

Social Justice Watch 0710

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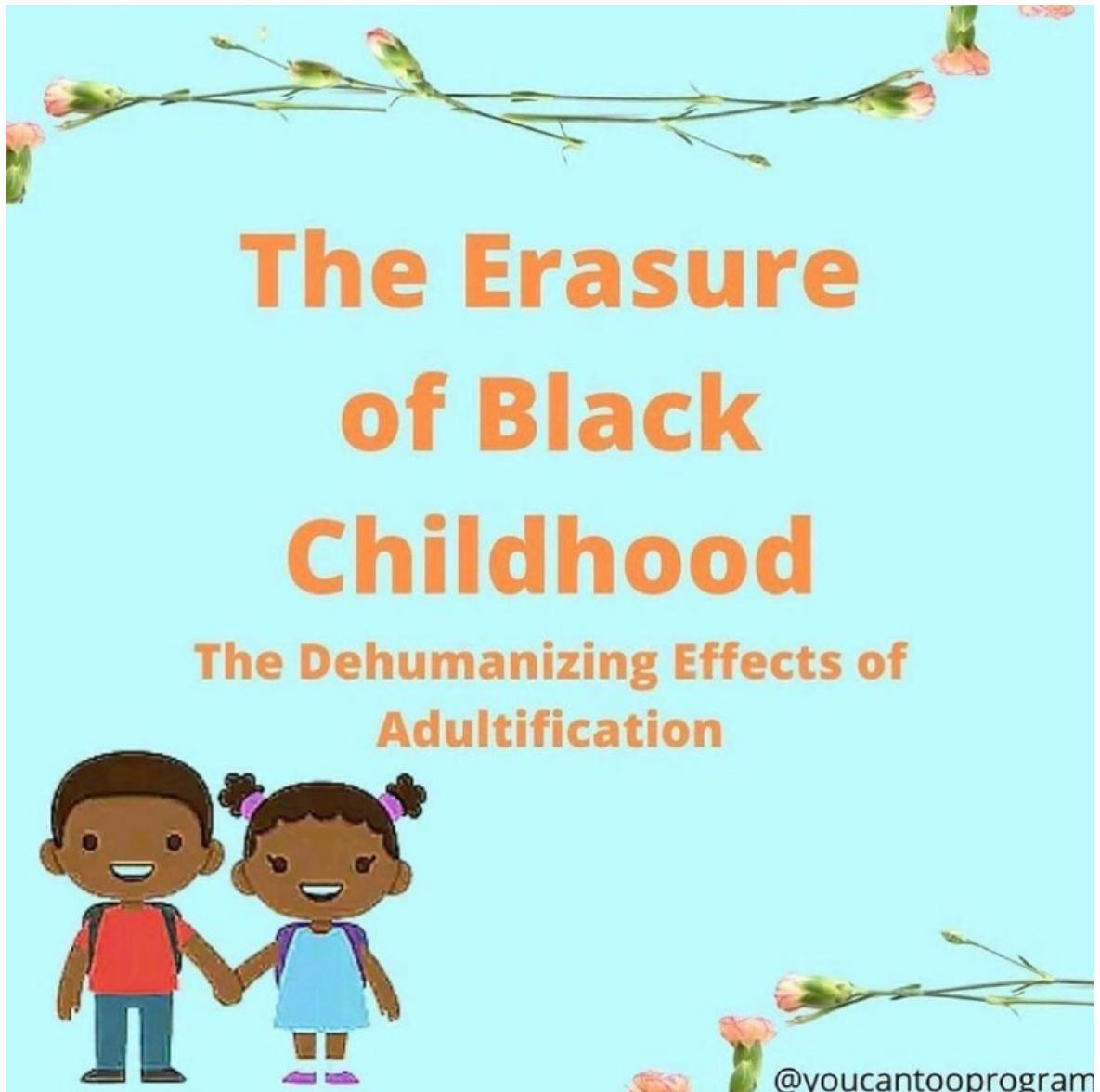
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来源：[Social Justice Watch](#)

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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.

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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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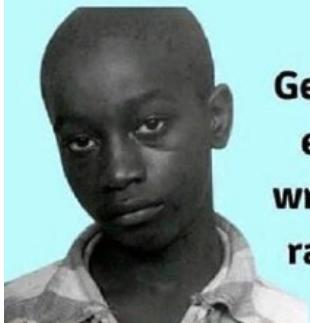
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Carceral Adultification



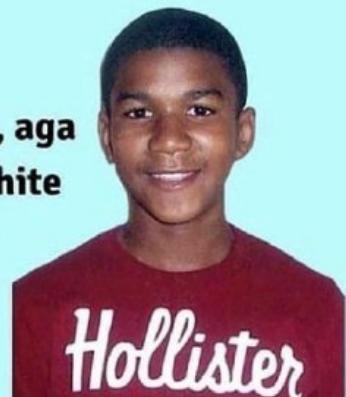
**Aiyanna Jones, age 7,
killed by police**

**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.

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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 OKd 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...

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...

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](#)

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

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...

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..."

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.

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

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.

[Thailand] <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-lgbt/thai-cabinet-backs-bill-allowing-same-sex-unions-idUSKBN2491W4>

Reuters

Thai cabinet backs bill allowing same-sex unions

BANGKOK (Reuters) - Thailand's cabinet approved a civil partnership bill on Wednesday that would recognise same-sex unions with almost the same legal rights as married couples, in one of the most liberal moves yet for a largely conservative nation known for...

<https://telegra.ph/Jonathan-Sackler-Spent-His-Life-Spreading-Opioid-Addiction-Throughout-the-United-States-07-08> Sackler Family

Telegraph

Jonathan Sackler Spent His Life Spreading Opioid Addiction Throughout the United States

In 1999, two classmates asked me to the fifth grade dance. By 2009, both of them had developed opioid addictions. By 2019, one was sober, and the other was dead from a heroin overdose. The one who died left behind an infant son. "I never gave up on you,"...

<https://youtu.be/6Avcp-e4bOs>

YouTube

Responding to JK Rowlings Essay | Is It Anti-Trans?

Addressing what was said by JK Rowling in her 'TERF wars' essay. Is it anti-trans? Follow Shaaba: <https://www.youtube.com/Shaaba17> Reference list: <https://ww...>

<https://youtu.be/yaRF0Ohb1mg>

YouTube

Beyond Pink or Blue

The Transgender Movement, Yesterday, Today and the Future

The Center for Culture, Gender, and Sexuality is pleased to announce that world-renowned social activist and author Leslie Feinberg will be visiting Sonoma State University on April 26th at 7:30...

None

<https://telegra.ph/Nationalize-the-Ivy-League-So-We-Can-Rename-Yale-UConn-New-Haven-07-09>

Telegraph

Nationalize the Ivy League, So We Can Rename Yale “UConn New Haven”
Republican Senator Tom Cotton normally spends his time doing things like bashing immigrants, trying to escalate tensions between the United States and China, and calling on Trump to deploy the military to use “overwhelming” force against racial justice protesters....

telegra.ph/How-Counterinsurgency-Tactics-in-the-Middle-East-Found-Their-Way-to-American-Cities-07-08

Telegraph

How Counterinsurgency Tactics in the Middle East Found Their Way to American Cities

A knee to the neck. A rubber bullet to the eye. A tear gas canister to the head. America spends \$100 billion annually on policing, much of it supported by the exchange of material and counterinsurgency tactics used in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank...

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How China Scammed Hong Kong

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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.

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How Counterinsurgency Tactics in the Middle East Found Their Way to American Cities

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The Israeli Defence Forces in the Gaza Strip. (IDF via Getty Images)

A knee to the neck. A rubber bullet to the eye. A tear gas canister to the head. America spends \$100 billion annually on policing, much of it supported by the exchange of material and counterinsurgency tactics used in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the “war on terror.” Raining down on American protesters in the current wave of protests, rubber bullets have a history stretching back to the British policing of Republican protesters in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, and the Israeli containment of Palestinians during the First Intifada in 1987. How have the military tactics and technologies used to suppress dissent in the Middle East found their way to America’s cities in the latest round of Black Lives

Matter (BLM) protests?

In May, protests erupted after the asphyxiation of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer — an extrajudicial execution for the alleged use of a counterfeit twenty-dollar bill at a convenience store. Mahmoud Abumayyaleh, the store owner who contacted the police about Floyd, is himself a Palestinian-American, but may not see the connection between his being Palestinian and the choke hold that took Floyd's life.

In 2012, a hundred Minneapolis police officers received training from Israeli consultants in Chicago, while another counter-terrorism training session, cosponsored by the FBI, took place in Minneapolis. Israeli deputy consul Shahar Arieli commented on the training at the time, “Every year we are bringing top-notch professionals from the Israeli police to share some knowledge and know-how about how to deal with terrorism with our American friends.”

He conceded concerns that “law enforcement operations could violate civil rights,” speaking about a productive collaboration developing “terrorism prevention techniques.” That same year, the Minneapolis Police Department adopted those techniques — frequently used against Palestinians and protesters in the West Bank — and entered them into their use-of-force guidelines. In the last five years, Minneapolis officers have rendered forty-five people unconscious, including George Floyd.

The United States has long been Israel’s primary supplier of military weapons — a “special relationship” forged when the United States transported 2.2 million dollars of military assistance during the 1973 War. Over the decades, a complicated web of aid, military contracts, subsidies, and cash funds have been given to Israel.

More recently, the United States has promised 38 billion dollars over the next decade in military aid to Israel, with President Trump openly acknowledging that arms deals create jobs in the United States. Though it is not called economic stimulus, 100 percent of US aid is flushed back into Israel’s economy, and Israeli arms, in turn, are coveted in the global market because they have been field tested within the laboratory of human suffering called the West Bank and Gaza.

As Jeff Halper argues after September 11, the United States adopted Israel’s

“security state” model where constitutional, civil, and human rights are subordinated to security imperatives. With security as the nation’s highest value, Israeli knowledge in policing terrorism, surveillance, behavioral science, profiling, torture, and maiming was transferred to various offices in the United States, among them the Department of Homeland Security, US marshals, police chiefs, Customs and Border Protection agents, the FBI, and the CIA.

At the time of this exchange, Israel was fighting a second Palestinian uprising, the Al-Aqsa Intifada. With the prevalence of civilian suicide bombers, Israel’s counterinsurgency focused on unarmed Palestinian and foreign protesters, as well as journalists resisting the army’s occupation tactics.

During this Second Intifada, a new practice known as “human shields” became military policy, whereby soldiers held the bodies of Palestinians as human armor in an act that left no doubt whose life was disposable in the logic of the occupation. Although Israeli courts made the practice illegal in 2005, it continues to be used in the Occupied Territories.

Because of the live rounds fired during the Second Intifada, Israel offered safety to “embedded journalists,” who would become mouthpieces for the Israeli military. The United States would borrow this policy for journalists a few years later in Iraq, using military law and disorder to undermine the democratic pillar of the free press.

As foreign peace activists and Palestinian protesters were shot with live sniper rounds during the Al-Aqsa Intifada, Israel developed a sophisticated public-relations campaign to counter its global image, part of which included partnerships with US law enforcement.

An extensive 2018 report titled “Deadly Exchange: The Dangerous Consequences of American Law Enforcement Trainings in Israel,” compiled by Researching the American-Israeli Alliance, documents how Israel’s policing tactics were transferred to US personnel. Over 250 police departments have received training inside Israel.

Moreover, Israeli Weapons Industries established two police training centers inside the United States: a police academy in Paulden, Arizona, and the Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE) Center, in partnership with Georgia State University in Atlanta. The same university offers degrees to Israeli

personnel as a part of these exchanges grounded in the integrated knowledge of counterinsurgency.

Atlanta, one of the great black American cities, created a video integration center modeled after one frequently showcased during a training session in the Old City of Jerusalem. Near Atlanta is GILEE's predecessor, the School of the Americas, where ten former heads of state in Latin America honed their skills in torture and repression.

That Rayshard Brooks and George Floyd could be killed by police in the street means the rules of the occupation are at play on US soil. Procedurally, the knee to the neck and other choking restraints should only be used when an officer believes their life is in imminent danger.

A week ago, an officer in Bellevue, Washington, restrained an unidentified black woman who asked to speak with the sheriff. As he pushed her to the ground he said, "On the ground or I'll put you out," a threat to render her unconscious or possibly dead with his choke hold. What does it say when black people appealing for their legal and human rights are interpreted by the police as life threatening?

The "no knock" warrant that broke down Breonna Taylor's door and enabled police to shoot her eight times is not only the police equivalent of a drive by shooting, it's a paramilitary tactic. In 2016, when the Houston shooter was "neutralized" using a robot field-tested in Afghanistan, it marked the first "targeted assassination" of an American citizen. The United States condemned extrajudicial killings in the Occupied Territories before adopting it for use on suspected terrorists.

The hallmark of the "war on terror" was the presumption that any youthful, able-bodied male is a terrorist body. Fighting-age brown male bodies were "neutralized" by the person controlling the drone in Yemen and Afghanistan who, like the police knocking down Taylor's door, serves as judge, jury, and executioner. In the "war on terror," all military-aged men were not counted as civilian casualties.

The very presence of the living black body of the African American and the brown body of the Arab are a threat regardless of whether they are carrying a weapon or not, whether they are a criminal or not.

The killing, maiming, and imprisonment of Palestinian bodies is today considered “worst practice” of the Israeli occupation. When these brutal tactics caused an international backlash during the First Intifada, Israel responded by “softening” its approach with the adoption of rubber bullets — much as the British Army was moved to adopt rubber bullets as an alternative after the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre caused so much bad publicity.

Today, there are more than seventy-five different types of “non-lethal” projectiles labeled rubber bullets. A beanbag round recently entered the skull of a sixteen-year-old protester in Austin causing the kind of injury that has maimed and killed Palestinian protesters for over three decades. While Austin has since banned beanbag rounds, the overall militarization of the American police has effectively Palestinianized dissent in the United States, bringing counterinsurgency tactics that both the United States and Israel have been using against Arabs onto home turf.

In a series of peaceful, unarmed border protests called “The Great March” in Gaza from 2018 to 2019, over 10,000 Palestinians were maimed by Israeli snipers with state-of-the-art scopes on their guns aimed for the knees. Weapons designed to inflict maximum damage without killing by using ammunition that mushrooms and expands within the body.

When we look only at death, we overlook lifelong disability caused by “less-lethal weapons.” This new frontier is called “humane war.” Its goal is to kill less people while maiming for life. Jasbir Puar has documented how less lethal weapons produce disabled bodies that will be fed back into the capitalist medical industry to be rehabilitated for a profit.

In his prescient work, *Rubber Bullets* (1998), the late Israeli political theorist Yaron Ezrahi argued that Israel’s choice to use the apparently nonlethal projectiles against Palestinians was a moral turning point that threatened liberal democracy by compromising its principles for the sake of extreme nationalism. Rubber bullets and knees on necks have similarly brought America to the precipice. How do we fight back against the normalization of militarized police violence in our cities and the threat it poses to democracy?

Ending America’s “forever wars” is a start. Activists must demand a ban on surplus materials and tactics training acquired by the police from Israel and US counterinsurgency abroad. The Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions

national committee issued a powerful statement of solidarity calling for support for BLM.

Such solidarity is built on an understanding that what is happening inside the United States, though not identical, is intimately connected to technologies of colonization and brutal policing overseas, in places like Palestine. Addressing the crisis at home, means looking toward the United States's influence — and inspiration — abroad.

Elyse Semerdjian is a professor of history at Whitman College and a community organizer for the Walla Walla chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America.

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Jonathan Sackler Spent His Life Spreading Opioid Addiction Throughout the United States

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Derrick Slaughter, age five, attends a march against the epidemic of heroin in Ohio. Spencer Platt / Getty

In 1999, two classmates asked me to the fifth grade dance. By 2009, both of them had developed opioid addictions. By 2019, one was sober, and the other was dead from a heroin overdose. The one who died left behind an infant son. “I never gave up on you,” my classmate’s mother posted on Facebook, “but you would not let me help you.” She chose a photo of him from around the time we slow-danced to the Aerosmith song from the *Armageddon* soundtrack.

The Center for Disease Control and Prevention statistics on opioid overdose

deaths start that same year, in 1999. Since then, nearly half a million Americans have died from overdoses on prescription and illicit opioids. Drug overdoses are the leading cause of accidental death in the United States, and opioids are involved in two-thirds of them. Four out of five new heroin users are transitioning from misusing prescription opioids. More than one hundred people are now dying from opioid overdoses in the United States every day.

It's well established now that the proliferation of prescription opioids, particularly the game-changing painkiller OxyContin, fueled the broader addiction epidemic. You can see the progression of the crisis in the data. The opioid deaths have come in three waves: first a rise in deaths from prescription opioids starting in 1999, followed by a rise in deaths from heroin overdoses beginning in 2010; then an explosion in deaths from dangerous synthetic opioids like fentanyl starting in 2013. For every person who dies, hundreds more are entangled in the criminal justice system, and thousands more are living with addiction as their lives fall apart.

The crisis has swallowed entire communities. The primary location of the industry in the town of Oceana, West Virginia used to be coal mining. Now it's the black-market opioid trade, and the town is nicknamed Oxyana. In a documentary about the town, an opioid addict explains, "If you don't work in the mines, the only other way you've got to make money anywhere close to working in the mines is to sell drugs. If you don't see somebody getting up in the morning and going to work, they're selling pills." Overdoses are common in Oceana, and so too is violence related to the drug trade. A local dentist describes the opioid crisis as a darkness that has descended so heavily on the town that it's even cast a pall over its natural beauty, a gray shroud over the green mountains.

The life I shared with my classmates was worlds away from Oceana, but the pills are everywhere, from double-wides in rural West Virginia to McMansions in the Texas suburbs. The story of how they became so ubiquitous begins when Purdue Pharma decided to manufacture OxyContin. Emails from a Purdue executive in 1999 demonstrate awareness that there was no evidence that controlled-release opioids were less addictive, and yet the company consistently made this claim in order to get OxyContin on the market and into the hands of as many consumers as possible. Purdue then spent decades downplaying the drug's abuse potential, despite knowledge to the contrary.

For several years now, Purdue has been dragged through both the formal legal

system and the court of public opinion. The public backlash has been ferocious: Americans are now more inclined to place heavy blame on the pharmaceutical industry for encouraging doctors to overprescribe the drugs than on individual drug users for becoming addicted.

Correspondingly, it's hard to think of an American capitalist dynasty more roundly condemned in recent years than the Sackler family, which owns Purdue Pharma. The family has followed the philanthropic playbook, lavishing art museums and university departments with funds to burnish the Sackler image, but this hasn't shielded them from popular wrath. Their transgressions are too intolerable, and the contrast between their astronomical wealth and the devastation they've left in their wake is too stark to ignore. The Sacklers are intensely private, but with \$13 billion at their collective disposal it's impossible not to picture them lounging on superyacht sun decks while ordinary Americans fill the halfway houses and the morgues.

It's no surprise then that when news of co-owner Jonathan Sackler's death broke earlier this week, the reaction on social media was unsympathetic, to put it gently. On the one hand, the role of a single person in orchestrating this crisis shouldn't be overstated. The deceased was only one member of the family that built and profited from the OxyContin empire, and despite its outsize role, not even Purdue Pharma bears sole responsibility for the calamity. Consider the deindustrialization and austerity that have left places like Oceana vulnerable to an explosion in the pill trade, its people desperate for money and release.

On the other hand, it's easy to comprehend why the news of Jonathan Sackler's passing received such a cold reception. With the constant churn of the news cycle, the new distractions, and the fresh terrors, it's easy for some to forget that the opioid epidemic is still raging. Others are still electrified with grief. Did Jonathan Sackler mourn the loss of their spouse, child, or friend?

The opioid crisis has claimed nearly five hundred thousand lives since 1999. That's five hundred thousand irreparable tears in the fabric of millions of people's personal worlds. Not only that, but nearly one-third of Americans know someone who is currently addicted to opioids. That's more than one hundred million people actively witnessing, at various distances, the slow fade from life to death. Most feel helpless to reverse it, not least because capitalists like the Sacklers prefer to redistribute their money on a thoroughly volunteer basis, starving public services and rendering help hard to find for those without means.

In 2009, the midpoint in this saga so far, another boy I knew died of an opioid overdose. He was sixteen. He'd already established himself as an athlete when he was serendipitously cast in a school musical, where he discovered — as we all discovered, with pride and delight — that he could really sing.

There's a video of him still up on Facebook from shortly before he died singing a Red Hot Chili Peppers song at an open mic. "I better not leave before I get my chance to ride," go the lyrics. "All my life to sacrifice." And sacrifice for what? For \$35 billion, \$10 billion of it straight to the bank. Hundreds of thousands of lives sacrificed at the altar of profit. That, more than all the museum wings and endowed professorships put together, will be the Sackler legacy.

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Nationalize the Ivy League, So We Can Rename Yale “UConn New Haven”

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This sweatshirt will soon be outdated.

Republican Senator Tom Cotton normally spends his time doing things like bashing immigrants, trying to escalate tensions between the United States and China, and calling on Trump to deploy the military to use “overwhelming” force against racial justice protesters. In the last few weeks, though, he’s also found time to denounce what he sometimes calls the “Jacobin mob” toppling statues.

Last week, Cotton discovered what he clearly thinks is a glaring hypocrisy in the position of that “mob.”

Yale was named after a notorious slave trader.
If the liberal mob wants to destroy Mount Rushmore, when will they rise up
to change the name of Yale?
— Tom Cotton (@TomCottonAR) July 2, 2020

It's extremely unlikely that Yale will change its name, but the idea became a bit less unthinkable when Princeton University president Christopher Eisgruber announced that the college would remove Woodrow Wilson's name from its School of Public and International Affairs.

Activists at Princeton had been pushing the idea for years, but the rapidly shifting political environment finally caused the administration to concede. As President Eisgruber acknowledged, Wilson segregated the civil service after it had been integrated for decades. His "racism was significant and consequential even by the standards of his own time."

So, should Yale change its name, as Tom Cotton so helpfully suggests? And if so, what should be its new name?

The median family income of an incoming Yale student is almost \$200,000 a year. Sixty-nine percent of those students hail from the wealthiest 20 percent of US society. Only 2.1 percent come from the poorest 20 percent. Lists of the university's notable alumni include a rogues' gallery of corporate CEOs, war criminals like Dick Cheney and the Bushes, judges who serve the interests of the 1 percent, and pro-business politicians.

The main reason that Yale won't change its name is that the prestige associated with the moniker provides too much valuable social capital for its graduates. In other words, Yale functions to enhance the preexisting advantages of its well-off students and train the next generation of men and women who will preside over a deeply unequal society.

In a sense, it's only appropriate that the university bears the name of a monster who profited off of a previous form of injustice. Similarly, the Wilson School at Princeton is an elite institution that saw Samuel Alito, Judith Miller, and David Petraeus pass through its doors. The school bearing the name of the president who segregated the civil service and jailed Eugene V. Debs for his opposition to World War I is just truth in advertising.

Even so, it's a positive sign that Wilson's name is going to be dropped. And

Yale should change its name too. Specifically, it should change its name to UConn New Haven.

While running for president, Bernie Sanders popularized the demand that tuition should be abolished at public universities. That's a very good idea. But what about private universities like Yale and Princeton?

If tuition were scrapped at public universities but private universities were kept private, it could actually exacerbate the gap between the two tiers of American higher education. Universities that relied entirely on state funding would be less able to compete for prestigious faculty members.

Private universities would feel less pressure to give generous scholarships to poor students if those students could go elsewhere for free. And with a much larger percentage of Americans from working-class backgrounds continuing their educations past high school, merely having a college degree would offer even less value on the labor market than it does now. This would give middle-class strivers an extra incentive to send their children to more prestigious private schools.

Why do Ivy League colleges exist at all? What social function do they serve? If the answer is that they help give their graduates the aura of membership in an elite club that connects them to many of the richest and most powerful people in the country, why would a society that claims to care about equality of opportunity or justice tolerate their continued existence? On the other hand, to the extent that the Ivies provide their students with a uniquely valuable educational experience, why would we want to treat such an experience as a commodity to be sold at exorbitant prices?

Of course, if Yale became UConn New Haven and Princeton was absorbed into New Jersey's state university system as Rutgers Princeton, and if their massive endowments were redistributed to more important social purposes, and if tuition were abolished at each, these institutions could no longer claim to offer a particularly "unique" educational experience.

Under the Sanders plan, tuition at all public universities would be paid for with a modest federal tax on Wall Street transactions. Presumably, universities with exalted histories couldn't ask for a greater share of these funds simply because of their formerly rarefied status. State governments might choose to supplement

the federal money, but it's unlikely that any proposal to give the New Haven branch of UConn more funding than other campuses would be a political winner.

Deprived of the ability to soak the parents of wealthy students with \$50,000 tuition bills, UConn New Haven wouldn't be able to offer famous professors higher salaries than UConn Hartford or UConn Storrs. And teaching at UConn New Haven would be no more prestigious than working at the other sites. Over time, the educational experience at the various branches of the University of Connecticut would start to become more equal. And that would be progress.

We already live in a savagely unequal society. Educational institutions that perpetuate and deepen that inequality don't need to exist.

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The Alt-Right’s Asian Fetish

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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.”

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

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

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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 unprecedented 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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