

# Social Justice Watch 0708

[图集精选](#)

[消息精选](#)

[How China Scammed Hong Kong](#)

[Tear Confederate Statues Down, Keep Union Statues Up, and Build New Antislavery Monuments](#)

[The Alt-Right's Asian Fetish](#)

[This county voted to recognize Black Lives Matter. Then it OKd 310 more Tasers](#)

[We Worked on the Bernie Campaign — More Democracy Would've Made It More Effective](#)

来源：[Social Justice Watch](#)

[镜像](#)

# 图集精选

[返回目录](#)





**Autistic, Typing**

Wednesday at 12:42 AM ·



Please remember that 2020 is not the year that we celebrate 100 years of women having the right to vote.

The 100 year anniversary of women having the right to vote in the US will be the year 2065.

Indigenous women were not allowed to vote until 1962.

Black women were not allowed to vote until 1965.

For every white woman celebrating 100 years this year, they're sending a very loud message about how they feel about women of color.

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**Solomon Buchi**  
@Solomon\_Buchi

Men that don't rape women are not special. Men that don't cheat are not special. Men that treat women with equality are not special. Men that cook in their homes and take care of the baby are not special. This is what a normal man should be like.

07:09 · 6/5/20 · Twitter for iPhone

# **The Erasure of Black Childhood**

**The Dehumanizing Effects of  
Adultification**



@youcantoprogram

# What Is Adultification?

Adultification is the **denial of the innocence** that defines childhood.

Adultification depicts Black children as **malicious, intentional, calculated**, and deserving of harsh consequences. It **denies Black children the protection** all children deserve.

@youcantoprogram

# Origins

The adultification of Black children began during **slavery**, when Black boys and girls were **treated as chattel** and had to work as early as **two-years-old**. They were subjected to much of the **same cruel treatments as Black adults**.

There was no regard for their health or happiness. This **adultification endures today**, though usually more **covertly**.

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# Adultification, Like Racism, Is Gendered

Black boys and girls don't experience adultification the same way. Adultification manifests itself across **gendered lines**. The adultification of black children in general means that they are made to seem more **aggressive and violent**. For **Black girls** specifically, they are **hyper-sexualized** and even blamed for being **victims of sexual violence**. There is commonly less public outrage and justice for Black girls when they are raped and sexually assaulted. **Black boys** are seen as **more sexually active** and **physically larger** than they really are due to adultification.

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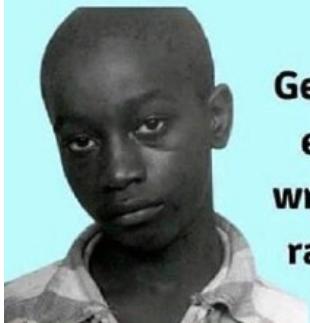
@youcantooprogram

# Carceral Adultification



**Aiyanna Jones, age 7,  
killed by police**

**Kaia Rolle, age 6,  
arrested by police after  
having a temper  
tantrum**



**George Stinney, age 14,  
executed after being  
wrongfully convicted of  
raping two white girls**

**Trayvon Martin, age  
17, killed by white  
vigilante**



**Tamir Rice, age 12,  
killed by police**

# School to Prison Pipeline

The school to prison pipeline describes the way in which **harsh disciplinary and municipal policies** in predominantly **Black/Brown schools** drive disproportionate levels of **student incarceration**.

Due to adultification, common **childlike behavior** in Black kids is **criminalized**. School is one of the earliest sites of this criminalization for Black children. The heavy presence of school resource officers (essentially **school cops**), **metal detectors**, and **zero-tolerance policies** reflect the **"carceralization" of schools**.

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## **Disparities (compared to white counterparts):**

- Black girls are **2.7 times** more likely to be referred to **juvenile justice systems**
- Black girls are **6 times** more likely to be **suspended**
- Black boys are **6 times** more likely to go to **prison**
- Black boys are **3 times** more likely to be **suspended**
- Black, differently-abled youth are **3 times** more likely to be **suspended**

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## **COMBAT ADULTIFICATION**

1. Schools must adopt restorative justice policies
2. People (especially authoritative figures) must check their implicit and explicit biases towards Black children
3. Stop calling Black girls "fast" and asking them to behave and dress a certain way around older men
4. Don't criminalize Black children period
5. Stop referring to Black children as adults and making comments about how much older they look

## **LET BLACK KIDS BE KIDS**

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Let Black children be children! Adultification robs Black children of their innocence and subjects them to dangerous, sometimes even fatal, consequences.

[返回目录](#)

# 消息精选

[返回目录](#)

Dear White People:

When Black folks say you're 'privileged', they don't mean you were born rich or don't have to struggle to make a living.

We're talking about the privilege of having White skin that immediately protects you from some stuff in society.

Try to understand. [source](#)

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[telegra.ph/Tear-Confederate-Statues-Down-Keep-Union-Statues-Up-and-Build-New-Antislavery-Monuments-07-05](https://telegra.ph/Tear-Confederate-Statues-Down-Keep-Union-Statues-Up-and-Build-New-Antislavery-Monuments-07-05)

Telegraph

Tear Confederate Statues Down, Keep Union Statues Up, and Build New Antislavery Monuments

A statue is not merely a marker of some neutral historical fact. It honors those it depicts and exerts a subtle moral influence over the society that raises them in its public spaces. This is why the removal of statues commemorating Confederate figures is...

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[telegra.ph/This-county-voted-to-recognize-Black-Lives-Matter-Then-it-OKd-310-more-Tasers-07-05](https://telegra.ph/This-county-voted-to-recognize-Black-Lives-Matter-Then-it-OKd-310-more-Tasers-07-05)

Telegraph

This county voted to recognize Black Lives Matter. Then it OK'd 310 more Tasers

As Bay Area communities adopt resolutions supporting the Black Lives Matter movement, one Silicon Valley county this week voted to stockpile its Sheriff's Department with nearly \$1 million in new Taser guns. On Wednesday, the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors...

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[telegra.ph/How-China-Scammed-Hong-Kong-07-05](https://telegra.ph/How-China-Scammed-Hong-Kong-07-05)

Telegraph

How China Scammed Hong Kong

It pays to play the long game against people who want to be free. After many years of rejecting the people of Hong Kong's persistent demands for genuine universal suffrage and other rights, China made its position clear again on Tuesday with the legislative...

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Our nation was founded on a simple idea: We're all created equal. We've never lived up to it — but we've never stopped trying. This Independence Day, let's not just celebrate those words, let's commit to finally fulfill them. Happy #FourthOfJuly! [source](#)

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[telegra.ph/We-Worked-on-the-Bernie-Campaign--More-Democracy-Wouldve-Made-It-More-Effective-07-06](https://telegra.ph/We-Worked-on-the-Bernie-Campaign--More-Democracy-Wouldve-Made-It-More-Effective-07-06)

[telegra.ph/The-Corporate-Media-Convinced-Millions-That-Bernie-Was-Unelectable-07-06](https://telegra.ph/The-Corporate-Media-Convinced-Millions-That-Bernie-Was-Unelectable-07-06)

Telegraph

We Worked on the Bernie Campaign — More Democracy Would've Made It More Effective

There is no doubt that Bernie Sanders's campaign for president inspired an unprecedented grassroots movement in this country. We built a multiracial, multigenerational campaign of working people united under a common struggle for human dignity. We all witnessed...

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But the photo also conjured up my memories of being a 14-year-old Asian girl in an overwhelmingly white school who wanted to be interesting, self-possessed and liked. Instinctively, I knew it meant distancing myself from the other Asian kids, especially the nerdy and studious ones. I knew I had succeeded when a friend remarked that I wasn't really Asian, I was white, "because you're cool."

<https://telegra.ph/The-Alt-Rights-Asian-Fetish-07-07>

Telegraph

## The Alt-Right’s Asian Fetish

The white supremacists on the far right have “yellow fever” — an Asian woman fetish. It’s a confusing mix. Andrew Anglin, the founder of the neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer, once posted a video of himself with a Filipina he called “my jailbait girlfriend...

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In April 2018, Russia’s telecom regulator Roskomnadzor blocked Telegram on the country’s territory. We knew it was coming, so by the time the block went live, we had already upgraded the Telegram apps with support for rotating proxy servers, ways to hide traffic and other anti-censorship tools. We were joined by thousands of Russian engineers that set up their own proxies for Telegram users, forming a decentralised movement called [Digital Resistance](#).

The first week of the ban [was challenging](#), and many of our users in Russia had connection issues. In an attempt to prevent users from accessing Telegram, Roskomnadzor blacklisted millions of IP addresses. However, thanks to Digital Resistance, after May 2018 Telegram became largely accessible in Russia.

As a result, Telegram’s user base in Russia hasn’t decreased – in fact, it has doubled since 2018. In May 2020, out of 400 million monthly active users of Telegram, at least 30 million were from Russia. It means that our growth in Russia has been in line with our growth in other countries. To put it simply, the ban didn’t work.

Last week, Roskomnadzor, which has a new director as of two months ago, [decided to reflect reality](#) by announcing that Telegram is no longer blocked in Russia. In their [announcement](#), they referenced my [June 4 message](#) where I explained why the ban didn’t make much sense.

This change should be welcomed – and I hope it will last. If it doesn’t, however, we hope few users will notice any difference.

Over the course of the last two years, we had to regularly upgrade our “unblocking” technology to stay ahead of the censors. I am proud of what we achieved – it is unique among social media apps.

We don't want this technology to get rusty and obsolete. That is why we have decided to direct our anti-censorship resources into other places where Telegram is still banned by governments – places like Iran and China. We ask the admins of the former proxy servers for Russian users to focus their efforts on these countries. They should also stand ready for new challenges: as the political situation in the world becomes more unpredictable, more governments may try to block privacy-focused apps like Telegram.

The Digital Resistance movement doesn't end with last week's ceasefire in Russia. It is just getting started – and going global.

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Breaking News: Amy Cooper, the white woman in Central Park who called the police on a Black bird watcher, will be charged with filing a false report

[nyti.ms/3gzP9bA](https://nyti.ms/3gzP9bA) source

Nytimes

Amy Cooper Faces Charges After Calling Police on Black Bird Watcher  
Ms. Cooper was captured on video calling the police after Christian Cooper asked her to keep her dog on a leash in Central Park.

[返回目录](#)

# How China Scammed Hong Kong

[返回目录](#)

It pays to play the long game against people who want to be free.



After many years of rejecting the people of Hong Kong's persistent demands for genuine universal suffrage and other rights, China made its position clear again on Tuesday with the legislative equivalent of a cracking head bash.

It chose the eve of July 1, a triple anniversary — of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party (1921), the handover of Hong Kong from Britain to China (1997) and a break-in of the city's legislature by pro-democracy activists (2019) — to pass a draconian national security law that will forever harm Hong Kong's political freedoms and hobble its economic relations with the rest of the world.

Hong Kong is a special administrative region of China with its own, supposedly independent, executive, legislative and judiciary branches. Yet the new law was

proposed in Beijing, drafted in Beijing and promulgated in Beijing.

It went into force as soon as it was gazetted on Tuesday night — which was also the first time its contents were released to the public.

The law criminalizes acts of secession, the subversion of state power, terrorism and “collusion with foreign or external forces to endanger national security.” Some offenses in each of these categories are punishable with life imprisonment. Property damage alone might amount to terrorism.

Especially severe cases may be referred to the Supreme People’s Court of China, to be tried by another court of its choosing under the mainland’s law of criminal procedure, which allows for capital punishment in some cases. The death penalty was abolished in Hong Kong in 1993, and no execution had taken place since 1966.

The new law trumps any local laws that are inconsistent with it. A national security commission will be set up in the city, joined by a Beijing-appointed adviser, to oversee the law’s implementation. Its work will not be made public, nor will that be subject to judicial review.

The Hong Kong chief executive is to appoint special judges to hear national security cases. The city’s Secretary of Justice may deny a defendant a trial by jury. The ultimate power to interpret the law rests with Beijing.

Articles 37 and 38 appear to mean that the law is applicable worldwide — and universally: not only to permanent residents of Hong Kong and entities based in the city while they are abroad, but also to “a person who is not a permanent resident” of Hong Kong who commits an offense from “outside.”

Though the law is being called “national security” legislation, its true, bespoke purpose is to suppress the decades-old pro-democracy movement in the city — which has grown more vocal in recent years as repression from Beijing has increased, with some younger people calling for outright independence for Hong Kong.

Leaders of political organizations that China has previously accused of promoting separatism promptly announced their groups’ dissolution on Tuesday.

Politically astute Hong Kongers are only too aware of the Chinese government’s

propensity to bring bogus charges against its political opponents.

So are some foreign governments. Washington had already announced a spate of sanctions against officials deemed to violate the mainland's obligations to Hong Kong. On Tuesday, it barred defense exports to Hong Kong — and said it would begin to cancel the city's preferential trade status, arguing, correctly, that Hong Kong can no longer be considered to operate with significant autonomy from the mainland.

The European Union's Parliament recently passed a (nonbinding) resolution urging member states to bring China before the International Court of Justice if the law was passed. Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain has pledged to help some three million eligible people from Hong Kong live and work in his country. The government of Taiwan has said that it would grant asylum to some Hong Kongers on humanitarian grounds.

But even foreign politicians sympathetic to the plight of Hong Kong today bear some responsibility for it — if only by dint of their wishful thinking about Beijing's original intentions.

Many seem to have looked upon the first 15 years or so after Britain handed over Hong Kong to China in 1997 as the golden age of the city's semi-autonomy. They endorsed the “one country, two systems” principle that was put forward by the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s — and enshrined in the Basic Law, Hong Kong’s mini-constitution — as a benign concept that would protect the city.

In their view, President Xi Jinping of China has recently reversed, even betrayed, Deng’s blueprint for Hong Kong.

But this is faulty thinking. And it would be simplistic, as well as ultimately dangerous, to think that China has been acting in bad faith only under Mr. Xi today.

Deng hardly was a man of concessions. During the late 1980s, while China was relatively weak, he repeatedly advised acting meek and biding one’s time. Yet even during negotiations with Britain about the status of Hong Kong, it was he who insisted that Chinese soldiers should be stationed in Hong Kong after 1997, over the advice of some of his top officials. And it was Deng who ordered tanks into Tiananmen Square in 1989 to mow down peaceful demonstrators by the

hundreds.

Mr. Xi today isn't betraying Deng's vision for Hong Kong back then: He is only dutifully carrying that vision forward to what is, some three decades later, its natural, logical culmination.

The Basic Law, which was designed in the late 1980s and adopted in 1990, is an inherently cynical document.

It was instrumental in ensuring the smooth transfer of sovereignty from Britain in 1997 because it seemed to contain generous guarantees from China, in particular provisions that safeguarded Hong Kongers' fundamental political liberties and promised to give them more democratic rights in the future.

But many observers and major political actors in Hong Kong — including some who helped draft the Basic Law — have consistently overrated its apparent assurances, while overlooking the fact that many of those come with sleeper clauses or caveats that can override them.

The Chinese government today isn't violating the Basic Law, neither in letter nor in spirit, so much as connecting different dots in it. And *that* is the true horror lurking behind its original concessions.

Take Beijing's plan now to set up in Hong Kong a commissioner's office for national security affairs to ensure that the city's authorities will apply the new law effectively. This move, as I wrote previously, flatly contradicts the following clause of Article 22 in the Basic Law:

"No department of the Central People's Government and no province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government may interfere in the affairs which the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region administers on its own in accordance with this Law."

But that provision also says that "if there is a need" for any such department etc. to "set up offices" in Hong Kong, that department requires nothing more than the consent of the central government (and that of the Hong Kong government, which can be coerced at will).

Likewise, the first clause of Article 39 says that "the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" and other rights

agreements “as applied to Hong Kong shall remain in force.” What if those protections became irksome to Beijing? No problem, there’s Article 160:

“Upon the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the laws previously in force in Hong Kong shall be adopted as laws of the Region except for those which the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress declares to be in contravention of this Law. If any laws are later discovered to be in contravention of this Law, they shall be amended or cease to have force in accordance with the procedure as prescribed by this Law.”

And then there’s Article 18. It allows the Standing Committee of China’s rubber-stamping legislative body, the National People’s Congress, to “add to or delete from the list of laws in Annex III” in the name of defense, foreign affairs, national unity or security, “as well as other matters outside the limits of the autonomy” of the city. That annex is a lengthy appendix of laws passed on the mainland that apply in Hong Kong, all exceptionally.

Article 18 was, naturally, the perfect vehicle for implementing the new national security law.

In the 1980s, when people in Hong Kong were worried about their post-1997 future, the Chinese government played up the concessionary parts of the Basic Law. That was the first, the good-looking, stage in a two-stage plan to absorb the city into the mainland’s universe.

The inevitable second stage is unfolding today. Now that Hong Kong is under the watchful eye of both Chinese soldiers garrisoned in the city and their newly loyal local cousins — the increasingly violent and politicized Hong Kong police force — Beijing is activating the sleeper clauses of the Basic Law to feather the deathbed of the city’s autonomy.

Politicians and thought leaders in Western countries, as well as older members of Hong Kong’s pro-democracy movement, are only beginning to realize — if they are at all — that for three decades or more they have been reading the Basic Law, and China itself, wrong. They believed that the West, by helping China modernize, would also help it democratize and with that, would be protecting Hong Kong.

Many of the younger activists I have come across in Hong Kong think differently. They fault their forebears for buying into the Basic Law and “one

country, two systems”; to them, all that was a Communist siren song, a scam.

And so some of them have called for full autonomy for Hong Kong. Such goals may be unrealistic now — and as of Tuesday, even outright dangerous. But they at least expose China’s decades of deception and put the world on notice.

Midday on Wednesday, the city police reported their first arrest under the new security law: a man holding a banner that read “Hong Kong independence.”

Yi-Zheng Lian, a commentator on Hong Kong and Asian affairs, is a professor of economics and a contributing Opinion writer.

[原文](#)

[返回目录](#)

# Tear Confederate Statues Down, Keep Union Statues Up, and Build New Antislavery Monuments

[返回目录](#)



Protesters gather at Lincoln Park to demand the Emancipation Memorial be taken down, on June 23, 2020 in Washington, DC.  
(Tasos Katopodis / Getty Images)

A statue is not merely a marker of some neutral historical fact. It honors those it depicts and exerts a subtle moral influence over the society that raises them in its public spaces. This is why the removal of statues commemorating Confederate figures is entirely justified.

Confederate monuments were erected to read back into history the lie that these men acted with honor and out of duty, and that their public service should be

commemorated. Most were raised decades after the Civil War to mark the defeat of Reconstruction and restoration of white supremacy to the South and elsewhere in the United States. Confederate statues are idols of the order they sought to preserve and extend, one of white supremacy and black bondage.



Protesters attempting to topple down a statue of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square in Washington, DC. (Twitter)

Protesters tearing down confederate monuments and public officials ordering their removal is the right step to rectifying the injustice done to the memory of those they sought to subjugate. Yet the recent wave of removals of Confederate statues has been interspersed with protesters tearing down Union memorials.

In San Francisco, a statue of Ulysses S. Grant, described by one observer as “a slave owner too, before the Civil War,” was torn down. Grant served as a Union general and as president he used every power at his disposal to dismantle and suppress white supremacy in the former Confederate states. In Madison, Wisconsin, a statue of Colonel Hans Christian Heg, an antislavery activist who dedicated his life to abolition and died fighting the Confederacy, was torn down, beheaded, and dumped in a nearby lake.

In Washington, DC, protesters announced they plan to tear down the Emancipation Memorial depicting Lincoln hovering over a kneeling freed slave.

DC delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton plans to introduce a bill to remove the statue from Lincoln Park, the same bill that would remove a statue of Andrew Jackson. The iconography of the Emancipation Memorial is indeed unfortunate, appearing to depict a relationship of paternalism between Lincoln and the slaves. But the historical pedigree of the memorial should give serious pause to those calling for its removal.

The monument was financed at considerable expense by freed (and free) blacks. It was inaugurated in the presence of President Grant and other representatives of the federal government along with DC's black community. Frederick Douglass's speech at the dedication did not shy away from rebuking Lincoln for his flaws: his early plan to remove blacks from the United States, his delay in embracing the cause of emancipation, his restraining of more radical abolitionists in his command.

Nevertheless, Douglass continued, "it was enough for us that Abraham Lincoln was at the head of a great movement, and was in living and earnest sympathy with that movement, which, in the nature of things, must go on until slavery should be utterly and forever abolished in the United States."

Douglass highlighted Lincoln's ability to marshal the "earnest sympathy and the powerful co-operation" of those loyal to the United States to accomplish what was otherwise impossible, the destruction of the Confederacy and slavery along with it. Douglass recruited this memory for the cause of saving Reconstruction — as we now should to complete the work of emancipation that was begun but unfinished.

Adding statues to the park — perhaps the original proposal by Harriet Hosmer to have Lincoln flanked by black Union soldiers, shoulder to shoulder as equals — is a good way to counterbalance the memorial without taking away what black men and women in their freedom and from their treasure had commissioned and raised. It better illustrates what Civil War historian Matt Karp calls "the mass politics of antislavery," in which "the construction of an antislavery majority in the North — the true 'abolition-democracy' — was an essential precondition for the Civil War's emancipatory bond between Republican politicians, Northern soldiers, and Southern slaves."



Built from 1889 to 1892, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Arch in Brooklyn, New York City, just north of Prospect Park, is dedicated "To the Defenders of the Union, 1861–1865." (Wikimedia Commons)

It is not wise to reason about the motivation of presumably uncoordinated acts across multiple cities. The small handful of people who have torn down Union memorials aren't representative of the millions who have taken to the streets to protest. But just as the intention behind the raising of Confederate monuments was a clear celebration of white supremacy, the intention behind monuments

commemorating Union leaders and antislavery activists is about the celebration of black emancipation — exactly the intention at the heart of the current wave of antiracist protests.

The Civil War should never be forgotten. Monuments to the defeated white supremacists of the Confederacy should indeed come down. Let a new era of commemoration of the cause of antislavery flourish. Erect statues to Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, John Brown, Hans Christian Heg, the Wide Awakes, German 48ers, and countless others who fought to vanquish slavery and the confederacy in every city and town in America. We cannot dismantle racism without the mass politics and multiracial solidarity modeled effectively by the antislavery cause. May their memory endure forever.

Kalewold H. Kalewold is a PhD student in philosophy at the University of Maryland, College Park.

[原文](#)

[返回目录](#)

# The Alt-Right’s Asian Fetish

[返回目录](#)



The white supremacists on the far right have “yellow fever” — an Asian woman fetish. It’s a confusing mix.

Andrew Anglin, the founder of the neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer, once posted a video of himself with a Filipina he called “my jailbait girlfriend,” the young couple flirting as they sauntered through a megamall in the Philippines.

Richard Spencer, a white nationalist, has dated a series of Asian-American women, according to one of his ex-girlfriends. (Mr. Spencer insists that it was before he embraced white nationalism.)

The right-wing agitator Mike Cernovich, the writer John Derbyshire and an alt-right figure named Kyle Chapman (so notorious for swinging a lead-filled stick at Trump opponents at a protest in Berkeley, Calif., that he is now a meme) are all married to women of Asian descent. As a commenter wrote on an alt-right forum, “exclusively” dating Asian women is practically a “white-nationalist rite of passage.”

In November 2016, a photo of Tila Tequila giving a Nazi salute went viral. Ms. Tequila is the Vietnamese-American star of the short-lived MTV reality show “A Shot at Love With Tila Tequila,” and she was saluting at a dinner the night before the conference of Richard Spencer’s white-supremacist think tank, the National Policy Institute. At the conference, Mr. Spencer had reminded attendees that America was a “white country designed for ourselves and our posterity.”

Maybe it makes sense that the alt-right is so confused: On a neo-Nazi news site, a user asked advice on whether he could be a white nationalist if he slept with East Asian women, and he received dozens of spirited responses from both sides. But the white-supremacist Asian fetish is no contradiction.

It exists at the intersection of two popular racial myths. First is the idea of the “model minority,” in which Asian-Americans are painted as all hard-working, high-achieving and sufficiently well-behaved to assimilate. If Asians are the model minority — if that is how nonwhites can find acceptance in white America — then perhaps that opens the door to acceptance from white supremacists.

The second myth is that of the subservient, hypersexual Asian woman. The white-supremacist fetish combines those ideas and highlights a tension within the project of white supremacism as America grows more diverse — a reality that white nationalists condemn as “white genocide.” The new, ugly truth? Maintaining white power may require some compromises on white purity.

Was Tila Tequila at that white supremacist dinner just attempting, in some twisted way, to assimilate? Or to rebel against what was expected of her? I

cringe at her antics, at her trying to be just one of the white-supremacist bros.

But the photo also conjured up my memories of being a 14-year-old Asian girl in an overwhelmingly white school who wanted to be interesting, self-possessed and liked. Instinctively, I knew it meant distancing myself from the other Asian kids, especially the nerdy and studious ones. I knew I had succeeded when a friend remarked that I wasn't really Asian, I was white, "because you're cool."

As I skipped classes to smoke in the courtyard, read Baudelaire to seem the "interesting" kind of smart and attempted to distance myself from the stereotypes, I didn't know that the idea I wanted to run from — of Asians as civilized, advanced and highly intelligent — had roots in white supremacy. But between the white supremacist Chris Cantwell's tattoo of a Japanese character and the Charleston shooter Dylann Roof's speculations that Asians "could be great allies of the white race," there are echoes of history's most infamous white nationalist.

"I have never regarded the Chinese or the Japanese as being inferior to ourselves," Adolf Hitler said in 1945. "They belong to ancient civilizations, and I admit freely that their past history is superior to our own."

In the United States, the model-minority myth grew from Asian-Americans' mid-20th-century efforts to win civil rights, as the scholar Ellen D. Wu recounts in "The Color of Success." Previously, Asian-Americans, many with humble roots in rural China, were considered degenerate, subject to lynchings, and forced to live in segregated neighborhoods and attend segregated schools under a regime of discriminatory laws and practices she has called a "cousin to Jim Crow."

But, according to Professor Wu's research, Chinese-Americans promoted themselves as hard-working, obedient, family-oriented and able to easily assimilate into American life — traits that are not uncommon in poor immigrant communities, where many have made enormous sacrifices to move to a foreign place.

By the height of the civil rights movement, America was already giving preferential treatment to educated, professional Asian immigrants, reinforcing the idea of Asians as pliable and studious. White politicians co-opted the myth, pointing to Asian-Americans as proof that the right kind of minority group could

achieve the American dream.

Professor Wu found that just months before the release of the 1965 Moynihan Report, the widely influential policy paper that attributed black poverty to a degenerate black culture, its author, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, spoke at a gathering of intellectuals and policymakers about how Japanese- and Chinese-Americans, considered “colored” just 25 years earlier, were “rather astonishing.” “Am I wrong that they have ceased to be colored?” he asked.

In reality, Asians are rarely considered white, and the model-minority myth obscures the vast differences among Asian-Americans. What’s more, the myth helped to strengthen America’s white liberal order, which claims to uphold diversity while also being anti-black. It legitimizes white America’s power to determine who is “good” and to offer basic dignity and equal rights.

The model-minority myth exists alongside another dangerous and limiting idea — one that is consistent with the alt-right’s misogyny and core anti-feminist values. The main problem with white women, as many alt-right Asian fetishists have noted, is they’ve become too feminist. By contrast, Asian women are seen as naturally inclined to serve men sexually and are also thought of as slim, light-skinned and small, in adherence to Western norms of femininity.

These stereotypes have roots in America’s postwar military incursions into Asia. In Japan, a network of brothels permitted by American officials opened as United States troops began arriving in August 1945. The brothels employed tens of thousands of women until Gen. Douglas MacArthur declared them off limits in 1946.

In South Korea, an estimated 300,000 women were working in the sex trade by 1958 (after the end of the Korean War), with more than half employed in the “camptowns” around the American bases. Vietnam’s sex industry, centered largely on American bars, thrived during the Vietnam War. And the stereotype of docile Asian women persists. Nowhere is this more explicit than in sex ads and online pornography.

Tila Tequila — Playboy model, reality show star, aspiring rapper and one of a handful of female Asian-American celebrities — is often seen through this trope. Does she resent being typecast as the hot, horny Asian as much as I resented being seen as a “model minority”?

Yet after I was called “white” at age 14, it felt, paradoxically, like a compliment to be nicknamed Geisha Girl by another friend, a well-meaning gay white boy. This was not because I was delicate. But the nickname became our inside joke, and it symbolized the kind of femininity that attracted the boys I liked, but that I have never really possessed. Being in on the joke meant I was accepted. Since then, I have acted out in all manner of ways to dispel the “model minority” image. Still, I have never fully extinguished the belief that racking up an impressive lineup of achievements is the only way to gain respect.

The stereotypes that feed the Asian-woman fetish are not exclusive to the far right. They exist across the political spectrum and infect every aspect of life — not just the bedroom — and manifest themselves in figures as distant from America as the blond-haired, blue-eyed heroes and hypersexualized heroines of Japanese anime.

This fun-house mirror asks me to be smarter, nicer, prettier and more accomplished than my white counterparts for the same amount of respect, then floods my dating app inbox with messages that reek of Asian fetish. Thankfully, I’m not required to care or let it define me; for what it’s worth, I am even entitled to play up the stereotypes if I see something to be gained. Maybe this is where the Asian girlfriends of alt-right men stand. But none of us can escape the truth that the fun-house was built to justify systematic exploitation of everyone in this country who isn’t white. That’s important context. Otherwise, Richard Spencer’s comments could almost sound nice.

“There is something about the Asian girls,” he once said to Mother Jones. “They are cute. They are smart. They have a kind of thing going on.”

[原文](#)

[返回目录](#)

# This county voted to recognize Black Lives Matter. Then it OKd 310 more Tasers

[返回目录](#)



As Bay Area communities adopt resolutions supporting the Black Lives Matter movement, one Silicon Valley county this week voted to stockpile its Sheriff's Department with nearly \$1 million in new Taser guns.

On Wednesday, the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors approved a budget that includes the purchase of 310 new Tasers. The approval of the Taser

purchase is coming under fire, in part because it occurred just minutes after the board adopted a resolution supporting the Black Lives Matter movement.

“We have heard from our community and from protesters across the nation that enough is enough,” wrote Warren Slocum, the board’s president, in a statement posted on the county supervisor’s website. “We need to take concrete steps to address this injustice.”

In 2018, three unarmed people died after officers used Tasers on them within county limits.

By Friday evening, none of the five county supervisors could be reached for comment.

Video from a board meeting in early May, prior to George Floyd’s killing in late May in Minneapolis, shows the board approved the acquisition unanimously, and it was seen as a necessary expenditure required to replace the department’s aged, 15-year-old Tasers.

David Canepa, a supervisor for the county’s District 5, which includes South San Francisco, Daly City and San Bruno, said the expense was “a matter of common sense.”

The May vote came less than one year after county law enforcement officials revised their use-of-force policies, which included limiting the number of times a Taser can be used against a person to three and narrowing the justifications for use from “active resistance” to “causing immediate physical injury or threatening to cause physical injury.”

The new devices are considered safer than earlier versions, limiting the amount of time the Taser operates after it hits its target to five seconds, according to board minutes.

The department rejected recommendations by the American Civil Liberties Union to ban the use of carotid restraints, or chokeholds.

Across the San Francisco Bay Area, Black Lives Matter protests have erupted since Floyd's killing on May 25.

In Oakland, nooses and effigies have been found hanging from trees, while state and local politicians are promising systemic reform and change.

In Menlo Park, a wealthy tech community on the San Francisco Bay Peninsula, the city's chief of police retired abruptly during a virtual town hall meeting last week. He did so after listening to community members complain about his force's racial profiling, alleged racism and his department's cozy relationship with the social media behemoth Facebook.

"It's confusing and crazy and totally not surprising," said Faraji Foster, an artist and activist from East Palo Alto, referring to the San Mateo board's votes and the chief's retirement.

"The police have been terrorizing us for years," he said while attending a Black Lives Matter demonstration in Palo Alto on Thursday night. "They don't know any other way."

Foster said the BLM movement calls for a reduction in law enforcement funding and police violence against Black communities and people. It also calls for investment in educational, recreational and senior care in Black communities.

"They say they support Black lives, but how can we believe it if they're investing in more weapons for the police?" said Tenedra Julian, a resident of East Palo Alto, who was at the Thursday demonstration.

Palo Alto, part of Santa Clara County, has a median property value of \$1.99 million and 56% of the population is white, 31% Asian, 4% Latinx, and just 1.2% Black.

In East Palo Alto, part of San Mateo County, the median home price is \$600,200 and 60.7% of the population is Latino, 10.6% Black, 10.3% Pacific Islander and 8.9% white.

The demonstration, which started at Palo Alto's City Hall, was convened by the Hood Squad, an activist group in East Palo Alto.



Hundreds of people marched north through the city's streets to San Francisquito Creek, where they crossed into San Mateo County — passing through a thicket of dense redwoods and the memorialized 1769 campsite of Gaspar de Portola — convening in front of the city's Police Department, where the demonstrators, led by Foster and Los Angeles rapper Milla, chanted, "Defund the police," "Black lives matter" and "Hey hey, ho ho, these racist cops have got to go."

Two police officers were seen leaving their patrol cars for the building. A few others were observed peeking out of the department building's windows.

Income disparity in the Bay Area is higher than anywhere else in the state. According to an analysis conducted this year by the Public Policy Institute of California, residents in the 90th percentile of incomes earned \$384,000 a year, compared with those at the bottom 10th percentile, who earned just \$32,000.

The gap is striking as one drives from the west side of the 101 Freeway, in Menlo Park, to the eastern side, home to the city's Belle Haven neighborhood and East Palo Alto. Or north along Middlefield Road from Atherton, which is one of the wealthiest ZIP Codes in the nation, to Redwood City.

Multi-acre estates, hidden by giant oaks, redwoods and magnolias, give way, almost immediately, to strip malls, car repair shops and abandoned industrial warehouses.

And for decades, the communities surrounding these wealthy enclaves have felt targeted by police, often afraid to venture too close.

“When I was a kid, East Palo Alto was considered the murder capital of the world,” Foster said. “Yet, I felt safer there than I ever did walking down the streets of downtown Menlo Park or Palo Alto.”

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[原文](#)

[返回目录](#)

# We Worked on the Bernie Campaign — More Democracy Would've Made It More Effective

[返回目录](#)



Bernie Sanders campaign volunteers on February 3, 2020 in Des Moines, Iowa. (Alex Wong / Getty Images)

There is no doubt that Bernie Sanders's campaign for president inspired an unprecedented grassroots movement in this country. We built a multiracial, multigenerational campaign of working people united under a common struggle for human dignity. We all witnessed our fellow organizers, volunteers, and ourselves commit everything to further this cause.

If we are going to build a future characterized by economic, racial, and environmental justice, we have to take what we accomplished during this

campaign further. We owe a transparent assessment of this campaign's failures to our supporters, volunteers, and to that future we hope to build.

None of us was under the impression that fundamentally changing the American political system was going to be an easy feat. In light of 2016, many of us expected unprecedeted levels of resistance from the Democratic political establishment we were working to unseat. From the mired Iowa caucus results, to the DNC consolidation behind Joe Biden before Super Tuesday, to rampant bad-faith smears from the corporate media, it was clear that we were truly fighting against an entrenched and effective establishment. But these are not the only reasons for our defeat in that fight.

Leading up to our precipitous downfall after Super Tuesday, the campaign's field team had been expressing concerns over strategy and staffing for months. Beyond what has been publicly litigated by campaign management, media, and our supporters, our defeat can also be attributed to two major internal failures: an overreliance on the distributed model of organizing, and the lack of a system to maintain accountability, transparency, and feedback from staff on the ground to upper management.

We owe a full explanation of these factors to our base to show that it is not our movement that has failed — Bernie's policies have proven to be incredibly popular — but rather a strategic error of the same campaign structures which hindered us from fully engaging our organizers, volunteers, and ultimately our voters.

The organizing program on the Bernie campaign was fundamentally a battle between two competing organizing philosophies. One is a deep organizing model that focuses on investing in field staff and community building. The other model, known as distributed organizing, places the work of organizing almost entirely on volunteers.

In Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and California, the campaign invested heavily in deep organizing. That investment paid off. In Iowa alone, there were well over 150 organizers, and that team was able to build an organization that knocked on almost 500,000 doors in a state of 3 million people.

Iowa's constituency organizing program, which focused on the long-term organizing of core demographics in the state, won crucial satellite caucus

locations. In Nevada, that team won the Las Vegas Strip caucus despite anti-Medicare for All fearmongering. A large campus organizing program, with organizers relentlessly working at almost every university available, organized everywhere from big state schools to small community colleges.

Despite all this, we did not win blowout victories in these states. Almost all our victories were won within a narrow margin. In these cases, it was the existence of a robust field program that accounted for those wins.

Campaign management acted as though the momentum of winning Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and California would be sufficient to carry us to the nomination. This strategy drastically underestimated the combined influence of corporate media and power brokers within the Democratic establishment to undercut our campaign.

Unlike typical political campaigns, a working-class movement will only succeed if it out-organizes the opposition. This requires investing heavily in community-based organizing. From the beginning, it was clear that deep organizing would be our key to success.

However, the campaign began to rely on a distributed model of organizing in the coming states. They did not even maintain the investments they had already made — after each early state, most organizers were laid off instead of being moved on to Super Tuesday states. In Iowa, two-thirds of the staff was sent home, even as the campaign raised a historic \$25 million in January and \$46 million in February. Besides California, no Super Tuesday state had more than ten field staffers.

This is because distributed organizing vests the responsibilities of a field organizer — which include volunteer recruitment, development, training, voter contact, and most of all, time — entirely onto volunteers, supported by remote resources. For a distributed dependent program to work, the campaign would have needed to put staff in states months before their election to help build a grassroots, volunteer-led structure. Instead, field staff were thrown just weeks before the election into states with no prior organization and completely disjointed volunteer efforts.

Because the campaign pursued a model of distributed organizing, we went on to sacrifice states like Texas, Maine, and Washington, which we could have won

with a deep organizing program. In others, we could have picked up a larger delegate share. By replacing organizers with volunteers, but expecting the same time commitment and level of training from volunteers that would have been expected of paid staff, campaign management effectively stymied the field program that delivered its victories.

The fact that campaign leadership maintained a strategy of minimal field staff in Super Tuesday states sheds light on another major shortcoming of management: they were ultimately unwilling to learn from their mistakes, even when hundreds of organizers implored them to reconsider.

The staff union estimated over two-thirds of Iowa staff as having been laid off and sent home. This ratio was more or less mirrored in the subsequent races in New Hampshire and Nevada. Many staff were shocked by what they saw as a poor strategic choice.

This decision-making seemed to be one of a campaign winding down rather than one at its zenith. The decision to downsize staff was never fully explained, and various efforts, including letters and petitions within and outside of the union, left largely unsatisfactory answers.

After Super Tuesday, the detrimental effects of overreliance on distributed organizing and failure to consult with people on the ground became abundantly clear. Another letter was sent to Faiz Shakir on March 4, signed by over one hundred field staff. Demands included immediate redeployment of all former staff to remaining states; prioritization of field investment, including campus and constituency organizing; and transparent channels of communication with upper management.

These demands were ignored, and staff who continued to express concerns through multiple channels were either brushed off or admonished for raising questions openly. Many wondered whether those running the campaign had given up already.

Unfortunately, this lack of accountability to staff on the ground was a pattern extending far beyond the redeployment process. Ranging from labor tensions early in the campaign cycle to concerns over transparency as the primaries drew near, it became clear that management would not consider the input of its workers in the field.

Workers were so dedicated to the campaign and a Sanders presidency that fear of potentially damaging leaks to the media severely limited internal organizing efforts to pressure management to change course. The lack of transparency combined with an under-resourced field program were the largest internal failures.

The Bernie Sanders campaign demonstrated its impressive ability to mobilize communities when deep organizing was at the forefront. A core tenet of Bernie Sanders's theory of change is the need to expand the electorate.

There are few examples more illustrative of this philosophy than the Spanish-speaking caucuses in Iowa, where no other candidate reached the viability threshold. It was proven by the workers at a pork processing plant who all caucused for Bernie in the first contest of the day. It was shown by the 159 Burmese refugees, 98 percent of whom caucused for the first time, winning all nine county delegates for Bernie. The spirit of this campaign was structurally laid out in victories like the Las Vegas Strip workers in Nevada, which required the deep organizing and connections only possible with staff and dedicated volunteers on the ground. Even then, the odds were tight.

Downsizing the field program and failing to listen to lower-ranking staff was a massive error implemented by those at the top. Had management been willing to pivot strategy and take advice from those on the ground, these mistakes may have been avoided. Regardless of the contingencies, however, there is no question the campaign was not prepared for the unprecedented attack on our movement that everyone should have been ready for.

It is difficult to say whether anything could have saved the campaign's precipitous decline post-Super Tuesday. Any such analysis is relying heavily on speculation. But it's undeniable that Bernie Sanders's presidential runs inspired a political awakening in millions of people, in a way not seen in decades. The promise of a change in business as usual — as well as Sanders's candor and willingness to insist over and over on the things each person fundamentally deserves — for many felt like a sea change in political discourse at a fundamental level.

His supporters and volunteers made no mistake about the uphill battle ahead. They braced for a fight. That the campaign leadership failed to implement more democratic structures of accountability and feedback was a disservice to this

base and to Sanders's mission. A lack of transparency in strategy kept what should have been a dynamic process from the bottom up into a static one, with predetermined goals and little consultation with those on the ground. Indeed, if grassroots campaigns are to remain true to their origins, the shortcomings of the Bernie model may very well warrant a reassessment of internal democracy in campaign structures at large.

Ultimately, the experienced and well-paid senior advisers did not understand what we were up against. We did. The volunteers, organizers, and community leaders who committed to the struggle fought with our base to accomplish our ultimate goals.

It is up to all of us to ensure that we learn from the mistakes of this campaign and use it to build something truly grassroots, which we can only do by soberly assessing these missteps. The movement is not over with the suspension of Bernie's candidacy — it has given us the tools we need to begin to build that movement.

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[原文](#)

[返回目录](#)