

# **UCLA**

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Bessner, Daniel  
et al.

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2017



**TEACH  
ORGANIZE  
RESIST**

*Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin*



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*Institute on Inequality and Democracy at  
UCLA Luskin, 2017.*

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Teach.Organize.Resist. logo by Eden McNutt.*

# ***TEACH. ORGANIZE. RESIST.***

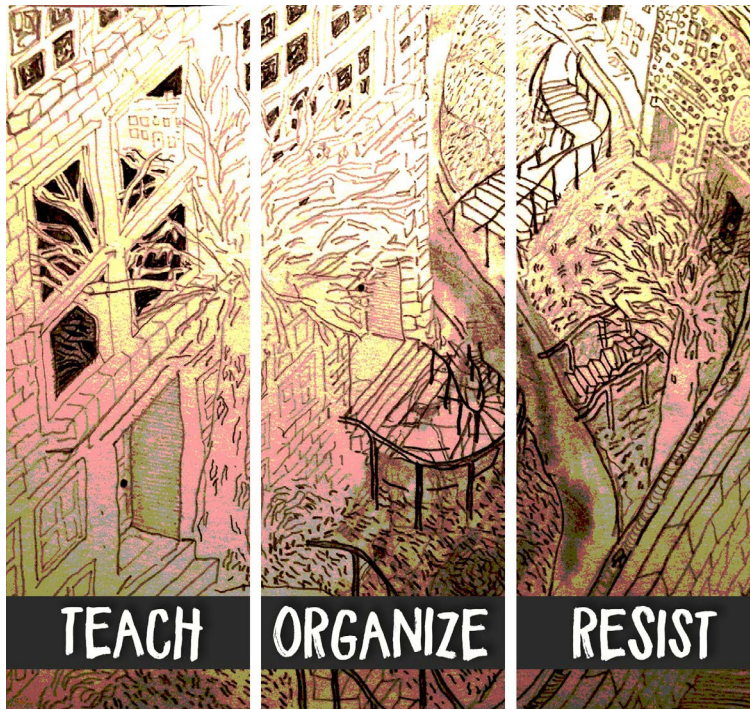
*A collection of work produced from the  
#J18 day of collective action on January 18, 2017*

*Andrés Carrasquillo, Editor*



**INSTITUTE ON  
INEQUALITY AND  
DEMOCRACY**  
*at UCLA Luskin*





The Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin thanks all #J18 participants for their efforts in organizing actions on that day. At UCLA, the call for Teach.Organize.Resist. was a partnership with UCLA RAVE (Resistance Against Violence Through Education), Department of African American Studies, Department of Asian American Studies, Department of Chicana/o Studies, Institute of American Cultures, Justice Work Group, LGBTQ Studies, UCLA Labor Center, and the Undercommons.

The idea for #J18 came out of a collaboration between Joan Donovan, Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute for Society and Genetics, UCLA; Cristina Barrera, Communications and Community Outreach Associate, Institute on Inequality and Democracy, UCLA Luskin; Jocelyn Guihama, Deputy Director, Institute on Inequality and Democracy, UCLA Luskin; and Ananya Roy, Director, Institute on Inequality and Democracy, UCLA Luskin. Special thanks go to the Communications team at UCLA Luskin for their photography and story-telling. This curation was conceptualized and implemented by Andrés Carrasquillo, Master's student in Urban and Regional Planning at UCLA. We owe much gratitude to Eden McNutt for generously sharing his artwork as the logo for Teach.Organize.Resist.

# TEACH ORGANIZE

- 4 An Introduction and Invitation  
*Ananya Roy, Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin*
- 6 #J18 as a Methodology  
*Andrés Carrasquillo, UCLA*
- 10 Posters from #J18

## ***On Trumpism***

- 22 And Neither Nazi, nor neoliberal, but what? Coming to terms with Trumpism and the challenges for democracy.  
*Daniel Bessner and Matt Sparke, University of Washington*
- 38 UN-PRESIDENTED (sic): Covering the Transition 11/8/16-1/20/17  
*Richard Hebdige, University of California, Santa Barbara*
- 44 Real News, Fake News, and Why the Difference Matters  
*Janet O'Shea, UCLA*
- 48 A Journal from Trumpland: Teach! Organize! Resist!  
*Laure Murat, UCLA*

## ***Reimaginings***

- 54 Anti-Racist Struggle: Past, Present, Future  
*Malini Ranganathan, American University, Washington, DC*
- 58 Local Politics of Immigration  
*Helga Leitner, UCLA*
- 66 #J18 Reflection and Notes from Skid Row, Los Angeles, CA  
*Marcia Hale, UCLA*
- 72 CONTRA-TRUMP: THREE QUESTIONS  
*Craig Reinerman, University of California, Santa Cruz*
- 80 What does freedom in education look like to you?  
*The Undercommons and The Debt Collective, UCLA*
- 82 Envisioning Compassionate Cities: An urban planning workshop  
*Dave Shukla, UCLA*
- 84 Methods in Social Justice Research. An Assignment for CPLN 505: Planning by Numbers  
*Megan Ryerson, PennDesign*
- 92 *Jeff Chang, Stanford University, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice*

# RESIST

## *Art as Resistance*

- 96 Listening in Hard Times: Music for Struggle and Solace  
*Samuel N. Dorf, University of Dayton*
- 104 Solidarity Sing-Along  
*Shana L. Redmond, UCLA*
- 106 Slave Theater in the Roman Republic  
*Amy Richlin, UCLA*
- 112 “Madre Tierra” and “Crumble”  
*Maya Jupiter*
- 118 “Crossing” and “Juárez”  
*Erika L. Sánchez*
- 124 “MAKE AMERICA GREAT? On the Illegitimate Inauguration of 45  
*Bryonn Bain, UCLA*
- 128 The Immortals: Beach Trash  
*Filomena Cruz, UCLA*
- 130 Rally for Inclusion and Tolerance  
*University of Southern California*
- 136 *Peter Sellars, UCLA, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice*

## *Statements of Value*

- 140 *Patrisse Cullors, #BlackLivesMatter, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice*
- 142 AND NOW: Architecture Against a Developer Presidency  
*The Avery Review*
- 146 Statement on Educational Values and Professional Responsibilities  
*University of California, Santa Cruz*
- 150 Calarts Sanctuary Campus Declaration  
*California Institute of the Arts*
- 152 UCSB Faculty Association Dear Colleague Letter  
*University of California, Santa Barbara*
- 156 PennDesign Social Justice Working Group Mission Statement  
*PennDesign*
- 158 “I Stand For” Photobooth  
*CAP UCLA and Student Committee for the Arts*
- 164 Remarks by Ilse Escobar  
*Ilse Escobar*



***Teach.***  
***Organize.***  
***Resist.***  
***An Introduction***  
***and Invitation***

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**T**he Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin, launched in February 2016, seeks to organize knowledge to challenge inequality, especially the entrenched color-lines of the 21st century. Through academic research, and in alliance with social justice movements, we create scholarship, art, and collective action to tackle divides and dispossessions in global Los Angeles and in cities around the world.

In November 2016, in the wake of a presidential election in the United States that ratified various forms of exclusion, including white nationalism, the Institute expanded its mission to build power to challenge state-sponsored violence against targeted bodies and communities. In particular we became concerned with the role of the university on the front-lines of resistance against Trumpism.

With this in mind, the Institute issued a call, Teach.Organize.Resist., on the occasion of the presidential inauguration. January 18, or #J18, became a day of education and protest at various universities and colleges in the United States and beyond.

Through lectures, assemblies, musical performance, and artistic practice, #J18 is a collective insistence that places of teaching and learning will not bear silent witness to oppression and hate. Made up of a multitude of actions, nearly 100 of them, at multiple locations, from American University in Washington D.C. to the University of California, Santa Cruz, from the Sapienza University of Rome to the National University of Singapore, from the Skid Row History Museum in downtown Los Angeles to the University of Dayton, #J18 is a pedagogy of resistance.

As the world marks 100 days of #45 in the White House, we share this curation of #J18 activities to commemorate and continue the project of Teach.Organize.Resist. We do so to refuse the normalization of Trumpism. We do so to insist on the academic freedom to examine regimes of power and structures of intolerance. We do so to forge imaginations of abolitionism, civil disobedience, and human freedom. We do so, as James Baldwin reminded us, to shake the dungeon and leave behind our chains.

The collection includes homework assignments, academic essays, artwork, poems, freedom songs, video clips of talks and theater, posters, and more. They allow us to analyze Trumpism, to articulate practices of resistance, to expand our curriculum, and to state our values. We invite you to read and share, and most of all we invite you to join the work of Teach.Organize.Resist.

***Ananya Roy***

*Professor of Urban Planning, Social Welfare, and Geography*

*Director, Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin*



# *#J18 as a Method*

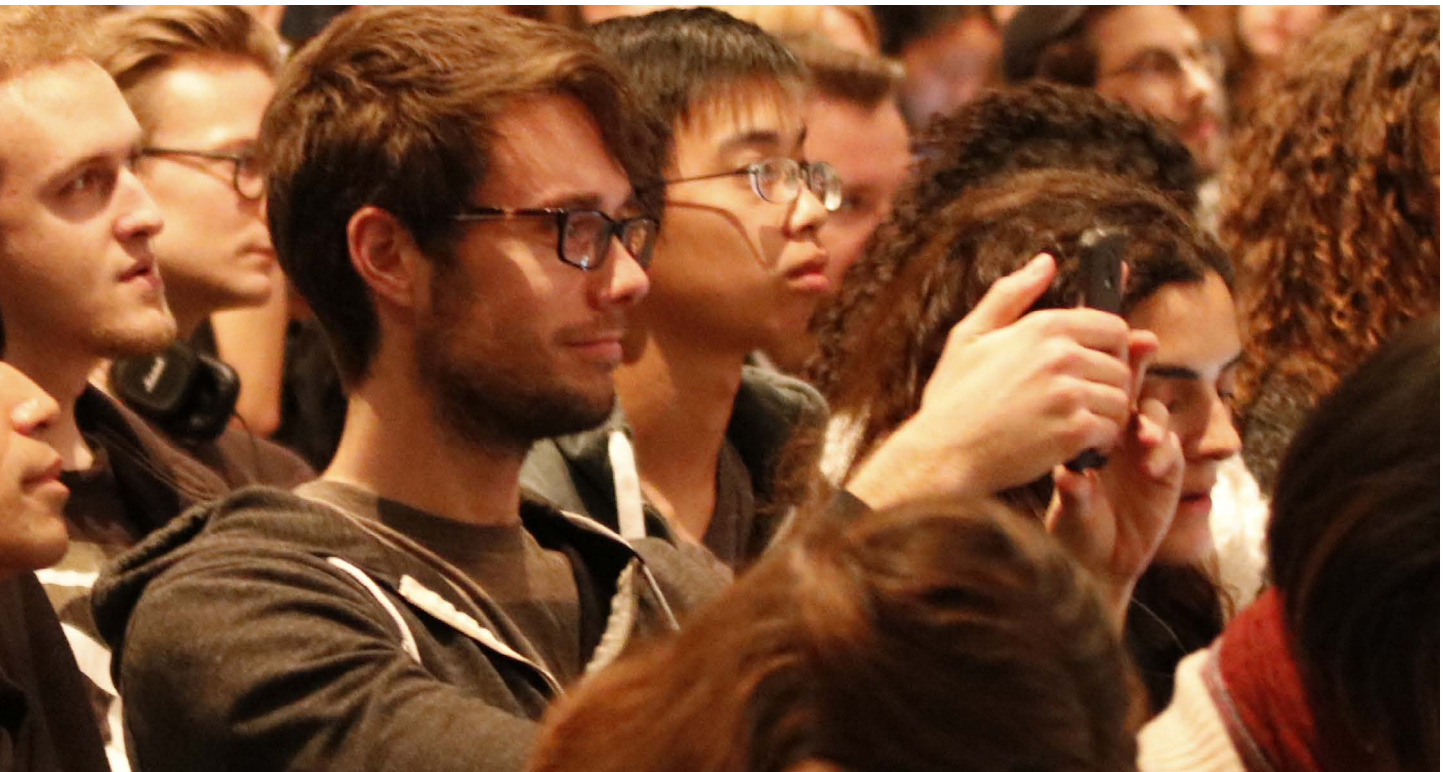
The call to Teach.Organize.Resist. came soon after the election of Donald Trump as president. The individual events at colleges, universities, and communities throughout the globe came together to create a collective resistance to the values and anticipated policies of Trumpism, and in doing so, they created a decentralized network of likeminded activists, artists, and academics. Teach.Organize.Resist. and the hashtag for the day of collective action, #J18, together constitute an example of networked activism.

Leveraging a combination of long-standing academic and social networks as well as new connections over the internet, a small team built a network to spread the call of Teach.Organize.Resist. across the globe in roughly ten weeks. The work done by this team provides a methodological map for resistance to Trumpism. Three key elements shaped their action: the creation of a small, dynamic team,

the articulation of values of Teach.Organize.Resist., and the continued labor to grow the network.

## ***Forming the team***

Teach.Organize.Resist. was conceptualized by Cristina Barrera, Jocelyn Guihama, and Ananya Roy from the Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin and postdoctoral fellow Joan Donovan. Their working dynamic, built upon mutual trust and an open exchange of ideas, formed the foundation of this action. The conversations to process the results of the election evolved into a question of the role the Institute and its public programs would now entail. A misogynist white supremacist who employs the tactics of a bully and poses a very real danger to those of marginalized



# ology

populations had just been elected to the presidency through a democratic process.

In the week after the election, the whole team convened to discuss what an event around the inauguration would look like. By the end of that meeting, the hashtag was created and the website was registered.

However, the work to establish Teach.Organize.Resist. started much earlier than the election. All throughout the campaign, the regularly scheduled team meetings at the Institute on Inequality and Democracy became a time to discuss and circulate stories of discrimination and racism of the nascent Trumpist movement. At the time, this was the chance to blow off steam during an abnormal, noxious campaign. But these open conversations also produced a solidarity that fostered trust and collaboration. In these meetings the team began

to articulate what would eventually become the platform for #J18.

## ***Articulating the values of Teach.Organize.Resist.***

Multiple spaces on campus used the post-election political moment to rearticulate their values for the new context. The Institute expanded its mission to focus on resistance by building power to challenge violence and by fostering the new generation of thinkers and leaders. It renewed its commitment to the front-lines of research and action in the statement, “From Color-Lines to Front-Lines: Organizing to Challenge Violence”. At the same time, a new faculty group, Resistance Against Violence Through Education—RAVE—formed to mobilize faculty and provide spaces of education to challenge the normalization of Trumpism.

The call for Teach.Organize.Resist. and the vision for #J18 formed within this context at UCLA. It became clear, from their position within the university, that resistance through education propelled Teach.Organize.Resist. The initial message to students, faculty, and staff at UCLA called on the campus to “affirm the role of critical thinking and academic knowledge in challenging Trumpism”. This value intersects each of the events organized for #J18.

### ***Growing the network***

The call extended, naturally, to those around the team: students, faculty, and staff across UCLA. An idea, especially a compelling one, is mobile, and the call to Teach.Organize.Resist. soon extended its reach. Joan Donovan’s work on networked social movements provided a map to guide the growth of the network. Her academic work focuses on how technologies of communication create networks and serve the needs of activist movements. As both a participant and researcher of these movements, in particular the Occupy movement, she has explored leveraging the internet for a “rhizomatic communication” in activism. In this style of communication, each new connection made between individuals and organizations strengthens the network, facilitating the movement of ideas.<sup>1</sup> Any node of the network could grow, break off, and grow again. In this style of organizing, each participant of #J18 can take the initiative to spread further the call of Teach.Organize.Resist..

The network that Teach.Organize.Resist. had built depended on personal interactions. The call was extended to individuals rather than blindly copied to a large group. Event organizers likely received one or more direct emails from the team at UCLA between November and January, and on Twitter, anyone who tweeted @TeachOrgResist received a thanks from the account. By a rough estimation, this means hundreds of emails and tweets, all individually addressed, were sent to build and maintain the network. None of the communication was automated.

### ***Who are you with?***

Anyone who seeks to resist Trumpism must first ask “Who am I with?” Who do you already know that feels the same way you do, who has a similar vision of the kind of world we should live in? The team behind #J18 and Teach.Organize.Resist. did not need to be so big to spread their call for critical thinking and engagement. Those who wish to spread an idea or a cause should not seek large numbers — networks of 50, 100, 1000, or any other number that might seem big enough. Instead, you should pick up the phone, compose a message, or use any other means of communication to bring on the next person to your call. And after that, you do that

1. Donovan, J. (2012, September 17). How Occupy birthed a rhizome. Retrieved from <https://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/how-occupy-birthed-a-rhizome/>

same work bring on the next person. And again for the next person, and again. You build your network one at a time, relying on the kind of personal communication that found the team at UCLA success. So, you must work, sending emails, tweeting, speaking to others, and you keep doing it, because with a white supremacist in the White House and with people in power who intend to reshape the future in a cynical image, you must keep at it, with persistence.

And with enough work, you will find a great number working along with you. •

**Andrés Carrasquillo**  
*Department of Urban Planning*  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

# #J18: FROM the Frontlines of JUSTICE

Poised between MLK Jr. Day & the inauguration of Donald Trump,  
**#J18 is a day to Teach.Organize.Resist.**

Featuring:

**Patrisse Cullors**

Co-Founder of #BLACKLIVESMATTER, Founder & Board Member of Dignity and Power Now, UCLA Alumna

**Jeff Chang**

Author of "We Con' Be Alright: Notes on Race and Resegregation" and Executive Director,  
the Institute for Diversity in the Arts, Stanford University

**Erika L. Sánchez**

Author of poetry collection "Lessons on Expulsion" & the novel "I Am Not Your Perfect Mexican Daughter"

**Peter Sellars**

Distinguished professor in World Arts and Cultures/Dance, UCLA; opera, theater and festival director

**Ilse Escobar**

Migrant, muxer, and activist born in Mexico and organizer in Los Angeles

**Bryonn Bain**

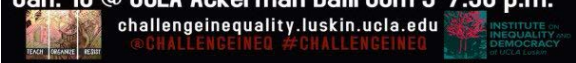
Artist/activist, prison abolitionist professor developing UCLA's prison education program, creator  
of "Lyrics From Lockdown"

**Maya Jupiter**

Hip-hop artist, songwriter, co-founder of Artist Entertainment

**Jan. 18 @ UCLA Ackerman Ballroom 5-7:30 p.m.**

[challengeinequality.luskin.ucla.edu](http://challengeinequality.luskin.ucla.edu)



*The team at the Institute also organized an event on the UCLA campus, "#J18: From the Frontlines of Justice" with performers, poets, and speakers.*

# Posters from #J18

**TEACH,  
ORGANIZE,  
ENGAGE**  
A FORUM ON  
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS AND THE FUTURE

A Teach-In at American University  
Wednesday, January 18th, 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m.  
Mary Graydon Center Meeting Rooms 3 and 4

Sponsored by  
American University Faculty Senate  
American University Student Government  
American University Staff Council

8:30 a.m. Introductions (MGC 3 and 4)

Universities and Deep Knowledge in the "Post-Truth" Era – Todd Eisenstadt, Larry Engel, Andrea Pearson, Daniel Esser, *Faculty Senate and Engaged Faculty Allies*

What University Students Can Do – Devontae Torriente, *American University Student Government*

What Universities Must Continue to Represent – Keesha Ceran, *American University Staff Council*  
Teaching, Organizing, Engagement, and the Greater Good – Mark Schaefer, *University Chaplain*

How We Got Here: 9:00 a.m.-10:00 (MGC 3 and 4)

Polarization and the 2016 Election: Candice Nelson, *School of Public Affairs*

Fact Checking and Communication for the "Post-Truth" Era – Derrick Jefferson, *University Library*

The New Role of Social Media in Presidential Politics - Scott Talan, *School of Communication*

Where We Are: Domestic Issues 10:00 a.m.-11:45 (MGC 3 and 4)

Challenges to Constitutional Democracy: Chris Edelson, *School of Public Affairs*

Muslim-Americans After the 2016 Election – Randa Serhan, *College of Arts and Sciences*

Anti-Racist Struggle: Past, Present, Future - Malini Ranganathan, *School of International Service*

Immigration and Border Security – Eric Hershberg, *Center for Latin American and Latino Studies*

Poverty Alleviation and Social Programs – Bradley Hardy, *School of Public Affairs*

The Environmental Agenda – Daniel Fiorino, *School of Public Affairs*

MLK's Message for US Today – noon-1:00 p.m. Kay Spiritual Life Center

Methodist Bishop LaTrelle Easterling of the *Baltimore-Washington Conference and AU Trustee*

Where We Are: International Issues 1:00 p.m.-2:45 (MGC 3 and 4)

Contextualizing Democracy and Polarization – Andrew Demshuk, *College of Arts and Sciences*

Whither US Leadership on Climate Change – Steve MacAvoy, *College of Arts and Sciences*

Issues in US-China Relations – Yang Zhang, *School of International Service*

Issues in US-Russia Relations – Keith Darden, *School of International Service*

Where We Are in the Middle East: Big Picture – Elizabeth Thompson, *School of International Service*

Where We Are in the Middle East: Recent Developments – Mustafa Gurbuz, *College of Arts and Sciences*

Where we are Headed: What's Next? 3:00 p.m.-4:00 (MGC 3 and 4)

Devontae Torriente, *President of AU Student Government*

Meriam Salem, *Undergraduate Student*

Ma'at Sargeant, *President of the AU Black Student Alliance*

Laith Shakir, *Social Media Chair of the Students for Justice in Palestine*

Dan Perry, *Head of General Board of J Street U*

Mel Keller, *Executive Director of Queers and Allies*

Faith Ferber, *Co-president of Students Against Sexual Violence*

Keynote Address 4:00 p.m. -4:45

*US Representative and Washington College of Law Professor Jamin Raskin*

*From*  
**DIRECT**  
*to*  
**SOMETHING**

**UC BERKELEY**  
**LABOR CENTER**  
**IRLE #J18 NAT**  
**JANUARY**  
Institute for Research on Labor and Employment  
2521 Channing Way

**EVENT SPEAKERS:**  
Lamoin Werlein Jaén, Director of Lead  
Labor Center • Danielle Mahones, Lab  
Labor Center • Rachel Herzing, Center  
Tina Sandoval, Fight For \$15 • and a r  
Worker Center

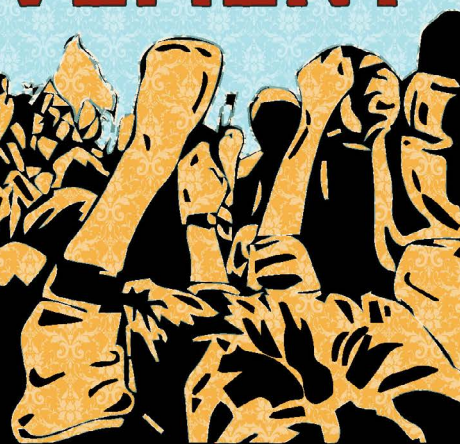
**Event Co-sponsors:**  
UC Berkeley Labor Center • UC Berkeley Institute for F  
Engaged Scholarship (ACES) • UC Berkeley Public Se

*This event is free and open to the public. Please*

**American University, Washington, D.C.**

**University of California, Berkeley**

**ACTION**  
**SOCIAL**  
**MOVEMENT**



**NATIONAL TEACH-IN**  
**FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 2017, 5-7PM**  
 (1/2 block from Telegraph), Berkeley, CA

Partnership Development, UC Berkeley  
 Director of Education Specialist, UC Berkeley  
 Director for Political Education  
 Representative from the Bay Area Black

Research on Labor and Employment  
 Service Center • American Cultures Center

RSVP to Alicia Flores, [alicia.flores@berkeley.edu](mailto:alicia.flores@berkeley.edu).

# STAND UP TO ATTACKS ON OUR COMMUNITIES!

## Demand a Sanctuary University!

Campus service workers will be leading actions on campus to demand a robust Sanctuary policy, calling upon the University to take concrete action within its powers to protect immigrants and other communities from attacks under the incoming administration.



## PLEASE JOIN US TO RALLY:

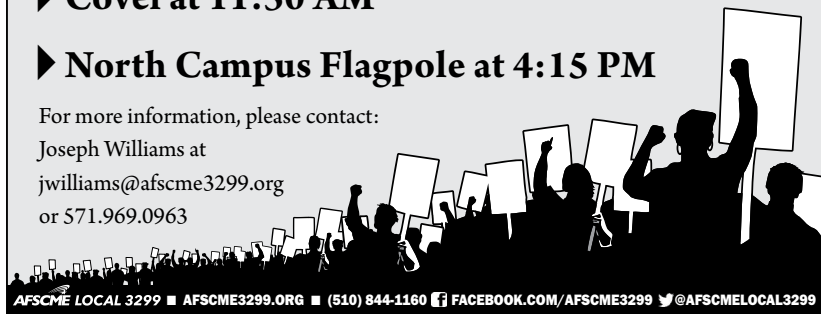
**Wednesday, January 18th**

► **Covel at 11:30 AM**

► **North Campus Flagpole at 4:15 PM**

For more information, please contact:

Joseph Williams at  
[jwilliams@afscme3299.org](mailto:jwilliams@afscme3299.org)  
 or 571.969.0963



AFSCME LOCAL 3299 ■ AFSCME3299.ORG ■ (510) 844-1160 f FACEBOOK.COM/AFSCME3299 t @AFSCMELOCAL3299

Berkeley

University of California, Los Angeles





and **THE UNDERCOMMONS**  
*present*

**#J18**

## Education: Let's get Free

What is free education? Join us for community building discussions on the morality and politics of debt as we challenge ourselves to think about freedom in education and the ways that it can and should stand in opposition to oppressive power. International voices streamed in from South Africa and Brazil, connecting global projects to local organizing. Finally, help create a mobile Freedom Wall with us.

Free lunch catered by Homeboy Industries

**JANUARY 18, 2017**  
12-3PM

Bruin Reception Room,  
Ackerman

**UNDERCOMMONS.ORG**

bonus "A Party For Self-Defense"  
free martial arts session 10am, Janss Steps

*University of California, Los Angeles*

## Trumplandia, California



What are the geopolitical implications?

How is this seen from outside the US?

What are the implications for immigrant rights, race, gender, sexual orientation and religious freedom?

Can Trump bring industry back to the US?

What will be the the US ignore promotes a

Wh

**You are invited to join a faculty-led discussion on Wednesday January 18, 1:30**

**Organizers:** Eric Sheppa  
**Speakers:** Professors John Agnew, Judith Carney, Helga Le

**UCLA** DEPARTMENT OF *Geography*

*University of California, Los Angeles*



## PROTECTING CLIMATE DATA IN TIMES OF POLITICAL TURMOIL

A PANEL DISCUSSION AND DATA RESCUE WORKSHOP

**FRI. JAN. 20, INAUGURATION DAY | 9A - 4P**

111 GSE&IS | SEATS ARE LIMITED, RSVP  
[www.climatedataprotection.net](http://www.climatedataprotection.net)



## SCHEDULE

- 8:30 - 9:00 Breakfast
- 9:00 - 10:30 Data Rescue Panel
- 10:30 - 12:00 Break Out Groups  
Training & Orientation
- 12:00 - 12:30 Lunch
- 12:30 - 3:00 Break Out Group Work
- 3:00 - 4:00 Reconvene for Debrief

The workshop follows efforts to rescue government data from the University of Toronto, The Internet Archive, and the #DataRefuge initiative at the University of Pennsylvania. #DataRefuge is a public, collaborative project to learn about climate and environmental data in the following ways:

- \*How federal agencies play crucial roles in its collection, management, and distribution
- \*How changing federal priorities may impact federal data's accessibility
- \*Who are the many projects and research fields who depend on federal data
- \*Which data sets are of value to research and local communities

## Data Rescue Panelists

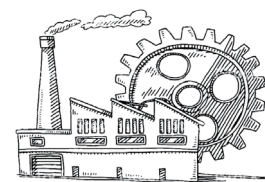
**Christine Borgman** UCLA Information Studies & Center for Knowledge Infrastructures

**Jason Scott** The Internet Archive

**Joan Donovan** Postdoctoral Fellow with The UCLA Institute for Society and Genetics

**Stephen Diggs** Carbon Hydrography Data Office Scripps Institution of Oceanography, UC San Diego

**Katie Mika** Postdoctoral Researcher with The UCLA Institute of Environment and Sustainability



Angeles

*University of California, Los Angeles*

# TALK/ACT

## /#J18

How can we students & staff develop positions on the political impacts of architecture? What do we seek in an architectural education?

**Wednesday, January 18th**  
**6:00 - 7:30 pm**  
**Decafe**



Part of the university wide Teach, Organize, Resist Event #J18

### WHAT'S HAPPENING

Continuing the conversation on the school, architecture, and politics, we would like to invite the students and faculty to come together and discuss what matters to us.

In a cafe-table format, we will sit down together to review the input from last Friday, and talk further about the upcoming student-led course for the Spring 2017 quarter. Join us this Wednesday and keep the conversation going!

**University of California, Los Angeles**

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18<sup>th</sup> 2017**  
**CORWIN PAVILION & UCSB campus**  
**8am - 5pm**

\*Visit [ucsbfa.org](http://ucsbfa.org) for more details & full panel schedule

Co-sponsored by the UCSB Faculty Association & the University of California, San Diego

## DAY OF DEMOCRACY

**ALL ARE WELCOME TO ATTEND!**

*Panels include...*

*Identity Politics in American Democracy*

*Torture and Democracy*

*The Dirty Politics of Climate Change*

*Immigration, Sanctuaries & Democracy*

*Media and Democracy*

*Ancient Myths & Modern Democracy*

*America and the World*

*Islamophobia & Democracy*

*Trumpism, Racism & Fascism*

*Democratizing Education, Race & Privatization*

*Politics of Fear / Politics of Hope*

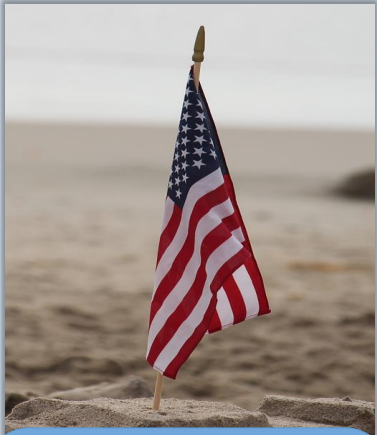
*Divided Democracy: Legacies of Inequality in the 2016 Election*

*Students: Agents of Change at UCSB & in the World*

**University of California, San Diego**

2017  
 us classrooms\*  
 schedules/locations  
 sity Council AFT

**ATIC EDUCATION**



Thanks to the collaboration of nearly 50 faculty and graduate students the UCSB Faculty Assoc. & University Council AFT offers dialogic panel discussions around themes highlighted by the recent election.

nta Barbara





# The US Presidency & Our **Common** Future

## A Panel Discussion Series

### MainStreet Cinema (TUC)

12:30 PM



JANUARY 24	JANUARY 31	FEBRUARY 7
<p>Immigration            Religious Diversity            Race Relations</p> <p>Introduction by            Bleuzette Marshall,            Equity &amp; Inclusion            Vice President</p>	<p>Economy            Environment            Gender Relations</p> <p>Introduction by            Ken Petren,            A&amp;S Dean</p>	<p>Democracy            Freedom of the Press            The Supreme Court</p> <p>Introduction by            Peter Landgren,            Provost</p>
<p><b>PANELISTS</b></p>		
<p><b>Shakila Ahmad</b>            President, Islamic Center of Greater Cincinnati</p> <p><b>Jeff Blevins</b>            Associate Professor &amp; Dept. Head, Journalism</p> <p><b>Carlos M. Gutiérrez</b>            Professor &amp; Dept. Head, Romance Languages &amp; Literatures</p> <p><b>Laura Jenkins</b>            Professor &amp; Interim Dept. Head, Political Science</p> <p><b>Amy Lind</b>            Mary Ellen Heintz Professor &amp; Dept. Head, Women's, Gender,            &amp; Sexuality Studies</p>	<p><b>Ervin Matthew</b>            Assistant Professor, Sociology</p> <p><b>Debashis Pal</b>            David Sinton Professor &amp; Dept. Head, Economics</p> <p><b>Adrian Parr</b>            UNESCO Water Chair, Director, Taft Center</p> <p><b>Verna Williams</b>            Professor, College of Law, Co-Director of the Center for            Race, Gender, and Social Justice</p>	

Office of  
**Equity & Inclusion**



*University of Cincinnati*

**TUESDAY 1/17**

**TRUMP: WHAT NOW?**

ARAB AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTER } 3 - 5 PM  
 HOW DOES THE INAUGURATION IMPACT ARAB AND MUSLIM AMERICAN STUDENTS?

**WEDNESDAY 1/18**

**MOBILIZING WITH ART**

LATINO CULTURAL CENTER } 10 AM - 4 PM  
 SHARE YOUR RADICAL VISIONS BY CREATING ACTIVIST POSTERS TO SUPPORT THIS NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION.

**QUEER AND TRANS RESISTANCE**

GENDER & SEXUALITY CENTER } 11 AM - 1 PM  
 COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PEOPLE'S TIMELINE OF QUEER AND TRANS RESISTANCE.

**PROTEST BANNER MAKING WORKSHOP**

HULL HOUSE MUSEUM } 12 - 8 PM

**LOCAL ACTIVISTS ON POLICING**

UIC LIBRARY, ROOM 1-470 } 2 - 3:30 PM  
 WITH BYP100, ARAB AMERICAN ACTION NETWORK, AND ORGANIZED COMMUNITIES AGAINST DEPORTATION.

**RESILIENCE, HEALING, AND CREATIVITY**

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTER } 3:30 - 5 PM  
 JOIN ARTISTS AND CURATORS TO PREVIEW THE COMMUNITY CURATED REMEDY QUILT.



**TEACH! ORGANIZE! RESIST! @ UIUC**

**JANUARY 18-20, 2017**

**WEDNESDAY 1/18**

**SANCTUARY & SOLIDARITY TEACH-IN | 12:00 - 2:00 p.m.**

Channing Murray / 1209 W. Oregon (above The Red Herring)  
 A panel featuring UIUC faculty, students, and activists to discuss the sanctuary movement and its connection to racial inequality, queer & trans issues, Islamophobia, and other struggles. **EVENT IS FREE & OPEN TO PUBLIC**  
 Refreshments will be served / Donations welcome

**INSURGENT PUBLIC SPACES:  
 A WORKSHOP ON URBAN  
 ART AND RESISTANCE**

3:30-4:50 p.m., 108 David Kinley Hall  
 1407 W. Gregory Dr., Urbana

**SIGN AND POSTER MAKING  
 WORKSHOP**

6:00-9:00 p.m, Makerspace Urbana  
 202 S Broadway Ave, Urbana  
 Basement Room #16

**EYES ON THE PRIZE film series**

Episode 1: Awakenings &  
 Episode 2: Fighting Back  
 8:00 p.m., 223 Temple Buell Hall  
 611 E. Lorado Taft Drive, Champaign

**NATIONAL DAYS OF ACTION  
 #J18 | uiucsanctuary.net**

**THURSDAY 1/19**

**DIGITAL SAFETY AND PRIVACY**

**WORKSHOP | How we can protect each other online & ourselves online**  
 3:00-5:00 p.m., GWS Seminar room  
 1205 W. Nevada St., Urbana

**EYES ON THE PRIZE film series**

Episode 3: Ain't Scared of Your Jails & Episode 4: No Easy Walk  
 8:00 p.m., 223 Temple Buell Hall  
 611 E. Lorado Taft Dr., Champaign

**ANTI-FASCIST ART SHOW &  
 POTLUCK: Combat fascist**

propaganda thru art and creativity!  
 7:00-9:30 p.m., Independent Media Center  
 202 S Broadway Ave, Urbana

**FRIDAY 1/20**

**DESIGN AS PROTEST**

9:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m., 3rd Floor Lecture Hall, Levis Faculty Center  
 919 W. Illinois St., Urbana

**POLITICAL PARTY! Letter Writing to the President Elect**

*Come get your political groove on, get inspired, write that letter!*  
 10:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m., Asian American Studies Conference Room  
 1208 W. Nevada St., Urbana

**EYES ON THE PRIZE film series**

Episode 5: Mississippi: Is this America & Episode 6: Bridge to Freedom  
 4:00 p.m., 223 Temple Buell Hall  
 611 E. Lorado Taft Dr., Champaign

**TEACH! ORGANIZE! RESIST!**

**THURSDAY 1/19**

**UIC AS A SANCTUARY CAMPUS**  
818 SOUTH WOLCOTT } 9 AM - NOON  
BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING.

**"FREE BRESHA" TEACH-IN**  
LATINO CULTURAL CENTER } 12 - 1:30 PM  
WLRC/CAN TEACH-IN ON THE CRIMINALIZATION  
OF SURVIVORS OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE.

**WHAT IS ACTIVIST RESEARCH?**  
204 GRANT HALL } 3:30 - 4:45 PM  
WITH DAVID STOVALL, NICOLE NGUYEN,  
MARCO ROC, AND CHANDNI DESAI.

**BLACK FEMINIST ROUNDTABLE**  
INSTITUTE FOR THE HUMANITIES, } 5:30 PM  
STEVENSON HALL  
BARBARA SMITH, JANE RHODES, AISLINN PULLEY,  
PAGE MAY, VALERIE PAPHILLON, & KUSH THOMPSON.

**FRIDAY 1/20**

**LETTER WRITING TO PRESIDENT ELECT**  
HULL HOUSE MUSEUM } 8:30 AM - 3 PM



**LOS ANGELES POVERTY DEPARTMENT**  
**Free Movie Nights at the Museum**

**"Last Day of Freedom"**

Friday, January 13, 2017 at 7:00 p.m.

followed by a talk with Black Power historian Donna Murch



Nominated for Best Short Documentary at the 2016 Academy Awards, "Last Day of Freedom" tells the story of a man faced with the decision to call the police or stand by his brother after he commits a crime. Through captivating animated images, this gem of a film paints a portrait of a person at the nexus of some of the most pressing social issues of our day: veterans' care, mental health access, and criminal justice.

Donna Murch is an Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University and author of the forthcoming book "Crack in Los Angeles: Policing the Crisis and the War on Drugs". Her work, including her book "Living for the City: Migration, Education and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California", provides examples of how social programs implemented by grass roots organizers can expand social capital in a community and in doing so create a sense of belonging, safety and well being.

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*Los Angeles Poverty Department (LAPD)*

# On *Trumpism* and the University

West Bank  
Teach In

Tuesday, November 29, 2016  
2 pm • Blegen 10

*Climate change   Policing   Hate speech   Electoral politics*  
*Universities and Politics   Activism and Resistance*



Students and faculty will give short presentations on the context that gave rise to Trump and the implications for research, policy, and justice.

*Faculty speakers include:*

- August Nimz** Political Science
- Miranda Joseph** Winton Chair in the Liberal Arts
- Karen Ho** Anthropology
- Bruce Braun** Geography
- Josh Page** Sociology
- Dan Griffin** Geography

University of Minnesota



**TRUMP AND T**

**TUESDA**  
**2-4PM - E**

*students and faculty will o*  
*and forums for discussio*  
*change, totalitarianism, in*  
*politics in*

University of Minnesota



## TEACH! ORGANIZE! RESIST! January 18, 2017



### #J18 Call To Action

January 18, 2017, is a day to Teach, Organize, Resist. Transform your classrooms and commons into spaces of education that protest policies of violence, disenfranchisement, segregation, and isolationism. Use the power of knowledge to challenge inequality and to build alliances for social justice. #J18 is meant to be a day of actions, ideas, dreams, dialogues, performances, alliances, plans, marches, and assemblies created by many in a multitude of spaces and places. We invite educators, students, and community partners to plan programs and activities on that day and to share information via this website. We will together build a platform that connects education and protest across the United States and links these to actions of solidarity in other parts of the world.

**TEACH! ORGANIZE! RESIST!** <http://teachorganizeresist.net/>

### THE UNIVERSITY

Y, NOV. 29  
BLEGEN 10

offer short ad hoc presentations  
on issues related to climate  
immigration and refugee rights,  
the university

## CONNECTIONS VS WALLS

**AULA 15, ORE 15.30-17.30, Facoltà di Architettura, Univ. Sapienza**

Il seminario aperto aderisce alla succitata campagna internazionale per proporre una riflessione critica sui MURI che sembrano tornati di pressante attualità in giro per il mondo. In questo quadro, gli architetti-urbanisti possono scegliere se disegnare connessioni, spazi di relazione o muri. Quello che non dobbiamo sottovalutare è il nostro ruolo e, quindi, la responsabilità della nostra azione tecnica nel contribuire a costruire o negare diritti di cittadinanza.

**Per informazioni: [daniela.deleo@uniroma1.it](mailto:daniela.deleo@uniroma1.it)**

**Sapienza University of Rome**



On True

mpism

*And Neither Nazi,  
nor neoliberal,  
but what?*

*Coming to terms  
with Trumpism  
and the challenges  
for democracy*

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*Daniel Bessner and Matt Sparke  
University of Washington*

**O**n Jan 11th 2017, a week before his inauguration as president, Donald Trump tweeted his anger at US Intelligence Agencies for releasing information that suggested the Russian Federation had embarrassing information on him. These agencies, Trump declared, “should never have allowed this fake news to ‘leak’ into the public. One last shot at me. Are we living in Nazi Germany?”

Ironically, tragically and farcically all at once, Trump’s Nazi analogy repeated the very question many of his critics were already asking themselves about the soon-to-be-installed president. Comparing his electoral college victory with the electoral successes of Hitler’s National Socialist German Workers’ Party in September 1932, manifold commentators drew parallels between Trump’s and Hitler’s politics. Indeed, there are many fascistic features of Trumpism that demand our attention in this regard. These include Trump’s race-supremacist hyper-nationalism; his emboldening of sexist and racist violence; his manipulation of working class hopelessness in the context of widespread economic distress; his self-aggrandizement as an embodiment of the people’s will no matter the lack of a popular mandate; his threats to register, survey and ban members of a demonized religious community; and his vows to round up and remove millions of dehumanized others. At the same time, though, we believe historical comparisons that analogize Trumpism and Nazism need to be nuanced by paying attention to how Trumpism both emerged from and is presently set against a very different context. In particular, we must take account of how our 21st century context of discontent with mar-

***To put it simply, we are convinced that Trumpism must be understood in light of a global reactionary backlash.***

ket-led globalization shaped the rise of Trumpism. This market-led globalization, it needs remembering, itself arose as a result of U.S. attempts at the end of World War II to pre-empt fascist futures by establishing an American-dominated system of global free trade, the so-called “Bretton Woods” system. That system evolved over time in ways that continued to expand and entrench liberalized market rule, and it is this ‘neoliberal’ system—and its associated inequalities and instabilities—that are such a crucial context for explaining the emergence of Trump’s anti-globalism. To put it simply, we are convinced that Trumpism must be understood in light of a global reactionary backlash against neoliberal globalization, against elite advocates of trade liberalization, financial liberalization and global market rule at the IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization, and against associated forms of neoliberal governance in transnational forums ranging from UN agencies to the EU to the World Economic Forum in Davos.

Trumpism clearly demands that scholars of history and political-economy rethink the categories commonly—and often sloppily—used on the left to critique the right. We seek here to contribute to this rethinking with a series of reflections on how the terms ‘Nazi’ and ‘neoliberal’ cannot be used without careful consideration of the ways in which they complicate one another.

On the one side, this means evaluating how the desire to draw Nazi parallels is complicated by post-World War II history, including the rise and global spread of neoliberal norms of governance out of the original Bretton Woods regime. This regime initially sought to balance open trade with regulated international finance, creating conditions for what political-economists refer to as Fordist approaches to state-managed national capitalist development. It was only later, in the 1970’s, that this regime started moving towards the globalized neoliberal marketization of governance more generally (Sparke, 2013a). But an important continuity between these Fordist and post-Fordist phases remained a concern among economic elites who wished to insulate the international free market system from socialist and fascist forces. In this respect, we are especially interested in how memories of Nazi electoral success inspired enduring fears of economic populism. Learning from this political-economic history, our suggestion is that the tendency in neoliberalism to try to insulate market rule from democratic discontents owes something to lessons drawn by the European exiles who personally confronted the rise of the Nazis in the 1930s.

On the other side, we would further like to suggest that an awareness of political-economic history should also help us see that Trump’s trash-talking of trade deals and globalization is not itself as anti-neoliberal as it might initially seem. To be sure, signing an executive order against the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) was one of his first consequential acts as president, anticipating another promised attack on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and a wider embrace of an economic nationalism in which the US might actually start to increase tariffs and non-tariff barriers on foreign imports. Nevertheless, as we will show below, many of Trump’s other policy positions and actions are entirely in line with mainstream neoliberal norms, including his longing to cut taxes on businesses and the wealthy, his deregulative executive orders aimed at repealing Dodd-Frank and other Wall Street regulations, and his pro-privatization appointments of a series of anti-union business-owners, bankers and billionaires to key cabinet positions.

Ultimately, we want to argue that Trump’s pro-market neoliberal agenda exists in uneasy yet working tension with Trumpism’s authoritarian and fascistic impulses. But to get to this point, and to draw conclusions about the urgent importance of democratic struggle against this monstrous merging of neoliberal and Nazi tendencies, we need first to go back and challenge the anti-democratic lessons too often drawn from the original rise of the Nazis

themselves. We therefore start by explaining the dangers of “the Weimar analogy” (based on Bessner and Greenberg 2016). Our main concern in this respect is to highlight a key pitfall of such comparisons: namely, that they implicitly suggest that the demos is ignorant and not to be trusted. Learning from the post-war history of neoliberal thinking, in which various combinations of deep state and market-based management were set up as antidotes to national democratic forces, we suggest that it is vital to avoid rushing from observations of Trump’s electoral triumph to an abandonment of democratic ideals and democratic struggle. To do so would be to reject democracy as a political form, ironically endorsing the very Führerstaat we seek to avoid. Building upon this claim, we suggest that it is a mistake to too quickly conclude that Trump is anti-neoliberal. Instead, we propose that in many ways Trumpism incorporates neoliberalism’s primary norms, including its insistence on using the power of the state to expand and entrench market rule as well as its demonization and disciplining of the dispossessed. This only looks set to increase the suffering and sub-citizenship that neoliberalization has already caused, both globally and in America itself (Sparke, 2017). But in response, we argue that democratic citizenship offers meaningful alternatives, and in this spirit we offer some concluding thoughts concerning the need to maintain democratic spaces for thinking and acting against the Hydra-headed monster progeny of the Nazi and neoliberal tendencies that are articulated—in the double sense of being politically joined and ideologically communicated—in Trumpism.

### *Complicating the Nazi narrative*

The Weimar analogy—the notion that the contemporary United States is akin to the Weimar Republic, on the verge of falling prey to internal enemies dedicated to the destruction of liberal democracy—has in the wake of Trump become one of the most powerful analogies in our political discourse. In the *New York Times* alone, Roger Cohen (2015) suggested that we may soon live in “Trump’s Weimar America” while Jochen Bittner (2016) wondered whether we are living through “the West’s Weimar moment.” The power of the Weimar analogy is easy to grasp. First, everyone knows who Hitler and the Nazis are. Second, the Nazis are one of the few bad guys upon whom Americans can agree. Third, the sheer historical crimes the Nazis committed—creating a civil society that explicitly excluded ethnic and racial minorities, starting World War II in Europe, murdering six million Jews and millions of other ethnic minorities in camps—makes the appeal to them an easy way to raise a reader’s emotions and get them focused. Finally, and as we stated above, there are indeed similarities between Trump and Hitler’s politics that make the Weimar analogy appear apropos.

Nevertheless, we think that the Weimar analogy is a potentially dangerous one, not least of all because of how it historically helped engender the turn to neoliberal governance. This turn, we believe, subsequently made the rise of Trumpism possible. Embedded in the Weimar analogy—or, at least, embedded in the ways this analogy has been used in the American context—is a stark critique of liberal democracy. To give some brief historical background, the Weimar analogy achieved its greatest influence on US institutions in the period immediately following World War II, when a number of émigré intellectuals deployed the analogy in order to justify the creation of organizations that consciously removed the American public from the foreign policymaking process. As Daniel Bessner has outlined elsewhere with Udi Greenberg (2016), throughout the mid-twentieth century émigré theorists like Karl Loewenstein and Hans Speier argued that “fascism’s success [in the Weimar Republic] demonstrated that the people could not be trusted to protect democracy. In moments of crisis, the masses succumbed to ‘emotionalism’ and gave up their rights in favor of vague promises of future national and/or racial glory. The people’s embrace of demagogues’ blatantly unrealistic — if not

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outright idiotic — visions proved that ordinary folks had no real politics, just fantasies” (original citation?). In the early Cold War, “many liberals embraced Loewenstein and Speier’s belief that [the history of Weimar revealed that] the emergent security state must be free from democratic accountability. This was the logic that undergirded the proliferation of vast institutions like the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Council, shrouded in secrecy from their inception. In both, self-appointed experts with no public accountability had free rein to enact aggressive policies, ranging from psychological warfare to political assassination.” Though, to be sure, the Weimar analogy could have been deployed to promote a variety of different ends, in actual history it was used for the explicit purpose of denying the American public the right to have a voice in the foreign policymaking process. The contemporary culture of US national security, prizing secrecy above all else, continues to reflect the influence of the Weimar analogy.

This is not to say that using fascism to understand Trump is an invalid exercise. As we noted above, there are indeed many parallels between Trump and Hitler that demand exploration. Rath-

er, it is only to note that in the United States there is a powerful history in which the Weimar analogy was used to justify the very elitist—even neoliberal—epistocracy that, in the long-term, impelled the reactionary backlash of Trumpism. The question, then, is how can one deploy the Weimar analogy in a country in which

***Even in desperate situations, left-wing intellectuals—indeed, all pro-democratic intellectuals—must seek to understand the sources of the public’s grievances.***

this analogy was used for specifically illiberal purposes? How is one to disconnect the Weimar analogy from its implicit critique of popular sovereignty? This is a more difficult task than it might appear at first glance. In fact, since Trump’s election there has been a strain of liberal thinking that blames the public’s ignorance and capriciousness for his success (which is exactly what Loewenstein and Speier did after Hitler rose to power). A recent New Yorker cartoon, which explicitly critiqued “dumb” Americans for supporting Trump, encapsulated this type of thinking perfectly. In the cartoon, an angry American—whose mustache identifies him as a member of the “white working class”—leads a rebellion against his airplane’s pilot for having “lost touch with regular passengers like us.” The meaning of the cartoon is clear: stupid Americans (i.e., American voters), who do not have the skills to fly the plane (i.e., govern themselves), will commit suicide (i.e., vote for Trump) to spite their intellectual betters. One assumes that the artist who created the cartoon would endorse the exact type of epistocracy Loewenstein and Speier advocated in the mid-twentieth century and would use the Weimar analogy to demonstrate that public opinion cannot be trusted.

If we are to use the Weimar analogy to understand Trump, it is important to do so responsibly. In particular, we must consciously ensure that we do not fall into the trap of using the analogy to rationalize anti-democratic projects and programs. The public should never be ridiculed or avoided, but always engaged; as the pragmatist philosopher John Dewey (1927) noted, democracy shorn of an active demos is not democracy at all. Even in desperate situations, left-wing intellectuals—indeed, all pro-democratic intellectuals—must seek to understand the sources of the public’s grievances. When we do so, we see that, in fact, Trump’s victory reflects not only racism, sexism and widespread disregard for the suffering of other citizens—though it does indeed reflect these unsettling beliefs—but also a genuine and deeply felt disappointment with the neoliberal structures that developed in the second half of the twentieth century and came to a significant crisis in the US and many other wealthy countries in the wake of the financial crisis of 2008 and subsequent economic slump. To paraphrase



Max Horkheimer (1989 [1939]: 78), we believe that whoever is not willing to talk about neoliberalism should also keep quiet about Trumpism.

In fact, there are profound connections between the thought of liberal elitists like Loewenstein and Speier and free-market fundamentalists like Ludwig von Mises, who first developed the economic ideas that inspire today's neoliberals. Mises, similar to Loewenstein and Speier, was an exile whose reading of European history led him to assert a profoundly elitist vision of politics and the intellectual's social function. For example, in his magnum opus *Human Action*, the Austrian émigré insisted that “the flowering of human society depends on two factors: the intellectual power of outstanding men to conceive sound social and economic theories, and the ability of these or other men to make these ideologies palatable to the majority” (1996 [1966]: 864). As Daniel Bessner (2014) has demonstrated, this idea was embraced by Murray Rothbard, one of the most important libertarian thinkers and political activists of the twentieth-century's second half, and helped inspire the creation of the Cato Institute, a very influential libertarian think tank (McGann 2015). In short, the anti-democratic political logic that undergirded both the elitism of the national security state and neoliberalism—and which has been remarkably successful in shaping our current national and international structures of governance—emerged from the same historical context: the rise of Nazism in Central Europe.

Counterintuitive as it may seem, let us now begin to review the ways in which analyses of neoliberalism can inform explanations of Trumpism by first remembering the pro-business capitalist configuration of National Socialism itself. Notwithstanding the Nazi's construction of a state-managed war-machine, their ruling coalition reserved a primary and extremely privileged role for Germany's capitalist elite. They created in this way what Ajay Singh Chaudhary and Raphaële Chappe (2016) have provocatively described as “The Supermanagerial Reich”. Chaudhary and Chappe suggest that the Nazi approach to governance elevated business supermanagers in ways that anticipated today's neoliberal norms of systematically privileging the ultra-wealthy and turning to business elites for leadership.

*In Nazi Germany, economic history shows us a rapid change in the distribution of income and the emergence of a managerial elite who obtained an outsized share of national income, not just the now-proverbial one percent, but the top 0.1 percent. These were Nazi Germany's equivalent to today's so-called “supermanagers” (to use Thomas Piketty's now famous term). This parallel with today's neoliberal society calls for a closer examination of the place of supermanagers in both regimes, with illuminating and unsettling implications (Chaudhary and Chappe, 2016).*

Inviting us to examine the implications for governmental

leadership in particular, Chaudhary and Chappe highlight how “Hitler cobbled together a rickety coalition of business-minded technocrats, traditional conservatives, military interests, and his own radical ethno-nationalists into a plausible government.” This kind of cobbling together certainly sounds very familiar when one considers the unstable assemblage of bankers and businessmen (Mnuchin and Tillerson), conservative Christian Republicans (Pence, Perry, Perdue and Price), billionaires (Ross and Devos), military men (Mattis and Zinke), and unabashed ethno-nationalists (Sessions and Bannon) that Trump has brought together in his administration. For the same reasons, Chaudhary and Chappe’s conclusion seems salient too: namely, that it would be a mistake to let Trump-Hitler comparisons obscure the parallel political-economic privileging of super-managers in Nazi Germany and neoliberal America:

*By focusing only on the threat of our homegrown Hitler caricature we have failed to notice the facts right in front of our faces: the uniquely parallel structures, the same winners, the similar losers, the crimes, the human degradation. We are already living in our very own, cruel 21st-century Supermanagerial Reich (Chaudhary and Chappe, 2016).*

Such claims are not the same as suggesting that neoliberalism is inherently fascist – although important arguments continue over the ways in which authoritarian ideas about patriotism, border control, eugenics and patriarchy are implied in neoliberal ‘natural order’ illusions of the economy as oikonomia (compare Harcourt, 2012; and Mitropoulos, 2017). Nor can we reduce the vast variety of violence and oppression Trump plans to unleash to the economic machinations of the 1%, despite Naomi Klein’s recurring relevant critiques of neoliberalism’s shock doctrines (Klein, 2007 and 2017). But the parallels do surely offer a cautionary complication of the argument that Trumpism is all about rage against neoliberal globalization. Something much more double-sided or, put more polemically, Janus-faced is going on instead. On the one side, Trumpism succeeded electorally by combining popular anger at rising inequalities under neoliberal globalization with racialized resentments against both cosmopolitan global elites and border-crossing migrant workers. However, on the other side, actually-existing Trumpism is currently being pursued as a national political project in ways that remain very closely tied to the economic interests of business elites, ties that in turn promise to deepen the very same inequalities and resentments which Trump translated so successfully into votes (which is also why Naomi Klein’s critiques are so shockingly salient). In order to come to terms with the resulting double-talk, we must put both sides of this contradictory formation into context.

First, there is the global context of reactionary anger against globalism. In public statements, Trump has heralded himself quite

consciously as an angry embodiment of this global age of rage. He has also done this unconsciously with his deployment of a vulgarian style that appeals symbolically—and often sexistly and racistly—to the ‘common man’ who despises cosmopolitan political correctness. Throughout his campaign, Trump explicitly highlighted his enthusiasm for the Brexit vote, and in related ways identified closely with a series of anti-EU chauvinists ranging from Marine Le Pen and Nigel Farage to his realpolitik action hero Vladimir Putin. Like Le Pen in particular, Trump also railed against global elites and globalization, and he shows no signs of becoming more internationalist or agreeable to global conventions now that he is ensconced in the White House. The big internationalist irony that surrounds Trumpism, then, is that Trump is going global in following the conventions set or adhered to by other reactionary ethno-nationalists around the world.

Trump’s xenophobic and anti-immigrant instincts in fact align closely with attitudes expressed by a long list of contemporary reactionaries making global headlines with their own context-specific articulations of authoritarianism and ethno-majoritarian populism. Even if its members hate diversity, this is a diverse group that includes not only Trump, Putin, and Le Pen, but also Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, Victor Orban in Hungary, Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, Recep Erdogan in Turkey, and Narendra Modi in India. As Pankaj Mishra (2016) has argued so persuasively, what these politicians all share is an ability to tap into popular resentment emanating from and about market-led globalization. In particular, they take advantage of the mismatch between neoliberalism’s utopian promises about the benefits of a borderless free market and the realities of an actually-existing economy defined by increasing inequalities and austerities that radically restrict who can personally enjoy global market consumption and mobility benefits.

Though we agree with Mishra’s global-cum-personal argument, we also think it is equally vital to look at the national contexts in which the crises created by these tensions are being managed. Only then can we fully understand the context-contingent ways in which the new breed of hard-right reactionaries have legitimized various re-mixes of market-rule, hyper-nationalism, and authoritarianism. One way to bring clarity to this work of national contextualization—and to cut through the populist pretensions of Trump and his ilk—is to outline how far a particular reactionary agenda in a particular national context diverges from the more normal late-twentieth century policy-making norms of neoliberalism. This allows us to compare the ten most common neoliberal policy conventions with what a reactionary regime such as Trump’s is doing or planning to do. When we plot these positions, we see that the resulting table of comparisons reveals both a significant degree of continuity between neoliberalism and modern authoritarianism and some interesting divergences. (see Figure

	Neoliberal policy norms	Trumpism's policy pronouncements
1	Liberalize trade	Threaten tariffs, shame outsourcing by TNCs, & promote economic nationalism
2	Encourage exports	Promote exporters, but reduce access to foreign markets by starting trade disputes
3	Entice foreign investment	Alienate foreign governments & firms, while also deterring & deporting immigrants
4	Reduce inflation	Increase inflation with government borrowing & by talking down the dollar
5	Cut public spending	Cut spending on health, aid, education, & science, but increase on military & infrastructure
6	Privatize public services	Privatize & also limit immigrant access to public services
7	Deregulate industry & finance	Deregulate both industry & finance, & roll-back consumer protection
8	Reduce and flatten taxes	Reduce but still tax to fund military, policing & prisons
9	Restrict union organizing & increase labor market flexibility	Promote anti-union policies & further increase labor market flexibility
10	Enforce property & land ownership with IP rules & titling	Enforce property and land ownership with weapons & walls

Figure 1: Neoliberalism vis-à-vis Trumpism (adapted from Sparke, 2013, page 394)

1). Starting with trade liberalization, it is possible to order neoliberal policy norms from 1 to 10, with numbers 1 through 5 being areas that reflect more reactionary nationalistic divergences from neoliberal norms, and numbers 6 through 10 being policy areas on which Trumpism aligns quite closely with traditional neoliberalism. Based on this table, we are able to suggest some provisional conclusions as to where Trumpism seems most likely to modify traditional neoliberal norms and where it is more likely to continue with the status quo.

Trumpism's biggest 'post-neoliberal' or 'anti-neoliberal' changes look set to be introduced in relation to trade and associated currency impacts, with the development of an aggressive economic nationalism that is both protectionist and inflationary. Thus, he is threatening to impose new tariffs on Mexican and Chinese imports, and, as with the case of the air conditioning company Carrier, clearly plans on shaming businesses and CEOs who can be accused of outsourcing American jobs to low wage countries. While this rhetoric and behavior appears to reflect a pronounced contempt for neoliberalism, in actuality they reflect little more than bluster and posturing based on ignorance of underlying economic interdependencies. In his arguments against the Chinese, for example, Trump obviously intends to accuse them of being

currency manipulators in order to justify imposing punitive tariffs, even though the Chinese are currently spending foreign exchange to prop up their currency rather than devalue it and the prices of their exports. Similarly, Trump's reciprocal attempts to talk down the value of the US dollar will likely be undermined by his own fiscal plans, which involve new government borrowing that will inevitably raise interest rates and therefore, at least in the short term, the value of the dollar. Meanwhile, despite Trump's anti-China rhetoric, Beijing was pleased to see his executive order instructing US officials to abandon the TPP because Chinese officials were unhappy that the deal had been structured to exclude Chinese membership and pull other Asian countries closer into America's orbit. In short, Trump's fiscal and trade policies seem to be expressions of incoherence, ignorance, and rage rather than a distinct anti-neoliberal agenda. This indicates in turn that these elements of Trumpism will most likely either be forgotten or ineptly executed.

Far less contradictory are the areas where there is most continuity between Trumpism and neoliberalism: namely, privatization, deregulation, tax-cutting, anti-unionism and property rights enforcement. It seems clear in this respect that while the bankers and business leaders around Trump may not be able to do much to control his xenophobic hyper-nationalism and disdain for hot-button trade topics such as NAFTA, they are perfectly positioned to work with the Republican majorities in Congress to intensify the implementation of their long-standing neoliberal agenda. Of course, it remains to be seen what policies will actually be turned into legislation. Nevertheless, Trump's first few weeks in office already augur well for Wall Street and its free-market fantasies. No less a mouthpiece for elite market commentary than the Financial Times' John Authers summed up the administration's achievements as follows: "Investment banks' shares have outperformed the market by 20 per cent since the election. The Trump administration has been good for the rich and powerful so far" (Authers, 2017).

Between the extremes of anti-neoliberalism and pro-neoliberalism lie the policy areas where Trump is proposing relatively minor tweaks to traditional neoliberal norms. Thus, even as he plans for big new spending on the American military and infrastructure, traditional neoliberal commitments to austerity look set to be continued in areas of social service spending, with yet more cuts coming to arts funding, scientific research and foreign aid. The resulting 'military Keynesianism' was, of course, a defining feature of Reaganism, and insofar as Ronald Reagan is commonly viewed as one of the world's most successful neoliberal policy pioneers, Trump's plans again suggest that his administration will continue rather than change the broad neoliberal project. Moreover, just as with Reagan, Trump appears to be interested in pursuing his investments in the military and infrastructure in ways that will rely as much as possible on private-sector intermediaries and

sub-contractors, continuing a seventy-year long drift toward public-private partnerships that has only intensified under the Bush and Obama Administrations. To the extent that these investments will also involve entanglements with foreign-owned companies, we will probably witness more policy complications. But in the end, the most likely outcomes will serve to further expand neoliberal norms of governance.

None of the above should take away from the fundamental political contradiction that it was discontent with the inequalities and instabilities created by neoliberal globalization that opened Trump's rubble-strewn road to the White House. Though there may not have been as many blue-collar 'Trump-Democrats' as has been suggested, rust-belt deindustrialization and de-unionization nevertheless accounted for some of Trump's narrow victories in the mid-West (compare Davis, 2017 and Moody, 2017). Certainly, many of the electoral handicaps that Hillary Clinton and the Democrats brought with them into the election can themselves be traced back to "Third Way" Democrats' own support for neoliberalism, especially their complicity, as Bernie Sanders rightly noted, in saving Wall Street after the financial crisis at the expense of ordinary people on so-called Main Street. On the right, meanwhile, it is clear that Trump's hostile take-over of the Republican Party was made possible in part by the work that the Tea Party had already done in transforming popular rage about the financial crisis and the subsequent bail-out of the banks into an enduring influence on Republican candidate selection processes. Just as Tea Party organizers waxed nostalgic for an older, less globalized America (that did not have to honor credit default swaps purchased by foreign banks), and just as they ignorantly implored legislators to balance the national budget like a family budget (while actively forgetting the political-economic history that engendered the financial crisis), Trumpism itself traded on a mix of nationalistic nostalgia and political-economic amnesia. Now, his administration can only hope that these terrible twins will allow Trump's monstrous—and, at least so far, ineptly executed—managerialism to go on defying political gravity while selling the American people on new rounds of extreme neoliberalism.

### *Towards a radical democratic conclusion*

Our main concern in these pages has been to show that efforts to compare Trumpism with neoliberalism, on the one side, and the Nazis, on the other side, can usefully be brought into conversation with one another. In particular, we have suggested that we are currently confronting a monstrous hybrid regime that combines extreme neoliberalism with the fascistic violence implied by Trump's menacing calls for torture and the "extreme vetting" of citizens hailing from seven Muslim-majority countries. While

Trump's actions do not perfectly mirror those of Hitler, and while we remain confident we will not see a horror like the Holocaust in 21st century America, there are nevertheless real parallels between the rise of Trumpism and the rise of the Nazis in Weimar Germany. Nonetheless, we must be careful not to let these parallels lead us to conclude—as Loewenstein, Speier, and Mises did—that the demos cannot be trusted. To prevent Trump's authoritarian neoliberalism and xenophobia from causing terrible suffering amongst America's many vulnerable inhabitants, we must re-engage and re-radicalize democracy. We cannot, as the Democrats did in the 2016 election, continue to replace the rough and tumble of political discussion with a donor-dependent, digital-expert approach to elections. This kind of neoliberalism, as Wendy Brown (2015) has argued, undoes the demos by marketizing it. Instead, we must remember that four out of ten eligible American voters decided not to cast any ballot in the recent election. It is surely this "silent plurality" that we must politicize, providing a vision for the future that both looks beyond and reveals the emptiness at the heart of actually-existing neoliberalism. We cannot allow democracy, so to speak, to be Trumped by a neoliberal logic that transforms people into market-derived data points. If the growing resistance movement across the country shows anything, it shows that democracy is alive and well.

From the millions who joyfully joined the women's marches, to the airport protests against Trump's travel ban, to the contentious crowds greeting lawmakers who still say they support the president, Trumpism has catalyzed a radically democratic resistance movement that is not going to give up without a fight. If this presently inchoate movement can gain political traction in the same way that the Tea Party did, the heterogeneity and diversity of the resistance might radicalize democracy in ways that extend beyond national party politics. However, we must admit that these remain big 'if's and 'might's. Despite high hopes at the start, the Occupy movement ultimately failed because it could not articulate a coherent vision or organize people to act effectively within the strictures of American politics (Sparke, 2013b). We must, in short, be careful not to romanticize what can be swiftly achieved in a deeply capitalist state (Maher, 2016). Still, by provoking such widespread resistance, Trumpism's monstrous merging of neoliberalism with Nazi tendencies has started a radicalization of democracy in which we must place our hopes. Ours is a historically transformative moment, and we must do whatever we can to ensure that history and the opportunities of democracy do not pass us by. •

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*UN-  
PRESIDENTED*

*(sic):*

*Covering the  
Transition*

*11/8/16-1/20/17*

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**A**t 4.30 am on Saturday December 17th, a tweet appeared on Donald Trump's twitter feed denouncing the seizure by the Chinese navy of an unmanned U.S. Navy research drone in the South China sea. Trump's tweet was a further provocation to escalating Sino-US tensions in the wake of a barrage of earlier tweets from the President-elect attacking China's policies on international trade and currency manipulation and the phone conversation held two weeks earlier between Trump and the President of Taiwan, Tsai Ing Wen which flouted four decades of diplomatic protocol surrounding the so-called One China policy established in 1979, whereby the U.S. tacitly acknowledges Beijing's territorial claim over the island of Taiwan.

That phone call in turn formed part of a pattern of communications that dramatically flouted established diplomatic protocol as foreign leaders like President Sisi of Egypt and Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull phoned Trump on his cell in Trump Tower to congratulate the President-Elect on his November 8th victory ahead of closer allies. Trump talked to the leaders of Mexico, Israel, Turkey, India, Japan, and South Korea, and invited Irish Prime Minister Enda Kenny to come to Washington for St. Patrick's Day before phoning British Prime Minister, Theresa May for a ten minute chat which ended with Trump asking her to be sure to let him know if she's ever in New York and to pass along his greetings to the Queen next time she bumps into her.

Then there was Trump's photo call with Nigel Farage of the rightwing anti-E.U., anti-immigrant U.K. Independence Party, UKIP<sup>1</sup>. Farage: the major architect and principal political beneficiary of Brexit, Britain's pending exit from the European Union following the June 23rd referendum- the shot across the bows that preceded and prefigured Trump's own electoral victory on November 8th. The people everywhere, it seems, are up in arms against elites of every stripe, and a system that's been rigged. Here Farage, who had enthusiastically endorsed Trump at the Republican Convention in Cleveland in July gives his trademark victory guffaw alongside Trump on November 12th in front of the real estate mogul, Reality TV star, and soon-to-be Celebrity (apprentice) President's gold-plated elevator. In response to a subsequent Trump tweet that Farage would make a great British ambassador to the U.S., the U.K. Prime Minister's office issued a cool, curt one liner: "There is no vacancy." So much for the special relationship British politicians from Winston Churchill to Margaret Thatcher and Labour's Tony Blair, dubbed by the British press "Bush's poodle" for his unconditional support for the 2003 invasion of Iraq have been banging on about since World War Two. Now, in a major re-set of seven decades of post-War U.S. international relations, with Trump's apparent skepticism toward the continuing relevance of the NATO alliance, it seems the special relationship that really

1 *The vaunted 'mainstream' Press – e.g. The New York Times, The Guardian et al.—the struggling liberal elite newspapers people like myself still daily read, and, in a sense, still live inside—took great delight in skewering Trump's base visually in photo-essays of T-shirt wearing, red baseball-hatted 'pitchforks', a.k.a. Clinton's "basket of deplorables". But now he's about to be inducted as POTUS, Trump's 'People' also include well-heeled Silicon Valley Titan-types like Larry Page (Google), Tim Cook (Apple Inc.), Sheryl Sandberg (Facebook), Elon Musk (Tesla) and Safra Katz (Oracle), all of whom appeared in photos in the Business Sections huddled with the President-Elect around the conference table in Trump Tower for a Tech-Industry summit on December 14th, 2016.*

counts is decisively with Putin's Russia<sup>2</sup>.

All of this, of course, as everyone keeps saying, is unprecedented or "un-presidented", as Trump, or whoever tapped out that tweet on Trump's behalf, spelled it. Predictably the blooper went viral pushing out "surreal" which had previously been voted Word of the Year - the word that summed up 2016 when populists across the West went to war on the elites, when the credibility of professional pundits and the political classes everywhere was finally, officially, shot.

Donald J. Trump is like nothing we, or the rest of world have seen before in the history of this country. His speech is unfettered and unfiltered, trumping even George W. Bush's famously tongue-tied malapropisms and 'mis-speakings' (e.g. "Rarely is the question asked: is our children learning?" [G.W.Bush 1/11/2000]). And it is diametrically opposed, and totally at odds in terms of its tone, uncensored content, and unconventional grammatical constructions with the studied oratory of Obama, whose bearing and diction is so self-consciously Presidential (capital P) and circumpect he sometimes seemed to have stepped straight out of Central Casting. Early in the Primary campaign, a Fox News poll found that 44% of a sample of U.S. voters and 62% of Republicans agreed with the statement: "Trump tells it like it is, and we need that now in a President".

According to Mark Thompson, former Director-General of the BBC, we are living through a crisis in public language that is both a symptom and a generator of a larger crisis in our political institutions, common culture and the functioning of democracy in general, and in an article that appeared in the U.K. edition of The Guardian in late August, he analyzed the "anti-rhetorical rhetoric" – the speech tactics, the verbal tricks and tics Trump, a master of bait-and-switch habitually uses to short-circuit critical reflection, to sabotage discussion and reason-based arguments – to discombobulate, neutralize or marginalize opponents and opposing views<sup>3</sup>.

Here's Trump addressing a stadium of supporters in Dallas in September last year:

*"I made a beautiful speech. I thought it was wonderful. Everything was fine. A week and a half later, they attacked me. In other words they went through – and then they lied. They made it up. I'm talking about illegal immigration ... We have to stop illegal immigration. We have to do it. [Cheers and applause] We have to do it. Have to do it. [Audience: USA! USA! USA! USA!] And when I hear some of the people that I'm running against, including the Democrats, we have to build a wall, folks. We have to build a wall. All you have to do is go to Israel and say, 'How is your wall working?' Walls work."*<sup>4</sup>

Thompson goes on to identify the key rhetorical device Trump uses here as parataxis, the juxtaposing, one against the

- 2 *The Powerpoint accompanying this text on Democracy Day included a slide of a selection of contemporary European populist leaders: Vladimir Putin (Russia), Recep Erdogan (Turkey), Boris Johnson (UK), Geert Wilders (Netherlands), Viktor Orban (Hungary), Frauke Petry (Germany), Marine Le Pen & Marion Maréchal-Le Pen (France), and Silvio Berlusconi (Italy). Berlusconi is the billionaire media mogul and former cruise boat entertainer whose persona and career perhaps most closely resemble Donald Trump's. "Authoritarian Populism" is a phrase introduced by the late cultural and media theorist, Stuart Hall, as a key term in his prescient analysis of Thatcherism: the economic, cultural and political movement/ideological formation that, under Margaret Thatcher's leadership of the British Conservative Party from 1979 to 1990, succeeded in installing a radical monetarist/neo-liberal agenda at the center of British policy making, while attempting to remake British culture and society along ethno-nationalist lines. Hall famously published an article titled "The Great Moving Right Show" on the Thatcherite project several months before Thatcher won her first electoral victory in 1979. See [http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/79\\_01\\_hall.pdf](http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/79_01_hall.pdf)*

- 3 Mark Thompson, "From Trump to Brexit rhetoric: how today's politicians have got away with words" (Guardian, 8/27/16): <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/aug/27/from-trump-to-brexit-rhetoric-how-todays-politicians-have-got-away-with-words>

*This presentation is an extended tribute to/riff on Thompson's perspicacious insights.*

- 4 Trump speech delivered at American Airlines Center, Dallas TX (9/14/15) quoted *ibid*.

other, of words and sentences which have little or no discernible relationship to each other.

The tactic is designed to disrupt, sideline or derail syntactical relationships, to neutralize the faculty of independent judgment. The implication is that this is how it is, and anyone who says anything different is stupid. Complexity acknowledged is nothing more than smoke-and-mirrors obfuscation foisted on the People by overeducated experts- by thinkers, not doers.

The combination of vitriolic abuse, unsubstantiated assertion and extreme brevity- the short, sharp shocking statement- this is the signature DNA of the successful tweet, and Twitter is, as we all know, Trump's preferred platform: the terse in-your-face mode of attention- getting messaging he has mastered and made uniquely his own in a way that Clinton and Obama (despite Obama's much larger army of "followers" on Twitter) have not.

And not only have centrist liberal Democrats like Obama or Clinton failed to grasp the schismatic power of the tweet but, given their reverence for the norms and conventions of civil discourse, given their commitment to facts and figures, to wonkish details and long-form policy debates, to the depth model of meaning; given their attachment, however flawed and partial, to some idea of truth, their shared belief in continuity and business as usual, to gradualism, moderation, "the arc of history bending" etc. : to politics as negotiation, they can never master Twitter in the way Donald J. Trump has.

As a consequence of the exhaustion, greed and—let's face it—the bubble-headed arrogance and wishful thinking of what Trump habitually derides as the "lying mainstream media", and the explosion of social media and fake news detonated in its face and in its shadow, enabled inter alia by Facebook's trending-tracking algorithms, installed in response to complaints from right-wing media advocates that they weren't getting a fair crack of Zuckerberg's whip, we are about to inaugurate a President who has been claiming for eight years that Obama was a Kenyan and a Muslim who never attended Columbia University, that Hillary Clinton was too ill to serve as President, that Vladimir Putin would never dream of going into the Crimea, that Ted Cruz's father was involved in the plot to kill JFK, that thousands of Muslims were cheering in New Jersey on 9/11, that Supreme Court justice, Antonin Scalia may have been murdered, vaccines cause autism and climate change is a trick pulled on us by the Chinese.

According to Wikipedia, on November 8th, the day of the U.S. election, Twitter was the largest source of breaking news with forty million tweets sent by 10:00 PM Eastern Time. In an interview for The LA Times magazine given in 2006, Jack Dorsey, one of the founders of Twitter explained how he and his partners, all in their mid-twenties at the time, had settled on the company name

at a Eureka moment in a bunch of name-storming sessions:

“... We came across the word ‘twitter;’ and it was just perfect. The definition was ‘a short burst of inconsequential information’ and ‘chirps from birds’. And that’s exactly what the product was.”<sup>5</sup>

In George Orwell’s 1984, a subcategory of Newspeak, the fictional language created by the totalitarian state of Oceania is labeled “Duckspeak”<sup>6</sup>. Duckspeak, a term meaning “to quack like a duck” or “to speak without thinking” is the apothotic fulfillment of the Party’s totalizing aspiration to sever the links between language and cognitive function. As Orwell puts it in the book’s Appendix on “The Principles of Newspeak”: “Ultimately it was hoped to make articulate speech issue from the larynx without involving the higher brain centres at all”<sup>7</sup>.

An example of Duckspeak in action is provided in chapter nine, when an Inner Party speaker is haranguing the crowd about the crimes of Eurasia when a note is passed into his hand. He never stops speaking or changes his inflection, but (according to the changed Party position) he now condemns the crimes of Eastasia, which is Oceania’s new enemy<sup>7</sup>.

So I think I’ll end there not with a whimper or a groan but a quack...

QUACK. •

5 David Sano (February 18, 2009). “Twitter Creator Jack Dorsey illuminates the site’s Founding document. Part 1” (Los Angeles Times, 2/18/09).

6 More on Duckspeak-: “...What was required, above all for political purposes, was short clipped words of unmistakable meaning which could be uttered rapidly and which roused the minimum of echoes in the speaker’s mind. The words of the B vocabulary even gained in force from the fact that nearly all of them were very much alike. Almost invariably these words- goodthink, Minipax, prolefeed, sexcrime, joycamp, Ingsoc, bellyfeel, thinkpol, and countless others- were words of two or three syllables, with the stress distributed equally between the first syllable and the last ... The intention was to make speech, and especially speech on any subject that was not ideologically neutral, as nearly as possible independent of consciousness. For the purposes of everyday life it was no doubt necessary, or sometimes necessary, to reflect before speaking, but a Party member called upon to make a political or ethical judgment should be able to spray forth the correct opinions as automatically as a machine gun spraying forth bullets. His training fitted him to do this, the language gave him an almost fool-proof instrument and the texture of the words with their harsh sound a certain willful ugliness which was in accord with the spirit of (the Party), assisted the process still further.”

-George Orwell, 1984 (Secker & Warburg, London: 1949) Appendix: “The Principles of Newspeak”.



A slide from Hebridge's presentation

- 7 This paragraph is copied verbatim from the Wikipedia entry entitled "List of Newspeak words" [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Newspeak\\_words](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Newspeak_words) (downloaded 1/18/17). The original passage from Part 2. Ch. 9 of Orwell's novel is nonetheless worth quoting in full:

"(T)he general hatred of Eurasia had boiled up into such delirium that if the crowd could have got their hands on the 2,000 Eurasian war-criminals who were to be publicly hanged on the last day of the proceedings, they would unquestionably have torn them to pieces—at just this moment it had been announced that Oceania was not after all at war with Eurasia. Oceania was at war with Eastasia. Eurasia was an ally. There was, of course, no admission that any change had taken place. Merely it became known, with extreme suddenness and everywhere at once, that Eastasia and not Eurasia was the enemy... On a scarlet-draped platform an orator of the Inner Party, a small lean man with disproportionately long arms and a large bald skull over which a few lank locks straggled, was haranguing the crowd. A little Rumpelstiltskin figure, contorted with hatred, ... gripped the neck of the microphone ... His voice, made metallic by the amplifiers, boomed forth an endless catalogue of atrocities, massacres, deportations, lootings, rapings, torture of prisoners, bombing of civilians, lying propaganda, unjust aggressions, broken treaties. .... At every few moments the fury of the crowd boiled over and the voice of the speaker was drowned by a wild beast-like roaring that rose uncontrollably from thousands of throats....

(T)he speech had been proceeding for perhaps twenty minutes when a messenger hurried on to the platform and a scrap of paper was slipped into the speaker's hand. He unrolled and read it without pausing in his speech. Nothing altered in his voice or manner, or in the content of what he was saying, but suddenly the names were different. Without words said, a wave of understanding rippled through the crowd. Oceania was at war with Eastasia! The next moment there was a tremendous commotion. The banners and posters with which the square was decorated were all wrong! .. There was a riotous interlude while posters were ripped from walls, banners torn to shreds and trampled underfoot... The orator, still gripping the neck of the microphone, his shoulders hunched forward, his free hand clawing at the air, had gone straight on with his speech. One minute more, and the feral roars of rage were again bursting from the crowd. The Hate continued exactly as before, except that the target had been changed".

-George Orwell op cit. 1949



*Real News,  
Fake News,  
and Why the  
Difference  
Matters*

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*This piece was originally presented in Dance 44: World Dance Histories on January 18.*

In formulating a pedagogical response to Trumpism, it seemed important to me to focus on political activism as it might engage with the ethos of the humanities. I felt it essential to connect whatever I might have to say for Teach, Organize, Resist with the topic of my course, World Dance Histories. In particular, I was interested in exploring how the humanities can encourage us to be active and engaged citizens. Arguably, the humanities hinges on both analyzing source materials and on the interpretation of information and, as such, it seems particularly relevant for analyzing, and resisting the effects of an election in which information was intentionally manipulated.

Specifically, we can see a parallel between a scholar's evaluation of historical source materials both in terms of its status (is it what it claims to be?) and its significance (what does it mean?). For undergraduate students, in particular, explaining the humanities often means teaching about the differences between primary and secondary research as well as offering exposure to methodologies that give us a means of making sense of what we see and hear. This is a skill that applies equally to historiography and to evaluating news sources.

### *Fake news versus real news –*

Contrary to what Trump and his inner circle would have us believe, fake news is not news that an individual chooses to reject. Nor is it news that is unimportant. Rather, it is news that is intentionally manufactured, either to influence the outcome of the election or simply to make money, as in the case of the invented "news" stories created by teenagers in Veles, Macedonia. Or it is satire that got picked up and circulated as if it were fact.

This distinction was confusing to undergraduates in an election when the seemingly impossible happened: a hostile foreign power interfered in our election. Real life events seem excerpted from a Cold War thriller and, thus, it can be hard to distinguish fake news when real news seems so unlikely.

In addition, this election cycle saw a perfect storm of ruptures in how information circulates. This presidential campaign was the first to rely extensively on social media, a space that is uncensored and in which algorithms create an echo chamber of both sensation and agreement. Trump hired an organization dedicated to personality profiling via social media creating a methodology parallel to that of the tobacco industry, climate change denialists, and the animal agriculture lobby in which doubt became a product. Decades of corporate deregulation has created a crisis of the public sphere including a crumbling of public education and a resulting populace deficient in critical reading skills.

The humanities and its approach to scholarship can counter this crisis of information. A humanities approach can encourage us

to ask questions of what we read, by asking: Is this story based on primary research? Who is writing it and where did they get their information? Where is it published and what is the bias of the publication? Where was it first published? Did it go through editorial review? Does the argument or claim exhibit a clear logic? Does the author cite his or her sources? Is causality demonstrated or made plausible? Is there an admission of limitations?

When applied to historical documents, these questions can seem dry, technical, and plodding. When applied to news stories, they can mean the difference between truth and falsehood, the survival of a free press, and the right of citizens to criticize their leaders.

The humanities give us much more than the ability to critique source materials. The humanities can give us the means of interrogating and countering the sexism, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, and transphobia that Trump's campaign deployed. It can remind us of the importance of education, encouraging us to continually challenge the deregulation of the corporate sector and the impoverishment of the public sphere, which paradoxically both gave Trump the means to run his campaign and drove the dissatisfaction on which he came into power. Questioning what information we take in, how we receive it, and what we do with it can give us a practical basis from which to address these larger concerns. •

***The humanities can give us the means of interrogating and countering the sexism, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, and transphobia that Trump's campaign deployed.***



*A Journal from  
Trumpland:  
Teach!  
Organize!  
Resist!*

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*Laure Murat*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*Published in Libération, Wednesday,  
January 25, 2017.*

*Translated from the French by  
Elizabeth M. Collins.*

*In the wake of the election of Donald Trump, this historian, who lives in Los Angeles, is participating in an opposition group at her university. This is a chronicle of the last three months.*

### ***November 24, 2016***

Over Thanksgiving weekend, a certain nomination seems to pass almost unnoticed in Europe: that of the Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, multibillionaire, former president of the Republican Party in Michigan, and fierce opponent of LGBTQI rights. In addition to the fact that has not attended university since obtaining her B.A. from Calvin College, she has campaigned for decades in favor of school choice and the “Voucher Program,” which allows parents to pay for their child's education in a school of their choice – and to receive tax breaks from the state in exchange for that payment. What this means, in other words, is the financing of private and religious education with public funds. Betsy DeVos is also a former member of the Board of Directors (1995-2005) and is to this day in support of the Acton Institute, which condones child labor, including in mines.<sup>1</sup> Yes, you read that correctly.

### ***November 30, 2016***

Today marks the official launch of our opposition group created at UCLA the day after the elections, called Rave (Resistance Against Violence Through Education). Trump's agenda (to deport undocumented students, prohibit Muslims from entering the United States, build a wall along the Mexican border, etc.) sowed palpable anxiety among most students, in a university where minorities are the majority—and of which 700 are undocumented. What do we do? Offer free legal counseling, welcome students in regular office hours to discuss the current situation, and most importantly teach, explain, awaken a critical consciousness. For our first event, in front of a packed house of more than 400 students, buzzing with an electric atmosphere, Sarah Haley, professor of Gender Studies, retraces from the podium the historical connections between white supremacist feminism and the the Ku Klux Klan; Cheryl Harris, a former lawyer and current Professor of Law, calls for us to think of problems in terms of intersectionality and invites progressives to not focus on problems of class to the detriment of questions of race; finally, Cherrie Moraga, icon of Chicano/Chicana feminism, examines, among other things, the notion of indigeneity and the politics of “diversity” in a university that is becoming more and more privatized. In short, they each contribute complexity and nuance to a situation where the ambient political discourse offers, in response to the distress of the population, brutal decisions.

1 <http://blog.acton.org/archives/89837-bring-back-child-labor-work-is-a-gift-our-kids-can-handle.html>

At the end, a female student, in tears, tells me: “It’s important what you [the committee] are doing, because all the professors, they keep telling us the same thing: ‘We’re tired.’”

### ***December 20, 2016***

A watch-list denouncing those professors with “subversive” ideas is published on the Internet. It takes an inventory of teachers accused of working in service of “leftist propaganda.” A letter immediately circulates inviting us to voluntarily add our names, in solidarity with our targeted colleagues. By January 5th, we were over 11,000 professors who had signed it.

### ***January 18, 2017***

Big day dubbed *Teach! Organize! Resist!* is emphatically lead by Ananya Roy, Director of The Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA and executive committee member of Rave—watch the video screened on this day.<sup>2</sup> The idea? A massive mobilization, during which each professor would spend his or her class time explaining the context and the dangers of Trumpism as well as the historical roots of civil rights and resistance movements. The initiative galvanized dozens of universities: Princeton, UC Davis, UC Berkeley, UC Santa Barbara, Columbia, NYU, MIT, etc. At UCLA, the closing event brought together activists, singers, artists, researchers, including Patrisse Cullors, the co-founder of Black Lives Matter, Bryonn Bain, Peter Sellars, the poet Erika Sánchez, and other militants for the rights of immigrants and women. The evening ends with dancing, an unexpected echo acknowledged by Peter Sellars, who recalls that Brazilians opposed the dictatorship through the most beautiful and understated of responses: bossa nova.

### ***January 20, 2017***

Inauguration. General strike for Rave.

By swearing on the Bible and becoming the 45th President of the United States, Donald J. Trump, by the same gesture, violates the Constitution. For legal experts of problems of constitutional ethics, whether they be Democratic or Republican, are formal: Trump’s multiple conflicts of interest will provoke a series of crises which will be without precedent.

Why do we keep saying that Donald J. Trump is “unpredictable”? Moments before beginning his speech, the commentators of CBS News declare that this solemn occasion would

<sup>2</sup> “3 Truths about Trumpism” at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTnbA-hDxGM>

be a “test” of his “sense of History” and his capacity to “unite” America. He serves us his typical discourse, addressing only his electorate, insulting Obama and the establishment in veiled terms, denouncing the “carnage” of which America had been the victim, by gangs, drugs, crime, and promising to eradicate radical Islamism “from the surface of the Earth.” This is why he was elected. Donald J. Trump, adhering perfectly to his stated agenda from the campaign trail, is the most predictable man in the world. He thinks what he says, he says what he does, and he will do what he tweets.

But is it possible that Donald Trump could in fact have an exceptional sense of History in that he has an innate sense of the present? He did not cite a single reference in his speech, did not avail himself of a single example from the past. A stroke of genius. He does not have predecessors. This is why his remaining supporters deem him—this white, paunchy, chauvinist septuagenarian—a new man.

### ***January 21, 2017***

Women's marches across the country. An impressive crowd assembles in Downtown Los Angeles, where you can make out, among the hand-knitted pink “pussy hats” and under a spring-time sun, thousands of signs: “Free Melania!”; “Not my president”; “I'm with her”—a slogan featured on a background of the Statue of Liberty—; “Twitler”; “Hands off! ; “Can't build a wall, hands too small,” etc. We hoped for 50,000 people. We were ten times more than that (according to the Los Angeles Police Department!). But without a doubt, tomorrow we'll read a presidential tweet saying that it was all the work of brainwashing and fake news. As if in anticipation, you could see in the crowd signs that read “We Are Not Fake.” •

***The idea? A massive mobilization, during which each professor would spend his or her class time explaining the context and the dangers of Trumpism as well as the historical roots of civil rights and resistance movements.***



Reimag

ginings

*Anti-Racist  
Struggle:  
Past,  
Present,  
Future*

*Malini Ranganathan  
American University, Washington, DC*

*This paper was originally presented at Teach Organize Engage: A Forum on Contemporary Politics and the Future on January 18.*

I'd like to start with stories of three people I know: Mona, Martin, and Claudia. Mona: Mona teaches somewhere on the west coast. A few weeks ago, she was in a café and overheard two people hollering Islamophobic jokes. She turned and looked at them and said: "I want you to know that I am Muslim and I can hear you". One of them snapped back, "Have you read the Koran? I have, and I have read *Mein Kampf*. They are the same." Unable to dignify the response, she walked away, shaking. Later that day Mona posted on social media: "I still believe that the most important thing to do is speak up rather than remain silent. But at what risk now that bigots are emboldened in the age of Trumpism?"

Martin: Martin used to be the Montgomery County Deputy Sheriff. Now he runs my local gym. I ask him about racism in the police service one day. "Racism in law enforcement is real. I've seen it first hand," he tells me. "My friends say they aren't racist: 'we're friends with you, aren't we, and you're black'. Sure, they treat me with respect, but then turn around and treat my son differently because they don't know him. I've seen how they treat a black person on the street differently."

Claudia: Claudia was a student in my environmental justice course and graduated with a Master's from SIS 2 years ago. Now she advocates for racial justice and Latinx immigrant rights in DC. I ask her about her work. "Racism is a real thing in community development" Claudia says. She then explains: "Agency heads go out of their way to marginalize minority voices because they know that minorities are most affected by urban redevelopment. They jeopardize consultations that are inclusive of race and ethnicity. I'm trying to change that".

Mona, Martin, Claudia, many of you in this room, myself included, are no strangers to racism, both overt and subtle, individual and institutional. The Southern Poverty Law Center estimates an uptick in hate incidents since the election, with anti-immigrant and anti-black incidents leading, but anti-LGBTQ, anti-Muslim, swastika vandalism, and anti-women incidents also reported. Meanwhile, on both side of the aisle, people are outraged about the discriminatory views and record of the President's advisers and cabinet picks, and the potential harms of future policies related to immigration, health, schools, and environmental safety on everyone; especially minorities and vulnerable groups. This is our present reality. But this is a reality that people of color and their ancestors have always faced. This reality hardly began with the 2016 election.

Black intellectuals of the 20th century—WEB Du Bois, James Baldwin, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Cedric Robinson, and many others—argued that we think structurally about racism and white supremacy as being bound up with the history of this nation. These thinkers argued that white supremacy is not just about hooded men with burning crosses. It refers to the entire system

of laws, words, ideas, economic relations, and cultural values that normalizes the superiority of whiteness in every sphere of social life. White supremacy has a long history, delivered first through the frameworks of slavery and Jim Crow, and later through the Federal Housing Administration, racialized incarceration, the War on Drugs, and race-based immigration statutes. White supremacy means that American prosperity was built on native land and black labor. And still today, indigenous rights are the first to be sacrificed at the altar of profit. Founding documents might hold the “self-evident truth of equality”. But historic evidence bears witness to the “American nightmare” of inequality, to use Malcolm X’s apt phrasing. This, despite the monumental gains of civil rights struggles led by Dr King and countless others. Civil Rights and 50 years

***Black intellectuals of the 20th century—WEB Du Bois, James Baldwin, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Cedric Robinson, and many others—argued that we think structurally about racism and white supremacy as being bound up with the history of this nation.***

later, the election of a black president, has lulled us into the illusion of a post-racial society. But, the past isn’t dead. It isn’t even past, as William Faulkner said.

Allow me to take you on a brief tour through anti-racist struggles of the 60s and 70s. Frustrated by the gaps left by the Civil Rights era—and influenced by the politics of Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and anti-colonial thinkers like Frantz Fanon—the Black Power movement raised a fist against structural racism. As Ibram Kendi documents in “The Black Campus Movement”, on campuses this translated into students demanding an education that was relevant to them through black studies and the inclusion of Third World literature; a change in admission policies; and resistance against university-led gentrification. The Black Power movement had echoes all over the world, most notably in South Africa’s anti-apartheid struggles over the next two decades.

Black Power influenced domestic anti-racist struggles as well. During the 1960s and 70s, Native Americans rose up to fight for land rights and the fulfillment of broken treaties; Chicanos rose up to fight for farmworker rights; and Japanese Americans who had been corralled into internment camps rose up to fight for Asian American rights. Black power feminists, meanwhile, insisted that racism, sexism, classism, and gender identity are bound together. This was a vibrant era of intersectional struggle—that is, struggles that acknowledge that oppression is often entangled in complicated ways, and that freedom for black women entail freedom for all oppressed groups.

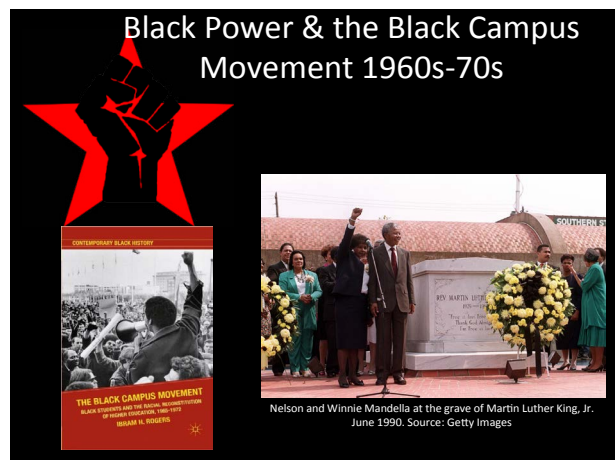
But then something changed from the 70s onwards. In “From

Black Lives Matter to Black Liberation”, Princeton professor Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor chronicles federal counterinsurgency, the dismantling of welfare, and the revival of the “culture of poverty” discourse—the idea that minorities are to blame for their poverty and that they are “welfare queens” taking advantage of the system. White, black, and brown workers began to be divided rather than united in their grievances against inequality. If you look around, we are haunted by some of this divisiveness today.

Flash forward to today. The Movement for Black Lives, the Black Youth Project-100, Dream Defenders, and Fight for 15 seek to revive this intersectional tradition, to unite struggles for labor with those against racism. Today’s anti-racist movements have articulated a range of demands from public education to financial sector reform to prison reform to food justice to labor rights to indigenous and immigrant rights. It is explicit in its inclusion of the multiracial working classes, including the white working class, women, trans and queer groups, and the formerly incarcerated. It is focused on what MLK called “the fierce the urgency of now”.

I believe the future of anti-racist struggle lies in such intersectional struggle. I leave you with 3 words for the future of anti-racist struggle from historian Barbara Ransby: Remember, Resist, Reimagine.

Remember because we must acknowledge and make reparations for the harms of the past. History is a powerful tool not because it provides a blueprint for the future, but because it reminds us that ordinary people, working together, have the power to create a more just society. Resist because we have to stand-up to the normalization of bigotry in all its forms. At AU, faculty in the Race, Empires, and Diaspora and Ethnographies of Empire groups are working on building racial literacy into AU’s curriculum. And Reimagine because as Khalil Gibran Muhammed argued in his *New York Times* op-ed this past weekend: to end racism we need institutions to be anti-racist. Together at AU, can we reimagine what institutional anti-racism will look like? •



A slide from Ranganathan’s presentation.

# *Local Politics of Immigration*

*Helga Leitner*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

Often a flashpoint, immigration became a central theme in 2016 as Donald Trump successfully secured the Republican presidential nomination and the White House, sketching a vision of immigrants and refugees as threats requiring heightened scrutiny and the construction of walls to deter entry. The differing visions on immigration presented by Trump and his general election rival, Hillary Clinton, were stark, with the Democrat promising to consolidate and build upon the Obama administration record of relative tolerance toward immigrants and Trump pledging more enforcement against the unauthorized, stricter screening of legal immigrants, and reductions in overall immigration. Before the 2016 campaign, President Obama had used his executive authority to implement significant changes, including providing work authorization for nearly 750,000 young unauthorized immigrants.

Two enforcement programs involving the use of immigration detainers, a vehicle by which the federal government (through ICE) requests that local law enforcement agencies (LEAs) detain immigrants beyond their scheduled release upon suspicion that they are removable, demonstrate the breakdown of conventional wisdom. In the five years following initiation of the Secure Communities program, a significant and growing number of states and localities have declined to cooperate with federal immigration detainer requests or enacted sanctuary policies—ultimately leading to the demise of the Secure Communities program and a reworking of federal-local partnerships in immigration enforcement through the Priority Enforcement program that replaced it in November 2014. The balance of crime control and community trust in immigration enforcement is being reset as the political pendulum swings as Congress considers legislative reforms to curb local resistance to detainers following the killing of Kathryn Steinle in July 2015.

This presentation finds that state and local non-cooperation in immigration enforcement—a timely example of uncooperative federalism—is influenced by attitudes toward the legitimacy of executive action—distinct from attitudes toward the law’s legality, morality, or politics. Both cooperation and noncooperation contribute to a policymaking feedback loop in ways more complicated than existing theories of cooperative federalism and executive action presage.

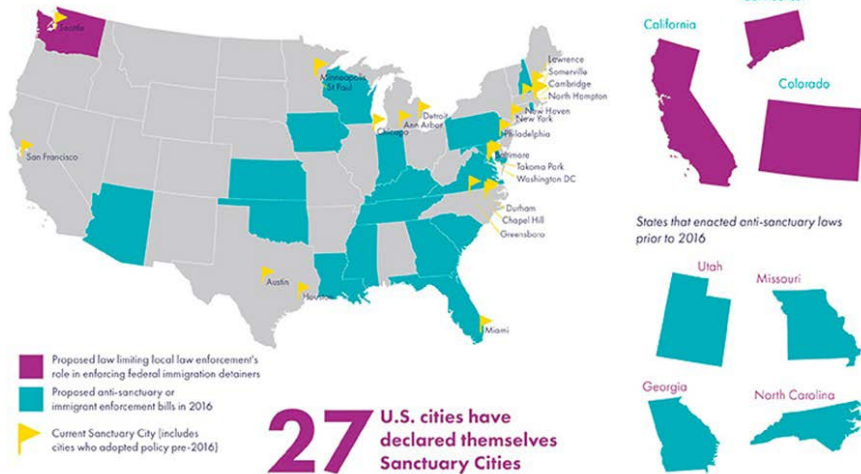
*The following slides were presented at “Trumplandia, California and the World” at UCLA on January 18.*



Slide 1

**Immigration Enforcement and Sanctuary Cities**

Sanctuary cities and enforcement legislation introduced in 2016



This resource provided by the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, Inc. For more state and local advocacy resources visit [cliniclegal.org/programs/advocacy/state-and-local](http://cliniclegal.org/programs/advocacy/state-and-local).

Slide 2

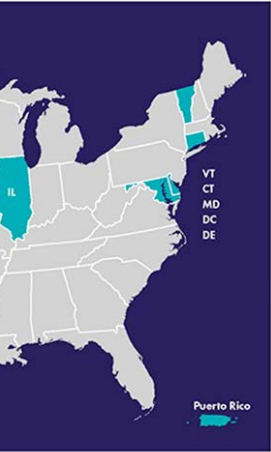
STATES, DISTRICTS, AND TERRITORIES THAT ENACTED LAWS LIMITING DRIVER'S LICENSES TO UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS



For more information about driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants, visit [cliniclegal.org/drivers-licenses-undocumented](http://cliniclegal.org/drivers-licenses-undocumented)

Slide 3

TERRITORIES PROVIDING  
DRIVER LICENSES TO UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

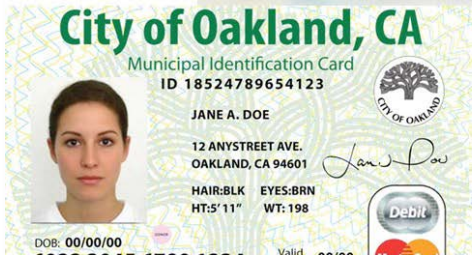


**12**  
number of states  
providing driver's  
licenses to  
undocumented  
immigrants

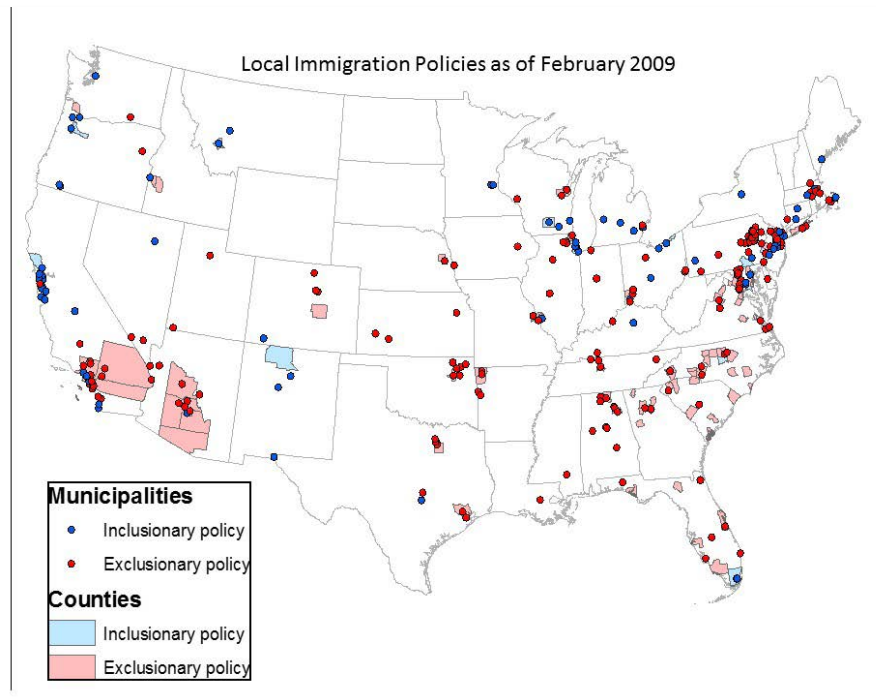
**2**  
number of territories  
providing driver's  
licenses to  
undocumented  
immigrants

- CALIFORNIA
  - COLORADO
  - CONNECTICUT
  - DELAWARE
  - HAWAII
  - ILLINOIS
  - MARYLAND
  - NEVADA
  - NEW MEXICO
  - PUERTO RICO
  - UTAH
  - VERMONT
  - WASHINGTON
  - WASHINGTON D.C.
- Nebraska has approved driver's licenses for DACA recipients.

for undocumented immigrants,  
licensed.



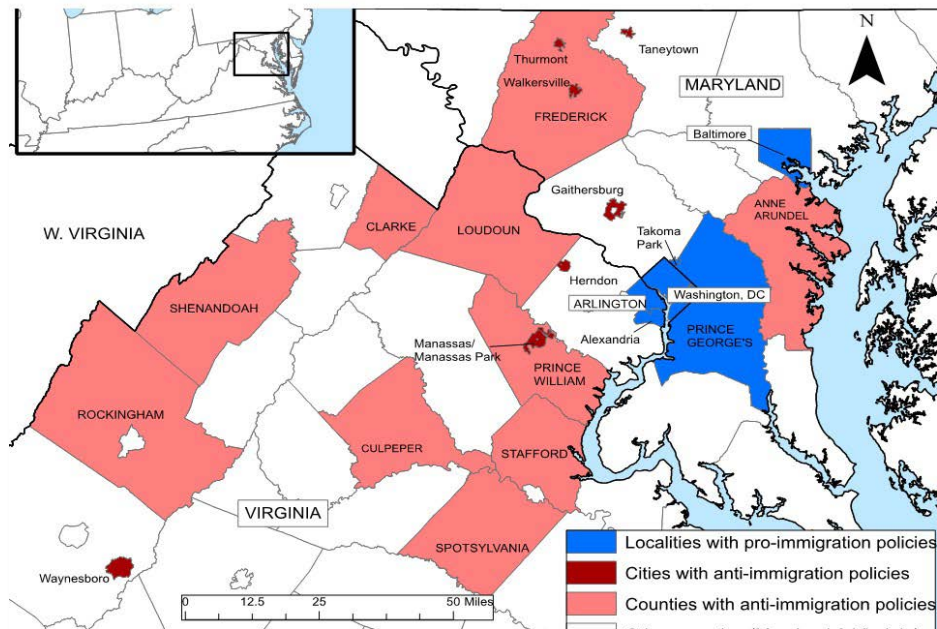
## Slide 4



## Notes

- During the past decade hundreds of city and county governments—approximately 400 (counties and municipalities) have proposed or implemented local immigration policies largely since 2005.
- Majority of local ordinances –  $\frac{3}{4}$  are exclusionary/restrictive ordinances
- Geographic variations
  - 60% of central cities in the sample implement pro-immigration policies
  - 82% of suburbs and 83% of rural localities pursued exclusionary policies
  - 89% of localities in US South have exclusionary policies
  - These divides ARE statistically significant

## Slide 5



## Notes

- This map shows variegated landscape of local immigration policies either proposed or implemented in the Washington DC- Baltimore metropolitan region.
- As of February 2009 with inclusionary central cities and inner-ring suburbs with longer histories of racial and economic diversity, exclusionary outer-ring suburbs with historically more homogeneous populations, and *some conflicted communities scattered among them.*
  - Herndon – anti-socialization ordinance
  - Loudoun – ordinance limiting immigrant access to social services
  - Prince William County – Immigration enforcement Ordinance
  - Frederick County – English-only resolution
  - Taenytown – English only resolution
- Strong instances of anti-immigration policy activism in Manassas, Prince William County, Herndon (Fairfax County) to name just a few.
- But also strong immigrant advocacy activism – Arlington County, Washington DC, Takoma Park, and Montgomery County
- Washington DC and Arlington County led the charge against Secure Communities

## Slide 6

### Exclusionary policies

- Anti-solicitation ordinances
- Illegal Immigration Relief Act – penalties for landlords and employers who hire undocumented
- English only ordinances
- Overcrowding ordinances
- Displaying foreign flags

### Notes

- Anti-socialization ordinances are designed to prevent individual workers from congregating on public streets to solicit work (e.g., Glendale, CA in 2004).
- Other ordinances make it illegal for landlords to rent to persons without proper documentation.
- Hazelton and Bridgeport, Pennsylvania, and Valley Park, Missouri have passed an 'Illegal Immigration Relief Act Ordinance' that seeks to penalize landlords and employers who rent to or hire undocumented immigrants.
- Other measures include English-Only Ordinances that make English the 'official' language of a particular city or town, e.g., Bridgeport, PA and Nashville, TN.
- Still other localities have introduced ordinances that would make it illegal to display a foreign flag—unless an American flag is flown above it (e.g., Pahrump, Nevada in 2006).

## Inclusionary policies

- Municipal identity cards for all residents
- Driver’s licenses for all residents
- Sanctuary city policies - Refuse to participate in 287g, S-Comm, and Priority Enforcement Program
  - refuse compliance with Immigration Detainers (ICE)
- Day worker centers
- Local voting rights for non-citizens
- Multicultural advisory commissions

### Notes

- Across the country, a growing number of municipalities have begun to issue “municipal ID cards” to their residents. These municipal identification cards typically feature the photo and address of the cardholder while also allowing access to important benefits, such as library, pre-paid debit, transportation or parking services. Although available to all residents of a city, the cards are particularly valuable for the most vulnerable community members—undocumented immigrants, the homeless, foster youth, the elderly and others.
- Inclusionary ordinances including measures stating that local authorities will not check residents’ immigration status; extension of local voting rights to noncitizens, the acceptance of Mexican matrícula consular ID cards as a valid form of identification; or passage of local resolutions in support of the rights of undocumented residents.

*#J18*

*Reflection and  
Notes From  
Skid Row, Los  
Angeles, CA*

*Marcia Hale*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

In any political system, liberation and critical pedagogies are fundamental to a healthy society. Paulo Freire gave us liberation pedagogy, the goal of which is to humanize all individuals and the whole of society through a profound respect for human struggle. Marxist-inspired critical pedagogy makes us aware of the power structures that govern society, thereby empowering change and liberation. In this political climate, these frameworks, conceptual tools and processes are key to ensuring that we have the understanding necessary to first maintain our sanity, and to then act for liberation and change.

Outside of the university, I take both forms of pedagogy on the road as lenses through which to see my research and conflict transformation work. I study inequality, how it is generated and perpetuated. Housing, education and criminal justice systems together paint a clear picture of cyclical poverty, as it can be near impossible to move outside of the criminal justice system and maintain a safe distance from poverty once you have brushes with either.

Our system creates poverty - and poverty is the fastest doorway to crime. In effort to untie these systemic knots, I engage in practice and research across systems. My praxis includes work within the homeless community, and also conflict transformation work which, among other goals, is intended as an alternative to our current criminal justice system.

I study homeless courts to understand how homelessness is criminalized. First-hand interviews with homeless people reveal how easy it is to find oneself on the streets if there is no family safety net, and you happen to encounter a perfect storm of, for instance, job loss, divorce, and PTSD from domestic abuse or warfare. Once on the streets, homeless people receive tickets for loitering, sleeping, for crossing the street - basically for being homeless. These tickets compound into enormous charges that are unrealistic for most of us to pay off, let alone someone who is homeless and jobless. Unpaid tickets lead to warrants which instill not only the fear of arrest and feeling of being a derelict unwelcomed by society, but also makes securing housing or a job near impossible.

On the day of #J18, I conducted interviews with homeless persons in Southern California. Two interviews from the project can be found below, which speak to the brutal situations that prompt strong souls like these to live on the streets.

The evening of #J18, I conducted a restorative justice mediation. Restorative justice is an alternative way of approaching crime - it understands crime as a harm that's been done to relationships rather than an offense against a piece of property or even a specific person. Restorative justice mediation brings victims and offenders together for the clear purpose of understanding one another. In this understanding, labels such as "criminal" or "deviant" are shed,



leaving two community members sitting across the table from one another, talking about the vulnerabilities of their shared lives.

My own liberation and critical pedagogies are informed by these experiences. I connect with people who have been forced into the streets by our inadequate housing system, and with youth and their families who are seeking an alternative to the criminal justice system, which swallows so many of our nation's kids whole. Understanding how our country's systems and institutions create poverty and crime, suffering and brutality, is the only way that I know how to respond to this current administration. In an era of alternative facts choked by smoke in mirrors, clarity can be gained by articulating relationships and systems, and preparing students to do the same.

### *Notes from Skid Row, Los Angeles, CA*

#### *Child Soldier – Sudan*

“Interviewed a Lost Boy today. Was on Skid Row, LA's designated 28 blocks for the homeless. This man is from Sudan and lost his family at 12 – he was a soldier in wars all over Africa and buried hundreds of children before coming to the U.S at 24. He speaks 6 languages and has been in Europe and the Middle East. He teared up at one point as he talked about his life. I asked if I could give him a hug and he said he never knew how – he was taken from his family so young and then was a soldier so he never learned. But he used to run with a woman in Long Beach (he's a runner) who taught him how to embrace, slowly over the course of time. He gave me a great hug and touched me with kindness. In LA people are nice but kindness is in short supply - I found loads of it on Skid Row.”

#### *Child Soldier – Los Angeles*

“Last week on Skid Row, I interviewed a child soldier of our urban war. She defines the urban war as this reality in which police break down doors and arrest parents while children watch; poverty is rampant and the only readily available solutions are drugs and prostitution. I know this to be the outcome of state-funded white flight, our government's wars on poverty and drugs (with all of their racialized dimensions), as well as the privatized prison system and accompanying mass incarceration.

***Understanding how our country's systems and institutions create poverty and crime, suffering and brutality, is the only way that I know how to respond to this current administration. In an era of alternative facts choked by smoke in mirrors, clarity can be gained by articulating relationships and systems, and preparing students to do the same.***

The woman I interviewed came through homelessness and prostitution to lead a group of women that she considers her sisters. They serve all women connected in some way to mental health issues. They provide support and accountability. She said: *"we're all for the same fight and have more in common than not. The fight is to empower, educate, and advocate for all women that have mental health diagnosis in their families"* (and who doesn't?).

We talked about an experience in county jail where the guards told her to stay with her own kind and not go into other groups because it would be dangerous – but she had a friend in one of these groups and she asked if it were true. The friend replied that they *"don't like blacks, but she's different."* The woman I interviewed summarized this experience: *"It's just you got a chance to know me so I'm not the stigma of what you thought."*

She said that the mental health system always kept spirituality away – but then the women started *"praise dancing"*. They taught other ladies and the clinical staff and director how to praise dance:

*"We don't have to talk religion - we use spirituality music to connect to the spiritual – our song is 'Encourage Yourself'. We use spirituality to keep people encouraged – culturally as African Americans a lot of things come from our music – we relay the message through music and singing, like the urban war is discussed through rap. Our spirituality: nothing helped me to get out of prostitution and homelessness but god – we dance to these hymns to relay our message – sometimes you don't have nobody else there, it's only your own self – it was a battle song for us – this is reality – you could see what we were going through without us having to say anything – we*

*have another dance – nobody knew the fight behind the song  
– ‘It’s about time for a miracle’.*

This woman has created so much from within the trauma  
and limited resources of her community.

She reflects: *“I’m an innovator – tell me the policies and pro-  
cedures and what I can’t do and I’ll take it away with what  
I can do – tell me what I can’t do and then I’ll dream big on  
what I can do.” •*



*CONTRA-  
TRUMP:  
THREE  
QUESTIONS*

*Craig Reinerman  
University of California, Santa Cruz*

When I was initially invited to speak at this Inauguration-Eve event, I said yes, figuring I'd just speak from the heart. But I quickly realized if I did that all I could say would be "aaarrggghh!"—arguably on point but not very articulate. I came to see that I was suffering from *pre*-traumatic stress disorder<sup>1</sup> and that I needed to organize my angst in a more coherent form, coherence seeming in short supply of late. So I have organized my thoughts to speak to three core questions: When, exactly, was America so "great" that we should seek to return there "again"? Are we facing a crisis of system legitimacy? And does the rise of Trump and the extreme right foreshadow fascism?

### 1. "Make America great again"

"Make America great again," he kept saying, as if a mantra. The word "again" implies history, about which Mr. Trump made clear he knows little and cares less. But we need to know what this means. He wants to bring the country back to a time past, but *when*? He seems nostalgic for the mid-20th century. But was America "great" when American citizens of Japanese descent were stripped of their rights and property and incarcerated during World War II, when the Supreme Court said this was constitutionally OK under the exigent circumstances of war?<sup>2</sup>

Was America "great" in the post-war period from 1945 through the 1950s, when no black baseball player was allowed to play in the major leagues? When pro basketball was also a white man's game?

Was America "great" when Jim Crow laws still brutally subjugated people based on skin color across the south (your electoral stronghold) with "whites only" water fountains and restrooms? Or when clever customs and zoning laws segregated cities in the north?

Was America "great" when construction workers' unions didn't allow blacks? When mortgages for the post-war suburban housing boom were not available to black families?

Was America "great" in the 1950s when right-wing hysteria about dissident political beliefs led to the blacklisting of actors, writers and directors in Hollywood and a loyalty oath for UC faculty?

Was America great in the 1960s when marriage between blacks and whites was still a crime in many states?<sup>3</sup> When African-Americans were often denied the right to vote? And when immigration laws excluded people of different religious beliefs and darker skin?

Was America great in the 1960s when selling birth control even to married couples was a crime under our constitution? Or when a woman's right to choose to terminate her pregnancy was a

1 Thanks to New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd for this concept.

2 I owe these points about "when America was great" to Ira Glasser, long-time head of the ACLU, in his article "When Exactly Was America Great, Donald?," *Huffington Post*, Sept. 28, 2016.

3 See the current film, "Loving," about the famous Supreme Court decision in the 1967 case of *Loving v. Virginia*, which finally declared such anti-miscegenation laws unconstitutional.

crime in virtually every state? Was America great when LGBTQ people had to live in closets of fear because their sexual relationships were crimes, too?

Was America great when the FBI spied on political protesters without any basis for suspecting them of criminal activity—including Martin Luther King and numerous UC students and faculty?

Was America great when the majority of current UC students—women, Latinos, Asians, and blacks—were often denied admission to universities?

Is that the golden age of “great” to which Trump and his supporters want to return? If so, here’s an update that isn’t “fake news”: We’ve had a labor movement, a civil rights movement, a peace movement, a women’s movement, an environmental movement, and a gay rights movement and no Trump regime will be able to put those genies back in their bottles.

## 2. *Is This a Crisis of Legitimacy?*

A strong majority of Californians, the people we work for, don’t like Trump. Indeed, there has never before in American history been a president so widely seen as unsuited and ill-prepared. Commentators from across the political spectrum have called him bully, bigot, buffoon, blowhard, belligerent, braggart, and “b” is only the 2nd letter of the alphabet (I skipped “a”).

Trump lost “bigly” in California and lost the popular vote nationally by nearly 3 million, but still, how could nearly half of American voters mark their ballots for such a man, a man so insecure and narcissistic that his every utterance appears to be a performance of power and masculinity staged to shore up his egg-shell ego? A billionaire who brags about not paying his fair share of taxes, stiffes contractors, declares bankruptcy to duck his debt to investors, has never done one day of public service in his life, and seems to lack any conception of truth? How many parents raise their children hoping they will grow up to be like this?

The fact that so many Americans voted for Trump is a genuine political puzzle. Yes, Russian hackers damaged the Democrats to help Trump; the FBI Director hurt the Clinton campaign at a crucial moment; and Republican legislatures in half the states used fraudulent claims of voter fraud to pass laws designed to suppress Democratic votes. But I think it’s a mistake to read Trump’s victory as merely the sum of such manipulations, because then we don’t pay enough attention to *why* so many people voted for him. Some are the “deplorables”—white supremacists, neo-Nazis, misogynists, and other bigots he has emboldened—but millions of his supporters are not.

What has been *their* lived experience of modern America? Under what precarious conditions must they live to consider voting for such a man? Democrats and progressives need to try hard-

er to understand how ordinary voters could choose a man who has built his whole career on getting as far away from ordinary people as possible—selling fake class distinction with gilded images of penthouse privileges, whose conspicuous consumption spits in the face of ordinary working Americans.

While economic insecurity is a key part of this, tens of millions of middle-class voters supported Trump, too, and their votes were not just about lost jobs or downward mobility. How could their sense of who they are and what America is seem sufficiently threatened that Trump's racist rants about immigrants and "political correctness" made them feel *good*? How could a *majority* of white women vote for a crude sexual predator who proudly proclaimed on television that his own daughter was "a piece of ass"? Democrats and progressives need to learn much more about the ideological alchemy that transforms everyday troubles into resentments with a right-wing valence.

If we put Trump voters alongside the millions who supported Bernie Sanders, it becomes clear that the basic legitimacy of our political-economic system is in trouble. Democrats and Republicans alike drank the free trade Kool-Aid (e.g., NAFTA), peddling the idea that just letting capitalism loose will solve our problems. Bill Clinton helped Republicans de-regulate the financial industry, which led to the financial crisis to which both Sanders supporters and Trump supporters were reacting.

Elites of both parties have presided over a political-economic system that has led to staggering inequalities, hollowed out the middle class, and left the industrial working class to wander the rusted ruins of former factories while the croupiers of Wall Street rake in riches. Clinton and centrist Democrats also joined Republicans in shredding the safety net ("end welfare as we know it") and passing "tough on crime" laws that led to mass incarceration of the powerless.

Both parties saved the banks but not the citizens whose homes they foreclosed on. Trump and right-wing extremists shrewdly colonized the resulting rage, but they are symptoms of a crisis that is *systemic*—a system run by too many "Davos men" who claim that everyone benefits from globalization and too few elected officials who attend to the human flotsam left in globalization's wake.

Market societies are supposed to be self-legitimizing by delivering opportunities and rising standards of living. But like the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Great Recession of 2008 proved that markets don't often do that all by themselves. What Schumpeter called capitalism's "gales of creative destruction" leave behind human casualties, more so all the time under globalization. On this score, Trump is deploying the classic conservative sleight-of-hand: first cripple the capacity of the state to regulate markets effectively and meet the basic human needs of those hurt by the



market, then turn around and say, “See, I told you government doesn’t work.”

But, I think it is a political mistake to speak of “Trump supporters” as if they are homogeneous and politically coherent. They should be disaggregated. Some are simply old-fashioned racists and free market fundamentalists, but there many other Trump voters who not long ago marked their ballots for President Obama, lots of them twice. Indeed, there are *ten times* more of these voters than the ~100,000 who gave Trump the electoral college votes he needed to win the key swing states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania.

We need to know more about these people, their suffering, their frustrations, their experience of government such that they could mark their ballots for such a man. We need to know more about how they came to feel abandoned by a neoliberal elite that supports and benefits from globalized capitalism while local people who know how to fix your plumbing and repair your roof struggle to make a living. These folks are not, I submit, wedded to Trump or any alt-right world view. When Trump fails to deliver on his promises, the electoral winds will shift again.

### 3. Is This Fascism?

In his autobiography, *The World of Yesterday*, holocaust survivor Stefan Zweig noted that Hitler “elevated lying to a matter of course” such that many Germans couldn’t or didn’t want to see what was to come.<sup>4</sup> British historian Simon Schama recently tweeted: “indifference about the distinction between truth and lies is the precondition of fascism. When truth perishes so does freedom.”<sup>5</sup> Hannah Arendt and many others have offered similar warnings that are sounding more and more apropos.<sup>6</sup>

Reasoning by analogy to fascism, however, risks being too simple and is often overworked. The horrors of the holocaust were too extreme to invoke fascism glibly this early in the Trump regime. That said, there are things we can learn from the history of fascism that may come in handy.

First is the basic *structural parallel*: fascism arose in Europe in the 1930s largely in response to the dislocation, disruption, downward mobility, and suffering caused by the Great Depression. American eyes are now on Trump, but far right parties have grown in nearly all Western democracies following the Great Recession. In England the UK Independence Party fomented the anti-immigrant animus behind Brexit. In France the Front Nationale and Marine le Pen have ridden a similar nationalist wave to the front steps of the presidential palace. In the Netherlands, long known as a temple of tolerance, it’s the overtly Islamophobic anti-immigrant Party for Freedom and Geert Wilders (a Dutch Trump right down to the hair) who are poised to gain seats in Parliament in March.

4 I added this point from George Prochnik’s insightful essay, “When It’s Too Late to Stop Fascism, According to Stefan Zweig,” in *The New Yorker*, Feb. 6, 2017.

5 “The indifference about the distinction between truth and lies is the precondition of fascism. When truth perishes so does freedom” on February 3, 2017. [https://twitter.com/simon\\_schama/status/827515099770396672](https://twitter.com/simon_schama/status/827515099770396672)

6 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1948).

German Prime Minister Angela Merkel faces her biggest challenge from a rising far right. Far right parties are also rising in Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Sweden, and Norway. Europe is reeling from the recession, unemployment remains stubbornly high, and Islamophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments are being carefully cultivated by right-wing parties.

Second, among the first moves made by Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco was to *change the rules*. In the U.S., the Republican right simply stonewalled Obama's nominee for the Supreme Court, Judge Merrick B. Garland, contrary to the Constitution and historical norms. Trump continues to refuse to release his tax returns, as virtually all other presidential candidates have done, and many of his cabinet nominees have not filled out the ethics and financial reports as virtually all other such nominees have done. He flouts the emoluments clause of the Constitution and the rules against nepotism. In his campaign speeches Trump scoffed at the constitutional niceties, Supreme Court precedents, and international treaty obligations prohibiting torture, promising that waterboarding and worse will now be OK, all in the service of fighting "radical Islamic terrorism." He's changing the rules, and if the courts don't like it, tough.

Third, the institutional fundament of fascism was the *fusion of big business and state power*. The confirmation hearings for Trump's cabinet nominees have showcased precisely this tendency, with billionaire business tycoons and a corporate fox to guard every regulatory henhouse. At Treasury, a former Goldman Sachs banker and hedge fund hustler. As Secretary of State, the long-time CEO of Exxon Mobil, a climate-change denier and thus a symbolic slap at environmental science. As Director of the Environmental Protection Agency, a friend of the oil industry who has sued the EPA 14 times. For Secretary of Education, a billionaire princess with zero experience in—indeed a sworn enemy of—public education. For Secretary of Labor, a corporate CEO with thousands of low-wage employees who opposes increases in the minimum wage and a wide range of worker protections. The list goes on. When one of the sanest voices in Trump's cabinet is a former general nicknamed "mad dog" we are entitled to worry.

Fourth, a central element in fascism is *creating scapegoats and punishing enemies*. From his first campaign speech, Trump scapegoated Mexican immigrants as criminals and Muslims as terrorists. He repeatedly threatened Hillary Clinton with arrest and imprisonment, (chants of "lock her up" became standard at campaign rallies), which would constitute an illegal abuse of power. He and his minions constantly demonize the media for having the audacity to point out his lies (which is, after all, their job). Once in power, fascist dictators politicized their civil services. Even before taking office, Trump demanded a list of all federal scientists who attended any conferences on climate change—a chilling threat to

the rights of federal workers that we haven't seen since the McCarty era of the 1950s.

Lots of other Republican politicians, including Nixon, Reagan, and both Bushes, engaged in “dog-whistle politics,” i.e., using code words to camouflage the use of racist fears to increase the white vote. But Trump gone further: “he has called the animal right up onto the porch and scratched it under the chin,” as James Marcus put it in a recent essay in *Harper's*.<sup>7</sup> “The surge in hate crimes following his election is no accident: the scribbled swastikas, the slurs, the campus assaults, the effigy of a black man dangling from a rope at a coffee shop in Alabama.”

We appear to be facing a regime rooted in racism and authoritarianism. Is this the face of fascism? We'll see soon enough, but to paraphrase Mark Twain, history may not repeat itself exactly, but it sure does seem to rhyme a lot.<sup>8</sup>

### *So what is to be done?*

There is much to do. The Trump administration will provide a target-rich environment for protests, but we need not restrict our resistance to formal protests. Engage. Every day. In every way. Be an ally; protect people who need protecting. Insist on health care and education as basic human rights. Join the ACLU, labor unions, Black Lives Matter, dreamer support groups. Push the local government to push back against the Trump regime. Get active in a political party. Volunteer at Planned Parenthood. Boycott every store that sells anything Trump and shop at every store that drops Trump products. Send in your dues to the Sierra Club, Greenpeace, and other environmental groups. Resist every reactionary initiative you can even if it's only in a letter to your congressional representatives. Create the means to meet the human needs that the Trump regime will try to unmeet. Invent whole new genres of politics and protest that my generation hasn't even imagined. And to sustain yourselves for the struggle ahead, take care to nurture each others' mental health. You'll need it. To maintain hope in the face of all that Trump is planning is itself a subversive act.

Dr. King was fond of the quote, “the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.” I hope he was right, but his life was testament to the fact that it doesn't bend by itself. Wouldn't it be rich if Trump turns out to be the loudest wake-up call in American history for all those who want to press the stubborn ounces of their weight down onto that arc? •

7 James Marcus, “Mourning in America,” *Harper's*, January, 2017.

8 In the 1874 edition of *The Gilded Age*, which he co-wrote with his neighbor Charles Dudley Warner, Twain wrote “History never repeats itself, but the Kaleidoscopic combinations of the pictured present often seem to be constructed out of the broken fragments of antique legends.”



# What does freedom in education look like to you?

*The Undercommons and The Debt Collective  
University of California, Los Angeles*

The Undercommons, a freedom school dedicated to address and respond to the privatized university, and The Debt Collective, an organization bringing debtors together for advocacy and direct action, together led a workshop that asked participants, "What does freedom in education look like to you?" These are the thoughts those participants shared with each other.

I think the best education comes from deep knowledge, absorbed and processed over a long period of time, and shared from a place of love.

In grad. programs, profs (to advisors) hold way too disciplinary power over students. fuck us over for the smallest transgressions. At the same time, they protect their own kind, sexual predators.

Where is the place of non-literary, non-verbal learning in the value system that validates or invalidates forms of knowledge? Do change exist in intention, actions or something else?

Free education is the time, resources, and support necessary to live a healthy and just life in community with peers.

- How do the demands for free education and an education that liberates intersect? Propel one another?

Education for liberation like the autodidacticism we all practice already - in the school, in the university - where we realize we are our own teachers, we shed the disempowerment of the role of "student."

free education is open to everyone & anyone ~~go~~ who might want it  
it can happen anywhere  
~~& can be taught~~  
~~son~~ & it is accommodative

What is free edu?  
To me free edu is the pursuit of learning in any field that one chooses so, without the ramifications of financial or state institutes to hold an individual responsible for payment of higher learning

Learners are req. to do pro bono hours  
Educators should also be required to work in the community

Bring the community into the campus

but limited to much students and slightest same time, they including serial

Freedom:  
Horizontal - Student + Community / Janitorial  
Power Tuition Free  
Open to Community  
No Police - Just Peace Builders  
Fuck Racism/Patriarchy/Homophobia

Freedom as doing what's important w/out interference unfortunately requires education about how to resist that interference. Learning about what's important shouldn't be elite, same for resistance. Learning together in community?

Edu, like our state of being is constantly changing, yet we call it an institution like it's something concrete - a structure w/ a foundation - rules, ppl who've been there b4 & when you go to school it's you going to a foreign place w/ ppl you've never met before. Maybe instead education should just be recognized for where it @ happens organically - in community - in

1. Tech: people w/ experience in real settings
2. Learn: students across disciplines + non-students
3. Space: shared w/ community

*Envisioning  
Compassionate  
Cities:  
An urban  
planning  
workshop*

*Dave Shukla*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

**M**ore than 30 Urban Planning graduate students and 10 faculty members gathered at lunchtime on #J18 for a visioning session on "Compassionate Cities" facilitated by Gilda Haas and Kiara Nagel. Kian Goh first gave an opening address discussing her own work that problematized the idea of compassion as a current organizing principle in today's cities, challenging those present to broaden their perspectives to the concerns of marginalized and vulnerable social groupings. Self-selected into table seatings of 6-10 persons each, attendees then discussed their visions for what a compassionate city might include.

Based on observing these 15 minute discussions, the facilitators then on the fly modified the schedule to take proposals from the full room on "Remember Whens"—i.e. visions of the future presented as achievements long past. These included:

*"[Remember when...] We had 24 work weeks"*

*"[Remember when...] the government socialized the financial system"*

*"[Remember when...] Trump didn't get a second term"*

This was a very useful exercise that not only got attendees out of their pessimism, but into habits of working and strategizing together. Groups by table then drew out their visions for what institutions future compassionate cities should include. One city was inventively constructed in three dimensions from recycled food packaging and tape. Another city included a city center of solely public services entirely powered by clean energy.

Attendees then shared their visions before Kiara and Gilda wrapped up by explaining some of the processes by which they managed to get a room full of planners to work together to actively envision what our concepts of "compassionate cities" could actually look like in the future. •



*A scene from the workshop.*



*Methods in Social  
Justice Research.  
An Assignment  
for CPLN 505:  
Planning by  
Numbers*

*Megan Ryerson  
PennDesign*

Choose one of the academic articles, listed to the right, for which you will read, review, analyze, and write a response. You should choose the article based on your interests.

In your response you should address at the minimum the following points:

Summarize the article. What is the main argument of the authors? How do they propose to address their argument? And, what is new about their research contribution?

Summarize the methods and the data. What is the data source, and are there any issues with the data as-is? What methods are the authors using for analysis? How did they arrive at the methods they ultimately choose

Summarize the results and any implications of the results. Do you have as much (or more) confidence in the results as do the authors?

Limit: 3 pages single spaced. I think this could be well done in 2 single spaced pages.

In the in-class discussion, I asked the students to discuss how social justice issues were evaluated in these articles. They noted how certain variable definitions reflected in-grained biases—how for example, check cashing facilities were used as a proxy for crime rather than a proxy for poverty. We discussed how it is our job, as researchers or methodological in planning, to make sure that methods are used carefully and interpreted without bias.

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Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, and Lawrence F. Katz. "The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment." *The American Economic Review* 106, no. 4 (April 1, 2016): 855–902. doi:10.1257/aer.20150572.

“A long view of polluting industry and environmental justice in Baltimore” by Christopher Boone, Michail Fragkias, Geoffrey Buckley, and Morgan Grove examines whether certain groups or areas in the city have been unduly affected by environmental hazards, through the use of bivariate correlation, regression analysis, and spatial statistics. The study identifies interesting trends regarding environmental justice in Baltimore, and argues for the importance of addressing these trends in future planning efforts.

In the article, Boone et al study environmental justice in Baltimore by examining the proximity of residential areas to polluting industry. The researchers’ goal is to map polluting industries throughout time and examine characteristics of nearby housing to determine whether any particular group has been disproportionately exposed to environmental hazards. The study corroborates what has been suggested by previous literature regarding environmental justice in Baltimore, that white neighborhoods tend to have a higher exposure to polluting industry than black neighborhoods in the city. The researchers attribute this outcome to over a century of land use and housing policy that has led to a high degree of racial segregation in Baltimore. When Baltimore’s industrial sector was burgeoning, white neighborhoods arose in close proximity to factory jobs, and these spatial divisions persist despite significant industrial job loss. In order to examine environmental justice in this context, the researchers undertook a 50-year longitudinal study of polluting industry in Baltimore. The article explains that previously, longitudinal studies in this area have not been pursued because of the lack of data. The study confirms the findings of previous research that there is a higher density of polluting industry near white neighborhoods, but adds for the first time that lack of educational attainment has been a significant factor in environmental justice throughout Baltimore’s history. After explaining the significance of their results, the researchers argue that the recent Baltimore Sustainability Plan does not appropriately focus on correcting for significant historical injustice. This fact is particularly important considering that education level of those harmed may limit their ability to advocate for themselves.

In order to identify historical patterns of environmental injustice in Baltimore, the researchers used three sources of data, each in 10-year intervals between 1960 and 2010. To examine demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods, the researchers used the Decennial Census to compile census tract-level information on race, ethnicity, educational attainment, income and housing tenure. To identify the location of polluting industry, the researchers utilized two different data sources. Between 1990 and 2010, the study uses the Environmental Protection Agency’s (EPA) Toxics Release Inventory (TRI), which began in 1987. For the decades between 1960 and 1980, the researchers geocoded business addresses provided by the Dun and Bradstreet Regional Directories, and assumed that certain categories of business (heavy manufacturing, electric utilities, chemical wholesalers, and petroleum terminals) represented industries that would be included in the TRI. After determining the location of polluting industries, the researchers used the Hazards

Density Index (HDI) to determine the level of pollution present in a census tract. The HDI buffers TRI locations by 800 meters, and the ratio of the census tract covered by buffers is used to determine a final score for each tract.

The study analyzed the neighborhood characteristics and HDI census tract scores in three different ways. First, the researchers tested the bivariate correlation of each neighborhood characteristic (income, race/ethnicity, etc.) with the HDI score of its census tract. Second, the study utilizes ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis with HDI as the dependent variable and the combination of neighborhood characteristics as the independent variable. The purpose of the regression analysis was to examine whether the neighborhood characteristics in combination accounted for any of the difference in HDI scores. As the majority of census tracts had an HDI score of zero, both the bivariate correlations and the OLS regression analysis were conducted on all

***The study corroborates what has been suggested by previous literature regarding environmental justice in Baltimore, that white neighborhoods tend to have a higher exposure to polluting industry than black neighborhoods in the city.***

census tracts and only nonzero census tracts. Removing the tracts with a score of zero did not significantly affect either type of analysis. Lastly, the researchers used a local indicator for spatial association (LISA) to examine the “extent of spatially significant spatial clustering” of HDI values over time. Through the use of bivariate correlation, OLS regression analysis, and spatial association, the authors were able to identify the relationship between neighborhood characteristics and HDI score, as well as the dispersal of HDI scores over time.

The study found that there were many significant bivariate correlations between individual neighborhood characteristics and census tract HDI scores. The most significant findings were that over the past fifty years, HDI score has become less correlated with wealth and more correlated with race. However, educational attainment has been positively and significantly correlated throughout the entirety of the 50-year study. In 1960, race was not significantly correlated with HDI score, but income and educational attainment were negatively and significantly correlated with HDI. In 1980, the trend shifted to a positive and significant correlation between HDI score and percent white and Hispanic population, and a negative and significant correlation with percent Black population and educational attainment. The 1980 trends have continued through 2010. Additionally, the study determined that the number of TDI sites decreased from a high of 77 in 1980 to 42 in 2010. The Moran’s I declined from 0.66 in 1960 to 0.29 in 2010, suggesting a move “from a more clustered pattern to a less

clustered pattern.” The study notes that geographically, the TDI shifted from the “core to the eastern and southern peripheries of the city.” While the decrease in the number of TDI sites and their spatial clustering appears to be a positive trend, reported releases of toxins in Baltimore have been increasing since the 1990s. This fact underscores why the Baltimore Sustainability Plan’s failure to address historical inequity is important. While the plan itself acknowledges equity as a central goal, the study argues that every sustainability plan should address historic inequity if it is to take environmental justice seriously. The authors explain that this failure to address issues of equity is particularly concerning when considering that Baltimore residents with low educational attainment have consistently been exposed to a disproportionate amount of environmental hazards over the past 50 years.

The results of the bivariate correlations and spatial statistics in this study are interesting, informative, and, for the most part, compelling. However, several limitations arise when reviewing the results. First, the authors attribute the positive and significant correlation between census tract HDI scores and white population to historic segregation in Baltimore, with housing near industrial jobs being seen as more desirable. While it is true that Baltimore has had a long history of racial discrimination in housing policy, it is notable that race was not correlated with polluting industries until 1980, when industrial jobs in Baltimore had already begun to decline. Furthermore, the spatial decentralization of industrial sites and their shift from the city core to the periphery suggests that historic factory neighborhoods may no longer be located in proximity to factories. These results suggest that perhaps there are other phenomena that can explain the concentration of white and Hispanic Baltimoreans near industrial sites. Furthermore, fact that three of the study’s six decades’ worth of data regarding TDI sites had to be constructed through the use of the Dun and Bradstreet Regional Directories means that the researchers could be miscounting the amount of polluting industry in Baltimore for a significant portion of their study timeframe. Additionally, the study completely disregards its attempted regression analysis of the combined neighborhood factors and HDI score because the R-squared was only strong in 1960 and 2010. The researchers attribute this to the fact that the regression does not take into account complex land value data and other social factors, and instead focus solely on the results of their bivariate correlations. Despite these limitations, the study raises interesting findings regarding the correlation between race, educational attainment, and polluting industry, as well as the spatial distribution of polluting industry, in Baltimore throughout time. The researchers also note the importance of addressing historical inequities in environmental justice when planning for future sustainability.

## *Aiding the Next Generation Through a Statistical Understanding of Neighborhood Impact on Children, Sydney Goldstein*

An issue plaguing the United States is the intergenerational persistence of poverty. The process of enduring poverty occurs because those living in high poverty neighborhoods with little resources and opportunities do not have the means to elevate their social status to move to a better neighborhood in the future. Intergenerational poverty is a key social justice issue within America's cities as many individuals trapped in this cycle are racial and ethnic minorities. The perpetuation of poverty has severe impacts for cities, including crime and dependency on government programs/handouts, but has greater effects on people, resulting in lack of education, poor health, lower income levels, and single parent-hood. Research has indicated that the neighborhoods people have access to significantly contribute to whether they can break this cycle. Raj Chetty and his colleagues Nathaniel Hendren and Lawrence F. Katz studied the influence of neighborhoods on children in persistent poverty in their article *The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment*.

The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment was originally conducted by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Between 1994 and 1998, HUD randomly offered families with children housing vouchers to move from high poverty housing projects to lower-poverty neighborhoods. In total, 4,604 families were enrolled in the program, living in five major U.S. cities: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York. The families were divided into three groups. The experimental group was given a voucher with the requirement to move to a census tract with a poverty rate of less than ten percent. The second group was given a Section 8 voucher with no requirements. Lastly, the third group was the control group, remaining in public housing in high poverty neighborhoods. Across all three groups, families were required to contribute thirty percent of their annual household income toward rent and utilities.

Previous studies using MTO experiment data to assess the relationship between neighborhood of residence and the cycle of poverty focused on adults. Chetty et al specifically concentrate on the impact moving to better neighborhoods had on the children within the families. This study is performed considering new evidence that amount of time spent in a neighborhood during childhood is a key determinant of how that neighborhood effects a person's long-term outcomes. Chetty et al focus on six outcomes (income, college attendance, college quality, neighborhood characteristics in adulthoods, marital status and fertility, and taxes paid) which are observed at age 21 or older. To have enough information to test for these variables, the authors paired the MTO dataset with

federal income tax records using social security numbers. The last year of tax data at the time of the study was 2012, indicating that the children included in this study were born in or before 1991. Out of the 11,276 children who participated in the MTO experiment, 8,603 were born during the correct period. For their study, Chetty et al divided the children into young children, those below age 13 at time of random assignment, and older children, those between the ages of 13 and 18 at point of random assignment.

The report tests two hypotheses: One, moving to a lower-poverty area improves long-term economic outcomes for children who were young at random assignment, and Two, gains from moving to a lower-poverty area decline with a child's age at move. To prove their hypotheses, the authors estimated the "intent-to-treat" (ITT) effects of the MTO treatments following the methods utilized by previous evaluations of the MTO. Chetty et al calculated the ITT on each of the six outcomes using an OLS regression. Each of the OLS regressions were weighted to adjust for potential difference

***Through their analysis, Chetty et al found that housing vouchers that required families to move to lower poverty areas and targeted low-income families with young children can decrease the intergenerational cycle of poverty and save the government money.***

across the five sites during random assignment into the three treatment groups. The authors also estimated "treatment on the treated" (TOT) to understand the impacts of choosing to move through the MTO experiment. The calculation of those who took the voucher also used an OLS regression.

One major concern was present with the report's data analysis. This study was reliant on extensive subgroup analysis, raising the issue that some findings may be manufactured by using multiple hypothesis testing rather than being legitimate results. To illustrate that this was not the case, Chetty et al implemented parametric F tests to test that there were no subgroup treatment effects in the data. The authors also performed nonparametric permutation tests as an alternative to the F tests. Both processes indicated that the treatment effects were not manufactured by making multiple comparisons.

Through their analysis, Chetty et al found that housing vouchers that required families to move to lower poverty areas and targeted low-income families with young children can decrease the intergenerational cycle of poverty and save the government money. The conclusion is based on multiple sub-findings. First, Chetty et al found that many families in the MTO experiment given the Section 8 voucher with no requirement (group 2) remained in high poverty neighborhoods. Unless the vouchers require families to move to lower poverty census tracts, such as in the experimental group, many families would remain in high poverty areas, perpetu-

ating intergenerational poverty. The poverty rate requirement must be in place for moving to have positive effects. Second, Chetty et al discovered that the younger group had positive outcomes in all categories, whereas children who moved when they were older than thirteen suffered negative long-term impacts from the move (more research is needed to understand the exact reason older children experience more disruption from the move). Therefore, vouchers should be targeted at families with children younger than thirteen years old. Third, through a cost-benefit analysis, Chetty et al found that children in the younger group have an income thirty-one percent higher on average to those in the control group. As a result, those children will be paying the government more in taxes than if they had remained in higher poverty areas. That additional money in budgets will save governments money long-term.

Both positive and negative implications result from this analysis. On one hand, it illustrates that actions can be taken to aid ending persistent intergenerational poverty. However, it limits the population that policies have incentive to help. Previous research indicated that moving had little to no impact on adults, illustrating children need to be the target of the move. Many families with young children would be attracted to these types of housing vouchers as parents want a better outcome for their child than they had. With high demand, it is possible these moving vouchers will end up like public housing, where families are put on waiting lists. If people are not taken off the list until their children have already aged beyond thirteen, should they not have the opportunity to move at the risk of negative impacts?

Although these implications raise questions yet to be answered, the study does illustrate an explanation that can be used in government policies to help reduce a social justice issue that plagues much of the United States.



*We must inspire people to imagine that there could be something else, a better world. It's always going to be our special burden to explore and advance the new imaginations that arise, the desire for change.*



- 
- *Jeff Chang, Stanford University, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

Art as Re

Resistance

*Listening in  
Hard Times:  
Music for  
Struggle and  
Solace*

*Samuel N. Dorf  
University of Dayton*

I want to talk about two artists today, Beyoncé and ANOHNI, whose work resonates with Dr. King’s message for justice, for peace, and (most importantly) for action. They also explore the frustrations of the modern world we’ve inherited: the promises un-kept, the battles still fought, and the disappointments and frustrations going forward. I speak to you all today as a musicologist and dance historian, here to bring my own disciplinary tools to the critical evaluation of our times and to ask the question posed by musicologist, Suzanne Cusick, Professor of Music at NYU, in 2011:

*How can we best prepare future generations of musical creators, scholars, teachers, and citizens to respond to the educational, musical, and ethical needs of the United States’ post-imperial moment, a moment we know is coming as surely as we know that global warming and the end of the world’s petroleum reserves are.*

That moment that Suzanne imagined six years ago is neigh. To prepare these music citizens we need to think about how we listen in times of trouble. We must first acknowledge that music is special (OK, I’m a little biased here, but it is). It is unlike poetry, or writing, or a scholarly article. Its rules are different. We sing when speaking fails. We can say the words, “We Shall Overcome,” but during the Civil Rights Era, those words carried greater power when set to rhythm and melody and sung together, amplified by other resonating bodies. Sung on campuses like ours, at rallies, sit-ins, lunch counters, behind bars in jails, and marches it was powerful because it was sung. “We Shall Overcome” is simple enough. It has one melody sung strophically (that is with different lyrics each time to the same tune) that is fairly repetitive and moves by steps, no large leaps that are hard to sing.

Now let’s take a look at it. Its first idea, here in red, has an arch shape and is repeated. The next idea is just an extension of the first idea. Then we get a new musical idea a downward motive and that is repeated at a lower pitch before we get the final idea, which combines elements of the A and B ideas – it has the opening part of A but the rhythm of B. Its form exhibits that idea of overcoming. We shall overcome, repeat, and extended when we hope for

The image shows three staves of musical notation for the song "We Shall Overcome".

- Staff 1:** Contains three phrases of the first melodic idea, labeled A, A, and A'. The notes are red. The lyrics are "We shall o-ver come", "We shall o-ver come", and "We shall o-ver come some".
- Staff 2:** Starts at measure 7. Contains the second melodic idea, labeled B. The notes are blue. The lyrics are "day", "Oh, deep in my heart".
- Staff 3:** Starts at measure 11. Contains the combined melodic idea, labeled A+B. The notes are purple. The lyrics are "I do be-lieve", "We shall o-ver come some day".

“We Shall Overcome” notation from Dorf’s presentation.

“one day.” When we look inward to our belief that this will happen a new motive emerges repeated, but changed and then the last line: “We shall overcome someday” is a synthesis of the two ideas, the two messages of hope and faith merged. Song explains things differently than speech. When we sing it breaks the narrative, it allows us to step out of our regular communication. When we have something meaningful to get across, we sing instead of talk; we dance instead of walk. And so, we need to look at music and dance a little differently than other forms of speech.

### *Beyoncé, “Freedom”*

Let’s turn to Beyoncé’s 2016 visual-album *Lemonade*. We obviously don’t have time for the whole album. I could—maybe I should—teach a whole course on it. Today, I want to look at one song featured on the album: as well as Beyoncé’s June 2016 performance of it at the televised BET Awards ceremony. “Freedom,” the tenth track, is a turning point in the album from redemption to hope. The lyrics make reference to Black Lives Matter, civil rights era and abolitionist era movements. The visual portions of the song on the visual-album use images of ballerinas, long tables of black women in antebellum clothing, sharing a meal including the mothers of Trayvon Martin, Eric Gardner and Michael Brown and others.

The song includes three samples as well. One is from a 1969 psychedelic funk album and the other two were recorded by famed ethnomusicologist, Alan Lomax. One is a preacher and a hymn from 1959 and the other a work song recorded in a Mississippi prison from 1947. The cut from the album ends with audio of Jay-Z’s grandmother’s spoken text on when life gives you lemons, you make lemonade. The track opens with the drum lick over an electric organ sample from the 60’s funk chart and the Lomax sample of the preacher over that. This is the opening many of us are



*Beyoncé’s Lemonade*

familiar with. However, Beyoncé's performance at last year's BET award show had a markedly different opening. The BET performances opens with the same drum rhythm as heard on the album, but it is not from the sample.. It is crisper, harsher, more militaristic. The acoustics of the space – a large theater – mimic the sound of a drum line rather than a funk riff, and that organ is now gone, too. To this beat, women march in weaving between each other, continually breaking formation (hint hint), bodies painted. To this, Beyoncé and her team add MLK's famous words from his "I Have a Dream" speech. The promise of America's founding documents which he has come to Washington to make good on. "In a sense," he begins, "we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check" and continues "It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. [...] But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. [...] And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice."

Beyoncé makes this performance another return of the promissory note: the demand for the collection of that debt. Her dancers tread through water: They stomp, kick and let the water fly creating visual reverberations of their words, their stomps, their actions. Illuminated by the red and gold lights behind them, the spray of water resembles glimmering fiery explosions. Beyoncé's song and her performance of it blends soul with gospel, hip-hop, funk and even adds a touch of old-timey country twang. The sampled funk organ recalls gospel organs when heard underneath Beyoncé's plaintive cries for freedom. Gospel infused R&B ornaments feature prominently especially in the pre-chorus tag line, "I'm telling these tears, 'Go and fall away, fall away.'" Blues vocal slides mark words like "chains" that connect this performance to a gospel tradition meant to evoke the abolitionists era and slave-era songs such as "Go Down Moses" and "Wade in the Water." Beyoncé even makes lyrical connections to the spiritual, "Wade in the Water" – a song associated with the underground railroad and the safe passage from slavery to freedom across the Ohio River. As they all

***Beyoncé makes this performance another return of the promissory note: the demand for the collection of that debt.***

dance they struggle against the weight of the water. Their legs work to free themselves to lift up, to kick up, to free themselves from the carceral pool of water the dancers find themselves in. Up until this point the performance only involves women. Right before the third verse we see male dancers enter the stage and all stomp in the water letting our loud shouts. Kendrick Lamar emerges right after, and the camera focuses on him and Beyoncé for the rest of the performance. It ends with more watery explosions as Beyoncé and



Lamar stamp and high kick their way forward urging each other on. But despite the sampling of King's words, Beyoncé's powerful anthem of survival is also a critique of the fact that those promises haven't been made good. The check cashed in the 60s bounced. The deaths of black men and women at the hands of the police does not sound like the kind of promise of justice and freedom King spoke about in 1963.

Oh yes, it is a powerful performance, it is a narrative of overcoming pain and disappointment, but overcoming. It is a rumination of what went wrong – the broken promises of civil rights era leaders, of husbands (don't forget Becky with the good hair), of family members. It looks backwards and not forwards. Now, that might be OK. But, as bell hooks wrote in her biting criticism of Beyoncé's commodification of black female suffering in *Lemonade*:

*“To truly be free, we must choose beyond simply surviving adversity, we must dare to create lives of sustained optimal well-being and joy. In that world, the making and drinking of lemonade will be a fresh and zestful delight, a real life mixture of the bitter and the sweet, and not a measure of our capacity to endure pain, but rather a celebration of our moving beyond pain.”*

Beyoncé sings of freedom, but bell hooks faults her for basing that freedom on centuries of pain and making money off of it, for glamorizing violence in designer gowns with baseball bats. She criticizes her for sharing the pain without providing an answer for where to go from here. For allowing men to still inflict pain on women. Beyoncé though refuses to not credit her ability to endure pain, she displays both the disappointments and the desire to move forward at the same time. *Lemonade* does provide a way forward it is a call to get into formation, with a clear message that the black women and black youth will take it from here. They will inherit King's legacy of non-violent protest for the future. Music videos of swinging baseball bats and explosions are not prescriptions for justice, they are expressions of real feelings. Those two things should not be confused.

## ANOHNI

In his letter from Birmingham jail of 1963 King laid out the four basic steps to any non-violent campaign: “(1) Collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive. (2) Negotiation. (3) Self-purification and (4) Direct Action.” The first two steps are pretty self-explanatory. Self-purification involves workshops on non-violence, asking the questions “Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?” “Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail” Direct action aims to open the door again to negotiations. It doesn't come easily, and you seldom make friends. In the letter he also stresses the dangers of what he calls “white moderates” who he laments are devoted to “order” over justice. Those who, he writes,

“prefer a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says ‘I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can’t agree with your methods of direct action;’” Yes, the hardest thing to do is to question those things that we’ve already accepted as just the way things are.

In her first collection of songs under the name ANOHNI (formerly known as Anthony Hegarty) the British-American singer has done just that, and in doing, has aptly named her album, HOPELESSNESS. But that hopelessness is not a final assessment of our situation. It is a starting point. It is where we begin, and where we go from here is up to us. What will we decide? What will we do? The album forces the listener to confront the price we pay for our comfort. What is the cost of our safety from terrorism? What is the cost of our comfortable air-conditioned homes in the sweltering heat of August?

I want to talk about two songs from this album. The first track, “Drone Bomb Me” is a love song, a very disturbing and unconventional love song. “Drone bomb me” she croons, “Blow me from the mountains / And into the sea / Blow me from the side of the mountain / Blow my head off / Explode my crystal guts / Lay my purple on the grass.” The song delves into the cost of our safety, the unintended consequences of the war on terror. About the song ANOHNI said,

*It’s a feminine way of using an expression of confounding vulnerability to try to outwit a perpetrator that you can’t subdue. They often tell people to scream like crazy if they are being raped, because that can shock a perpetrator into a different perspective about themselves and what they’re doing. For me, as a young person, one of my only means of defending myself was to find ways to confound and disarm perpetrators. And I’ve often used vulnerability as both a platform to be witnessed and as a defensive mechanism.*

ANOHNI’s campaign of non-violence resonates with King’s strategies outlined in the Letter from Birmingham Jail, and like Beyoncé’s *Lemonade* offers vulnerability as an alternative. That’s not to say that violence does not lurk behind ANOHNI’s (or Beyoncé’s) album, it is around every corner, but the dominant narrative is vulnerability. In the videos



ANOHNI's HOPELESSNESS

for *HOPELESSNESS* almost everyone features close-ups of crying bare-shouldered women lip-synching to ANOHNI's voice, tears running down their cheeks and welling up in their eyes.

"Drone Bomb Me," goes on to plead for the bomb, to be chosen by the men and women half-way around the world manning joysticks and staring at computer screens, their fingers on the trigger. "Let me be the first / I'm not so innocent / Let me be the one / The one that you choose from above / After all, I'm partly to blame," she sings. ANOHNI wants to take responsibility for her own comfort. Twinkling bell sounds and lyrical celestial chords accompany the plea for death and annihilation, the chords shimmer around her wavering voice. ANOHNI ornaments her lines with vocal quivers, tiny falsetto bells, notes that die out, that don't ring, subdued wails that seem to get eaten up in her throat as if they are stuck inside unlike Beyoncé's glorious gospel cries and shouts given to her audience. ANOHNI owns her vulnerability. The video features super-model Naomi Campbell mostly in close-up lip-synching to ANOHNI, and a phalanx of back-up black male dancers contorting, twisting, snarling, and raging at the camera. They move like a boxer in constant motion, waiting for the bell to ring and the fight to start. At the end they lie dead on the ground, seemingly chosen while Naomi Campbell survives another day.

We are all to blame for our sense of safety and the violence that ensures draw tears from Naomi Campbell's eyes. "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." King wrote, "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny." As Van Jones has argued, these famous lines from his letter from Birmingham Jail pertain to environment justice just as much as other forms of racial and economic, and social justice. And that garment of destiny is getting warmer. The World Bank issued a report in 2012 aimed to "shock us into action," warning us that "we're on track for a 4-degree Celsius warmer world marked by extreme heat-waves, declining global food stocks, loss of ecosystems and biodiversity, and life-threatening sea level rises." ANOHNI's first single from the album, "4 Degrees" attempts to shake us into environmental action. "It's only 4 degrees / I wanna see this world, I wanna see it boil / It's only 4 degrees. / [...] I wanna see fish go belly-up in the sea / All those lemurs and all those tiny creatures / I wanna see them burn, it's only 4 degrees." Here, instead of tinkling bells, ANOHNI provides a harsh yet lush orchestral sound. Heroic brass, thundering drums, and verdant strings reflect the abundance we are on the brink of destroying. Let's listen. It is heart-wrenching, yet danceable like one of the closing images of Beyoncé's *Lemonade*, the singer drowning on the back on a New Orleans police car. While the water only comes up to her ankles in the BET performance of "Freedom" it's over her head at the end of "Formation." How do we adjust to the reality of now? We do it by refusing the unjust or inequitable half-measures, accepting the suffering becomes an act of protest against the

injustice. Speaking out against the Vietnam war in 1967, King said: “I am disappointed with America. And there can be no great disappointment where there is not great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with the triple evils of racism, economic exploitation, and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road that can lead to national disaster. America has strayed to the far country of racism and militarism.” Fifty years later we still need to deal with these issues.

While bell hooks criticized Beyoncé for assuming that black women have to suffer, we’ve seen artist after artist insisting that we watch, that we don’t turn away, that we listen with eyes open. We also can’t deny that suffering. It is still part of the narrative because it is indelibly marked on the lives of so many who are victims of injustice. In that same speech on his opposition to Vietnam, King reminded us that “Good Friday comes before Easter. Before the crown we wear, there is the cross that we must bear. Let us bear it – bear it for truth, bear it for justice, and bear it for peace.”

In her interview with Pitchfork ANOHNI said: “Rage is a really fun place to dance from—expressions of anger sublimated into something beautiful are invigorating, especially if you feel like you’re telling the truth. [...] I wanted to do something that was gonna go down fighting. Something more vigorous. Something that would compel people who are already in that mindset to take action.” Rage is indeed a wonderful place to dance from. As Dr. King taught us, violence does not belong in our streets, but I’d argue that it does have a place in our art. Within music it is safe. When you’re angry you aren’t allowed to put your fist through a wall, but you can sing at the top of your lungs, you can dance, you can cry.

Beyoncé’s *Lemonade* is not that different than *HOPELESSNESS*. Both seek to upset the status quo, to “wake” us, to show us disturbing images, uncomfortable truths. We are watching, listening, and dancing to Beyoncé and ANOHNI, because we are all looking for strength in our shared pains in our shared feelings of hopelessness, and freedom (that’s the human condition). Again, Hopelessness is not the beginning, and it’s not the end. *Lemonade* is what you make out of the lemons, and it too concludes with a new beginning, a call to mobilize, to organize, to get into formation, to slay. Together, like the form of “We Shall Overcome” itself, musical performances propel us forward taking the sounds and gestures of the past in new ways to lay out a message for the future. •

*Solidarity  
Sing-  
Along*

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*Shana L. Redmond  
University of California, Los Angeles*

The urgency of our political moment requests that we create and innovate new ways of resisting. Singing is a method of resistance, of speaking individual and collective truths, all while expressing joy in defiance of the terror and dispossession that marks the administration of the 45th president of the United States. In concert with passing Musicology graduate students, undergraduate students in “Music and Politics” joined in the #J18 festivities by raising their voices in performance of the songs of those who supported the 2012 recall of Wisconsin governor Scott Walker. Taking amended labor and folk ballads from “Solidarity Sing-Along”, including “We Are a Gentle Angry People” and “Solidarity Forever,” these UCLA students rang in their own alternative; one in which the coalitions necessary for our survival and victory could be heard in the simple yet profound melodies of the past. •



*A group of UCLA students participate in the Solidarity Sing-Along organized by the Musicology department.*

*Slave  
Theater in  
the Roman  
Republic*

*Amy Richlin*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

The Classics Department is small but mighty, covering almost two thousand years of history—a history from which, as Walter Benjamin said (from the *Theses on the Philosophy of History*), “Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate. According to traditional practice, the spoils are carried along with the procession. They are called cultural treasures, and the historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. . . . They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.”

With one major exception.

The plays of Plautus were written and performed by very low-class people, the ones Benjamin summed up as “anonymous toil.” “Plautus” itself is a stage name, a clown’s name, and some of the actors he worked with were slaves; others are likely to have been freed slaves. And many of the people in the audiences they played for, in the war-torn 200s BCE, were slaves, or freed slaves, or the kin of enslaved people. They made comedy for people who knew what it meant to be a slave.

How can we tell that, since there are no contemporary theater reviews? One way is that there are many scenes in the plays in which slaves speak truth to power and tell the audience directly what it means to work for a rich man, or try to please an owner who never sees you for who you are, or to be a sex slave and have to deal with horrible customers. For J18, we ran five scenes on a continuous loop in front of Dodd Hall; we dragged the stage sets we use for the freshman Latin play up out of the basement, so we had a kind of backdrop, and at 4 PM we just started running our scenes. Sometimes passersby stopped; one guy stayed for a long time, filming on his tablet; we even had a visiting candidate for the department’s junior Latinist position step up and do a speech. In between scenes, acting as sideshow barker, I improvised a transition with call and response: “Truth to power! . . . Truth to power! . . . Where’s another slave who wants to tell their story?” When I yelled, I let out all the anger and grief I felt, and I wish I could do it again.

The scenes (I did the translations, which are literal) follow.



(1) From Plautus's *Amphitruo*: the slave Sosia tells the audience what it means to him to work for a rich owner, who has sent him out on an errand before dawn (in the original, this was a song, and it was sung in part to a kind of sexy rhythm, with a joke about the sexual abuse of slaves—see stage directions inserted below):

My owner's lack of self-control  
forced me to do this,  
he's the one who woke me up when I didn't want to  
and made me leave the harbor, at this time of night.  
He couldn't send me here in daylight?  
Slavery to a wealthy man is hard in this way [*shakes his booty*],  
yes, in this way the slave of a rich man is more miserable:  
night and day, nonstop, there's enough and to spare  
of what he needs said or done right now, so you shouldn't get a rest.  
The rich householder himself, unfamiliar with chores or work,  
thinks that whatever a person happens to feel like, can be done;  
he thinks it's fair, he doesn't think about how much work it is,  
or think about whether what he commands is fair or unfair.  
And so in slavery many unfair things happen:  
And this burden has to be lived with and borne along with the work.

(2) From Plautus's *Persa* (*Iran Man*): the slave-woman Sophoclidisca, who belongs to the slave prostitute Lemniselenis, tells the audience how annoying it is to work for an owner who constantly repeats the same orders and treats her like an idiot:

It was enough to explain it to a "brainless, mindless, witless girl" so many times,  
but I think you even take me for a dumb country girl on top of it.  
Maybe I drink wine, but I don't drink away what you tell me with it.  
I thought at least you'd had a good enough look at me and my character.  
In fact I'm chasing after you five years now, and that's enough time, I think,  
if a sheep went to school, it'd be able to learn to read and write,  
but in all this time you still couldn't figure out my brainpower, you dumb baby.  
Can you shut up? Could you stop nagging?  
I remember and I know and I've learned the hard way and I'm keeping it in mind.

(3) From Plautus's *Asinaria* (*The Donkey Play*): In this most outrageous scene, the slave Libanus, who has a wad of cash his owner needs, refuses to give it up unless his owner lets Libanus ride on his back. This arises out of an escalating scene in which the owner disrespects Libanus and his friend, the slave Leonida. Libanus's name, "Frankincense," probably indicates that he has been used as a sex slave by his owner(s), hence the joke here insinuating that the owner himself had been used for sex as a boy is particularly pointed. The threat to take away food from the "horse" and send him to the mill is a re-use of the conventional owner's threat to the slave who's acting up; and in fact slaves worked alongside horses and donkeys to turn the mill-wheels, a hellish job.

SLAVE. So you won't get away with saying such an unworthy thing to me—by God, today you're going to carry me, if you hope to bear off this cash.

OWNER. I should carry you?

SLAVE. Are you going to get this cash from me any other way?

OWNER. By God, I'm dead. Well, if it's right for an owner to carry a slave, climb on board.

SLAVE [to audience]. That's the way you show these stuck-up guys who's boss. Stand still, then, like you used to back when you were a boy. Know what I mean?

OWNER. Climb on, already.

SLAVE. I am. Hey, what's this? Can't you get a move on? So—pow! [hits the owner] Get going, good boy, no horse is smarter than you, horse. By God, I'm going to take away your feed unless you vamoose like a trotter.

OWNER. Please, Libanus, lovey, that's enough.

SLAVE. By God, you'll never beg off today. In fact, now I'm going to spur you at the gallop up this hill, then I'll give you to the millers so you can be tortured while you're running. Stand still so I can get down now on the slope, although you're worthless.



Participants of Plautus' *Asinaria*, or *The Donkey Play*.

(4) From Plautus's *Persa*: Sagaristio's song, one of a pair of opening songs, sung by slaves who are best friends. Sagaristio is a classic example of the "bad slave" onstage, who snaps his fingers at his owner's physical punishments. Here he introduces himself to the audience, leading with the kind of axiom spouted by "good slaves" onstage, and then puncturing that:

A slave who wants to slave for his owner like a good slave slaving away, by God, he needs to store up a lot of things in his heart that he thinks will please his owner, whether he's there to see it or not. But I don't slave because I feel like it, and I'm not just what my owner expects, but just like a case of pinkeye, my owner can't keep his hand off me, without giving me orders, without stuffing me in his business.

(5) From Plautus's *Truculentus* (*The Angry Man*): Here the slave-woman Astaphium, who also belongs to a prostitute (free, in this case), tells the audience what a pain in the neck it is to have to deal with their clientele:

Ha, ha, ha! I'm relieved, because the one I hate's gone inside. Finally I'm alone. Now, really, just like I want I'll speak out freely what I want and what I feel like saying. My owner played the funeral march at our house for that guy, 'cause everything he owns has been mortgaged to pay for Love's real estate. But my owner tells her biggest plans to him freely, and he's more of a friend who gives advice, than he is any kind of support. While he was any good, he paid; now he's got nothing, and we have what he had, and he has what we had -- nothing. That's how people are. Your luck changes all of a sudden, life is changeable. We remember when he was rich and he remembers when we were poor; our memories have flipped; a person would be stupid to be surprised. If he's poor, we'll have to put up with that -- he earned it! It's a sin for us to take pity on guys who can't handle their own money. A ho should be like a cactus, whatever guy she's touched, she oughta cause him harm or loss.'



*“Madre  
Tierra”  
and  
“Crumble”*

*Maya Jupiter*

*Hip-hop artist, songwriter,  
co-founder of Artist Entertainment*

## *Madre Tierra*

Brotaran los lirios  
Las ceibas inmensas  
La lluvia acaricia  
La neblina densa  
Un jilguero canta  
Solo en la memoria  
Fragmentos de historia  
Que no volveran

I'm the healer, protector,  
the teacher of time.  
the nurturer, the fighter,  
the enemy of lies  
staying quiet and still  
I'm absorbing all stress  
until I explode then I am civil unrest  
I'm the hope that was born in Malala's heart  
the dream of Sandra looking for a fresh start  
I'm the will of Rehan to keep Aylan safe  
the fire born in Annie after surviving rape.  
I'm a Mother, a daughter,  
a grand and a great,  
a responsibility to support and create  
I'm the fight against a corrupt prison system  
standing on the front lines, robustly resisting  
I'm the key that unlocks  
every detention centre  
the chord, the blood, the mighty placenta  
I am fierce, ferocious and furiously strong  
I am Mother Earth and this is my song



*Maya Jupiter performing at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

*Chorus*

Madre Tierra  
they tried to bury us, they didn't know we were seeds  
Madre Tierra  
so we keep on watering and pulling out the weeds  
Madre Tierra  
they tried to bury us, they didn't know we were seeds  
Madre Tierra  
so we keep on watering and pulling out the weeds

I'm relief, gazing in my newborns eyes  
Her cackles, her laughter  
and all of her cries  
I'm a guardian a keeper of tradition and faith  
of memory and truth  
a tomorrow that awaits  
I'm an Aspen, connected to a thousand trees  
roots and leaves, fruits and seeds  
I am fierce, ferocious and furiously strong  
I am Mother Earth and this is my song

Brotaran los lirios  
Las ceibas inmensas  
La lluvia acaricia  
La neblina densa  
Un jilguero canta  
Solo en la memoria  
Fragmentos de historia  
Que no volveran

*Chorus*

I'm the moment Dajjeria became politicized  
Like the second that Angela became radicalized  
I'm the intention of sending a child across a border  
I am Diana's gun restoring all the order  
I'm Jollene and I'm at the head of the struggle  
I am Vandana and Monsanto is in trouble  
I am fierce, ferocious and furiously strong  
I am Mother Earth and this is my song  
I'm the moment Dajjeria became politicized  
Like the second that Angela became radicalized. I'm the intention  
of sending a child across a border, I am Diana's gun and I'm re-  
storing all the order, I'm Jollene & I'm at the head of the struggle, I  
am Vandana and Monsanto is in trouble, I am fierce, ferocious and  
furiously strong,  
I am Mother Earth and this is my song  
Say Her Name

Say Her Name  
Say Her Name  
Say Her Name  
Say Her Name  
Say Her Name  
Say Her Name  
Presente.

*featuring Los Cojolites*  
*Lyrics by M. Martinez (APRA) and Joel Cruz Castellanos*  
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## ***Crumble***

New slave labor, poor kids loose  
walk around the neighborhood and see cops cruise  
hunting, looking for a new suspect  
lock em in a cell to collect the next cheque  
3 strikes rule means kids outta school  
straight down the pipeline for a lifetime  
military guns, held by fools  
never can win when it's designed to loose  
girl beat down because she had cell phone  
boy cap back now he's in a group home  
don't need to look around the world to know it's strange  
when a cop kills a kid at point blank range

Block by block  
Feel the city rock  
Tension, Release  
No Justice No Peace!

*Chorus*  
fire, ruin, crush, powder  
I just want to watch it crumble  
fire, ruin, smash power  
I just want to watch it crumble down

buck the system no room for reform  
ain't no integrity in your uniform  
fuck your bullets and your gun powder  
we won't keep quiet, we only get louder  
little by little grass roots grow trees  
spread like bush fire  
till you can't breathe,  
never gonna stop  
until you on your knees  
you ain't taking my son  
you wont get past me

Block by block  
Feel the city rock  
Tension, release

*Chorus*

*Lyrics by M. Martinez (APRA) and Q.Flores  
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*“Crossing”*  
*and*  
*“Juárez”*

---

*Erika L. Sánchez*

*Author of poetry collection Lessons on Expulsion  
and novel I Am Not Your Perfect Mexican Daughter*

## ***Crossing***

*la golondrina que de aquí se va  
o si en el cielo se hallará extraviada  
buscando abrigo y no lo encontrará*  
—Pedro Infante

My parents leave the land blooming  
with dust, locusts, their long hair  
trailing behind them, into the wet flesh  
ocher of the desert—ghost flowers,  
Spanish needles. North.

*right there—across the river  
there are all kinds  
of magical instruments,  
and we keep on living here like donkeys*

And we keep treading on the wires.

They move through turbid water, air  
thick with mosquitoes. Sometimes coyotes  
are not desert wolves, they're men  
with mustaches, mirrored  
sunglasses, who shove my shivering  
parents into the trunk of a Cadillac,  
who study my mother's wet-startled body.

In Chicago, we live in basements—the rattle  
of heaters, jaundiced paint.  
The smell of beans boiling, breaking  
their skins. Everything fried up  
in pig grease.



*Erika L. Sánchez reading her poetry at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

The roaches make nests in our toys.  
One makes its way inside my shoe  
and comes out in school.  
Another crawls  
inside my brother's ear to start a home  
until my mother drowns it  
out with alcohol.

*I exist because you see me.*

You will not work like us. You will not work like a donkey,

my mother says  
in factory heat, the murmur  
of machines.

My meek brother inside his bedroom reading  
*The Grapes of Wrath, The Communist Manifesto, The Catcher in the Rye.*  
He is a good son.

Meanwhile, I carve my body  
with pre-Columbian numbers, dye my hair  
indigo, crimson,  
plot rebellion.

I say *conscience* when I mean *conscious*.  
To the doctor I describe the pain as existential tumors.  
I say that the cuts are bloodletting.

I cross the Atlantic  
like no one in my family ever has,  
to live among the civilized,  
drink wine, and read Cervantes.

Back to the motherland, some tell me.

But this is not my mother.  
This looks nothing like my mother.

When asked where I am from,  
what can I possibly say?  
I am you, in part, I suppose,  
I want to say, but I don't.

588 years ago  
people here crossed the ocean  
and savagely fused with the inhabitants.  
568 years later

my parents crossed the border  
in the trunk of a Cadillac.  
I was born in Chicago.

I dance in the foreign streets,  
devour oysters until I feel guilty,  
light candles, and believe in God.

I smoke until my mouth hurts.

While I'm at the Prado enjoying Goya and Velázquez,

my father is rising before the sun  
to assemble air filters.

On my way home  
I want to read a poem aloud on the Metro  
about my illiterate grandmother, about my father  
with the glue burns on his hands.

Sometimes between sleep and waking life  
I think I'm in another city.  
The mornings taste like bruises.

I call my mother to explain  
how I scour landscapes, fold them  
and keep them in a soft leather bag.

I tell her how I want to understand  
the violence tangled in this tissue,  
the desert threaded in this flesh

## *Juárez*

Behind the The Great Wall of Mexico,  
pork fat crackles  
and crackles. Bright pink

corpses lie coiled in nipple cacti,  
apache plumes.

Beyond the green, green

lawns and the burnt  
smell of plastic.

Beyond the Pemex—  
gasoline rainbows iridescent  
as peacock feathers.

A ribbon flutters in a cottonwood.

The body as eruption.  
The body as contraband.

An empty river runs and runs.

•

Dirt and thistle  
wait for Tlaloc and his water jugs

while the maquilas flower  
like tumors on a spine.

Somewhere, a man serves  
champagne, a pair of breasts  
on a plate.

Another leaves the openness  
of the desert in a pickup.

His bumper sticker reads: Todo es posible  
con Cristo.

*¡Viva Cristo, El Rey!*

•

No ocean to drown:

wet concrete, sand, locusts.

An ethereal hand  
fingering dust.

A hunger, a name, an agreement.

•

In a factory, a dark woman's small hands  
assemble circuitry.

She breathes plastic, glue,  
memorizes the music  
of machines.

For \$5.40 a day,  
her nose will not stop bleeding.

On her way home—summer  
is flaming in the horizon.

She picks a flower  
the color of a perfectly painted mouth.

•

In my dream last night—  
thousands of pink crosses.  
Lightning streaked the violet  
sky, and on my knees,

I scratched every name, peeled  
each letter with my nails,

buried them in mud and ash.

•

On the news they describe the victims  
as young, slim,  
and dark-complexioned,

poor daughters of the working class.

After my shower today, I'm startled  
by my own nakedness.



***MAKE  
AMERICA  
GREAT?***

*On the  
Illegitimate  
Inauguration of 45*

*Bryonn Bain*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

*This poem was performed  
at "#J18: From the Front-  
lines of Justice" at UCLA on  
January 18.*

Make America great again?  
Or make America shake again?  
You want to make America great again?  
Or make rape sound great to American men?

Make America great again?  
Or take America way back when  
Them suffering the ailment of pale skin  
Come to kidnap and cage great Africans?

Make America great again?  
Or make angry lynch mobs castrate again?  
Or make women stay stuck prostrate again?  
Or make Native Americans displaced again?

Make America great again?  
Or make Freedom's ring a mistake again  
Like she just butt-dialed Justice cell again  
Make life on Earth a living hell until the end

Make oceans rise like they never been  
Stand families in a line up single file again  
Bring the nuclear bomb back in style again  
Make klansmen grab hoods and smile again

Singing God bless America  
But God damn them Mexicans  
Build a fence to prevent their residence  
On this land your ancestors stole from them!



*Bryonn Bain performing at #J18: From the Frontlines of  
Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

Make America great again?

Make it a manger with no room to take us in  
Make America more anti-trans/gay/lesbian  
Swastikas brave enough to wave in wind  
Make concentration camps bake again

Like any given day with no slave is a mistake  
So make abolition madness come to an end  
Them niggers and spicks ain't no citizens  
Make America stop, frisk, detain, deport

Whatever will never ever let you in!

Let's make America great again?  
Let's make America do 1942 again  
Muslim is the new Japanese, my Friend  
Countdown from now til internment begins

Let's make America  
So damn 1838 again  
Make the tears of a trail that never ends  
Make over 20,000 Cherokee disappear again

Let's make America rewind the times  
Behind enemy lines fine as 1789 again  
Back when Jefferson raped his concubine  
At 46 up in Sally Hemings' 16 year old end

Make America go back to 1989  
A number sound of the funky drummer  
Trumped up tale bout a Central Park runner  
Stole childhood from five innocent brothers

You want to make America great?  
Sound the alarm before it's too late  
Make America face it's history of hate  
Let's make America open its blind eyes

Make America read between the lines  
Make America see all the damn lies  
Let's make America  
Make America

Let's  
Make  
America  
W A K E



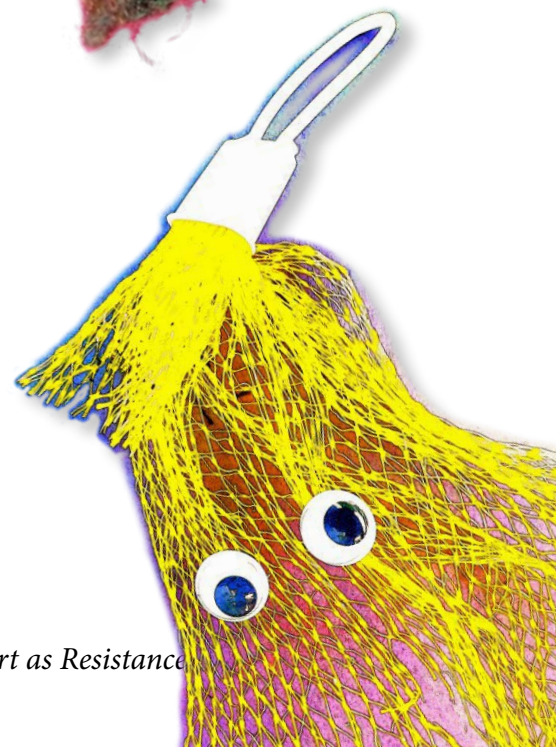
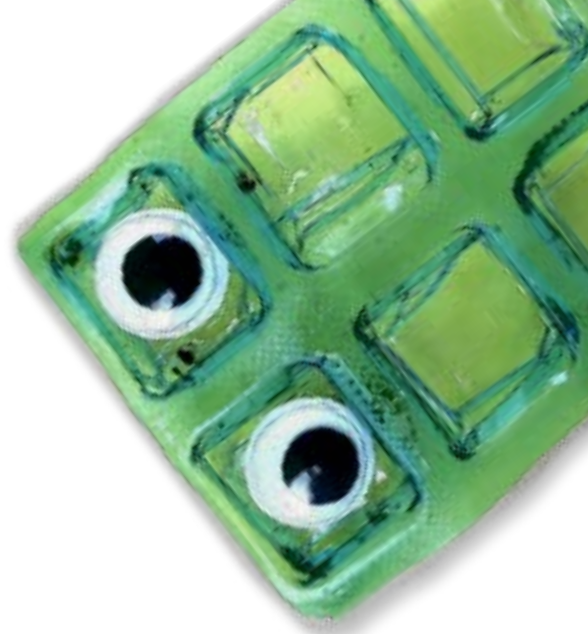
*The  
Immortals:  
Beach  
Trash*

---

*Filomena Cruz*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

“The Immortals: Beach Trash” is an artist intervention by Filomena Cruz—Filomena Cruz is the artistic pseudonym of Maite Zubiaurre—<http://filomenacruz.com>—that gives away tile art. Each tile contains the portrait of an “immortal,” namely, a piece of trash found on the beach, to which the artist has added googly eyes. On January 18th, Filomena Cruz peppered UCLA campus with 200 tiles, and gave them away for free, in an effort to raise awareness about coastal pollution and our increasingly endangered environment during the Trump regime. The next day, all tiles were gone: the “immortals” had found a new home.



*Rally for  
Inclusion  
and  
Tolerance*

*University of Southern California*

*On January 18, a group of USC faculty held a rally demonstrating faculty solidarity with students and staff who were feeling vulnerable in the current political climate. Faculty, staff and students were invited to make a brief statement or read a brief passage at the Rally. The following are the statements and poetry shared by three faculty, Karen Tongson, David St. John, and Kate Flint.*

***“An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose”  
Karen Tongson***

**B**eing queer is not about a right to privacy; it is about the freedom to be public, to just be who we are. It means every-day fighting oppression; homophobia, racism, misogyny, the bigotry of religious hypocrites and our own self-hatred. (We have been carefully taught to hate ourselves.) And now of course it means fighting a virus as well, and all those homo-haters who are using AIDS to wipe us off the face of the earth.

Being queer means leading a different sort of life. It's not about the mainstream, profit-margins, patriotism, patriarchy or being assimilated. It's not about executive directors, privilege and elitism. It's about being on the margins, defining ourselves; it's about gender-f--- and secrets, what's beneath the belt and deep inside the heart; it's about the night. Being queer is "grass roots" because we know that everyone of us, every body, every c---, every heart and a-- and d--- is a world of pleasure waiting to be explored. Everyone of us is a world of infinite possibility.

We are an army because we have to be. We are an army because we are so powerful. (We have so much to fight for; we are the most precious of endangered species.) And we are an army of lovers because it is we who know what love is. Desire and lust, too. We invented them. We come out of the closet, face the rejection of society, face firing squads, just to love each other! Every time we f---, we win.

We must fight for ourselves (no else is going to do it) and if in that process we bring greater freedom to the world at large then great.



**David St. John**

**T**his poem has always been one of the many poems of Lucille Clifton's in which she gives voice to those whose voices have been taken from them, and notes also the stones around her mark the graves of lies as well as those who have been forgotten. On #J18 it seemed important to me that Lucille's voice and the names of the lost in her poem all be present with us.

*at the cemetery, walnut grove plantation, south carolina, 1989. Lucille Clifton.*

among the rocks  
at walnut grove  
your silence drumming  
in my bones,  
tell me your names.  
nobody mentioned slaves  
and yet the curious tools  
shine with your fingerprints.  
nobody mentioned slaves  
but somebody did this work  
who had no guide, no stone,  
who moulders under rock.  
tell me your names,  
tell me your bashful names  
and I will testify.  
the inventory lists ten slaves  
but only men were recognized.  
among the rocks  
at walnut grove  
some of these honored dead  
were dark  
some of these dark  
were slaves  
some of these slaves  
were women

(no stanza break)  
some of them did this honored work.  
tell me your names  
foremothers, brothers,  
tell me your dishonored names.  
here lies  
here lies  
here lies  
here lies  
hear

## *Kate Flint*

I speak today as an immigrant, but not as a citizen. But I'm acutely conscious of my privileged role as an immigrant: privileged by my legal status as a green card holder; privileged by virtue of my skin color; economically privileged, having been in continuous employment since my mid-twenties, and privileged because I have secure and steady employment at an institution that I trust to have my back when it comes to any immigration issue affecting me personally. I'm privileged by my nationality and by my command of language; privileged, even, as a British person, by my accent. I'm privileged because I have a voice, and because I don't feel afraid to use my voice, and to speak out. As a writer – of poetry and of prose – Adrienne Rich was someone who, herself, was very much aware of the privileges, and the responsibilities, that follow from having a command of language, and the opportunities to use it, to analyze it, to help others to recognize its power. Whether we teach, whether we write, this responsibility is one that we all share, and it's in this spirit that I read today from Rich's poem "North American Time." Here are the first four stanzas:

### I

When my dreams showed signs  
of becoming  
politically correct  
no unruly images  
escaping beyond borders  
when walking in the street I found my  
themes cut out for me  
knew what I would not report  
for fear of enemies' usage  
then I began to wonder

### II

Everything we write  
will be used against us  
or against those we love.  
These are the terms,  
take them or leave them.  
Poetry never stood a chance  
of standing outside history.  
One line typed twenty years ago  
can be blazed on a wall in spraypaint  
to glorify art as detachment  
or torture of those we  
did not love but also  
did not want to kill

We move but our words stand  
become responsible  
for more than we intended

and this is verbal privilege

### III

Try sitting at a typewriter  
one calm summer evening  
at a table by a window  
in the country, try pretending  
your time does not exist  
that you are simply you  
that the imagination simply strays  
like a great moth, unintentional  
try telling yourself  
you are not accountable  
to the life of your tribe  
the breath of your planet

### IV

It doesn't matter what you think.  
Words are found responsible  
all you can do is choose them  
or choose  
to remain silent. Or, you never had a choice,  
which is why the words that do stand  
are responsible

and this is verbal privilege.



*USC Professor Viet Nguyen addresses the crowd during the Rally for Inclusion and Tolerance*



*We have to answer back  
with our happiness. We  
have to answer back  
with our joy. We have  
to answer back with  
our inclusion. And we  
have to not be afraid  
of these ugly gestures.  
We have to answer  
those ugly gestures very  
beautifully.*



- 
- *Peter Sellars, UCLA, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

Statement

ts of Value



*Our work is not just  
about resistance,  
although we must  
resist. Our work is  
also about imagining.  
It's about building.  
It's about believing  
in something bigger  
than us, believing in  
something that might  
not exist right now.*



- 
- *Patrisse Cullors, #BlackLivesMatter, at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

*AND NOW:  
Architecture  
Against a  
Developer  
Presidency*

*A project by the Avery Review, an online  
journal of critical essays on architecture*

The election of Donald J. Trump as the president of the United States of America has triggered in many an unease verging on existential dread. This sense of deep uncertainty led us to revisit Rebecca Solnit's *Hope in the Dark*, written in the thick of the Bush administration, which begins by citing a 1915 journal entry by Virginia Woolf. "The future is dark," Woolf writes, "which is on the whole, the best thing the future can be, I think." In Solnit's interpretation of this passage, darkness is inscrutable, not terrible—so there is no need either to wallow in despair or delude yourself into thinking that everything will be fine. The future is unknown, but it presents possibilities for those willing to work within uncertainty, for those willing to take account of where they are, and for those willing to take action for what is important to them. And now, with the election of a developer president, the architectural profession has the opportunity to ask itself: What happens next? What sort of future do we want?

One vision of this professional future was articulated in a now infamous statement by Robert Ivy, CEO of the American Institute for Architects, a day after Trump's election—a vision of genial collaboration with the incoming Developer-in-Chief, of infrastructure dollars flowing to the firms led by AIA members. Considering that Trump's obsessions as a prospective builder have largely been oriented around infrastructures of exclusion and deportation, on one hand, and bombastic architectures that monumentalize and engineer the concentration of wealth among the privileged on the other, Ivy's commitment to working with the president-elect (on behalf of the eighty-nine thousand members he represents) was a stunning statement of acquiescence, one that many rightly observed should be in conflict with that same institution's code of ethics. Ivy's statement sought to close debate at precisely the moment when debate should be most encouraged, when institutions (whether the AIA or schools of architecture) should be undertaking an inventory of our professional complicities and weighing the standards by which we operate in the world.

Because here's the thing—architecture is always complicit, Trump or no Trump. It always has been. Architecture coordinates colossal expenditures (of material, of energy); it scripts forms of labor (in its construction, in its operation, and in the programs it houses); it is both a repository and generator of capital. Architecture participates, centrally, in defining modes of life, whether for the privileged or the dispossessed—designing and building the boundaries between the "haves" and the "have-nots," sometimes subtly. Recognizing these complicities need not inspire either nihilism ("Well, what can I do about it?") or defensiveness ("What am I supposed to do about it?"), but should rather be understood, quite simply, as the terrain we navigate. Naming these complicities and the injustices they perpetuate is a first step toward addressing them. Our profession has woefully

underperformed in this work, but perhaps the stark realities laid out by the election of Trump will galvanize a greater commitment to incisive architectural thought.

The essays gathered in this special issue of the *Avery Review*, on the occasion of Trump's inauguration, range widely in topic and position; what they share is a desire to open new lines of thought, to expand our professional purview, or to dispense with such disciplinary boundaries altogether. For all of the speed of online reaction (a necessary speed, in the face of unprecedented threats to the most basic of democratic values and rights to self-actualization), these authors remind us of the power of scholarly work. This is the role of critical essays within our discourse—to insist that we slow down to think, read, and write so that we may act quickly when needed, to reflect uncompromisingly about our effects on the world. Whether with persistent patience, stubborn refusal, unashamed idealism, or righteous indignation, architects must embrace their agency and put it into action. These essays offer modest if still forceful gestures in that direction.

Just as there are times when silences refuse the language of power and the semantics of status quo, there are times when refusal is more than a simple act of not doing—it's an opening up to the possibility of doing differently. This entails new pedagogical imperatives, new relationships to funding, and, at the onset of a developer presidency, new ways of looking at land. By theorizing how spatial forms can oppress, or how they can offer alternatives to such oppression, these writers bring nuance, precision, and even panache to debates fomenting across disciplines and point to the multiple ways in which architecture can become a dissident practice. •

— James Graham (ed.), Alissa Anderson, Caitlin Blanchfield, Jordan Carver, Jacob Moore (contributing eds.), and Isabelle Kirkham-Lewitt (managing ed.)



*Statement on  
Educational  
Values and  
Professional  
Responsibilities*

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*University of California, Santa Cruz*

**T**he Statement on Educational Values and Professional Responsibilities in Light of the U.S. Presidential Election was read together by Donna Haraway and Karen Barad at the J18 final gathering of the day at UCSC. By January 18, the online statement at [ucscvalues.org](http://ucscvalues.org) had gathered over 600 signatures from faculty, staff, researchers, administrators, and alumni; and signing continued to mid-February. The statement was inspired by one originally put together at MIT ([mitvalues.org](http://mitvalues.org)), which had over 600 signatures by the end of 2016, including several Nobel Prize winners. UCSC's authors Donna and Karen were heartened by the enthusiastic support of the statement and its entailed ongoing actions by people across the divisions and ranks of the university. For the first time in a long time, natural scientists, artists, humanists, social researchers, staff, and others came together readily in a common action. Developments since J18 only heighten the need for ongoing thinking and acting together.

The Statement appeared under a banner created from Juana Alicia's mural at Oakes College, La Promessa de Loma Prieta (permission of Oakes College and UCSC Collectible Museum of the Institute for the Arts and Sciences), which vividly depicts and historicizes the spirit of resistance and work for flourishing and anti-racist decolonial justice.



# Statement of Educational Values and Professional Responsibilities In light of the U.S. Presidential Election for Faculty, Staff, Researchers, Administrators, and Alumni University of California at Santa Cruz

UCSC throughout its 50-year history has pioneered innovative work in the sciences, launched one of the first environmental studies programs in the country, has been at the forefront of building bridges among the arts, humanities, and natural and social sciences, and has been groundbreaking in its initiation of various fields of study that hold the value of social justice to be core to its mission.

Crucial to this history is our ongoing obligation to resist racism, misogyny, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, transphobia, and homophobia in all forms, coded or explicit. The President-elect has himself expressed bigotry of many kinds, as have many of the individuals he has appointed or nominated to positions of power. Also, Mr. Trump has denied the widespread scientific consensus on climate change; and for critical cabinet posts, he has nominated anthropogenic climate-change skeptics, despite the strong evidence. Mr. Trump has repeatedly indicated disdain for a free and independent press, which is essential to an educated, informed citizenry. His proposals for his closest advisers and cabinet members threaten public education, equal justice before the law, indigenous sovereignty, and environmental well being. The public record of his systematic disregard for facts undermines democratic values and institutions, including schools and universities. Regardless of our political views, these expressions, proposed appointments, and actions violate principles at the core of UC's mission.

At this time, it is important to reaffirm the values we hold in common and to affirm our obligations to act in defense of our core mission as faculty and members of a community committed to free and open education, social justice, and the robustness of the natural world.

We, the undersigned faculty, staff, researchers, administrators, and alumni at UCSC, thus affirm the following principles:

- We unconditionally reject every form of bigotry, discrimination, hateful rhetoric, and hateful action, including on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, national origin, disability, citizenship, indigenous membership, political views, socioeconomic status, veteran status, or immigration status. We affirm a commitment to active resistance to any policy outside the established national census that registers members of the community by race or creed, or uses the national census or any national, state, or other database to target any group for exclusion or expulsion on the basis of race, region, or creed. We will work together to protect the immigrant members of our community.
- We endorse UC's values of open, respectful discourse and exchange of ideas from the widest variety of intellectual, religious, class, cultural, and political perspectives.
- We uphold the principles and practices of scientific research, of fact- and reason-based objective inquiry. Science is not a special interest; it is not optional. The sciences are foundational ingredients in how we as a society analyze, understand, and solve the most difficult challenges that we face.

*over*

We pledge to work with all members of the community – students, alumni, faculty, staff, postdoctoral researchers, and administrators – to defend these principles today and in the times ahead.

This statement is circulated for signatures by the following UCSC emeriti and active faculty, staff, researchers, administrators, and alums. We urge other UC campuses to circulate this or another statement adapted for that campus. We also support current students in circulating their own statements. It is important for the entire UC system to affirm our core mission in light of the election. We also urge members of other colleges and universities to adapt and post a statement for signatures, and we are happy to see our statement used or amended as it fits other institutions.

(This is a statement of concerned members of the UCSC community, not an official statement of the University of California or any of its campuses.)

Co-initiators:

Donna Haraway,  
Distinguished Professor Emerita, History of Consciousness Dept. Humanities Division, UCSC

Karen Barad,  
Professor, Feminist Studies, Philosophy, and History of Consciousness, and Co-director of the Science & Justice Research Center Graduate Training Program, Humanities Division, UCSC

Angela Davis,  
Distinguished Professor Emerita, History of Consciousness and Feminist Studies, Humanities Division, UCSC

Beth Shapiro,  
Professor, Ecology and Evolutionary Biology Department, Genomics Institute and Physical and Biological Science Division, UCSC

Mark Diekhans,  
Technical Project Manager, Genomics Institute, Baskin School of Engineering, UCSC

John Pearse,  
Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Department of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology, Physical and Biological Sciences Division, UCSC

Jenny Reardon,  
Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Science and Justice Research Center, Social Sciences Division, UCSC

Rosa-Linda Fregoso,  
Distinguished Professor Emerita, Latin American and Latino Studies, Social Sciences Division, UCSC

Jennifer González,  
Professor, History of Arts and Visual Culture, Arts Division, UCSC

John Weber,  
Founding Director, Institute of the Arts and Sciences, Arts Division, UCSC,

Farnaz Fatemi,  
Lecturer in Writing, UCSC

Zia Isola,  
Director of the UCSC Genomics Institute Office of Diversity Programs and Co-Director of the UCSC Bridge to Doctorate Program, Baskin School of Engineering

Anne Callahan,  
Human Resources Manager, Humanities Division, Retired, Alumni Association Outstanding Staff Award, 2012, UCSC

Andrea Hesse,  
Academic Divisional Computing Director, Humanities Division, UCSC

Kimberly TallBear,  
Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Indigenous People, Technoscience, and Environment, University of Alberta. UCSC PhD 2005

By February 15, 2015, 650 people associated with UCSC had signed this statement online.

*Calarts  
Sanctuary  
Campus  
Declaration*

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*California Institute of the Arts*

Today, January 18, 2017, California Institute of the Arts stands with many colleges and universities across the nation in declaring itself a sanctuary campus. This declaration is made out of respect and in solidarity with our students, staff, faculty, and community members, with particular emphasis on supporting community members who have been specifically targeted by political rhetoric and action, including but not limited to Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program students (DACA), disabled/differently-abled, international, LGBTQ+, Muslim, women, the economically disadvantaged, and all students, staff, and faculty of color.

CalArts has declared itself a sanctuary campus to reaffirm that each and every member of the CalArts community is afforded the same protections under the law and is treated fairly, legally, and with the respect and rights due to any human being living inside the boundaries of the United States. In declaring itself a sanctuary campus, CalArts reinforces its current and long-standing policy to:

- NOT allow onto campus any immigration or government official investigating residency status without a subpoena or warrant;
- NOT release any residency status or documentation information of undocumented students, staff or faculty to any immigration or government official, nor collaborate with them, unless served a subpoena or warrant;
- INSTRUCT campus safety officers to not ask, collect, or share any information regarding documentation status so that all members of our community feel they can approach Campus Safety officials without fear of being targeted.

In an effort to keep the CalArts community informed on this important issue, the Institute will create and maintain a section on the HUB website (for internal audiences) in order to aggregate white papers, updates, and advisories on residency issues as well as sanctuary campus status.

CalArts nurtures emerging artists to develop their own unique voices and independent ways of thinking. We believe that art has a transformational power in the world and have worked to uphold the conditions of freedom of expression, expansiveness of aesthetics, and critical questioning of the conditions of daily life that make that power possible. We strive to create a space of equity and inclusivity that recognizes and values the contribution of each member of our community to our collective work of teaching, learning, and making art. Hence, CalArts views this Sanctuary Campus declaration as consistent with the ideals and values that are critical to the Institute's core mission.

Respectfully,

Steven D. Lavine, President  
on behalf of the  
California Institute of the Arts

*UCSB Faculty  
Association  
Dear  
Colleague  
Letter*

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*UCSB Faculty Association  
University of California, Santa Barbara*

**Dear colleague,**

The UCSB Faculty Association (SBFA)—in collaboration with concerned faculty, student groups, and the lecturers union UC-AFT—is calling for a **Day of Democratic Education to be held on Wednesday January 18, 2017.\***

The goal of this all-day event is to respond to widespread fears and concerns expressed by students, community members, and society at large vis-à-vis statements, actions, and personnel choices enacted by President-elect Donald Trump before the election and in the aftermath of his victory. His campaign targeted particularly vulnerable communities, such as undocumented Latino immigrants and Muslim immigrants and citizens, and challenged democratic values previously considered unassailable and collectively shared.

We believe that a greater understanding of both the history and contemporary stakes of these values is essential for our students to be able to evaluate the appearance of a crisis of American Democracy and face the fears and uncertainties posed by Donald Trump's inauguration. We are equally convinced that this day of democratic education should not be separate from, but rather vitally integral to our task as educators. We want to offer *regular classes* in the form of *dialogic panel-discussions* around themes highlighted by the recent election. Following is a preliminary list of classes organized by SBFA members, and involving more than 40 faculty who have volunteered to participate:

What is Trumpism?	(Howard Winart, Sociology)
Global Warming a Hoax?	(John Foran, Sociology)
Science and Democracy	(Robert Antonucci, Physics)
Identity Politics in American Democracy	(Eileen Boris, Feminist Studies)
Media and Democracy	(Jennifer Holt, Media)
Immigration and Democracy: the Sanctuary Movement	(Paul Spikard, History)
America and the World	(Lisa Hajjar, Sociology)
Race, Privatization, and Democratizing Public Education	(Diane Fujino, Asian American Studies)
The American Electoral System	(Giuliana Perrone, History)

**We are now calling on ALL UCSB faculty to actively support our Day of Democratic Education**

**How?**

over

There are three specific ways to support our effort and make this a memorable day for the whole UCSB community:

### CANCEL YOUR CLASSES

We will offer most of our classes in large lecture halls or Corwin Pavilion throughout the day, from 8 AM through 7 PM, and we will post a schedule of classes throughout campus in the days before Jan 18th. We therefore call on faculty teaching any class on Wednesday to cancel their lecture / seminar and invite their students to attend a panel scheduled at that time in Corwin Pavilion. **Please, let us know if you intend to do that by simply replying with a message that says “Corwin Pavilion.” We will send you a schedule of DDE classes in Corwin as soon as we have it.**

### DONATE YOUR CLASS-TIME/SPACE

We are calling on faculty who teach large classes (100 and up) on Wednesday to cancel their lecture for that day and donate their class-space and -time to a panel-discussion. **Just reply to this message with the classroom and time you can donate to the effort and we will communicate to you asap the name of the panel that will take place in your class so you can insert it in your syllabus.**

### PROPOSE A PANEL OR PARTICIPATE IN ONE

We want to have as many panels as faculty can organize on themes related to elections (even replicating those listed above), so as to fill an entire day of classes from 8AM to 5PM giving students options to attend different panels throughout the day. **If you want to organize a panel, or simply offer your expertise for one of the panels listed above, or one to be organized, just reply to this message with your proposal and we will put you in touch with others who may fit in your panel idea. We welcome panels that encourage debate regarding the perceived disruption of democratic values, traditions, and discourses during and after the recent election.**

### PLEASE REPLY TO THIS MESSAGE OR CONTACT US AT

[dayofdemocraticeducation@gmail.com](mailto:dayofdemocraticeducation@gmail.com)

Event Coordinator: Claudio Fogu

Co-Sponsors: SBFA, AC-AFT

**\*\*\*JOIN SBFA: ONE-YEAR FREE MEMBERSHIP IF YOU JOIN BEFORE  
JANUARY 18 \*\*\***

*\* Poised between Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and the presidential inauguration, January 18th has been selected by UCLA and other universities as a day of national protest / education.*





*PennDesign  
Social Justice  
Working  
Group  
Mission  
Statement*

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*PennDesign*

**O**n #J18, members of the PennDesign community—faculty, staff, and students from planning, architecture, landscape architecture, and historic preservation came together to develop a mission statement for PennDesign Social Justice Working Group. The SJWP was formed in the wake up the election, first as a space for grieving and solidarity, and now as a base to supportive to organizing work of the school community.

After watching and reflecting on the video sent out to #J18 sites, we did a simple exercise in calling out and recording what we are “for” and “against”, and used the results to discern major themes in our collective culture and philosophy. In particular we emphasized the explicit naming of oppressive forces, as well as calling out and recognizing the enormous privileges that we are granted by virtue of being a part of this institution. Distilling these themes down to sentiments, and then to single words was a challenge that forced us to think clearly through our motivations, biases, and fears. We ultimately developed the following mission statement:

**“The Social Justice Working Group is a conduit for PennDesign to teach, organize, and resist by means of our resources and privileges in support of equality and justice in our communities and professions. We stand against white supremacy, sexism, concentrated wealth and power, and hate speech, enabled by apathy and emboldened by the 2016 presidential election.”**

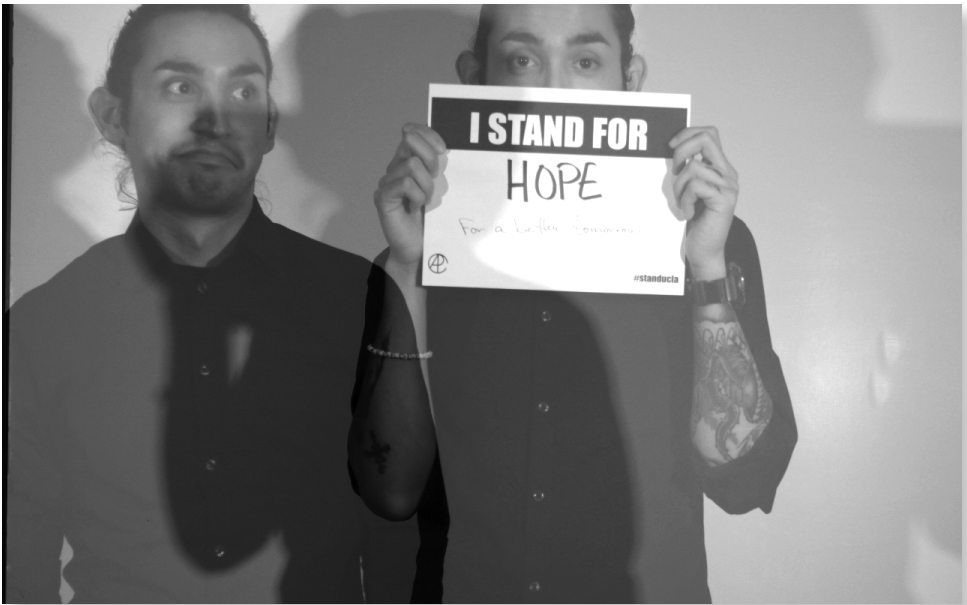
The SJWP has since held reading groups and workshops focused on training for legislative advocacy, civil disobedience, and dismantling interpersonal oppression. •

*“I Stand  
For”  
Photobooth*

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*Center for the Art of Performance at UCLA  
and Student Committee for the Arts  
University of California, Los Angeles*













*My name is  
Ilse Escobar.*

*And I just  
wanted to start  
by saying that  
we are going to  
survive this.*

The way we've been surviving. The way we are going to survive this is by doing what we've always done: burn sage, dance, drop beats, rap, sing, dance. That's how we are gonna survive, because if our revolution doesn't dance, I don't want to be at the revolution. That's a Zapatista quote. I didn't make it up—I wish I did—but I learn from them.

I want to start by sharing a little bit about my story, because it is the story of many.

I come from really rural Mexico. My family is from Guerrero. And even in Guerrero, a pueblito, chiquito, my mom's dad was still the poorest. He was the one that walked around without huarachas, without shoes. So my parents, once they got married they started the first migration to el D.F., the capital in Mexico. Even there they knew, as we listened at night to the water coming in through the tin roof of the unfinished house, that we had to move and do the next thing. It's that simple. Otherwise, we would stay in abject poverty.

And so my dad came first here to the United States and earned enough money in about a year to help my mom, my sister, and I cross over. And I remember. After about a year of asking about my dad, it was my turn to cross with my sister. And I remember walking the border with my mom and sister and the person helping us cross—a lot of the times this person is known as a coyote. I remember getting in the trunk of the car and coming here, and starting Kindergarten, and knowing “illegality” intimately. At 5 years old, knowing that I had a secret to hide, and I stayed with that.

And then high school hit. All that time, thinking, “I hope our neighbors didn't see us lose our car right now when we got stopped for no reason.” My parents were driving without a license, and we got our car taken away. In that same neighborhood, I grew up, hoping that no one was seeing any of that. And I started high school.

I'll be honest, in high school, although I was in some of the honors and AP classes, I was an OK student. I wasn't like a star student at all. I was a “hanging-by-a-thread-oh-my-god-here-is-my-paper-please-grade-it-I-need-to-pass” student. I mean, what I cared about was volleyball and basketball—I'm 5 feet but I still balled-up. You know, I would walk around with headphones before it was cool, and I was like, you know, “back in the days when I was a teenager, before I had status and before I had a pager.” Or I'd be listening to tons of Sonora Dinamita.

That was me. I was a regular student trying to figure out what to do with some of these messages about going to college, about making it. And so I did apply to college. I applied, and I knew I didn't have a social security number, and I knew I wouldn't be able to pay for school. I got the acceptance letters to four-year universities—you know the story. Undocumented students here at

UCLA—IDEAS (Improving Dreams Equality Access and Success)—you know the story of not being able to pay for school.

And so, I kept that secret, hoping that nobody saw me and that nobody knew that this body was worried and anxious. I went to community college, and that's when things sort of changed for me. I had a professor that talked proletariat, talked about the working class rising up, showed us documentaries about Walmart, and what it was to make products for Walmart, how people were hurting overseas, and how people we're hurting over here, selling those products. I thought that this was a person I could open up to. I wanted to be seen now. I wanted to talk.

In college, this was a place I felt safe. I shared with him, and I cried. And I thought, "He is going to help me, he is going to save me, he is going to do what I haven't been able to do for myself." And, you know, he walked me through some of it, asked me some questions. Then he did the best thing I think anyone could do in that place: he connected me to more undocumented students. We started the first undocumented student organization on campus at Pasadena City College. From then on, it was the snowball effect. I eventually transferred to UCLA where there was an even bigger organization of undocumented students, IDEAS, sharing these very similar stories of trauma, of illegality, of our bodies not being wanted, of trunks of cars, of crossing the border, and remembering.

It was that activism here on campus, asking and then demanding for at least financial aid, a way to pay for school. We accomplished that. In 2011 we passed the California Dream Act. People like to say, "That passed. That was signed." No. We fucking *earned* that, we *won* that. Then we were on to the next phase. After graduating—I still didn't have papers—I continued at the restaurant where I was working at. I then had an existential crisis (because I went to college I could say that). I was breaking down.

What do I do next? We did so much on campus where we would see each other everyday, political conversations, and push each other. Then I realized my comrades were already organizing in the streets of LA. There was a deportation crisis. Our family members, my friends, everyone knew someone that was being deported by Obama, knew someone that was in a detention centers who didn't know when they would get out of immigration jail.

We knew we had to reshift our activism. The politicians kept saying, "comprehensive immigration reform." That was a failure. Not just because it didn't pass, but because it was deeply flawed by including tons of enforcement money that was going to hurt the very communities it was supposed to be helping.

When we shifted, we were like, "We are gonna make California a safer place." We had already done financial aid. We were going to push for licenses for undocumented folks and work permits for people—starting with undocumented youth, then moving on

to our parents.

Some of that has been amazing to learn. But the thing I need to say today is that even after these victories, under supposedly a good administration in the democratic party, my family stayed dodging police. My family stays dodging immigration agents. It's real. That crisis is there.

One of the responses I've heard now is, "We want to do Know Your Rights presentations." That's good, but I feel that sometimes those presentations are only as good as giving out a flyer with information. I've been there. I've exercised my rights when I asked an officer, "Why are you arresting this homeless person. What did they do?" But the next thing I knew, he was pushing me up against the cop car. I didn't consent to a search, but he was already looking through my back back. I thought, "I'm going to exercise my right to remain silent." So, I did. But he just threatened me and said, "I'm just going to take you in." I knew that could mean I could be deported, even though I was exercising everything I had learned in a clinic.

I knew then, as a conscious political being, that what really mattered was organizing. I could come back to my comrades that are here in the room and figure out what to do next. We could have have a campaign against the cops. We could decide what we needed to do.

Those are some of the things I wanted to share today.

Where am I now? I am trying to be seen. I started by saying that I had hoped that my neighbors didn't see our car getting taken away. I want people to see that now. I'm not hiding that for anybody. I really don't want to make any of that easy. After organizing so much and trying to learn, we were recruited to learn how to organize more people in the labor movement to have rights for all workers.

I work at the teachers union. It's a pretty amazing union with amazing activists and organizers who are trying to make that second step in LA, where many people have access to a good public education. We know what our LA schools are like, what they are not, and what they can be. We are trying to be a part of the conversations, and we are organizing with educators, parents, and students so that interest align.

Tomorrow morning, hundreds of our schools are going to be holding up these shields. To shield against privatization, against Trump, against immigration detention. Our teachers are of part of these conversations about how the school site can be an organizing site, a site of resistance. I think we can continue to make all sites where we convene, like colleges and universities, as places of resistance.

To close off, Fernando, one of our comrades here from IDEAS at UCLA is passing around some pictures of some students. If you all can share—just look over at our neighbor, build community,

look at them, they exist.

It's a black and white, not quite an iPhone picture. It was taken in 1994. This is actually at the UCLA faculty office. It's people of color, youth, that took over the space in protest because there were proposed mass budget cuts for student of color programs and libraries. 1994 was hard. This picture here is of the students linking hands. They're looking at something to the left. They're all waiting for something. They just got the third order of dispersal from the cops. The cops were called on campus to arrest students who were demanding basic things at their university. They were just about to be arrested. That's why they're linking hands. I didn't learn this from a newspaper. I didn't go and research this and wonder what kind of story can I tell. As I was trying to figure out what I was gonna say today, my co-worker at UTLA, at the teachers union, he's like, "Ilse I want to share more about my activism at UCLA in 1994."

He's in this photo. Our other co-worker is in this photo. Now, they continue. All of this organizing is now pushing one of the largest unions in Los Angeles politically and to take action at their school sites. It's up to us. A lot of the seeds we're planting now, a lot of our action is going to continue. Twenty-plus years later and here we are.



*Ilse Escobar giving her talk at #J18: From the Frontlines of Justice at UCLA on January 18.*

*Ilse Escobar is a migrant, muxer, activist born in Mexico, and organizer in Los Angeles.*











**TEACH**



**ORGANIZE**



**RESIST**



**INSTITUTE ON  
INEQUALITY AND  
DEMOCRACY**

*at UCLA Luskin*