

- Questions about the final exam
- Genealogy of this course
  - Best exemplified by McCarthyism
  - New Deal Liberalism being undermined not by radicals, Marxists, not right-wing extremists, not republicans, but by the liberal consensus itself.
  - Those who benefit from the Wagner Act, the increasing unionization, those who benefit from the National Labor Relations Board are the same people pushing back against liberalism arguing that liberalism did not go far enough
- What we see occurring from the 1940s through the 1960s is an attack on liberalism
  - I know you spent your paper trying to compare and contrast the two, it's important to think of how the two are converging to become a part of a sort of national system of race management that not only allows for race hierarchies to continue in life but an ongoing sense of racial inequality particularly for African-Americans.
  - It is to think about how New Dealers, many of them worthwhile New Dealers, Poindexter, how influential they became as they abandoned liberalism in favor of this anti-liberal impulse which was later adopted by people such as Nixon, by George Wallace, and eventually people like Ronald Reagan.
  - The Fair Housing Act of 1968... are replaced by the sort of restrictive covenants that are replaced as white working-class Northerners are responding to the egalitarian approach of New Deal Liberalism
  - All of those ideas are shaped into policies and practices that become a part of the Republican agenda
  - Underscore how they have their genesis in the kind of Northern race liberalism that shaped the American north during the early twentieth century and during the early war period.
- We spent a lot of time discussing employment in housing.
  - Where you live will determine also where you are working
  - What we see is, African-Americans have been confined, they have dealt with the dismantling of African-American neighborhoods due to urban renewal projects
  - As African-Americans get pushed away from jobs and opportunities due to that kind of defense localism as in the case of White Detroiters who push their neighborhoods back against housing projects being sited within white communities, African-Americans are pushed away from racial opportunities.
  - The most important case of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that case being Brown v. Board is undermined by the belief that the law did not need enforcement beyond what it offered in terms of rhetorically desegregating schools within the country. Very reminiscent of Northern race liberalism.

- Another example is the way in which busing becomes a critical aspect of the freedom of choice
  - That debate centered around Northern whites in places like Detroit, in places like Boston who argued that they were not against racial inequality but they did not believe that there should be mandatory busing in order to enforce integration.
  - My point should be the way that in the 1960s, the way that Republicans adopted the sort of thinking that is critical in liberalism
  - And as Northern race liberals abandoned their commitments even if those commitments had no [chance] of enforcement, you get the faltering of the liberal state.
  - We have not dealt with education which is interesting for two reasons. One, we have Brown v. Board which is responsible for overturning Plessy v. Ferguson, outlining separate but equal.
  - Brown becomes ineffectual. It becomes ineffectual again because there is a lack of enforcement, there is a lack of gradualist pursuit
    - To pursue integration with deliberate speed
  - As you read in the Biondi book, they have optimism. Du Bois said integration would be achieved in 5 years. Brown becomes a [sense of the broken promise of education].
  - Education is a crucial aspect of the long freedom struggle.
  - We see how the middle class in the post-war era explodes because of the service readjustment act of 1944, the G.I. Bill.
  - The G.I. Bill is supposed to benefit all returning veterans. It's supposed to give them unemployment insurance. It's certainly supposed to give them the opportunity to become homeowners by backing [homeowner insurance].
- Another thing you see develop in that era is a rise in for-profit schools because they are trying to take advantage of the benefits that are doled out to former soldiers.
- Of the 67 thousand mortgages that are handed out in New Jersey, African-Americans have less than 100.
- You can see the way in which the G.I. Bill helps to explode the middle class, yet African-Americans are not able to benefit.
- Black colleges are a response to discrimination, so that it offers opportunities for African-Americans to pursue higher education at a time they are being denied opportunities
- What you begin to see is a way in which African-Americans push for inclusion in legislation which is not available to them.
- By the time we get to the 1970s, education becomes a continuing centerpiece of black activism.

- African-Americans are able to recognize that 1. Their pursuit of inclusion – their continuing pursuit of citizenship, their economic pursuit is going to converge around their ability to open up the American educational landscape to allow themselves a greater foothold, certainly they want to increase the number of black students who have access, they want to increase the number of black faculty. In many ways they're trying to write themselves into histories which had previously not included them.
  - The traditions of the American university as Biondi indicated are white traditions, white customs
  - They are ways to make white students culturally and certainly intellectually, sophisticated and provide them with opportunities to make themselves viable for life.
  - So African-Americans are competing for those same opportunities.
  - The reason I bring up the war on poverty is because those anti-poverty policies of the 1960s quickly became racialized.
  - Whereas white poverty was seen as the lack of jobs, opportunities, the kinds of ways in which the liberal state had gone overboard without providing real work opportunities for white citizens, for African-Americans their struggles in poverty and privation were seen as laziness
    - Those kind of culture explanations, those ways in which white stereotypes existed
    - Those old settler stereotypes about black migrants began to inform and dominate the rhetoric of Democrats and Republicans alike
    - The Monahan report in which things like poverty began to be blamed on African-Americans themselves.
    - Monahan in a haphazard way draws attention to the legacies of slavery, the legacy of Jim Crow
    - The broken black families decimated under slavery and Jim Crow, and because of that decimation contributing to their own demise, that in a sense what emerged out of that report was a way in which conservative Democrats, moderate Democrats began to charge African-Americans with culpability for their poverty
- War on crime agenda
- Part of that was the argument from whites that we needed urban order, we needed law and order
- You see it described in the Losier article as being part and parcel of Nixon's administration but in many ways before it became a part of Nixon's administration it had already begun to, you begin to see some currency with those conservative Democrats. That individuals like Kavanagh who are adopting these anti-poverty programs are also led to believe that because African-Americans are being charged with the inequalities that they faced, they are led to believe that these African-American communities should be policed.

- The short-circuiting of New Deal liberalism had left them vulnerable, confined to ghetto communities, ramshackle communities that had been abandoned by white landlords.
  - Because African-Americans are seen as creating their own poverty there is this emphasis on law and order best exemplified by a War on Crime.
  - Even the War on Terror has its basis in this law and order moment. The preventive detainment, that is to say when we empower the federal government under the Patriot Act, those policies have their genesis in this law and order moment.
  - By the early 1970s you begin to see a push for mandatory minimum and mandatory maximum sentences. Before then you had judges who had a sense of judicial power, who could decide what kind of punishment could be doled out to those who were found guilty
  - In the early 1970s that power is sort of stripped by those judicial bodies and those judicial hands and you begin to see the results of those mandatory minimums and mandatory maximums.
  - And dominating discussion today, the militarization of law enforcement. And the consequences, one of the consequences of that militarization that certainly became heightened in the post 9/11 era but had its [basis] in the 1970s
    - Further allowed law enforcement not to have to face legal recourse when it comes to engaging in extra-legal violence
    - In the 1960s, as a part of law and order, to kind of sketch that out, I mentioned to you all the emergence of Detroit STRESS (stop the robberies, enjoy safe streets). There are other quasi- pseudo- [police terminologies] that began to place African-Americans under surveillance, certainly began to besiege these black communities.
      - Are all an attempt to maintain law and order
    - I was drawing attention to how the push for law and order, which was reminiscent of the push for urban order and urban peace being very crucial to the development of northern race liberalism because in essence northern race liberalism was a system of race management trying to accomplish the goals of creating a society of peace and order
- Beginning in the 1960s as African-Americans found themselves being blamed for their own demise and the own inequalities they faced, they see the development of this law and order push
  - Led to for a short time paramilitary-like organizations within our police department which had been militarized.
  - This war on crime throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and 21<sup>st</sup> century becomes an embodiment of the war on drugs, the war on terror

- All of those things were an effort on one hand to police black communities, but on the other hand to protect white communities and not to protect themselves in a sense of [security] but in a sense of black encroachment
- Black Americans who are trying to push for inclusion and housing equity
- By the [60s], you see the move toward a carceral state but the kind of increasing surveillance that Americans find themselves under. That surveillance is indicative of everything from security checks to the way in which there are increasing calls to develop America or strengthen America's borders
  - Part of that is placing citizens under constant watch
  - Policing who can be here and certainly justifying that system of mass incarceration
  - Part of that goal is to demonstrate that society needs this kind of surveillance in order to maintain a sense of law and order
  - African-Americans are more [expressive] of inclusion and take that battle to the campus
  - They're clamoring for black studies, again they're clamoring for increased black activism
  - At the same time they're taking that black power activism to campus you see a response, and when I say response I don't want you to think a response to that campus activism but a general response to that freedom struggle
  - African-Americans who are going to push for those long-term equalities find themselves being blamed and being greater scrutinized and under suspicion of crime.
- We not only begin to make the assertions that African-Americans are poor and that their communities are dilapidated [but that they are responsible]
- We even see how the tough on crime [policies] have affected American politics so that Pamela Harris is criticized and placed under the microscope particularly by African-Americans who believe that she has not done enough for criminal justice reform.
- That sort of reckoning that Pamela Harris faces is the ... basis of freedom struggle that has not fully been realized.
- These detriments of the carceral state emerged during the faltering of New Deal liberalism and the nationalization of race liberalism with its emphasis on color-blind [policies] and neutrality and unwillingness of the state to enforce mandates on equality.
- They would think that the racism in the South is not present in Northern colleges and universities
- One of the interesting things you read in the Biondi book is the example of Montique to join the band (at Northwestern) so that another African-American wouldn't be alone when traveling and both students had to stay in private homes when traveling. And it was reminiscent of ways in which black athletes have been treated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- Black campus activism is focused around multiculturalism as opposed to assimilation.

- The way you can think about respectability politics is that respectability politics always had integration in mind.
- In essence what you get from Black Power activism is that they see liberalism as falling short
  - Those individuals who engage in an early form of black power during the 1920s and certainly by the 1930s. Those who become increasingly militant, who are willing to push back. Even though that militancy is often more rhetorical than anything else you see that radical approach to push for black inclusion. Because on one hand you have black power proponents, black students, who are engaging in black activism and believe that liberalism and black activism have fallen short.
  - You have things like Affirmative Action and financial aid, you certainly have ways in which that has allowed more African-Americans to attend these colleges
  - But perhaps the greatest achievement was the founding of black studies.
  - What is interesting about that development is that it has not been completely successful. It has suffered from ideological tensions.
  - In the same way that we see old settlers pitted against new settlers
  - You see the same tension arise around the development of black studies but people who want a more aggressive, who want a more diasporic approach
    - To those who are more willing to take a sort of respectable approach but who see black studies as being part and parcel of a larger intellectual project.
- You get caught with a nickel bag of marijuana, that was a racialized process because African-Americans found themselves the targets of most crime, the purveyors of most crime
- But when you start to attach minimum sentences to minor drug offenses it leads to long-term incarceration.
- The system obviously does not rehabilitate but is designed to produce a 70% recidivism rate. So when you give these mandatory minimums, instead of saying hey we'll send you to get some drug rehabilitation or we'll give you a slap on the wrist or we'll do these other things which will allow you to re-enter society with those full rights in place.
- In essence what you are doing is undermining those individuals' route to economic progress.
- And you are shortcircuiting their political participation. And we certainly short-changed it but think about the mandatory maximums for the use of crack and the use of cocaine – the argument is that cocaine is something that is prevalent among whites and blacks, it's crack cocaine because it's cheaper and it's easier to cook it into its rock form and the argument is that because that rock form is more dangerous, at one time we had a 100 to one crack sentencing structure.
- Look at the debate over Paul Manafort. It focuses on the [idea] that white-collar crime is not real crime. The activities that African-Americans engage in... unable to do so fully because they've seen their political rights stripped, in many ways they face forms of employment discrimination although there have been movements, reform to change those things.

- Black working-class communities are seen as not much different from the black ghetto communities
- Inkster – you can't even get a transcript or the records because the school doesn't exist, so doing things early on is not lasting. And Detroit has the highest poverty in the U.S., and it's a predominantly black city.
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