### 1AC Cards

**Sakai in 1989 explained that…**

Influential Contemporary Liberationist Thinker

(J. Sakai, “Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat”, Published by the Morningstar Press. Third Addition 1989)

In the Philippines the liberation struggle had ¶ alreadv reached the formation of a new Filipino Govern- ¶ ment.-s¶ purred on by the Katipunan, the secret armed ¶ organization of workers and peasants, the revolutionaries ¶ had created a large peoples' army. By the time the first ¶ U.S. troops landed on June 30, 1898, the Filipino revolu- ¶ tionaries had already swept the Spanish Colonial Army ¶ and administration out of virtually the whole of the Philip- ¶ pines, besieging the last isolated holdouts in the old walled ¶ city of Manila. Under the pretext of being "allies" of the ¶ Filipinos, U.S. troops landed and joined the siege of the ¶ Spanish remnants. It is a fact that in the siege the Filipino ¶ patriots held 15% miles of the lines facing the Spanish destroying all organized social and economic life in guer- ¶ rilla areas. Villages would be burned down, crops and ¶ livestock destroyed, diseases spread, the People killed or ¶ forced to evacuate as refugees. Large areas were declared ¶ as "free fire zones" in which all Filipinos were to be killed ¶ on sight. (12) ¶ Of course, evenEuro-Amerikan settlers needed ¶ some indoctrination in order to daily carry out such ¶ crimes. *Indiscriminate killing,* looting and torture were ¶ publicly encouraged by the U.S. Army command.¶ Amerikanreporters were invited to witness the daily tor- ¶ ture sessions, in which Filpinos would be subjected to the ¶ "watercure" (having salt water pumped into their ¶ stomachs under pressure). The Boston Herald said: ¶ "Our troops in the Philippines ... look upon all ¶ Filipinos as of one race and condition, and being dark¶ men, they are therefore 'niggers', and entitled to all the ¶ contempt and harsh treatment administered by white ¶ overlords to the most inferior races." (13) ¶ U.S. Imperialism took the Philippines by literally ¶ turning whole regions intosmolderinggraveyards. U.S. ¶ Brig. Gen. JamesBell, upon returning to the U.S. in 1901, ¶ said thathis men hadkilled one out of every six Filipinos ¶ on the main island of Luzon (that would be some one ¶ million deaths just there). It is certain that at least 200,000 ¶ Filipinos died in the genocidal conquest. In Samar pro- ¶ vince, where the patriotic resistance to the U.S. invaders ¶ wasextremelypersistent, U.S. Gen. JacobSmith ordered ¶ his troops to shoot every Filipino man, woman or child ¶ they could find "over ten" (years of age). (14)

**Thus, We advocate black liberation as strategic resistance to the regime of targeted killing.**

**THIRD, The Filipino tradition of resistance – Countless groups across the Philipines have mounted resistance struggles against the intervention of white powers – the people power movement that my family experienced in the 80s was not only accessible it created activist networks for generations to continue the struggle against white supremacist state-building**

Deats 11 (Richard, Super Consciousness, "The People Power Revolution in the Philippines," http://www.superconsciousness.com/topics/society/people-power-revolution-philippines)

In l986 millions of unarmed Filipinos surprised the world by nonviolently overthrowing the brutal dictator Ferdinand Marcos, known at the time as “the Hitler of Southeast Asia.” They called their movement “people power,” demonstrating in an amazing way the power of active nonviolence, the power of truth and love, similar to what was seen in the Gandhian freedom struggle in India and the civil rights movement in the United States. Beginning with the assassination in l983 of the popular opposition leader Senator Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino, the movement against Marcos grew rapidly. Imprisoned for seven years by Marcos, Aquino had experienced a deep conversion in his concentrated study of the Bible and Gandhi. This led him to begin advocating a nonviolent revolution against dictatorship. His subsequent martyrdom fueled the determination of many Filipinos to continue in his radical nonviolent path. I felt a strong affinity with this emerging movement. I had taught social ethics at Union Theological Seminary in the Philippines for thirteen years. Coming from the southern US where I was part of the civil rights struggle, the parallels with the Philippine situation were strong: Martin Luther King, Jr., the leading spokesman of the nonviolent movement against entrenched injustice had also been killed but his message and approach lived on. In 1984, the Little Sisters of Jesus, a community of nuns who worked among the poorest of the poor in metropolitan Manila, took it upon themselves to contact Jean and Hildegard Goss-Mayr, nonviolence lecturers and trainers in Europe who had worked for many years for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) in situations of revolution and war. The nuns asked the Goss-Mayrs, a French-Austrian couple, to come to the Philippines to help assess the situation. Having lived under Nazism in World War II, they were acquainted with struggling against tyranny. They came and met with church leaders (the country is over ninety percent Christian), peasants, labor and student leaders and community organizers. Out of these meetings came the decision to build a nonviolent movement that would oppose the dictatorship. Also a part of the IFOR and having lived and worked in the Philippines, I joined in this campaign. Long active in anti-war efforts and the civil rights movement, I returned to the Philippines and joined in the nonviolence trainings, accompanied by Stefan Merken, Jewish pacifist, photographer and writer also active in the IFOR. Our training team consisted of myself, Merken and Professor Hilario Gomez and six students from Union Seminary who were part of an activist group, FOJ— Friends of Jesus. Our efforts spread over a wide swath of Luzon, the main island of the Philippines. We traveled by public bus from place to place where our workshops were held: in local churches, a rural life center, a college, a labor center and at the headquarters of the National Council of Churches. Due to dictatorial rule in the country, we tried to keep “under the radar” so as not to be arrested should the content of our workshops become known to the government. The trainings were for invited persons only and were not publicly announced or noticed. After an opening worship, with hymns and prayers, at each workshop Gomez presented a socio/political analysis of the country-the Filipinos called such a lecture a “situationer.” Then Gomez and I talked about the nonviolent understanding of biblical faith that pursues justice, that stands with the oppressed and that challenges cruel authority as was seen in the biblical prophets, in Jesus, in the Asian Gandhi and the African-American King. We did role plays, where participants would take assigned parts, such as a tenant farmer dealing with an oppressive landlord, or a worker stopped by an armed soldier for questioning. We talked about “the pillars of oppression”, e.g., the army, the government, the upper class. Participants shared their opinions and experiences and began to feel strength that came from verbalizing and acting out internal struggles that often had been held in silence. Learning of what had happened in India, in the US and other places was a powerful incentive for action. Ordinary people had done extraordinary things creating a contagion out of which movements had been born. Merken fascinated the participants with his Jewish perspective on biblical nonviolence. Most of them in this Asian nation had never even met a Jew, much less heard a Jewish pacifist discuss the first recorded act of civil disobedience when a midwife disobeyed the king’s edict to kill Hebrew male babies by hiding the infant Moses in the bulrushes, thereby saving his life. So nonviolent resistance wasn’t just a Gandhian idea! We had lively discussions. There was universal disgust with dictatorship but some thought one just had to passively endure it. “Bahala na” they would say, a Filipino expression that means “That’s just the way things are, the way they will be.” Others thought only violence could be effective against evil oppressors. As a bishop said to me, “I used to believe in nonviolence but Marcos is too cruel; only a bloody revolution will work against him.” When I asked him how long such a revolution would take, he said, “Ten years.” (Neither of us had any idea, of course, that less than a year later Marcos would have fled the country when faced with nonviolent masses of Filipinos). Others refused to sanction violence even in a just struggle. Some had heard I worked for the CIA; others had heard I was really a communist! But some had heard that I was part of monthly vigils against the Vietnam War; others had been my students in seminary and had seen me at student demonstrations favoring democracy. The workshop became a safe place where these contradictory ideas and accusations were aired. Along with vigorous discussion were also moments of humor that joined us together in shared laughter. Through it all, the examination of Gandhi, King and Aquino led to an emerging understanding that, as Dr. King had said, “The arc of the universe is long but it bends towards justice.” Perhaps the time of reckoning was at hand. The martyrdom of Senator Aquino heightened the determination of the people to end their long tyranny. Maybe his death was a signpost, not another dead end. The seeds planted in the workshops among Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and others of no particular faith; clergy and laity, intellectuals, students, peasant and labor leaders began to give birth to intensive efforts around the country to build a resistance community. Little by little, but also in unexpected leaps and bounds, there emerged a solid core of activists - including many key leaders - ready for a showdown with the Marcos dictatorship. The workshops of 1984 and 1985 were catalysts that awakened new possibilities into being. Age old habits of fatalism gave way to a determination for a better future. From cardinals and bishops to local priests and nuns, ministers and women deacons, brave students and farmers, a chorus rang out calling for change - dangerous and daring but absolutely necessary. Activists sprang into action, breathing new life into communities, forming new organizations, boldly speaking out about this “third way” - active nonviolence, the path between violence and passivity. I watched in awe at the creativity and boldness of “the unarmed forces” of the Philippines.

For example, each ballot is momentum; an increase in our bounty. Just as in the case of Assata Shakur, the bounty and ballot are a means of raising the profile of the targeted killing regime. We hope to awaken conscious to the need of black liberation, just like the bounty hunter pursuit of Assata Shakur inspired YasinBey.

He writes…

(YasinBey, aka Mos Def. Rapper, Actor, Political Activist, “The government’s terrorist is our community’s heroine by YasiinBey(MosDef)”, May 5, 2013

http://freedomhallblog.wordpress.com/2013/05/05/the-governments-terrorist-is-our-communitys-heroine-by-yasiin-beymos-def/)

Early in May, the federal government issued a statement in which they labeledJoanne Chesimard, known to most in the Black community asAssata Shakur, as a domestic terrorist. In so doing,theyalsoincreased the bounty on her head from $150,000 to an unprecedented $1,000,000.¶Viewed through the lens of U.S. law enforcement, Shakur is an escaped cop-killer. Viewed through the lens of many Black people, including me, she is a wrongly convicted womananda hero of epic proportions.¶My first memory of Assata Shakur was the “Wanted” posters all over my Brooklynneighborhood. They said her name was Joanne Chesimard, that she was a killer, an escaped convict, and armed and dangerous.¶They made her sound like a super-villain, like something out of a comic book. But even then, as a child, I couldn’t believe what I was being told.¶When I looked at those posters and the mug shotof a slight, brown, high-cheekboned woman with a full afro, I saw someone who looked like she was in my family, an aunt, a mother.¶ She looked like she had soul.Later, as a junior high school student, when I read her autobiography, “Assata,” I would discover that not only did she have soul, she also had immeasurableheart, courage and love.¶And I would come to believe that that very heart and soul she possessed was exactly why Assata Shakur was shot, arrested, framed and convicted of the murder of a New Jersey State Trooper.¶ There are some undisputed facts about the case. On May 2, 1973, Assata Shakur, a Black Panther, was driving down the New Jersey State Turnpike with two companions, Zayd Shakur and SundiataAcoli.¶ The three were pulled over, ostensibly for a broken tail light. A gun battle ensued; why and how it started is unclear. But the aftermath is not. Trooper Werner Forester and Zayd Shakur lay dead.¶SundiataAcoli escaped (he was captured two days later). And Assata was shot and arrested. At trial, three neurologists would testify that the first gunshot shattered her clavicle and the second shattered the median nerve in her right hand. That testimony proved that she was sitting with her hands raised when she was fired on by police.¶ Further testimony proved that no gun residue was found on either of her hands, nor were her fingerprints found on any of the weapons located at the scene. Nevertheless, Shakur was convicted by an all-White jury and sentenced to life in prison.¶ Six years and six months to the day that she was arrested, and aided by friends, Shakur escaped from Clinton Women’s Prison in New Jersey. As a high school student, I remember seeing posters all around the Brooklyn community I lived in that read: “Assata Shakur is Welcome Here.” In 1984, she surfaced in Cuba and was granted political asylum by Fidel Castro.¶ There are those who believe that being convicted of a crime makes you guilty. But that imposes an assumption of infallibility upon our criminal justice system.¶ When Assata Shakur was convicted of killing Werner Foerster, not only had the Black Panther Party been labeled by then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as “the greatest internal threat” to American security, but Assata herself had been thoroughly criminalized in the minds of the American public.¶ She’d been charged in six different crimes, ranging from attempted murder to bank robbery, and her acquittal or dismissal of the charges outright notwithstanding, to the average citizen, it seemed she must be guilty of something. And she was.She was guilty of calling for a shift in power in America and for racial and economic justice.¶Included on a short list of the many people who have made that call and were either criminalized, terrorized, killed or blacklisted are Paul Robeson, Martin Luther King, Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, Medgar Evers and Ida B. Wells.¶ Perhaps what is most insulting about the government’s latest attack on Assata is that while they vigorously pursue her extradition, a few years ago using it as a bargaining chip for lifting the embargo itself, they have been decidedly lackadaisical in pursuing the extradition to Venezuela of an admitted terrorist, Florida resident Luis Posada Carriles. Carriles is likely responsible for blowing up a Cuban airline in 1976, an act which claimed the lives of some 73 innocent civilians.¶ For those of us who either remember the state of the union in the 1960s and 1970s or have studied it, when we consider Assata Shakur living under political asylum in Cuba, we believe that nation is exercising its political sovereignty and in no way harboring a terrorist.¶Cubans sees Assata as I and many others in my community do: as a woman who was and is persecuted for her political beliefs.¶ When the federal government raised the bounty on her head this May 2, one official declared that Assata was merely “120 pounds of money.” For many of us in the Black community, she could never be so reduced. For many of usin the Black community,she was and remains,to use her own words,an “escaped slave,” a heroine, not unlike Harriet Tubman.

### 2AC Cards

**which means white supremacy will continue the genocidal regime of targeted killings. They can’t solve unless the struggles of people of color are centered.**

**Ross 2k**

[Marlon B., Professor, Department of English and Carter G. Woodson Institute for African-American and African Studies, “Commentary: Pleasuring Identity, or the Delicious Politics of Belonging,” New Literary History, Vol. 31, No. 4, pages 840-841]

Although in his contribution Eric Lott targets Professor Michaels's comments and his own recent feud with Timothy Brennan (who unfortunately is not included in this volume) rather than Ken's argument, what Eric says about “left and liberal fundamentalists” who “simply and somewhat penitently” urge us to “‘go back to class’” could also be directed at Ken's conclusion. Ken writes, “Crafting a political left that does not merely reflect existing racial divisions starts with the relatively mundane proposition that it is possible to make a persuasive appeal to the given interests of working and unemployed women and men, regardless of race, in support of a program for economic justice.” On this one, I side with Eric, rather than Tim and Ken. Standing on the left depends on whose left side we're talking about. My left might be your right and vice versa, because it depends on what direction we're facing, and what direction depends on which identities we're assuming and affirming. Eric adds, "Even in less dismissive [than Tim's] accounts of new social movements based not on class but on identities formed by histories of injustice, there is a striking a priori sense of voluntarism about the investment in this cause or that movement or the other issue—as though determining the most fundamental issue were a matter of the writer's strength of feeling rather than a studied or analytical sense of the ever-unstable balance of forces in a hegemonic bloc at a given moment." I agree, but I'll risk mangling what Eric says by putting it more crassly.Touting class or "economic justice"as the fundamental stance for left identity is just another way of telling everybody else to shut up so I can be heard above the fray. Because of the force of "identity politics," a leftist white person would be leery of claiming to lead Blacks toward the promised land, a leftist straight man leery of claiming to lead women or queers, but, for a number of complex rationalizations, we in the middle class (where all of us writing here currently reside) still have few qualms about volunteering to lead, at least theoretically, the working class toward "economic justice." What Eric calls here "left fundamentalism," I'd call, at the risk of sounding harsh, left paternalism. **Of the big identity groups articulated through "identity politics," economic class remains the only identity where a straight white middle-class man can still feel comfortable claiming himself a leading political voice, and** thus he**may sometimes overcompensate by screaming that this is the only identity that really matters—which is the same as claiming that class is beyond identity**. Partly this is because**Marxist theory**and Marx himself (a bourgeois intellectual creating the theoretical practice for the workers' revolution) **stage the model for working-class identity as a sort of trans-identification, a magical identity that is transferable to those outside the group who commit themselves to it wholeheartedly enough**. If we look back, we realize even this magical quality is not special to a history of class struggle, as whites during the New Negro movements of the early twentieth century felt that they were vanguard race leaders because they had putatively imbibed some essential qualities of Negroness by cross-identifying with the folk and their culture.

1. **We’re a Pre-requisite: White supremacy has made blacks the oil that runs the machine of capital. Marx didn’t assume the modern working class but our strategic resistance solves the alt**

**Andrews & Maher 11**

George, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Drexel University & Jeff Jeff St. Andrews is a freelance photographer

(“Prison Rebellions as a Window to the New World: Every Crook Can Govern”, July 2011, http://www.counterpunch.org/2011/07/22/every-crook-can-govern/)

A century later, this picture had changed, and BlackPanther founder Huey Newton took the seemingly contradictory positionthat Blacks were both central to and increasingly unnecessary for economic production in the United States. In 1967,[he had written](http://www.africawithin.com/studies/defense.htm) of Black Americans as both the oil without which the U.S. war machine cannot function and as the driving shaft of that same machinery: we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once we becomedislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down, he insisted. Black Americans, in short, can, becauseof their intimacy with the mechanism, destroy the engine that is enslaving the world. But just four years later, Newton would document a growingdistance between these former slaves and the machinery? of the U.S.economy: blacks and third world people, he argued, had become displaced from their central economic function, and were increasingly rendered what he called the unemployables.¶ But for Newton, this declining economic position of the Black population did not correspond to a declining politicalimportance. Instead, these unemployables–which he used as synonymous with the controversial concept of the lumpen–would become, by virtue of sheer numbers,a new revolutionary agent capable of overthrowing U.S. capitalism:¶ The [revolutionary] thrust will come from the growing number of what we call the unemployables in this societyThe proletarian will become the lumpen proletariat. It is this future change–the increase of the lumpen proletariat and the decrease of the proletariat–which makes us say that the lumpen proletariat is the majority and carries the revolutionary banner (?Intercommunalism?).¶ Were these two arguments in contradiction with oneanother, or was this shift simply a reflection of momentous economic transformation and the increasing unemployability of many poor Americans, specificallypeople of color and even more specifically the Black population? Have communities of color been increasingly lumpenized as Huey predicted?

1. **This is key to successful anti-capitalist resistance. Only the permutation ensures our method is not divorced from the praxis of community uplift. Without this they can’t account for the way white supremacy will pervade their “multiracial” movement.**

**Kelley 99**

Gary B. Nash Professor of American History at UCLA.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Kelley#cite_note-1)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Kelley#cite_note-2) From 2006 to 2011, he was Professor of American Studies and Ethnicity at the [University of Southern California](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Southern_California) (USC),[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Kelley#cite_note-3) and from 2003 to 2006 he was the William B. Ransford Professor of Cultural and Historical Studies at [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University). From 1994 to 2003, he was a professor of history and[Africana](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_people) Studies at [New York University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_University) as well the chairman of NYU's history department

(Robin, “BUILDING BRIDGES: THE CHALLENGE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR”, New Labor Forum #5, Fall-Winter 1999. Pg 42-58)

The failure to build a strong multiraciallabormovement, in other words, had more to do with ¶ white racism than reluctance or distrust on the part of workers of color. Ironically, one could argue that the ¶ (white) labor movement in this period was partly forged because of racism, which in the long run ¶ substantiallyweakened the movement while providing a basis for solidarity.Throughout this period we ¶ witness tremendous nativism and anti-immigration sentiment rooted in white workers' fears of competition ¶ from Chinese immigrants for jobs. Labor organizations, including the American Federation of Labor under ¶ Samuel Gompers' leadership, actively lobbied for extending the Chinese Exclusion Act, originally passed in ¶ 1882, when it came up for congressional renewal in 1892.19 In general, however, sentiment for ¶ immigration restriction was at least as widespread among employers as in labor unions in these years. ¶ Though industrialists sought a cheap and steady labor supply, their desires were more than counterbalanced ¶ by their belief that immigrants were a source of labor strife, violence, and radicalism.¶In the face of racism, nativism, and an increase in lynching and various terrorist activities directed ¶ at African Americans,Chinese, and Mexican workers in the Southwest, opportunities for interracial labor ¶ organizing were few and far between. Workers of color tended to participate in race and ethnic based ¶ institutions, often turning to self-help strategies to survive and build community. While most labor unions ¶ limited their membership to whites only, there were a few exceptions. The Knights of Labor, founded in ¶ 1869, vowed not to discriminate on the basis of race (though they did exclude Chinese workers). At its ¶ height in 1886, it claimed nearly one million members, of which 60,000 were black. Black members of the ¶ Knights, particularly in the South, focused more of their energies on community building and economic ¶ independence than on improving workplace conditions. For example, they took the lead in establishing ¶ cooperative stores and cooperative cotton gins, and some chapters of the Knights (particularly in ¶ Richmond) organized massive resistance to segregation and disfranchisement. 20¶ The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1881 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, ¶ initially planned to organize industrial workers. Knowing that any serious effort to organize unskilled and semi-skilled labor depended on bringing in black and immigrant workers, the AFL initially refused to ¶ charter discriminatory locals. However, by 1893 the AFL backtracked on the "race" question, choosing to ¶ charter racist locals and focusitsenergies on skilled craft unions which tended to be primarily if not ¶ exclusively white. Indeed, the AFL’sbrand of "bread and butter" unionism not only discriminated against ¶ black workers but narrowedits field of visionto workplace concerns to the detriment of community ¶ struggles. The AFL’s tolerance for whites-only locals and segregated unions further pushed black, Latino, ¶ and Asian workers out of the house of labor and into the role as strike breakers and “scabs”.21This¶ position (one many workers of color resisted) contributed tothe increasedscapegoating of black and brown ¶ laborers, who were often represented in the mainstream labor press as inherently anti-labor. Meanwhile, the ¶ Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), founded in 1905, was not buying the idea that unskilled, nonwhite workers were unorganizable. On the contrary, they emerged out of the radical Western Federation of ¶ Miners, whose members included Native American and Mexican mine workers, to challenge the ¶ increasingly conservative leadership of Samuel L. Gompers and the AFL. The "Wobblies," as they were ¶ called, sought to organize the lowly worker of every kind and location, into a movement which set out to ¶build a new, egalitarian society within the shell of the old one. Despite the attraction the Wobblies held for ¶ African-Americans and immigrants, the IWW had little luck organizing African Americans, and when¶ they succeeded their efforts were concentrated in Southern agriculture, primarily the lumber and sugar cane ¶ industry, and along the docks of Philadelphia.22 The IWW affiliated Marine Transport Workers Union was ¶ a predominantly black union led by one of the most talented African-American labor leaders of the 20th ¶ century, Benjamin Fletcher. Although 5,000 members of the 8,700 member union were black, it is ¶ significant that the bulk of his white support came from Jewish and Polish workers. Nevertheless, by 1923 ¶ Fletcher's experience with racist white workers overwhelmed his enthusiasm for "One Big Union." Even ¶ his own beloved Wobblies never paid special attention to the specific situation of African-Americans and ¶they sought, too simply, to rise above theracism andethnocentricity of the working class and its capitalist ¶ masters. To solve the class question, they argued, was to solve the race question. Theyalsofailed to ¶ recognize that the most downtrodden Europeanimmigrantshad opportunities, over generations if not in ¶ their own lives, to become "white"-opportunities neither African-Americans, Asians, and in some cases, ¶ Latinos did not enjoy. Anti-Semitism certainly didn't die, but assimilated Jews, Italians and Slavs had a much better chance than assimilated Negroes. Indeed, over a decade before DuBois published his magnum ¶ opus, Black Reconstruction Fletcher clearly understood the tragedy of white identity politics: “Organized ¶ labor, for the most part be it radical or conservative, thinks and acts, in the terms of the White Race.”23¶ Black workers, then, were alsocompelled to think in terms of "the race," but that did not mean ¶ supporting the status quo. Nordid defending "the race" necessarily meanexcluding others or organizing ¶ exclusively around black causes, for as Benjamin Fletcher and many others like him demonstrated, building ¶ interracial movements to protect working-class interests is a way of defending black people from racism ¶ and class exploitation. Moreover, the concern about protecting black interests reflected the dialectic of ¶ work and community. While scholars have established in no uncertain terms the degree to which ¶ occupations and, in some cases, work spaces were segregated by race,24 only recently has scholarship ¶ begun to move beyond staid discussions of labor market segmentation and racial (and more recently, ¶ gender) inequality to an analysis of what these distinctions at work and home mean for black (not to ¶ mention, Latino, Asian-American, Native American) working-class politics and for collective action. 25¶ All-black trade unions, like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, constitute the most obvious ¶ examples of labor organizing in defense of "the race." The BSCP, under the leadership of A. Philip ¶ Randolph, had a presence on the railways as well as in black communities. BSCP organizers like Randolph, ¶ Milton P. Webster, E.D. Nixon, to name a few, emerged as black community leaders well beyond their ¶ union activities. Members of the union earned a level of respect within black communities that enabled ¶ them to claim middle class status and respectability. And the formation of a strong and active women's ¶ auxiliary meant that the political and social activities of the Brotherhood would extend far¶ beyond the workplace. Melinda Chatuvert's important new book, Marching Together: Women of the ¶ Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters portrays a community-oriented union that not only maintained a ¶ powerful political presence in the black world but served as a platform for African American women's ¶ struggles for equality and democracy for themselves and their communities. Moreover, she demonstrates ¶ that the success of the union depended on community support, and that was obtained primarily through the ¶ organizing work of women. On the other hand, the BSCP was never an exclusionary organization. They ¶ were formed as a result of the Jim Crow policies of both the employers (who only hired black workers as ¶ sleeping car porters) and the railway unions. In fact, Randolph, a leading Socialist and magazine editor when he took over as head of the BSCP, spent a good deal of his life lobbying the AFL to recognize the¶ union. 26¶ A lesser known and more local example of independent black trade unionism can be found in Earl ¶ Lewis's In Their Own Interests: Race, Class and Power in Twentieth Century Norfolk. During World War I, ¶ the all-black Transport Workers Association of Norfolk began organizing African-American waterfront ¶ workers irrespective of skill. Soon thereafter, its leaders turned their attention to the ambitious task of ¶ organizing all black workers, most notably cigar stemmers, oyster shuckers, and domestics. The TWA's ¶ Wobbly sensibility and racial politics combined to create One Big Negro Union. What is important about ¶ the Norfolk story is the startling success of the TWA's efforts, particularly among workers that had been ¶ dismissed as unorganizable. Lewis is not satisfied with simplistic explanations like the power of ¶ charismatic leadership or the primacy of race over class to account for the mass support for the TWA; ¶ rather, he makes it quite clear that the labor process, work spaces, intra-class power relations, communities ¶ and neighborhoods--indeed, class struggle itself--are all racialized. The result, therefore, is a "racialized" ¶ class consciousness shaped by thesocial locations of work and home. Lewis writes, ¶ In the world in which these workers lived nearly everyone was black, except for a supervisor or ¶ employer. Even white workers who may have shared a similar class position enjoyed a superior ¶ social position because of their race. Thus, although it appears that some black workers manifested ¶ a semblance of worker consciousness, that consciousnesswas so imbedded in the perspective of ¶ race that neither blacks nor whites saw themselves as equal partners in the same labormovement.

1. **Alt Fails-**

**Jones 9**

Van, president of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, in Oakland, California (ellabakercenter.org) and a National Apollo Alliance steering committee member. interviewed by the Public Rhetorics and Permanent War research collective

(Mirpuri, A., Feldman, K. P. and Roberts, G. M., Antiracism and Environmental Justice in an Age of Neoliberalism: An Interview with Van Jones. Antipode, 41: 401–415 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/store/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00680.x/asset/j.1467-8330.2009.00680.x.pdf>?v=1&t=h9db4rfu&s=4eb93e106487916d817d5ed955a183bd99085437)

This is the way Progressives need to be thinking, not whether it’s neoliberal or not. Jeez, I had that conversation in 1997. I can guarantee you that every single action or proposal that comes across the transom, there will be some very clever Leftist who will besitting there waving his handin the back of the roomsaying, “I know how to critique this one. I know how to critique this one.” That’s become the slogan on the Left. “I know how to critique this one.” As if what this country’s missing, and the reason that we’re all miserable is because we haven’t figured out the best critique of our situation.It’s a highly idealistic mode of politics and I think that the outcome is very clear. The campusesactuallyused to produce usable activists and organizers who could come into an organization, run the photocopier, get a clipboard, walk out into the community, knock on the door, and within a few weeks be reasonably decent community change-agents. You now have to spend with these people coming off the campuses about two years just getting them to speak plain English and not attack everybody. There’s something happening on the campuses where deconstruction is everything and reconstruction is off the table, outside of some sort of socialism on the moon. That’s what the campuses are producing. I think that it’s extremely dangerous. You need those folks to be idealistic and militant, and a little bit unreasonable, but primarily aimed at changing the balance of forces in the country. What’s happening now is that you have people who are certainly militant in a kind of sardonic way, too-clever-by-half kind of militants, who are very good at explaining what’s wrong with everything and have a very hard time finding anything to be joyful about, or anything to be hopeful about. That kind ofdressed-up cynicism, a cynicism adorned with polysyllables and a certain pose, will not move the country, will not move working-class people, will not actually change the course of history. And yet it’s a well-defended pose. There’s a lot of conversation that keeps it in place, but what’s happened is we’ve not produced a political movement. The Left is producing a political subculture, and a subculture is very different than a movement. A subculture vigorously polices its own ideas, identity, and boundaries.It’s very concerned with who’s in and who’s out, who’s cool and who’s not. It’saself-limiting thing. Whereas a political movement is constantly trying to figure out how to get bigger and bigger sections of society on its side.

1. They perpetuate targeted killing:

**Wise 10**

American anti-racism activist and writer.

(“[With Friends Like These, Who Needs Glenn Beck? Racism and White Privilege on the Liberal-Left](http://www.timwise.org/2010/08/with-friends-like-these-who-needs-glenn-beck-racism-and-white-privilege-on-the-liberal-left/)” August 17th, http://www.timwise.org/2010/08/with-friends-like-these-who-needs-glenn-beck-racism-and-white-privilege-on-the-liberal-left/)

Class-Based Reductionism on the LeftPerhapsthe most common way in which folks on the leftsometimesperpetuate racismisby a vulgar form of class reductionism, in which they advance the notion that racism is a secondary issue to the class system, and that what leftists and radicals should be doing is spending more time focusing on the fight for dramatic and transformative economic change (whether reformist or revolutionary), rather than engaging in what they derisively term “identity politics.” The problem, say these voices, are corporations, the rich, the elite, etc., and to get sidetracked into a discussion of white supremacy is to ignore this fact and weaken the movement for radical change.But in fact, racism affects the lives of people of color quite apart from the class system. Black and brown folks who are not pooror working class — indeed those who are upper middle class and affluent — are still subjected to discriminationregularly, whetherin the housing market, on the part of police, in schools, in the health care delivery system and on the job. True enough, these better-off folks of color may be more economically stable that their poor white counterparts, but in the class system they compete for stuff against whites in the same economic strata: a competition in which they operate at a decided and unfair disadvantage. So too, poor and working class whites, though they suffer the indignities of the class system, still have decided advantages over poor and working class people of color: their spells of unemployment are typically far shorter, their ability to find affordable and decent housing is far greater, and they are less likely to find themselves in resource-poor schools than even blacks and Latinos in middle class families. In fact, lower income whites are more likely to own their own home than middle class blacks, and most poor whites in the U.S. do not live in poor neighborhoods — rather they are mostly to be found in middle class communities where opportunities are far greater — whereas most poor people of color are surrounded by concentrated poverty. And black folks with college degrees, professional occupational status and health insurance coverage actually have worse health outcomes than white dropouts, with low income and low-level if any medical care, thanks to racism in health care delivery and black experiences with racism, which have uniquely debilitating health affects at all income levels. To ignore the unique deprivations of racism (as with sexism, heterosexism, ableism, etc) so as to forward a white-friendly class analysis is inherently marginalizing to the lived experience of black and brown folks in the United States. And what’s more, to ignore racism is to actually weaken the struggle for class unity and economic transformation. Research on this matter is crystal clear:it isin large measuredue to racism — andthe desire of working class whites to maintain a sense ofsuperiority over workers of color, as a “psychological wage”when real wages and benefits have proven inadequate —that has divided the working class.It is thisholding onto the status conferred by whiteness, as a form of “alternate property” (to paraphrase UCLA Law Professor, Cheryl Harris), which has undermined the ability of white and of-color working people to engage in solidarity across racial lines. Unless we discuss the way in which racism and racial inequity weakens our bonds of attachment, we will never be able to forward atrulyprogressive, let aloneradical politics.In other words, unless all of our organizing becomes antiracist in terms of outreach, messaging, strategizing, and implementation, whatever work we’re doing, around whatever important issue, will be for naught. Onlyby buildingcoalitions that look inward at the way racism and white privilege may be operating within those formations, and that also lookoutward, at the way racism and privilege affect the issue around which we’re organizing (be that schools, health care, jobs, tax equity, the environment, LGBT rights, reproductive freedom, militarism or anything else),can we hope to beat back the forces of reaction against which we find ourselves arrayed. The other side has proven itself ready and willing to use racism to divide us. In response, we must commit to using antiracism as a force to unite.