minority that chooses to pervert the meaning and the intention of humanity.

– John Trudell, *Santee Dakota*, in *Thanksgiving Day* speech, 1980.

In the last year following the movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline, and before that the Keystone XL Pipeline, many underground resistances against pipelines and other forms of resource extraction and transportation on Native land have burst into the open. Just in 2017, the world has witnessed Indigenous-led battles against Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain Pipeline, the Grand Canyon Uranium Mine,³ and many other extraction projects around Turtle Island⁴. These notably include the building Anishinaabe-led resistance to Enbridge's Line 3 "Replacement" Program funneling crude oil from Canada through Anishinaabe treaty territory in so-called Minnesota to refineries in so-called Wisconsin. While different Native nations lead each of these struggles, they share common ties rooted in land protection and sovereignty rights against further encroachment by settler governments and affiliated corporations.

While this work focuses on the specificities of the Anishinaabe-led resistance to Line 3, I hope readers will keep in mind the broader connections between Indigenous land-based struggles for sovereignty happening right now all over Turtle Island and beyond.

Within the context of ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous-led resistances to the destruction of land and extraction of resources roots decolonizing methods in cultural resilience and sovereignty of Indigenous nations. This is represented by Anishinaabe people's varied

³ Refer to the *Haul No! #StopCanyonMine* movement at www.haulno.org.

⁴ The term used by many Native nations referring to land now known as North America.

tactics of resistance to Enbridge's Pipeline 3 "Replacement" Project, which both attack from within settler systems and defend through chosen land and sovereignty based frameworks.

In writing this thesis, I am guided by how this work matters as a representation of the Line 3 resistance. It matters because again and again, mainstream media sources co-op, misrepresent, and render movements led by Native people invisible, which serves to further the hegemonic representations of Native people as savage, backward, or extinct. These are methods used to justify and uphold continued settler occupation of Native lands and their representational forms require critique and alternatives. By removing the representation of movements from the colonial context which saturates extractive projects, tactics meant to fuel cultural resilience and defend tribal sovereignty are overlooked. This has been made clear through the representations of water protectors working against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) in Standing Rock, North Dakota last year. The #NoDAPL movement activated many Indigenous communities to defend their lands with support from settler allies, and has projected these resistances into mainstream media and recognition. Even though media networks misrepresented the #NoDAPL fight as being led by armed and dangerous protestors, they persisted in taking control of their representation as peaceful water protectors through social media networks and allied independent coverage. Anishinaabe people and Indigenous people all over the world continue to represent themselves, and this work is meant to support and add to these representations. I hope this thesis acts as one form of representation of the Anishinaabe-led resistance to Line 3 which can guide understanding of the varied forms of resistance within a settler colonial context.

Within this document and with only my own learned knowledge, I cannot by any means fully represent the struggle against Line 3 including the many actors, arguments, events, relationships, and shifting systems at play as it is today. Instead, I choose to analyze a few key

resistance tactics within both hegemonic frameworks and traditional land-based frameworks of understanding, broken up into three chapters. In Chapter 1, I provide background details in this fight including information about the proposed project itself, the main actors, their narratives, and a brief timeline of what has happened in the regulation process. With that base knowledge, I delve further into the systems and frameworks that contextualize this movement in Chapter 2. This includes both hegemonic imposed systems of settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and environmental racism with their resulting frameworks, *and* chosen foundational sovereignty and land-based frameworks. I draw from these frameworks to analyze specific tactics of resistance utilized by varied groups of land defenders in Chapter 3. This chapter introduces, compares, and contrasts varied tactics that both attack hegemonic systems from the inside and build on chosen traditional frameworks. Lastly, I wrap up this work with a concluding section building from previous chapters to reinforce the insight that Anishinaabe resistance tactics are rooted within systems and theoretical frameworks that require a multi-tactical response. Ultimately, the resistance against Line 3 is representative of a long-term battle for native sovereignty and self-determination in defense of the land and future generations.

Chapter 1: Enbridge in Anishinaabe Territory

Who will find peace with the lands? The future of humankind lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives and take up their responsibilities to all living things. Who will listen to the trees, the animals and birds, the voices of the places of the land? As the long forgotten peoples of the respective continents rise and begin to reclaim their ancient heritage, they will discover the meaning of the lands of their ancestors. That is when the invaders of the North American continent will finally discover that for this land, God is red.

– Vine Deloria Jr., *Yankton Sioux*, in *God Is Red*, 1973.

Before anything else, I would like to introduce you to a brief history of the land that is Anishinaabe territory in what is now called northern Minnesota. While the borders of the state of Minnesota surround parts of both Anishinaabe⁵ and Dakota⁶ territory, these nations' traditional territories spread farther than the colonially imposed boundaries of the state. Even so, Anishinaabe communities within the state of Minnesota are impacted specifically by Minnesota state and US federal law differently than their relatives in so-called Canada and all throughout the northern Midwest so-called United States. Even while these groups are acknowledged as sovereign nations, colonial expansion measures historically have failed to respect their rights to self-determination, and continue to do so today. Beginning with ceded tracts of traditional territory land through supposed treaties, the assimilation processes forced upon Native communities, and now the destruction of land and harvest of resources on traditional territories without consent from communities indigenous to the land, these events are rooted in greater systems of colonialism which that are explored further in Chapter 2.

Currently, hundreds of megaprojects including pipelines, power lines, dams, mining, and other resource extractive projects are being proposed, negotiated, and built all over Turtle Island,

⁵ Anishinaabe (or Anishinabe) include the Odawa, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Oji-Cree, Mississauga, Chippewa, and Algonquin peoples.

⁶ Part of the Oceti Sakowin (also known as the Sioux Nation) made up of Santee (Eastern Dakota), Yankton and Yanktonai (Western Dakota), and Lakota peoples.

and Enbridge's Line 3 "Replacement" Project projected to cut through Anishinaabe territory serves as a perfect example the colonial priority of growth through resource extraction of native lands.

Referencing *Figure 1*, treaties throughout the 1800's negotiated between US Congress and Anishinaabe leaders resulted in the exchange of thousands of acres of land from the Anishinaabe nation for money to pay off traders' debts, food and goods, hunting, fishing, and gathering rights, and the establishment of reservations for existing communities (Enger 2016; Minnesota Historical Society 2008; Hall 2017). The US Congress failed to fulfill many of their treaty requirements, while



Figure 1 Anishinaabeg Ceded Lands in MN

taking all Anishinaabe land save 9 reservations established on 1855 ceded territory. Seven of these reservations still exist today, including Grand Portage, Bois Forte, White Earth, Leech Lake, Fond du Lac, Mille Lac, and Red Lake, the final being the only one not allotted into private property parcels through the General Allotment Act where the land continues to be held in common by all tribal members (Minnesota Indian Affairs Council 2012). As Anishinaabe scholar Heidi Iuiuetinepinesiik Stark explains, Native nations approached the process of treaty making to form long-term mutually beneficial and trusting relationships between sovereign nations. Clearly, the United States government did not uphold this view and systematically negotiated and plundered Native nations of their land for settler colonial expansion. This history is essential to understand the existing rights held by the Anishinaabe and how these rights

continue to be violated through megaprojects running through their territory such as Enbridge's Line 3 "Replacement" Project.

One of many energy infrastructure companies building pipelines throughout the world, Enbridge built Line 3 in 1961 along other pipelines in its Mainline System running from Hardisty, Alberta to Superior, Wisconsin (see *Figure 2*). As it crosses the border between Canada and the United States, the Enbridge Mainline System includes Lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 65, and 67, which transport varied contents of



Figure 2 Existing Enbridge Mainline System

heavy and light crude oil and refining chemicals between extraction sites in Canada and refineries in the Midwest (Enbridge Energy, Limited Partnership 2016a). The existing Lines snake cross directly through Leech Lake and Fond du Lac reservations, and 1855 and 1842 treaty areas (Honor the Earth 2017a). Enbridge built Lines 1, 2, and 3 in order between the 50s and 60s, but it is now well known that they welded Line 3 with defective steel and coating and it has the most structural anomalies of the three, resulting in four major spills already and hundreds of smaller ones (Enbridge Energy, Limited Partnership 2016b; Hughlett 2017). Documented pipeline spills have been exponentially increasing to be a daily occurrence as pipelines built during the initial boom in the 1950's decay, and infrastructure hovers at a junction to decide to repair, rebuild, and repeat this cycle or move towards cleaner energy solutions (George Joseph 2016; Jordan Wirfs-Brock 2014). Winona LaDuke speaks on this choice to both native and settler communities,

In our teachings, we have a prophecy called 'the time of the seventh fire.' It says we, the Anishinaabe people, will have a choice between two paths. One is well worn, but it is

scorched. The other path is not well worn, but it is green. The time to choose our path is now. It is the choice that is upon all of us. It is a choice between life and death, a choice between oil and water, a choice for our food and our future. (Winona LaDuke 2016)

Enbridge's solution to a disintegrating original Line 3 has been to propose the largest project in Enbridge's history, a new \$7.5 billion pipeline, calling it a Line 3 "Replacement," to run along a new 1,031 mile long route, with a larger 36-inch pipe, and the purported ability to transport light, medium, and heavy crude (Enbridge, Inc. 2017). With an initial capacity of 760,000 barrels per day (bpd) of crude oil, it could carry up to 915,000 bpd, compared to the current capacity at 390,000 bpd, making it one of the largest in Turtle Island (Enbridge, Inc. 2017; MN Department of Commerce 2017). Once the new Line 3 is built and pumping, Enbridge plans to phase-out the old line, cap it, and leave it in the ground, which many are calling abandonment. While pipeline owners and operators are legally required to ensure the safety of abandoned pipelines, many cases of abandoned pipelines spilling have been documented, and there are no existing regulations on how that goes forward into the future (Chiem 2016; Elizabeth Douglass 2014). Enbridge has proposed this upgraded and expanded line to be put in service in 2019, but while the Canadian government has approved the line and construction has begun north of the border, Minnesota state governing bodies have yet to approve of the project with pressure from many opposing groups (Enbridge, Inc. 2017).

Federal and state regulating bodies have varied power over permitting processes depending on the type of project and the state for which it is proposed. The state of Minnesota specifically has retained all rights to the permitting process that some states defer to the federal Office of Pipeline Safety (OPS), the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC), and the US Department of Transportation (DOT). Federal regulations differentially cover types of projects, so while natural gas pipelines have strict permitting, monitoring, and regulation

processes through these bodies, crude oil pipelines, such as Line 3, do not and are left to a state-by-state approval process (Jacquelyn Pless 2011; Brandon J. Murrill 2016). The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires an Environmental Impact Statement or a less intensive Environmental Assessment on projects that could significantly affect the human environment.

With pressure from a web of non-profit organizations, individual landowners, and tribal governments, the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission (PUC), who facilitates the permitting process, ruled that a full Environmental Impact Assessment would be conducted through the Minnesota Department of Commerce (DOC) in cooperation with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA) (Minnesota Department of Commerce 2017c, 2017b). These agencies have facilitated the process of gathering testimony from parties for and against the pipeline, constructing a Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) released in May, 2017, facilitating public comment periods to gather input on the quality of the DEIS during June of 2017, and revising the document into the Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which was issued in October 2017 and will then be used by the Public Utilities Commission to facilitate public hearings and ultimately make the final determination on accepting or denying Enbridge's Certificate of Need and Route Permit (MN Public Utilities Commission 2017a, 2017b). These regulatory bodies and processes, while they have recently incorporated the need for project approval from tribal governments to some extent, dictate what projects are approved to go through Anishinaabe reservations and treaty territory.

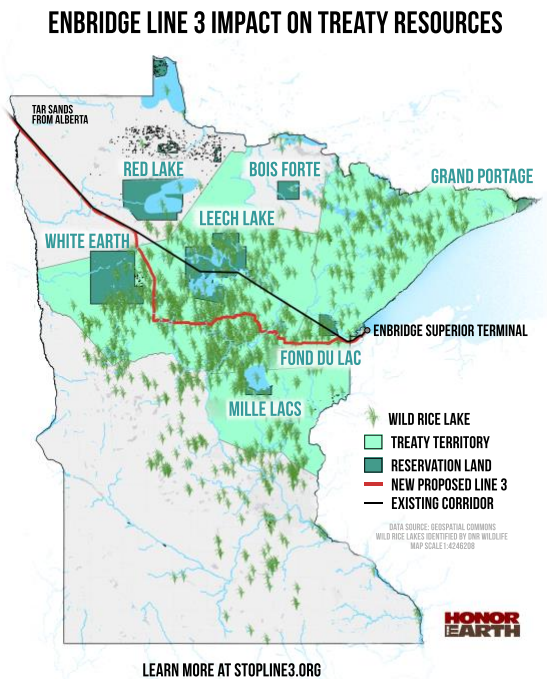


Figure 3 Wild Rice Lakes along Enbridge's Preferred Route

Anishinaabe communities whose traditional territory lies along the pipeline route pressured Enbridge to facilitate hearings with native communities to ensure communication and consent. In the resulting hearings, hundreds of united Anishinaabe tribal members spoke against the new pipeline, speaking on the risks it poses to essential cultural resources including wild rice lakes and trout streams (see *Figure 3*). The result of these hearings has been deemed inadequate in addressing the needs of Indigenous communities as comments collected

during those meetings have not been adequately incorporated into the Environmental Impact Assessment or impacted the regulatory process. This story echoes the stories of companies and colonial governing bodies performatively consulting with native communities while proposing projects like the Dakota Access Pipeline, the Kinder Morgan Trans Mountain Pipeline System, and countless mining projects all over Turtle Island, then failing to incorporate these communities' needs into the decision-making processes.

In the face of this outright denial of the rights of sovereign Indigenous nations to the rights to Free, Prior, and Informed Consent as dictated by the United Nations in a statute which the United States refused to sign, native people have disengaged with the Line 3 regulation process in defiance (United Nations For Indigenous Peoples 2016). Near the end of July, Danielle Oxendine Molliver of the Lumbee nation, the tribal liaison for the environmental review of Line 3, resigned in protest of the state of Minnesota's "failure to engage in

meaningful and transparent tribal consultation” with impacted communities of the 1855 treaty territory (Brown 2017). When the Department of Commerce released the final EIS without incorporating input from native people during these hearings and continuing to prioritize Enbridge’s data, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (the legal name for the Anishinaabe nation) with input from six Anishinaabe bands and Honor the Earth announced their own review process for Line 3, calling it the Anishinaabeg Cumulative Impact Assessment (Minnesota Chippewa Tribe 2017). When the colonial regulatory processes have once again failed to serve Indigenous people, the Anishinaabe continue to assert their sovereignty by taking the process into their own hands.

Groups working together against the pipeline, while they have far less financial resources than those pushing it through, use intensive research and community organizing work to keep the state of Minnesota accountable. Clearly, Enbridge continues to push the pipeline through as they will be controlling the line and using it to transport oil to refineries and markets outside of Minnesota. The other main actors vouching for the Line 3 “Replacement” to be constructed are the Pipefitters Union, demanding more union jobs. A network of resistance to the pipeline includes tribal governments, non-profit organizations (including Honor the Earth, MN350, and Friends of the Headwaters), direct action camps such as Camp Makwa, and landowners along the pipeline route. Alliances have been built to form a multi-tactical front against the Line 3 “Replacement” and Abandonment, which I elaborate more on in Chapter 3.

These groups have rejected each of the supposed benefits of Line 3 that Enbridge and its affiliates have used to push through the pipeline, including that it will provide 1,500 jobs, that the state of Minnesota will benefit from \$2.6 billion of infrastructure investment, and

that it will boost future U.S. energy security (Enbridge, Inc. 2017). When looking at the fine print of the DEIS, Enbridge revealed that Line 3 will create zero permanent jobs in operating the line, “existing operations staff would be able to operate the [pipeline] and that few additional employees would be hired to assist the staff” (5.3.4). Not only that, but the DEIS also states that “all workers would re-locate to the area,” meaning that no construction jobs would go to local residents, and overall that the pipeline would have “no measureable impact on local employment, per capita household income, median household income, or unemployment” (5.3.4) (Minnesota Department of Commerce 2017a). Beyond the thousands of jobs that would be created through Enbridge’s removal of the existing corroded Line 3, if the state government would truly invest in sustainable jobs for Minnesotans, a future in clean energy solutions including solar and wind is possible (Honor the Earth 2017a).

While the taxes Enbridge pays to each county that its lines run through could be considered a financial investment in the state of Minnesota, the corporation recently appealed \$50 million in back taxes from northern Minnesota counties, claiming that it had been overcharged, which would result in financial crises for many counties who have already used the funds (Kraker 2017). On Enbridge’s point that the pipeline would boost future energy security, many groups question if expanded oil production and transportation would truly make the energy economy more secure, or rather if it would render our future vulnerable to decreasing oil supply and increasing risk with expansion. In a powerful move against the pipeline, the Minnesota Department of Commerce released a statement that “oil market analysis indicates that Enbridge has not established a need for the proposed project; the pipeline would primarily benefit areas outside Minnesota; and serious environmental and socioeconomic risks and effects outweigh limited benefits” (MN Department of Commerce 2017). Enbridge is determined to push through the Line 3 “Replacement” as it is fitted

to transport “tar” or bitumen sands oil, which is well known as the dirtiest and most energy intensive oil to refine, while this analysis makes clear that the state of Minnesota should deny this pipeline and alternatively invest in clean energy infrastructure.

While those working against Line 3 “Replacement” envision clean energy alternatives, this struggle goes beyond the environmental movement to one of Indigenous sovereignty rights interconnected with the land itself. Hundreds of years of settler colonialism in various forms has brought these actors, including Enbridge, governmental regulating bodies, and Anishinaabe groups, to the current moment in complex ways. In the following chapter, I contextualize this resistance within imposed and chosen systems and frameworks to reframe this movement as one connected to an ongoing Indigenous-led struggle for land and life.

Chapter 2: Contextual Frameworks, Imposed and Chosen

Land is crucial for Indigenous peoples, and so is challenging the assumed permanence of settler colonial dispossession.

– Leanne Simpson, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg* with Glen Coulthard, *Yellowknives Dene*, interview on Dechinta Bush University, 2014.

Every action follows the history in which it is rooted. In the case of the Line 3 “Replacement” proposal and the resistance movement against it, Anishinaabe land-based histories clash with imposed colonial frameworks that commodify land and resources for profit. In this chapter, I unpack the imposed frameworks and systems of Settler Colonialism, Racial Capitalism, and Environmental Racism and apply them to this struggle as representative of the systems at play against Indigenous communities all over Turtle Island. Then, I explore the chosen frameworks and systems of Native Sovereignty, Land-Based frameworks, and Indigenous Feminism through the pedagogy of distinct Indigenous scholars in conversation. These frameworks, both imposed and chosen, can guide our understanding of the context in which the Line 3 proposal process plays out and in which multiple forms of Anishinaabe-led resistance ignite.

Imposed: Settler Colonialism, Racial Capitalism, and Environmental Racism

The narratives used to justify Line 3, which come from Enbridge and other supporters of the pipeline, result from embedded systems upon which the U.S. nation-state was founded. These systems, including settler colonialism and racial capitalism detailed below, produce resulting frameworks that commodify land as a resource through the lens of private property. Allotting land in this way, both for settler gains and as forced onto many tribal nations in the General Allotment Act, directly opposes land-based frameworks held by the Anishinaabe and many other

Indigenous nations that characterizes the land and all that lives on her as living beings with self-determination. It is essential that the hegemonic frameworks that pervade the current colonial system are not assumed to be natural but rather are deconstructed, questioned, and compared with alternative frameworks of knowledge.

In any research on axes of indigeneity, one must recognize the ongoing impacts of colonialism and engage a decolonial framework. This framework critiques colonialism as an ongoing structure of domination over Indigenous peoples to take land and resources, while centering Indigenous knowledge in dismantling colonial systems (Steinman 2016; Tuck and Yang 2012). A history of *settler colonialism* specifically (as opposed to other forms of colonialism) gives context to the Line 3 resistance as a force of applied sovereignty. Lorenzo Veracini distinguishes settler colonialism as a specific form of domination that includes narratives of independence, freedom, and a dominant polity on the part of the incoming settler majority with a focus on the occupation of *land*. This differs from forms of colonialism impacting other nations, where a dominating power controls an Indigenous majority to mine resources and labor without a large settling presence (Veracini 2010). As Andrea Smith further complicates in her piece *Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy*, white supremacy is implicated in and upheld by the logic of genocide enabled through (settler) colonialism where “[indigenous peoples] must always be disappearing, in order to allow non-indigenous peoples rightful claim over this land” (Smith 2006). The pillar of colonialism/genocide lies within a triad including capitalism/slavery and orientalism/war, which Smith argues are the foundations and ongoing methods of heteropatriarchy and white supremacy. She and other scholars in critical race and feminist studies point out the fundamental differences

between these pillars, so while capitalism depends on labor and utilizes Blackness, colonialism depends on land and invisibilizes Indigeneity.

The work of Enbridge and other corporations forcing environmentally destructive projects on native lands, in failing to consult Indigenous peoples or honor their rights of sovereignty and self-determination, is implicated within and supports the notion that Indigenous peoples cease to exist. Smith notes that this imaginary absence “reinforces, at every turn, the conviction that Native peoples are indeed vanishing and that the conquest of Native lands is justified,” a narrative that has been ingrained in the US settler understanding since the founding of the US nation-state itself (Smith 2006). Pipeline projects such as the Line 3 “Replacement” serve as another justification to appropriate land from First Nations, extract resources to be used for profit, and subject Indigenous people to deal with the toxic consequences.

Most pipeline routes go through Native people’s treaty territory in what is known as Canada and the United States, including both the old and new Line 3 routes. While the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which many organizing groups pressured the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission to create, recognized the “disproportionate and adverse impacts” the new Line 3 “Replacement” route would have on Anishinaabe communities, the Environmental Justice section (Chapter 11) deemed this injustice not enough of a reason to deny the permit (Minnesota Department of Commerce 2017b). This conclusion follows written acknowledgement that any of Enbridge’s proposed routes, including the preferred route and backup routes listed, would have negative disproportionate impacts to tribal resources, tribal identity, and tribal health compounded with lasting historical trauma and structural racism, leaving Anishinaabe communities to wonder if this process is merely performative and why their well-being is not

regarded as more important than the short-term benefits of another pipeline in the eyes of the state (Minnesota Department of Commerce 2017b).

This specific targeting of Native lands as sites for profit is indicative of the term *racial capitalism*, where capital harnesses systemic racism to exploit the difference that racism creates.

Within a neoliberal state and oil export economy, corporations act as an arm of the state to enable a free market model of minority and poor populations serving the wealthy elite. Pulido provides an example of racial capitalism in the Flint water crisis writing, “the devaluation of Black (and other nonwhite) bodies has been a central feature of global capitalism for centuries and creates a landscape of differential value which can be harnessed in diverse ways to facilitate the accumulation of more power and profit than would otherwise be possible” (Pulido 2016).

These stories come together to show how Black, Latinx, and Indigenous communities differentially targeted by intersecting results of centuries of violence enacted by white supremacy are further extracted under racial capitalism. Throughout the process to push forward Line 3, the devaluation of both Indigenous people’s bodies and their nation’s sovereignty has been used to justify a pipeline that will not provide any economic benefits to the local community at high risk to Anishinaabe health and cultural resilience.

The placement of potentially toxic megaprojects follows patterns of race, class, and other vectors of spatial privilege to target communities whom corporations and state actors deem least valuable and least able to resist. The Energy Justice Network released a report they titled *Targeting “Cerrell” Communities*, which detailed the types of communities targeted by corporations for LULUs (Locally Undesirable Land Use) and explaining which communities are least likely to resist. Communities of so-called northern Minnesota, including both Anishinaabe and non-Native land owners, fit many of the descriptors as least likely to resist as defined by the

corporation Cerrell. These include: Midwestern communities, rural communities, open to *promises* of economic benefits, republican, high school or less education, low income, and “nature exploitative occupations” such as farming and mining (Energy Justice Network 1984). Beyond this report however, patterns of targeting poor, Black, Hispanic, Appalachian, and Native American communities have been abundantly clear and termed together as methods of *environmental racism*.

The confluence of imposed systems and frameworks of settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and environmental racism play out in the prioritization of corporate and state benefits over Anishinaabe treaty rights, cultural resources, and community health. Alternate chosen frameworks based in resilience, resurgence, and alliance contextualize the forms of resistance that have emerged.

Chosen: Frameworks of Native Sovereignty, the Land, and Indigenous Feminism

Established Indigenous scholars’ writings on forms of decolonization provide critical context to Anishinaabe land defense tactics against Line 3. I draw from the works of Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Taiaiake Alfred, Glen Sean Coulthard, Eve Tuck, and Winona LaDuke, among others to analyze traditional and resurging frameworks based in sovereignty and the land. Their multifaceted work establishes that Indigenous-led resistance to settler occupation, the destruction of land, and extraction of resources roots decolonizing methods in cultural resurgence and sovereignty of Indigenous nations. Anishinaabe tactics of resistance to Enbridge’s Pipeline 3 “Replacement” Project specifically can be better understood in context with these chosen frameworks established as methods of resistance to settler colonial forms explained above.

The term decolonization has spread into mainstream scholarly discourse to refer to methods of incorporating native pedagogy into organizations, schools, and societies to improve upon them. In their piece “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” Tuck and Yang denounce this reformist use of the term decolonization as a form of co-optation that upholds settler colonialism. They write,

Because settler colonialism is built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave, the decolonial desires of white, non-white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people, can similarly be entangled in resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation that actually further settler colonialism. The metaphorization of decolonization makes possible a set of evasions, or “settler moves to innocence”, that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity. (Tuck and Yang 2012, p. 1)

While Tuck and Yang focus on the (ab)use of the word decolonization specifically, the reformist use of this anti-colonial term applies to the current discourse in Native communities that emphasizes a politics of recognition. As Glen Coulthard expresses in his book *Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, this goal of mutual recognition including relationship as a nation, right to self-government, decision making about how resources will be used, and cultural rights is settled *within* settler state frameworks rather than opposed to them (Coulthard 2014). He warns against allowing understandings of self, rights, and actions to be structures on settler conceptualizations and constrained by settler governments, “the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend” (Coulthard 2014, p. 3). He and many other Native scholars push their communities to go beyond the politics of recognition to refocus on protection of land and Indigenous ways of life. As has been previously established, the primary goal of settler colonialism is “access to territory,” and the structural elimination of Indigenous people has

worked to provide settlers with access to land (Wolfe 2006, p. 388). Therefore, if resistance to settler colonialism does not center land defense, merely the recognition that Indigenous nations exist, it upholds the settler colonial framework.

As Indigenous communities work beyond a politics of recognition, sovereignty and self-determination of Indigenous nations must remain foundationally liberative, as both a way of knowing and an actionable reality. Under settler colonialism, settler states give themselves ultimate power over colonized land bases despite theoretical recognition of the rights of Indigenous nations to self-determination. This has been evident in the disregard for the treaty rights of Anishinaabe communities whose lands would be at risk with the construction of the Line 3 “Replacement.” Indigenous sovereignty is thus intrinsically tied to the land and their ability to defend it. Tuck expresses that sovereignty goes beyond just a right but rather is an epistemology,

Sovereignty encapsulates what I know about knowing, where knowing comes from and goes to, how knowledge stretches and rises, even and because of the punching down. It is not just internal however, not a state of mind, but a *real thing*, a lived thing that through the treaties, through the apologies, through our survivance, through the reconfigurations, removals, and repatriations is still unrecognized. (Tuck 2009)

In this way, sovereignty lives as an active reality that Indigenous peoples not only have self-determination but continue to use it in both knowledge and actions, a dangerous message to settler colonial powers. Indigenous people all over the world are using their sovereignty, their self-determination, to actively resist ongoing land encroachment and resource extraction from settler states. Intertwined with sovereignty and resistance, Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor contributes the term survivance as a way of life which nourishes Indigenous ways of knowing, “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and

victimry” (Vizenor 2008). Essential to the foundations of liberative scholarship, sovereignty must not be minimized to mean a right to self-governance, but also a political, spiritual, and cultural resurgence based in the land, belonging to it, and ability to protect it (Barker 2006; Alfred 2005).

Central to processes of decolonization—alongside upholding sovereignty through resistance to settler encroachment—lies resurgence of Indigenous knowledges and cultural resilience. As many Indigenous scholars express, Indigenous knowledge and identity directly come from the land and the relationship between Indigenous peoples and their specific territories (Simpson 2014; TallBear 2002). Battell Lowman and Barker write on the differences between settler and Indigenous relationships to land,

Land in the context of Indigenous cultures and colonial appropriation is far more than *property* or *territory*. It is the water, the air, the living things like plants and animals and the rocks and earth that have thoughts of their own, and the spirits that bind all of it—including people—together. (Battell Lowman and Barker 2016).

Settler colonialism, through displacement, assimilation policies, and capitalist frameworks, has worked to destroy Native relationships to land, and taken its toll on the intergenerational transmission of language, cultural practices, stories, and knowledge of original lands. However, many Indigenous nations and people are working through the decolonizing process of resurgence, grounded in the “regeneration of Indigenous languages, oral cultures, and traditions of governance” (Simpson 2001, 2011). Simpson writes that for her, this includes using the Nishnaabeg language, telling Creation Stories, going on walks with Elders and children, engaging in celebrations and protests, and meditating on her experience to show that “resurgence is our original instruction” (Simpson 2011). The resurgence of Indigenous culture, identity, and relationality, while not defined by its relation against settler colonialism, directly subverts its tactics of elimination and invisibilization of Indigenous land and life. Taiaiake Alfred calls for a

practical decolonization of the individual through creating a connection to the land and each other, thus restoring what was taken (Alfred 2005).

Many people forget that all of Turtle Island is Indigenous land, including cities and places of natural destruction. Simpson expresses a need to continue relationships with these places,

It doesn't matter if there is a national park or a city or a mine or a reserve on top of it, it's Indigenous land because Indigenous peoples have relationships to it... We have a system of maintaining a connection to the land despite settler colonialism, and settler surveillance, and criminalization and all of those components of colonialism that serve to dispossess us of our land. (Ritskes 2014)

She argues that not only does resurgence happen within Indigenous people, it happens in the relationship between them and their land, in itself a tool of resistance. Coulthard adds to this work through his expression of Indigenous anticolonialism as “deeply informed by what the land as a system of reciprocal relations and obligations can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms” (Coulthard 2014, p. 13). The ultimate refusal of settler colonialism, and its creation racial capitalism, is not through competing domination but through *nondomination* in relations with each other and the natural world. He writes, “for Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die. And for capitalism to die, we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it” (Coulthard 2014, p. 173). These scholars call for a denial of the current system and the creative envisioning needed to construct an alternative that rejects domination. Bringing this back to the resistance against Line 3, Anishinaabe people reject both the domination of settler powers over the land and their self-determination. While a variety of groups reject the pipeline itself, they also construct visions of alternative solutions coming from the land, from alternative energy solutions to returning to traditional lifeways.

Even through key concepts of sovereignty based in the land, Indigenous scholars argue that for resurgence to be long and lasting, it must include feminist analysis. In Anishinaabe-led resistance against Line 3 and the countless other cases of Indigenous-led land defense, Indigenous women specifically have upheld the movement and centered resistance in the ultimate cultural resilience of their respective peoples. Historically, movements against environmental destruction including this one against Line 3 have been led by Indigenous women as they have been traditionally coded as water protectors (McGregor 2013). Anishinaabe scholar Dory Nason explains how the deep love and protection by Indigenous women has led to their targeting, “Indigenous women’s love is countered in patriarchal settler colonialist societies—with epidemic levels of violence, sexual assault, imprisonment and cultural and political disempowerment” (Dory Nason 2013).

One major concern that Line 3 resisters have voiced against the project has been the “man camps” which are set up along the project route. These camps are sites for temporary pipeline workers, usually all men who are not allowed to bring their families, and come with associated impacts including sex trafficking and sexual abuse in local communities (NCAI Policy Research Center 2016). The disproportionate impacts of man camps on Native communities is depicted in the movement to recognize missing and murdered Indigenous women and the firm stance against man camps by Line 3 and other pipeline resisters (Secwepemc Assembly 2017). One Makwa water protector released a statement regarding this threat to Indigenous community resilience,

The project is already bringing violence to our land and our women and children. We know that with these man camps comes increased levels of drugs, rape, and missing and murdered indigenous women. Enbridge will not take no for an answer so we have to stop them. We want to make clear in no uncertain terms, Enbridge is not welcome in Minnesota. (Makwa Initiative 2017).

Man camps and other forms of colonial occupation demand Native feminist and queer critique through centering the work of Indigenous women and Two-Spirit⁷ folks. While there is little existing work on Two-Spirit folks in the movement against Line 3 or environmental justice movements specifically, many express how Two-Spirit communities embody resistance to the colonization of both the land and body (Suzack 2015).

These movements demand a real critique of the impacts of colonial patriarchy on gender in Indigenous communities themselves. Ample scholarship exists on the gendered history of colonialism, which formed lasting impacts on pre-colonial gender roles enforcing assimilation and domination by an imposed European state (Leigh 2009; Oliver et al. 2015). With colonization in Canada, settler dominating powers imposed patriarchal policy that only enabled Indigenous men to become citizens and access state power, while permeating gender roles into the household through marriage and family (Leigh 2009). Leigh discusses how pre-colonial conceptions of gender enabled mobility between gender roles and inclusion of two-spirit (having both masculine and feminine), but assimilation policies benefited strict western conceptions of biological sex determinism (Leigh 2009). Capitalism and a wage labor system enforced these gender roles through enabling men to become heads of households while women joined in domestic labor, a concept rejected by many Indigenous communities (Leigh, 2009). These imposed gender roles over pre-colonial roles specific to each nation has shifted how gender is conceived and performed in Indigenous communities today. Clearly, feminist intervention is needed not only to combat projects putting Indigenous women at risk, but also to decolonize gender within Indigenous communities themselves. Coulthard argues that ultimately this

⁷ “Two-Spirit” is an umbrella term to refer to those traditionally filling a “third gender” or “gender variant” role in their communities.

intervention must work for “a resurgent politics of recognition that seeks to practice decolonial, gender emancipatory, and economically nonexploitative alternative structures of law and sovereign authority grounded on a critical refashioning of the best of Indigenous legal and political traditions” (Coulthard 2014). The application of Indigenous feminism within the movement against Line 3 lies not only within the Anishinaabekwe leaders, but beyond as land-defense and resurgence must incorporate Native feminism for liberation to be possible.

In creative visioning of the future comes the question of the role of settlers in this process. While this content refers to settlers as all non-Indigenous people settling on Native land, scholars continue to question the term settler used for those forced to live on Native land such as historically enslaved and diasporic communities. Many argue that the uniform term “settler” obscures differential histories and privileges among non-Natives, reinforcing white supremacy (Scott L. Morgensen 2014). The question of native-settler alliance remains hotly debated, especially within active circles on the frontlines of land-defense, as organizers worry about further co-optation of movements. In her work however, Winona LaDuke says she “works in the space between Indigenous and enlightened settler” to work towards our collective future, advocating for a return to knowing who we *all* are, and ultimately stating that “alliance helps the battle succeed” (Zoltán Grossman 2017, Introduction). LaDuke and many other Anishinaabe leaders in the fight against Line 3 establish alliances with non-native landowners, farmers, and settler allies generally to form a strong multi-faceted opposition to the pipeline. I explore which tactics of resistance include settler allies and which do not in Chapter 3.

While this section could be seen as a theoretical background, I urge readers to remember that settler colonialism and its implications have produced real disastrous changes in the land and lives of *all* people living under it, native and settler alike. All settlers do not benefit equally from

the settler-colonial state, as it is intertwined within white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy, and anti-colonial movements must also actively combat other forms of racialized, classes, and gendered oppression (Unsettling Minnesota 2009). This takes massive transformation of the state in political, legal, cultural, social, and economic spheres which can be seen in the multi-tactical resistance efforts to Line 3 (Coulthard 2014). This transformation depends on reclaiming the land, and as Coulthard explains, “this requires Indigenous bodies on the land, protecting sacred spaces, and demanding and living alternatives” (Coulthard 2014). Anishinaabe people currently resist by putting their bodies between Enbridge’s bulldozers and their traditional territories, while others organize their communities and fight in Minnesota’s courts. The fight against Enbridge’s Line 3 “Replacement” Project makes ripples beyond the impact of one pipeline to the multi-faceted resistance against settler colonialism itself rooted in the resurgence of Indigenous land and life.

Chapter 3: Methods of Indigenous Resistance to Line 3

i redrew the maps those old ones kept tucked away in their bones. i took these notes:
how to pluck the feathers off a goose
how to roast a duck on an open fire
how to block the cnr lines
how to live as if it mattered

—Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg, Decolonial Love*, 2013.

Indigenous-led resistance to megaprojects all over Turtle Island are not only acts aimed to protect the land, but ultimately work to dismantle settler colonialism through native sovereignty and resurgence. This battle for the right to self-determination of lands and peoples manifests in the range of tactics utilized within these resistances. Beyond tactics specific to each breach of sovereignty, from legal battles to direct action to protest, Anishinaabe communities utilize tactics that bolster the resilience of broader Anishinaabe identity through language revitalization, food sovereignty efforts, and ceremony (Winona LaDuke 1999). These forms of resistance, including through law/policy, community organizing, divestment, ceremony, art, music, and direct action are founded in decolonial frameworks and utilize Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy to continue defending relationality with the land and protection of resources from continued occupation (McGregor 2005).

Below, I expand on the range of tactics utilized in the Anishinaabe-led resistance to the Line 3 “Replacement,” rooted in how different groups employ varied frameworks within their tactical repertoires. Different resistance actors use their sometimes conflicting frameworks to follow through with their tactics to resist Line 3. Alliances between tribal governments, non-profit organizations such as Honor the Earth, direct action camps such as Camp Makwa, and landowners along the pipeline route have resulted in varied approaches to resistance, both through utilizing the logics of settler colonialism and directly rejecting them. While their short-term goals may be the same (to #StopLine3 as shown in the hashtag used in social

media campaigns), the long-term implications could be very different depending on their tactics. So far in this resistance, and a pattern mirrored in resistances to other extraction projects, the tactics used form an escalation process beginning with those that work to uphold the current system, such as law and policy work, and end in direct action that directly opposes settler colonial domination. Other methods fall between these two extremes, including many forms of community organizing work and constructing alternative future solutions.

It has been difficult for me to classify each tactic under certain categories (long-term resilience vs short-term resistance, within the system vs against the system, external target vs internal movement building, strategy-oriented vs identity-oriented, etc.) because different groups use methods such as ceremony, music, and art for very different purposes. Instead, I work to describe the many ways in which each method has been used in the Line 3 resistance and how they relate to the frameworks analyzed in Chapter 2. Just as Enbridge and other corporations push through their projects with a variety of tactics, including politically, socially, economically, and physically, those defending the land must do the same. Below, I describe categories of tactics of resistance that I have created through my own experience organizing against Line 3 last summer and information from those who have filled me in ever since. While this list is by no means comprehensive, I hope that it stands as indicative of the core organizing tactics reflected in the Line 3 resistance at this moment.

Law and Policy

I begin with working within law and policy as the first method of resistance because it is often the first tactic used or expected to be used. While this method tends to be conformist

and reformist at best, it does have value in halting Enbridge and other companies through the enactment of laws that check power of profit. As described in Chapter 1, the Line 3 “Replacement” Project regulatory process, which I target as within law and policy, has facilitated the creation of an Environmental Impact Statement with input from affected communities in a seemingly democratic process. The state did not envision these practices out of the blue, but rather required pressure from environmental groups to engage in creating an EIS (Honor the Earth 2017a). Ideally, policies surrounding mega-projects and other high-risk changes to the landscape would warrant thorough input and decision-making power of all those who would be affected. Even though the Minnesota State governing bodies performatively consulted Anishinaabe communities through a series of public comment periods between the DEIS and the FEIS and then after the FEIS was established (see Timeline Appendix), not only were they not given any decision-making power in the process, their comments were not even incorporated into the FEIS (Minnesota Department of Commerce 2017a, 2017b, 2017d, 2017e). From this instance, it has been clear that working within existing law and policy to appeal for justice is not in the interests of the state and will not result in success alone.

As treaties, typified into law, have been broken at the hands of the United States government again and again, settler colonialism has again shown its hypocrisy (Stark 2010). In the case of Line 3 regulation and in other cases under settler colonialism, the state intentionally does not grant power to affected communities as this would undercut the settler colonial project. Law under settler colonialism has been the means to further settler colonialism to benefit the descendants of the original settlers, and reformist tactics can only go so far. Even so, resisters have worked to find the hypocrisies present within existing law

to show its vulnerability, whether that be in broken treaties or in the state's failures in upholding its own regulatory processes. Tribal governments and non-profits such as Honor the Earth and environmental organizations continue to use processes in law and policy to demand a process of accountability at the hands of the state. For example, a group of thirteen youth calling themselves the Youth Climate Interveners petitioned Judge Ann O'Reilly to be given full status as a formal intervening party and were granted to do so in July, meaning they have joined environmental groups and tribal governments with expanded rights in the process (Honor the Earth 2017b). Even as they use the law as one tactic, understanding the context of settler colonialism has ensured that no groups are relying solely on the law as a force of justice, but rather create a variety within their tactical repertoire.

Community Organizing

A multi-nodal tactic in itself, community organizing works as both a political and social tool to create alliances in large numbers and show public dissent to Line 3. Non-profit organizations, landowners, and direct action camps all use different forms of community organizing to rally the public to support the resistance and show up against Line 3. Sometimes at the same time as working within state-led initiatives, community organizing can serve to trick or overwhelm the law in ways that are technically legal to show the hypocrisy of the law itself. Two similar forms of community organizing can be compared in response to the public comment periods after the FEIS was released, one conducted by non-profit organizations allied with landowners, and another by a direct action camp, the Makwa Initiative. Non-profit organizations organized with Anishinaabe community members, local landowners, farmers, schools, and businesses to come out against the inadequate FEIS and

the Line 3 “Replacement,” overwhelming the capacity of the space and time allotted to the meetings (Honor the Earth 2017a). The Makwa Initiative shut down the hearings in Duluth facilitated by Judge O’Reilly after she repeatedly refused to let Indigenous women speak while allowing white Enbridge workers to talk multiple times (Tribune 2017). A statement by Honor the Earth after the shutdown stated, “For five years, the Anishinaabe have been working very hard to use a process we do not trust. We all feel like we have been staring down the barrel of a pipeline coming toward our territories” (Tribune 2017). A Makwa water protector said,

Enbridge doesn’t have their permits for Minnesota and they have already started chopping trees down for their easement and filling its pipe storage yards. We went to the public hearings and found them full to the brim with Enbridge employees who were paid to be there. We fought again and again just to have 3 minutes to speak (Makwa Initiative 2017).

As they wrote, it seems that Enbridge has done their fair share of community organizing to get enough people at the hearings for the pipeline. Makwa claims their money has gone farther than the pockets of their supporters, stating that Judge O’Reilly herself works on a firm representing multiple oil companies including Speedway, Marathon, Super America, and Sinclair (Makwa Initiative 2017). They use social media to expose the corruption present within the regulatory process, a form of digital community organizing educating Makwa’s vast network of updates and keeping followers from all over the world engaged.

A tactic that includes the use of community organizing, divestment targets oil and energy corporations through their funders including banks and their investors internationally. A coalition of environmental and Indigenous groups forms a strong front to pressure banks to divest from tar sands projects, currently targeting the funders of TransCanada’s Keystone XL (KXL), Kinder Morgan’s Trans Mountain, and Enbridge’s Line 3 (Mazaska Talks 2017). Twelve environmental and Indigenous groups from all over the world came together to create a comprehensive report on

the banks funding these projects called *Funding Tar Sands: Private Banks vs. the Paris Climate Agreement*, analyzing the investment and policies of each bank (“Funding Tar Sands: Private Banks vs. the Paris Climate Agreement” 2017). *Figure 4* depicts the 2017 proposed tar sands pipelines meant to export Alberta Tar Sands to refineries and often to an international market, two of which (Enbridge’s Northern Gateway and TransCanada’s Energy East) have been overturned due to sufficient resistance on the part of organized Indigenous groups in Canada and globally. The report cites the banks funding Line 3 originating from the US, Canada, Europe and Asia, including US banks Bank of America, Citi, Huntington, JPMorgan Chase, Morgan Stanley, and Wells Fargo (“Funding Tar Sands: Private Banks vs. the Paris Climate Agreement” 2017).

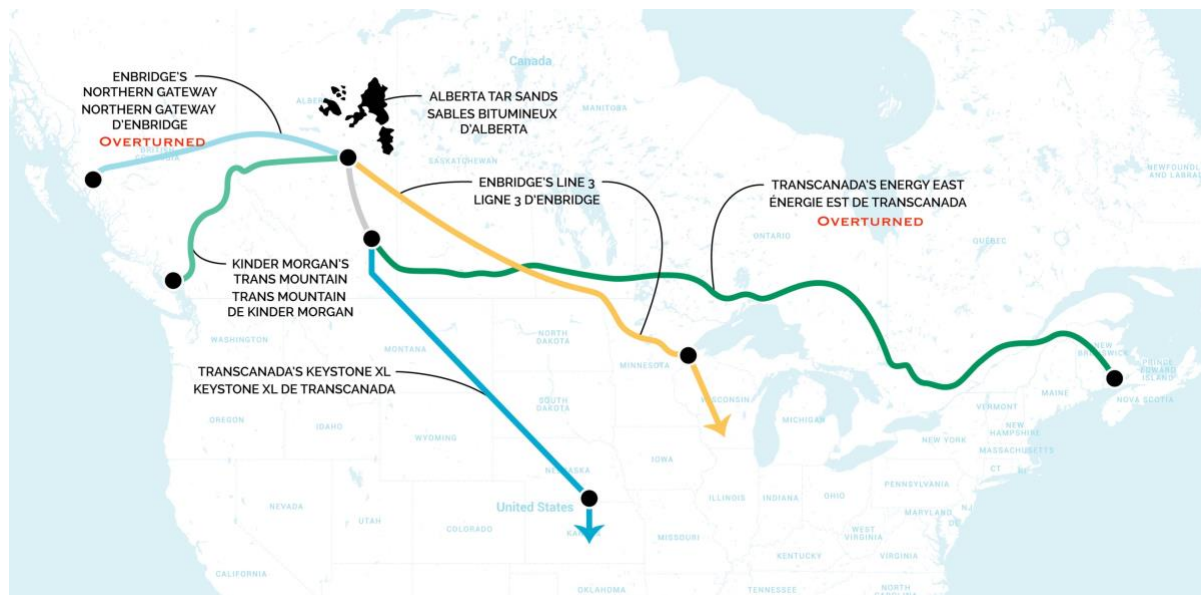


Figure 4 Proposed and Overturned Tar Sands Pipelines, 2017

Compared to other resistance tactics listed here that work in a variety of settings and scales, the divestment movement for Line 3 must be large-scale, global, and interconnected with other pipeline fights for enough pressure to build and create real financial impact on these multi-billion dollar banks. Amazingly, the divestment against pipelines has impacted banks decisions! Not only have many banks globally begun ending relationships with oil companies, US Bank just

recently rewrote its environmental policy to state that it would no longer be funding any pipeline projects, and Wells Fargo closed over 400 branches following intense targeting by the Dakota Access Pipeline divestment movement (MN350 2017; Matt Egan 2017). While divestment itself lies within the dominant capitalist frameworks as it depends on moving large sums of money, it also speaks to the denial of big banks controlling people's lives and destinies. Perhaps community divestment from these systems of power, financially and *symbolically*, must occur for an alternative future to be creatively constructed.

Ceremony and Tradition

Anishinaabe resistance to Line 3 centralizes active resurgence to imaging collective futures free of domination and flourishing in traditional land-based knowledge. Adapting and resurging traditional knowledges and ceremony are used both in resisting Line 3 in the short term and in defending the land over the course of generations. I include forms of Anishinaabe ceremony and prayer alongside language revitalization and food sovereignty because they are tools from the ancestors and for future generations, building resilience for the Anishinaabe community of the future beyond the fate of Line 3. This form of resistance happens on a relational level, between people, the land, and the spiritual world. It is not for me to explain this relationship wholly, but I can provide examples of how prayer intersects with community organizing and direct action tactics within this fight.

Honor the Earth puts on an annual *Love Water Not Oil* spirit horse ride, riding with what they respectfully call Horse Nation in prayer along the pipelines running through their traditional territory against the current of the oil. I speak of this ride purely from personal experience, as I was given the job to organize logistics for a solidarity ride against Line 66 in Ho-chunk territory

in what is now known as Wisconsin and the Line 3 ride in Anishinaabe territory. Building alliances between Anishinaabe, Dakota, and Lakota people who joined in the ride and brought their horses along, the riders all engaged in community organizing work in towns along the pipeline route. This ride is meant as a ceremony above all else, a ceremony that invites in many groups of people in alliance to fight the black snakes⁸ running through the land. This work fueled a burst in education along the pipeline routes and nationally through social media.

Simpson and others advocate for creative envisioning of a liberative future based in the land, an idea which encapsulates another set of methods of resistance, which include language revitalization, food sovereignty, and visioning for future alternatives to oil energy. Although clean energy alternatives like solar and wind power have been headed largely by mainstream environmental organizations, Indigenous groups have embraced these new technologies to merge frameworks of living on the land within a society that depends on energy as it is today. Perhaps these tools are fundamentally reformist in that they mean to provide the energy needed for continued production under settler colonialism, but Anishinaabe communities are using them in tandem with food sovereignty and cultural resurgence. Organizations such as Honor the Earth and other tribal groups develop programs to facilitate resurgence, including a project training Anishinaabekwe in solar panel installation, programs and gardens growing non-GMO traditional food sources, and language and cultural programming. As Simpson expresses in her text *Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation*, traditional teaching pedagogy

⁸ Black snake refers to the Lakota prophecy that says “there will be a great black snake that will run through the land and bring destruction to the people and to the earth.” Many have interpreted this to be the age of pipelines, and the term was brought into use to refer to the Dakota Access Pipeline.

relies on the land to guide and empower young learners. These tactics may seem peripheral to the pipeline struggle, but they demonstrate the need for land defense in cultural resurgence.

Music and Art

Anishinaabe artists and musicians have joined the resistance against Line 3, working to make the conversation both accessible and deeply moving as a tactic of community organizing centering traditional resurgence. Art and music around Line 3, from concert tours to murals to pop-up projections, inhabits the form of representing the struggle as led by Indigenous women for the land and cultural resilience. In ways that other resistance forms cannot, art and music around Line 3 has been deeply radical, calling out state-sanctioned violence boldly and envisioning collective resurgence for a liberative future.

In Nahko's piece *Wash It Away*, which he performed on the Love Water Not Oil spirit ride and concert tour, he sings "my bullets are my words/ and my words are my weapons/ chain me to the pipeline/ for our rivers and mountains, we scream/ today's a good day for my ego to die" (Nahko and Medicine for the People and Leah Song 2014). While Nahko sings directly about physical resistance for the land, Anishinaabekwe performer Annie Humphrey performed her song *Spirit Horses* at the same concert, insinuating the beginnings of collective resurgence and liberation through tradition. She sings, "Mothers, fathers and children/ Creatures young and grown/ Called by mighty drumming/ Of sacred hooves on stone/ The sound of spirit horses/ Dancing on a storm/ Mercy for the people/ Old ways, new dreams reborn" (Annie Humphrey 2000). Other Indigenous performers like Tufawon (who also performed at the Love Water Not Oil tour), Rachel Heaton, Nataanii Means, and Wašté Win Young recently completed a global tour singing in solidarity with Indigenous-led resistances to megaprojects including the current proposed pipeline projects (Mazaska Talks 2017). Performing for audiences of

thousands of fans from all over the world, Indigenous artists work to spread information on the pipeline fights, represent the movements as Indigenous-led struggles for self-determination, and make theoretical frameworks accessible to global audiences.

Visual arts including those housed in galleries and projected on buildings work to extend criticism of hegemonic systems working against Indigenous communities and leadership of Indigenous women in the movement. Non-profit organizations such as Honor the Earth and allied community centers have worked with Indigenous artists to paint murals in their home communities representing resistance work and furthering it. As seen in *Figure 5*, a mural painted by Votan Ik on the side of the American Indian Community Housing Organization (AICHO) in Duluth depicts an Anishinaabekwe water protector meant to honor the missing and murdered Indigenous women as a result of extractive megaprojects (Lisa Kaczke 2017). Beyond semi-permanent artworks such as mural paintings, water protectors from Camp Makwa and other direct action groups have created a series of projections about Line 3, other pipeline projects, Enbridge, Indigenous political prisoners, and others which



Figure 5 AICHO Mural in Duluth

they project on state government buildings and the headquarters of banks funding the pipeline (Makwa Initiative 2017). Indigenous individuals and groups working against Line 3 have worked through a variety of mediums to garner support for the resistance and represent themselves within an ongoing context of resisting settler colonial domination. Through semi-permanent and transient means, art and music have become strong tactics of community organizing and redefinition of resistance centering Indigenous women and resurgence.

Direct Action

Finally, direct action has been a central tactic to the frontlines of land defense resistances all over Turtle Island, from locking down to mining and construction equipment to physically removing and tampering with materials themselves to physically halt projects. In the Line 3 resistance, direct action against the line has grown since this last summer when Enbridge started prepping the land for construction before receiving the required permits. Initially, camps sprang up on many reservations including the Turtle Island Camp on White Earth Reservation, which specialized in traditional harvest and healing from trauma. Currently however, the Makwa Initiative acts as the most prominent direct action camp, located on Fond du Lac Reservation near so-called Duluth. As Enbridge employees clear forest and lay pipe without the necessary permits, Makwa water protectors have engaged a series of direct actions locking down to the equipment to stall construction. Not only does this present a physical barrier for Enbridge, but an economic one as well, because every day the construction is stalled costs the company. Because these forms of direct action often break existing laws that protect private property, groups such as nonprofit organizations and tribal governments do not use tactics of direct action directly as

much as support the camps themselves. In mid-November, folks in Camp Makwa have expressed their frustrations with the non-profit organizations that collect donations on their behalf and accept credit for work done on the frontlines without physically supporting them, but have since appeared to work out their conflicts and work together on various actions (personal conversation). Conflicts between groups on the same side of struggles for land and life often occur because of the settler colonial frameworks within which resistance is situated.

The above various tactics used by various organizing groups often overlap, sometimes do not, and even conflict in opposition with one another based on the foundations of the tactics themselves. Ultimately, analyzing the tactical choices of various groups must both be understood through the short-term resistance to Line 3 and further resistance to settler colonialism broadly. I wonder if opposing tactics could ever be useful together or if a choice needs to be made of which to choose; is direct action against settler colonial encroachment undermined by working within the settler colonial system with tactics of law and policy? In terms of resisting Line 3 itself, a multi-tactical repertoire of resistance has only served to further prove within and outside of the system that the Line should not go through. In the broader and long-term focus of undoing settler colonial systems of domination and replacing them with land-based sovereignty, certain tactics may actually work against ultimate liberation.

An understanding of escalation strategy may pull this discussion out of the binary of “they can work together or they cannot” to show how layered tactics with the same intentions to disrupt and dismantle the settler state could be stronger than any tactic alone or in conflict. No matter which tactic is employed against Line 3, multi-tactical solidarity inherently works to block settler colonial expansion, not to fuel or ignore it. With this common goal, all tools should be used with all groups in conversation centering the impact on the land itself. Thus far in the

Line 3 resistance process, groups have begun to resist the pipeline firstly on the state's terms through advocating for a block on regulatory permits, while *at the same time* community organizing efforts are underway. These efforts train local people for leadership while alerting the world of the struggle on the terms of Indigenous communities, building a contingency ready to move forward towards direct action when the time is ripe. Then, as Enbridge or other corporations move from being merely a political presence to a physical one on the land itself, the community can defend what settler colonial powers continue to subsume. In this way, alliances must be built to share skills and tactics not only to #StopLine3, but to defend Indigenous land and life for all futurity.

Conclusion: Bringing it all Together

Our people and our mother earth can no longer afford to be economic hostages in the race to industrialize our homelands. It's time for our people to rise up and take back our role as caretakers and stewards of the land.

— Eriel Deranger, *Athabasca Chipewyan First Nations, speech at Harvard University*, 2014.

No resistance to settler colonial expansion has been lost completely. While Indigenous-led resistance movements have halted many pipelines, including Enbridge's Sandpiper and Northern Gateway, and TransCanada's Energy East, even the fights against those projects that have been pushed through has strengthened long-term resilience within Native communities.

In solidarity with Indigenous communities fighting for the ability to continue their relationship to land and identity, the multi-tactical resistance against Line 3 led by Anishinaabekwe remains rooted in contextual histories of both colonialism and resurgence. This work should serve as not only a representation of the Line 3 resistance, but also as a story which explains, contextualizes, and analyzes this fight within long-term struggle against ongoing settler colonial domination. As modeled in this piece, systems of domination must be critiqued and destabilized from their narratives *while* futures of resurgence, sovereignty, and healthy relationships with the land must be envisioned.

This multiplicity of decolonial frameworks requires a multi-tactical resistance to contrast the many methods Enbridge and its interests use to push through their project politically, socially, economically, and physically. Tactics moving from within and against existing systems for both short-term resistance and long-term resilience attack the heart of beast at different angles. Ultimately, the resistance against Line 3 must be rooted in the long-term battle for native sovereignty and self-determination in defense of the land and future generations.

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Appendices: Line 3 Interactive Map and Timelines and Resources for Unsettling Settlers

Line 3 Interactive Map and Timelines

Interactive Line 3 Map: <https://tinyurl.com/Line3InteractiveMap>

Interactive Line 3 Regulatory Process Timeline: <https://mn.gov/puc/line3/>

Line 3 Resistance Timeline below from <https://www.stopline3.org/>

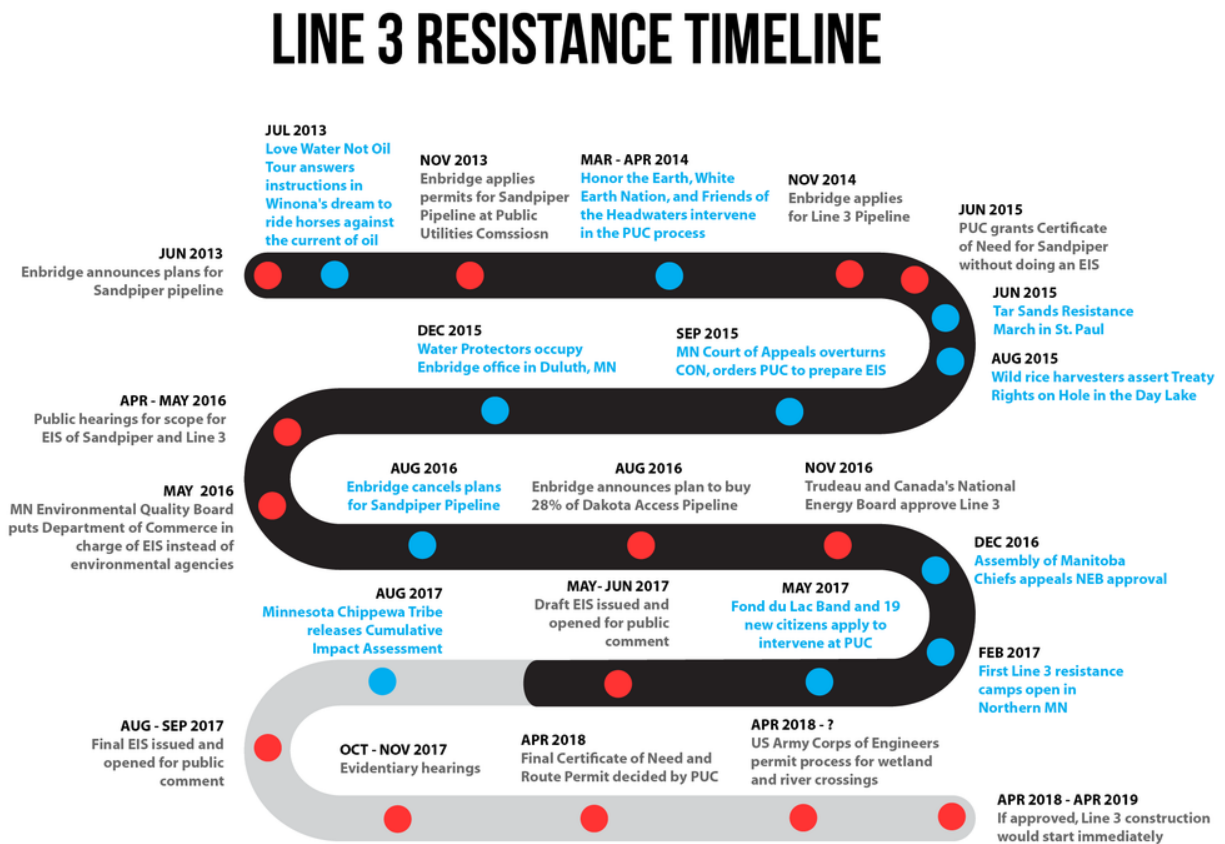


Figure 6 Line 3 Resistance Timeline

Resources for Unsettling Settlers

Unsettling Ourselves Sourcebook by *Unsettling Minnesota*: <https://tinyurl.com/UnsettlingMN>

Decolonize video by Charlotte Hughes (me!): <https://tinyurl.com/DecolonizeVideo>