

From:[Maquire, Brian L.](#) (b)(6)**To:**[Clark, Richard M Lt Gen](#) (b)(6)**Cc:**

(b)(6)

Subject:

INFO: USAFA News of Note, 11 Aug 2021

Date:

Wednesday, August 11, 2021 8:32:20 AM

Lt Gen Clark,

Good morning, sir. There are two news items related to USAFA from today. Both are behind registration/paywalls, so the full text is below. The first is a Washington Times piece about Judicial Watch and STARRS and their FOIA requests of the service academies, and STARRS claiming the delay in processing is an intentional act to prevent proper oversight. We've worked with the FOIA office, and STARRS has submitted 11 lengthy and exceptionally vague requests in the last year, which delays the processing as the FOIA office has to request clarifying information from STARRS.

The second piece is from CS Indy about the honor Code changes, and includes quotes from your letter to graduates, as well as our release. The Indy is a small, local outlet that frequently works to show government agencies in a poor light.

V/r

Brian

NEWS OF NOTE

A. [Washington Times | Military academies stonewall demands for transparency of CRT curriculum](#)

Watchdog organizations say the Department of Defense is ignoring calls for transparency into critical race theory curriculum at the nation's service academies. [Full article](#)

B. [CS Indy | Air Force Academy tries to prop up Honor Code compliance](#)

The Air Force Academy has announced a new approach to its controversial Honor Code in efforts to "bolster character development, particularly for underclassmen, while still maintaining appropriate consequences for honor system violations," Superintendent Lt. Gen. Richard Clark said in a recent message to graduates. [Full article](#)

FULL ARTICLES

A. [Washington Times | Military academies stonewall demands for transparency of CRT curriculum](#)

Watchdog organizations say the Department of Defense is ignoring calls for transparency into critical race theory curriculum at the nation's service academies.

The Washington-based Judicial Watch has filed a lawsuit seeking information about CRT instruction at the U.S. Military Academy at West point, following up on a Freedom of Information Act request in April for records and contracts related to "diversity, equity, inclusion, and equity training" at the storied academy.

Judicial Watch President Tom Fitton told The Washington Times that his organization filed suit after the FOIA request went unanswered.

Federal agencies must respond to a FOIA request within 20 business days unless there are "unusual circumstances."

"Under the law, they're not being forthcoming," Mr. Fitton said. "Some of it is the bureaucracy. And the other factor that one can presume is that they don't want the information to be released for political and other reasons."

The litigation comes amid increasing scrutiny by lawmakers and parents who say that public and private schools are incorporating curriculum containing CRT, which emerged at universities in the 1970s as a legal theory examining bias within institutions. Critics say it divides students along racial fault lines and is used as a political indoctrination tool by the far left.

The theory, which has evolved from its foundation as a legal framework, asserts that a racial hierarchy exists in American society and that racism has become normalized in the U.S.

Dakota Wood, a senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, says the tenets of CRT are often taught as fact rather than theory, and that any pushback is silenced by claims that those who oppose the teachings are racist.

Critical race theory also has come under fire by some who say the doctrine is showing up in military training and recommended reading lists, and is being taught at service academies. Critics say the academies and the Pentagon are not being forthcoming with the extent of the teaching and the specifics.

Rep. Mike Waltz, Florida Republican, said in April he received presentation materials that raised "serious concerns about the U.S. Army's introduction of elements of critical race theory into cadet instruction."

Other FOIA requests for details from the Air Force and Naval academies have gone unanswered by the Pentagon, according to retired Air Force Lt. Gen. Robert Bishop Jr., who runs Stand Together Against Racism and Radicalism in the Services (STARRS).

Mr. Bishop said his organization has made 13 FOIA requests dating back to August 2020 for information about diversity training and policy at the Naval and Air Force academies, and at West

Point. All but one of his requests have gone unanswered.

In May, STARRS filed a FOIA request for course material “mentioning, involving, or related to critical race theory,” among other topics on diversity, equity, and inclusion. The request remains unanswered, according to Mr. Bishop.

In July, Air Force Academy assistant professor of political science Lynne Chandler Garcia published an op-ed in The Washington Post titled “I’m a professor at a U.S. Military Academy. Here’s why I teach critical race theory,” in which Ms. Garcia said the curriculum was vital for cadets in shaping their understanding of racism and how racism has shaped foreign and domestic policy.

“In my classes, cadets learn about the ideals embedded in this founding document,” Ms. Garcia wrote. “We explore the liberalist theories that promoted these ideals, and we embrace our democratic system of government. But we also acknowledge that the United States was founded on a duality: liberalism and equal rights on the one hand; inequality, inegalitarianism and second-class citizenship on the other.”

Soon after the op-ed, Heidi Stirrup, a member of the Air Force Academy Board of Visitors, filed a lawsuit over Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin’s suspension of the board. The suit claimed that Mr. Austin’s action prevented vital oversight, including over the potential introduction of critical race theory in the university curriculum.

The board is one of 42 Defense Department advisory committees that Mr. Austin suspended in February to consider their “continued utilization,” according to a Pentagon memorandum.

Mr. Bishop said the lack of oversight and response to the FOIA requests are concerning.

“Is there some nefarious plot to resist giving us information? To be honest, we’re beginning to think so,” Mr. Bishop said. “You match that up with the Board of Visitors for all the academies being suspended, essentially being terminated now for six-plus months. I think a logical person begins to become suspicious.”

The Pentagon declined to comment on the ongoing litigation brought forward by Judicial Watch, and did not respond to The Washington Times’ request for comment on the FOIA requests submitted by STARRS.

A representative from West Point was unable to provide specifics regarding the FOIA requests submitted by STARRS, but told The Times that no FOIA requests are ignored and that West Point is not withholding any information regarding their curriculum or training.

Representatives from the Naval and Air Force academies did not respond to The Times’ request for comment in time for publication.

All three academies provide course catalogs and information on diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives on their websites.

Questions about the military's handling of race are on the rise in Congress, with lawmakers peppering military leaders in defense budget hearings in recent months about military training and reading lists that incorporate critical race theory.

In June, Mr. Waltz, a former Army Special Forces officer, pressed Mr. Austin and Army Gen. Mark A. Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the issue during a House Armed Services Committee hearing.

Mr. Waltz said he received a letter from the superintendent of West Point confirming that West Point has a course that includes critical race theory as part of its syllabus, and a seminar titled "Understanding Whiteness and White Rage," that "over a hundred cadets attended."

Mr. Waltz was also made aware that the seminar was "taught by a woman who described the Republican Party and Republican Party platform [as] a platform of white supremacy," he testified.

"I cannot think of anything more divisive and destructive to unit morale," Mr. Waltz said. "I want to be very clear, the military needs to be open to all Americans. That is the strength of the United States military. But once we're in, we bleed green and our skin color is camouflage. We're worried about that American flag on our shoulder. That's the only thing our enemies are worried about."

Mr. Austin agreed with Mr. Waltz that the teachings, as Mr. Waltz described them, should not occur, but said he would need to understand the specifics in more detail.

Later in the hearing, Gen. Milley pushed back against the lawmakers for the compounding criticism.

"I personally find it offensive that we are accusing the United States Military – general officers, commissioned and noncommissioned officers – of being 'woke' or something because we're studying some theories that are out there," he said.

The general also said that it is important for service members to be open-minded, and to form a greater understanding of phenomena, such as "white rage," that have led to events such as the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol.

"What is it that caused thousands of people to assault this building and try to overturn the Constitution of the United States? What caused that? I want to find out," he said.

Mr. Bishop said signs that CRT is taking root in the military and within the service academies are especially concerning.

"This teaching is having a divisive effect within the military," he said.

Mr. Bishop, an Air Force Academy grad who served in uniform for more than 30 years, moved back to Colorado after retiring to be a part of the Air Force Academy community. He and his wife sponsor out-of-state cadets during the school year, providing mentorship and guidance to future Air Force

officers living away from home for the first time.

He said that curriculum based on critical race theory can have devastating consequences for a group of students that will one day be military officers.

"If you're taught that the country you are going to put your life on the line for is inherently racist or inherently evil, are you going to want to put your life on the line?" he said. "I don't think I would have spent 30 years in the service of our nation if I wasn't proud of our nation."

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B. [CS Indy | Air Force Academy tries to prop up Honor Code compliance](#)

The Air Force Academy has announced a new approach to its controversial Honor Code in efforts to "bolster character development, particularly for underclassmen, while still maintaining appropriate consequences for honor system violations," Superintendent Lt. Gen. Richard Clark said in a recent message to graduates.

But Clark's plan has drawn criticism from at least one graduate, who alleges the Honor System is no longer in the hands of cadets, as it initially was envisioned. Rather, it's been commandeered by leadership to enforce Academy regulations and inspires fake honor while cadets attend the Academy, the graduate says. The real world of the Air Force — where "senior officers in the Air Force and other services have repeatedly lied to the American people," the graduate told Clark in an email — protects those who violate the code — to not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate anyone who does.

In response to a spring 2020 cheating incident that involved nearly 250 cadets, which we reported on here, Clark has imposed a three-step regimen to "shift our culture and more deliberately inspire living honorably," the Academy said in an Aug. 6 news release.

To do that, Clark has ordered the alignment of faculty and staff to assure honor is included in "formal development across the Academy," including "teaching, coaching, leading and mentoring engagements with this framework," the Academy's release said.

Freshmen will be the first to experience an "enhanced developmental program," the release said. It will focus on "the Honor Code, Leader of Character Framework and the Core Values of Integrity First, Service Before Self and Excellence in All We Do." Clark also has ordered expansion of the curriculum, mentorship and guided self-reflection from existing programs.

Lastly, the other three classes will be required to recommit to "facilitate moving forward with full commitment to living honorably."

In Clark's letter to graduates, he notes that 244 cadets were caught up in the cheating scandal in spring 2020 when the Academy transitioned into remote learning. Only two were found not to have violated the Honor Code; 18 were disenrolled, and 218 were "directed to enter a probationary six-month honor remediation," Clark said. Six cases are pending.

Clark said in the letter that the Academy now will ensure the code is reflected in all parts of development. "This will guide our faculty and staff as they intentionally and proactively develop cadets," he wrote. "We are increasing emphasis on honor and character development across all mission elements."

Clark noted that before the fourth class (freshmen) are "recognized," which takes place toward the end of the class' first year, "fourth-class cadets who admit to a non-egregious, first-time honor violation may receive an expedited path to honor probation, providing immediate engagement and remediation."

The superintendent noted that he doesn't expect new cadets to "internalize" honor in their first year, "but we absolutely require each cadet to do so prior to graduation and commissioning."

Hence, he is directing upperclass members to reflect on successes and failures in their experience under the code, have candid and private conversations with "a trusted mentor" or fellow cadet, and prepare to reaffirm the Honor Code as the academic year begins.

But Ralph Palmer, a 1967 Academy grad, wrote to Clark, calling "BS" on the plan and the honor code in general.

Palmer served in Vietnam, according to a Gazette story, and needled the Academy in 2011 over the U.S. Constitution being removed from the Contrails guidebook given to all cadets. The Academy blamed a lack of space, noting the country's founding document took up 40 pages.

Now, Palmer is miffed at Clark's move to continue the path of stealing the Honor Code from cadets.

"I firmly believe that USAFA needs an Honor Code, but only one that is 100% owned by the current cadet Classes - not by my Class or LGen. Clark's Class or any other previous Class," he tells the Indy via email.

"Today our military needs honesty and Honor more than ever," Palmer says. "Forcing Honor down the throats of cadets for four years may well cause them to despise Honor and reject [it] when they become officers free of the Sup's [superintendent's] control."

Palmer asserts in his email message to Clark that cadets have watched and listened as senior officers have lied to the American people, such as in the cases of Jessica Lynch (a soldier captured in Iraq and initially lauded as a hero, which she later eschewed as false), Pat Tillman (a pro football player who enlisted and was killed in Afghanistan by friendly fire, initially reported by the military as being killed by enemy combatants) and Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction that were never found.

"Cadets are forced to be honest for 4 years in preparation for a 20+ year career of dissimulation, deception, chicanery, lying, and frequent really big whoppers," Palmer said.

He called the Honor Code a "sham" used for enforcing Academy regulations, and in conducting

investigations about cadets' criminal wrongdoing, using other cadets as snitches against one another.

Palmer challenged Clark to allow the Cadet Wing to decide how to enforce the Honor Code.

"At the suggestions, insistence, and commands of staff, the Honor Code and the Honor System have been wrested from the 'ownership' of cadets," Palmer wrote. "General, you pay lip service to a 'cadet-owned' Honor Code. Cut the crap and make it so."

The Academy didn't immediately respond to a request for comment regarding Palmer's assessment.

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BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF
Director, Public Affairs
U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

A rectangular box with a black border, containing the text "(b)(6)", indicating a redacted section of the document.

From:
To:
Cc:

Maquire, Brian L. (b)(6)

Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: INFO: USAFA News of Note, 12 July 2021
Date: Monday, July 12, 2021 5:29:30 PM

Lt Gen Clark,

Good Evening, below are news items of interest related to the Academy. On Critical Race Theory, a former professor at the Academy wrote a commentary against teaching CRT at the Academy, and Rep. Lamborn tweeted out his video segment from Fox and Friends yesterday. Based on his comments on Fox yesterday, this topic will continue to come up through mark-up season. In positive news, The Denver CBS affiliate did a piece on Civil Engineering cadets working with the U.S. Forest Service on bridge construction for real-world course credit.

CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENTS

[Rep. Doug Lamborn](#), R-Colo.: ICYMI – I joined @RCamposDuffy & @foxandfriends to discuss my concerns that an associate professor at USAFA is teaching critical race theory. I strongly oppose teaching our cadets that the country they are fighting for is systemically racist. (video at link)

NEWS OF NOTE

A. [The Federalist | Former Air Force Academy Professor: Stop teaching cadets anti-American racial Marxism](#)

In a recent Washington Post op-ed, united States Air Force Academy political science professor Lynne Chandler Garcia celebrated teaching critical race theory to cadets. As a former USAFA political science professor who taught the same courses Garcia now teaches, I find her commitment to teaching CRT a dangerous hindrance to forming good citizens, effective leaders, and future Air Force commanders.

B. [Denver CBS 4 | Air Force Academy cadets start work on new bridge in Eagle county](#)

Eleven Air Force Academy cadets are hard at work with U.S. Forest Service personnel on building a bridge in the White River National Forest.

C. [AFIMSC PA | USAFA Cadet Summer Program returns to Tyndall AFB](#)

After a year-long hiatus due to COVID-19, the U.S. Air Force Academy Cadet Summer Program

recently returned to the Air Force Civil Engineer Center's Readiness Laboratory at Tyndall Air Force Base.

V/R
Brian

BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF
Director, Public Affairs
U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: Maguire, Brian L. (b)(6)
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)

Subject: INFO: USAFA News of Note, 9 July 2021
Date: Friday, July 9, 2021 4:46:07 PM

Lt Gen Clark,

Good Afternoon, below are the latest articles regarding Dr. Chandler Garcia’s Op-Ed, along with media queries related to the Op-Ed. The queries have all been requests to interview Dr. Chandler Garcia, which we have been declining on her behalf. Traditional media coverage has decreased due to a lack of any new information or comments surrounding the Op-Ed. Any further public comment from USAFA or Dr. Chandler Garcia will only serve to keep the story alive and media interested. Social media, specifically Twitter, continues to remain active through sharing and commentary on Congressional and media personality pages.

MEDIA QUERIES – declined all

NY Post asked Dr. Chandler Garcia if she had any comment on Rep. Green’s request she be removed from her position.

KMGH (Denver ABC affiliate), Fox News, and TRT World, and journalism students at Georgetown and Liberty universities, requested interviews with Dr. Chandler Garcia to discuss Critical Race Theory.

NEWS OF NOTE

A. [KOAA \(Colorado Springs NBC\) | Air Force Academy professor pushes for critical race theory teachings in military academies](#)

The fight over whether critical race theory should be taught in K-12 public schools continues as District 49 is set to vote on a proposal to ban the concept and a U.S. Air Force Academy professor, who is teaching it, is pushing for inclusion at other military academies.

B. [Washington Times | Air Force Academy admits including ‘elements’ of critical race theory ‘canon’](#)

The U.S. Air Force Academy acknowledged Thursday including “some elements” of critical race

theory in a course but insisted that the doctrine is not endorsed by the federal military institution.

C. [New York Post | Congressman wants Air Force prof yanked for teaching critical race theory](#)

A Republican congressman has called for an Air force Academy professor who defended teaching critical race theory to be removed from her position, describing her comments as “utterly unacceptable and incompatible with the mission of our United States Military Service Academies.”

D. [Washington Post | Tom Cotton’s slimy attack on a ‘critical race theory’ professor is full of holes](#)

Sen. Tom Cotton is calling for the firing of a U.S. Air Force Academy professor after she admitted to discussing critical race theory with cadets. But even a cursory look at the Arkansas Republican’s slimy argument shows how full of holes it really is.

V/R

Brian

BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF

Director, Public Affairs

U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
To: [DF Heads](#)
Subject: Critical race theory, military academies and academic freedom
Date: Friday, June 25, 2021 10:48:21 AM
Attachments: [Milley-Austin testimony transcript 23 Jun 21.docx](#)

Colleagues,

On Wednesday, CJCS GEN Milley and Secretary Austin testified on the subject of the teaching of critical race theory at USMA. Although I get an error message when I try to play the C-Span footage, here are some clips of GEN Milley's response from a national morning show:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gv3Fapt2J4k> , and a partial transcript I copied from rev.com .

Whether you think CRT is the greatest thing since nickel candy or a bunch of hooey, we can take heart in GEN Milley's full-throated defense of our ability, even obligation, to take on controversial topics in our charge to educate future Air and Space Force leaders. Well done, sir.

Cheers and have a good weekend,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
To:
Cc:
Subject: CRT Talking Points SUPSENSE 23 Jul
Date: Thursday, July 22, 2021 9:22:43 AM
Attachments: [CRT Talking Points v1.docx](#)

(b)(6)

I decided to send directly to you in addition to your workflow since you ask direct and wanted to make sure you were able to see it.

Here is the Talking Points that were created per the Supt Request. As you can see more was provided just in case he could use more as well as some Q&A to dispel some common myths.

(b)(6) has reviewed and concurred with TPs.

V/R,

(b)(6)

CRT Talking Points:

- CRT is an academic theory based on the idea that the history of race and racism in the United States has a lasting impact on society and institutions today.
- It says: let's pay attention to what happened in this country, and HOW what has happened in this country can create different outcomes... so we can become the country of our ideals.
- There ARE activist strains of CRT, but the main body simply asks us to see and speak honestly about the history of race in order to separate fact from fiction.
- This quest to understand and untangle what is going in the world is the heart of scientific inquiry—no different than looking back at past medical practice and thinking we can do better than leeches and blood-letting.
- We HAVE to be able to talk honestly about American history; we HAVE to be able to talk honestly about racism. Doing so is not racist – in fact, it is the only path to ensuring we, as an institution and nation, are NOT perpetuating racism.

Academic Support:

- Critical theories provide an analytical lens to help scholars understand aspects of a complex world that are often overlooked in mainstream, traditional, or dominant perspectives – though they are rarely meant to replace or supplant traditional theories.
- The core principle is a desire to metaphorically break open the structures of power in society (i.e. law, government, business, education) and see what norms, traditions, assumptions, and power structures are operating inside.
- CRT is a valuable way to understand how endemic racism, beginning with slavery, has influenced the structures of power in the United States. It is not intended to explain everything, but does offer unique insight on the fields of law, medicine, housing, employment, wealth, and others.
 - Example: many medical schools used CRT to recognize an unconscious bias in the medical profession to downplay health concerns of the BIPOC population, resulting in higher death rates. They are now explicitly countering that bias in training under the principle of the Hippocratic Oath: do no harm.
- Mainstream CRT stops at these observations without providing prescriptions. Activist strains of CRT take the next logical step and suggest how these revealed inequalities can be overcome.

Academic Critiques:

- Academic scholars might disagree with the tenets of critical race theory if they argue against “historical revisionism,” or the re-evaluation and re-interpretation of a historical account.
 - Note: Revision/reinterpretation is common in scholarly work, as new evidence comes to light, material is declassified, or current events cast a different light on what occurred. This is literally the heart of the humanities and social science academic fields; the heart of scientific inquiry.
 - Example: declassification of Cold War documents led to a surge in political science research, as old theories were debunked or supported based on the new evidence.
- Scholars who argue against such historical revisionism often do so from the viewpoint of canonical, orthodox interpretations of the events called into question. Since any historical

revisionism might challenge the status quo, such scholars push back against the critiques and may even question the methodology of revisionist scholars.

- First, there were theories that became mainstream canon. Then, critical theories arose to literally critique the canon as missing important parts of the story. Scholars who like and benefited from canon (because they made their name on it or are cited when it's used) are more likely to be averse to critical theories because they are, well, critiques.
- Within the field of academia, different lines of scholarship follow varied methodologies of training and research. Cross-disciplinary inquiry (to include CRT) typically initiates heated debate among scholars because it refuses to “choose a lane.”

Q&A:

Q: Is CRT Marxist?

A: No. Marxism is different kind of critical theory that looks at economic status as a root of conflict.

Academic A: No. Marxism is one of the original critical theories, which is why it often gets lumped in with CRT, but the two are not related except that both ask us to look at how societal structures can create inequality.

Q: Does CRT teach cadets to hate our country?

A: No. Acknowledging history should not inspire hate, but rather clear-eyed commitment to the ideals on which this country was founded.

- American exceptionalism is not American perfectionism.
- As MLK would say, “The moral arc of the universe is long and it bends towards justice, but it doesn't bend on its own. We must do some work ourselves.” But we can't bend it if we don't know what is flawed.

Academic A: Some strains of CRT can be divisive because they are activist. But much of what is “divisive” is that it's hard for people to hear the words “white supremacy” without feeling defensive, even though that is the academically correct way to talk about most of American history.

Q: Does CRT teach some races are inherently bad or racist?

A: No; that is racism. To the contrary—CRT asks for genuine equality and specifically does not teach anyone is racist based solely on the color of their skin.

Academic A: CRT is normative, meaning it does seek to influence the values and habits of society. However, CRT norms in the direction of equality, not inequality – by understanding where there are hidden or unrecognized rules that disempower one group or another, it seeks to achieve genuine equality.

From: [Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen](#) (b)(6)
To: [Clark, Richard M Lt Gen](#) (b)(6)
Cc: [Moga, Paul D Brig Gen](#) (b)(6)
 (b)(6)

Subject: FW: CRT Opinion Piece
Date: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 6:21:43 AM
Attachments: [opinion Why US military academies should teach critical race theory.pdf](#)

(b)(6)

BLUF: Yesterday late afternoon the Washington Post published an important opinion piece by one of our very own faculty members. I know our teams have been working together to ensure our messaging on this charged issue remains spot-on. Below is the message I conveyed to DF leadership. In it, I stressed the importance of academic freedom at our service academy, and our need as leaders to protect it. We owe our cadets a robust, broad liberal arts education that develops and challenges their abilities of *how to think*...not what to think. The profession of arms deserves nothing less.

While not much will shake me loose from enjoying sailing on a beautiful bay off Lake Ontario, an important opinion piece published by one of our own faculty certainly rises to that occasion! Now, back to the sailing! Should you or your team need anything else on this topic, we are standing by to assist.

v/r Linell

LINELL A. LETENDRE
Brigadier General, USAF
Dean of the Faculty, U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen USAF USAFA USAFA/DF
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 5:59 AM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: CRT Opinion Piece

Leaders –

Yesterday afternoon, the Washington Post published an important opinion piece by one of USAFA’s own associate professors, Dr Lynne Chandler Garcia, articulating why military academies should teach critical race theory. (See attached.) Through (b)(6) essay, Dr Chandler Garcia exemplifies the importance of academic freedom at service academies...from the critical nature of exploring subjects in our classrooms to writing and publicizing the “why” behind such examination. Academic freedom must remain a hallmark of our classrooms, our scholarship, and our Academy; we--as leaders--of this

institution must remain vigilant in the protection of that freedom for our faculty.

My thanks to Dr Chandler Garcia for putting into words what many of us have expressed to each other around the water coolers about the importance of teaching our cadets *how to think*. As future leaders of the profession of arms, we owe them nothing less.

/r LAL

LINELL A. LETENDRE
Brigadier General, USAF
Dean of the Faculty, U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: Maquire, Brian L (b)(6)
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

Subject: INFO: USAFA News of Note, 14 July 2021
Date: Wednesday, July 14, 2021 5:28:02 PM

Lt Gen Clark,

Good evening, there has been an additional piece regarding critical race theory, supportive of academic freedom. Also below is a relevant article, that doesn't address the Academy directly, on possible means to continue collaboration between the military and academia. Finally, two outlets covered the awarding of a Small Business Innovative Research contract to use mixed reality in introductory chemistry classes at USAFA.

NEWS OF NOTE

A. [Academic Freedom Alliance | AFA defends Air Force Academy professor amid controversy over critical race theory](#)

Today, the Academic Freedom Alliance released the following statement in support of the rights of Air Force Academy professor Lynne Chandler Garcia, who has come under fire for teaching critical race theory and subsequently defending herself in a Washington Post op-ed.

B. [Defense One | How to stop political division from eroding military-academic relations](#)

Much has been written about how our political polarization undermines U.S. national security by enabling adversaries' influence operations, but the divide among us also hinders fruitful collaboration between academics and the Defense Department.

C. [Federal News Network | Air Force Academy will soon start using mixed reality for hands-on learning](#)

The military has employed mixed reality technologies to better its training for the past few years, but now military schools are hoping to do the same thing when giving students a hands-on learning experience.

D. [dot.LA | Venice-based GIGXR's new partnership with the Air force Academy will bring VR to wartime training](#)

Venice-based VR company GIGXR is partnering with the Air Force Academy to simulate wartime applications.

V/R
Brian

BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF
Director, Public Affairs
U.S. Air Force Academy Office:

(b)(6)

From: Maquire, Brian L (b)(6)
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

Subject: INFO: USAFA News of Note, 26 July 2021
Date: Monday, July 26, 2021 5:11:51 PM

Lt Gen Clark,

Good evening, sir. One item related to critical race theory below, which is an opinion piece by Newt Gingrich that covers the same ground as all the other op-eds. Over the weekend, the Colorado Springs Gazette published two pieces on Academy programs: the first on BCT out at Jacks Valley and the second on the Airmanship program and the Basic Freefall Parachuting course. Finally, coverage of Tuskegee Airman Brig. Gen. (ret.) Charles McGee's visit to EAA Airventure at Oshkosh has focused on his great-grandson, a 15-year old aspiring aviator who wishes to attend the Air Force Academy and join the Space Force.

NEWS OF NOTE

A. [Fox News | Newt Gingrich: Critical race theory and military – this is how our troops and the country will be hurt](#)

Critical race theory has now taken hold in the U.S. military. And I have to say, I find it perplexing.

B. [Colorado Springs Gazette | Tough training greets cadets: 'Take those tears, put them back in your eyes'](#)

Colors from red, yellow and blue smoke grenades drifting through trees along the edge of the Rocky Mountains couldn't hide the pain on faces of many Air Force Academy cadets Friday. [Full article](#)

C. [Colorado Springs Gazette | Air Force Academy parachute program teaches cadets more than how to jump out of an airplane](#)

You couldn't wipe the grin off cadet John Stanley if you tried. The Air Force Academy sophomore from Chanute, Kan., let out a celebratory scream following his first free fall and solo parachute jump earlier this month during a week-long airmanship course. [Full article](#)

D. [Washington Post | At 101, Tuskegee Airman Charles McGee hopes to inspire next generation of aviators](#)

As long as he could remember, Iain Lanphier knew he wanted to be like his great-grandfather, Tuskegee Airman Brig. Gen. Charles McGee. For Halloween when Lanphier was 2, he wore a flight

suite, excited to take a picture his hero. Now, at 15, he is an aspiring aviator. [Full article](#)

E. [WFRV | Oldest Tuskegee Airman Brigadier General Charles E. McGee returns to Oshkosh](#)

The oldest Tuskegee Airman, General Charles E. McGee returned to Oshkosh on Sunday ahead of the start of EAA AirVenture week.

FULL TEXT

B. [Colorado Springs Gazette | Tough training greets cadets: 'Take those tears, put them back in your eyes'](#)

Colors from red, yellow and blue smoke grenades drifting through trees along the edge of the Rocky Mountains couldn't hide the pain on faces of many Air Force Academy cadets Friday.

Hundreds of freshman cadets took to an obstacle, assault or confidence course at the Air Force Academy's training and proving grounds, Jacks Valley, while pushing their bodies and minds to new ceilings as part of basic training.

Simulated artillery explosions and small arms fire along with screaming and demanding upperclassmen made the 16 obstacles on the assault course exhausting for all.

Some of the things screamed at the cadets included:

"Why don't you have mud on your face? Fix it!"

"Everything you just said was wrong!"

"There is no coughing on my course!"

"Hurry up, stop taking a nap in my sand!"

"Take those tears, put them back in your eyes and finish the course!"

Bella Colandrea, a senior from Dallas who wants to work in cyber after graduation, had a smile on her face while overseeing the assault course as its commander.

"We try to make sure this course is intense both physically and mentally," she said.

Freshman cadets crawled through tubes, under barbed wire and splashed in mud puddles, turning most uniforms from camouflage to a solid mud during the annual summer rite of passage for freshmen at the school.

Over at the obstacle course, cadets climbed logs, dangled from ropes over water and recited a variety of required material while running in place.

"We want to make it as difficult as possible, so they have an experience to grow as a squadron and grow as a flight but we want to make sure nobody is getting hurt while they are on the courses," said

Maj. Michael Wetherbee, commander for all the courses.

Cadets marched from main campus to Jacks Valley's 3,300-acre training complex on the north end of the Academy on Monday, participated in four full days of training and plan to march back on Saturday.

Sleeping arrangements improved this year with 'containerized housing units', similar to quarters used by troops at bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, taking the place of tents.

For the second straight year, freshman cadets have been split into two groups, roughly 500 each, going to Jacks Valley at different times, a measure that was put in place to slow the spread of coronavirus.

The hard training at Jacks valley is part of four years of drills cadets complete before pinning on lieutenant's bars.

In addition to the tough physical training, drill instructors also exercise their minds.

Cadets in basic training also learn to spot roadside bombs and how to care for wounded comrades.

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[C. Colorado Springs Gazette | Air Force Academy parachute program teaches cadets more than how to jump out of an airplane](#)

You couldn't wipe the grin off cadet John Stanley if you tried. The Air Force Academy sophomore from Chanute, Kan., let out a celebratory scream following his first free fall and solo parachute jump earlier this month during a week-long airmanship course.

"It was absolutely amazing," Stanley said, while stuffing a bright yellow parachute into a bag. The class "was a lot more intense than I expected but given what they just had us do, I'm kind of happy it was."

Three days of intensive classroom instruction followed by five jumps each over two days earns cadets their jump wings.

"They had us doing repetitive movements over and over," Stanley said. "We had to memorize them down to a T. They would string us up on these hooks and spin us around and they would give commands and we'd have to give responses within five seconds. And we'd have to do it perfectly. I'm glad that they did it as hard as they did."

The computer science and applied mathematics double major is also studying Arabic at the Academy and would like to go into intelligence. Stanley said he loves the language and would like to work with it daily.

Fellow computer science major Danny Kennedy of North Kingstown, R.I., was also all smiles after completing his first jump.

"I'm an adrenaline junky and when I heard I could jump out of a plane by myself, I had to jump on that," Kennedy said. "It was everything I'd imagined. I left the plane and was totally free. It is the coolest thing I've ever done in my life."

After graduation, Kennedy wants to be a combat rescue officer so he can help people.

Some junior and senior cadets who have proven themselves amongst the best become members of the Wings of Blue, whose primary role is running the basic freefall parachuting course, Airmanship 490.

The cadet-led class attracts roughly 75% of all cadets and is the only certified jump program in the world where students' first jump is solo.

"Free fall is very unique, but we try to make it as familiar as possible for our students," said Corey Eisert-Wlodarczyk, a senior from Erie, Penn., who would like to be an intelligence officer.

Part of the training includes wearing virtual reality headsets to get the perspective of free falling, being suspended from a harness to learn how it feels being under canopy and visiting a wind tunnel in Denver to experience the amount of airflow.

Eisert-Wlodarczyk understands that most cadets won't be parachuting much during their military careers.

"The goal of this program is not to make you a good skydiver ... it's to get you to stand in the door, to do something that you don't want to do," he said. "But because there are other people relying on you and you have to be brave in that moment, you have to have a clear mind, rely on your training and overcome that fear. That's the whole point."

Cadets who began parachuting in 1962 without the Academy's approval or knowledge ended up winning a national gold medal in a skydiving competition. As a result, a campus club started in May 1964 and the first parachuting course began the spring of 1967, according to the Academy website.

More than 50 years later, there has never been a fatality

"We have a pretty impeccable safety record," said Lt. Col. Matthew Amig, director of the Academy's parachute team.

Each year the school hosts as many as 24,000 jumps, according to Amig. That's most in the Air Force.

Cadets at the Academy jump from any of three UV-18 Twin Otter aircraft, which have a large square opening for easy exits.

The Wings of Blue has both a demonstration team and competition team. Both show off their skills

at events throughout the world.

The demonstration team is scheduled to perform Saturday, July 31 as Colorado Springs celebrates its 150th birthday with an 11 a.m. parade on Tejon Street downtown followed by a festival from noon to 8 p.m. on Vermijo Avenue between the U.S. Olympic & Paralympic Museum and the Pioneers Museum. Look skyward for them as the parade begins.

The Wings of Blue competition team competes against other schools and civilian teams.

“We are the most decorated collegiate team in history,” Eisert-Wlodarczyk said.

The team trains three days per week with jumps scheduled from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m.

“Some of the smartest people I know are here on the team,” Eisert-Wlodarczyk said. “I think the rigor of it and the intensity of the team definitely attracts a certain type of people. This type of opportunity is unbeatable.”

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[D. Washington Post | At 101, Tuskegee Airman Charles McGee hopes to inspire next generation of aviators](#)

As long as he could remember, Iain Lanphier knew he wanted to be like his great-grandfather, Tuskegee Airman Brig. Gen. Charles McGee. For Halloween when Lanphier was 2, he wore a flight suite, excited to take a picture his hero. Now, at 15, he is an aspiring aviator.

On Sunday, Lanphier smiled ear to ear, flashing his braces, as he helped McGee, 101, out of a car at the private terminal of Dulles International Airport to board a flight bound for Oshkosh, Wis., where they planned to attend the largest aviation event in the world.

“I want to be like him,” said Lanphier, who was seeing his great-grandfather for the first time since before the [coronavirus](#) pandemic. “I hope to touch people’s lives just like Papa Gee.”

One of the last surviving Tuskegee Airmen, McGee was setting off with friends and family on a private plane to EAA AirVenture at Oshkosh, where the barrier-breaking retired fighter pilot hopes to inspire the next generation of aviators, especially those of color. In 2019, nearly 700,000 people attended the conference.

Over the course of his 30-year career in the Air Force, McGee fought in three wars and became the first Black man to command a stateside Air Force wing and a base in the integrated Air Force. He was one of 900 Black pilots who trained at the segregated Tuskegee airfield in Alabama, overcoming racism to fly patrols during World War II.

McGee was honored during President Donald Trump’s 2020 State of the Union address for his bravery, and last month, Kansas City International Airport renamed a terminal after the Kansas City native.

“The young folks are the future of this country,” McGee said Sunday before boarding his flight to Wisconsin. “I don’t have too much time left here, so mentoring them is one of the most important things I can do.”

He paid homage to his group’s iconic red-painted airplane tails on Sunday, wearing a red Tuskegee Airmen windbreaker, yellow and red-trimmed shoes clad with his airplane’s number, 78, and a dark Tuskegee hat. He said he’s always representing the airmen, wherever he goes and whatever he does.

“That’s who I am,” he said while wearing a blue mask with an airplane in the center.

The extent of his influence was on display throughout the private terminal at Dulles.

Shaesta Waiz, the youngest woman to make a solo flight around the world in a single-engine aircraft, told the aviator how he showed her that someone who looked like her — Waiz is from Afghanistan — could defy the odds.

“A lot of my inspiration and understanding that this was something that I could do came from heroic people like General McGee,” said Waiz, 34, in a conference room in the terminal. Many underrepresented people question whether they can make it in aviation, she said. “General McGee shows us that we can.”

At the other end of the room, the mothers of Lanphier and 13-year-old Joshua Gibson, an aspiring aviator who is joining McGee on the trip to Oshkosh, discussed how special it was for their sons to have a role model like McGee.

Gibson, who had met McGee at the general’s 100th birthday, was honored and nervous to be there, wondering why he, of all the hopeful 13-year-old aviators, got to fly with the legend. His mother, Tyra Estwick, knows McGee will continue to inspire her son.

“As a young Black male, he set the way,” said Estwick, of Rockville. “He is living history.”

After the preflight celebration finished, the 10 passengers made their way to the plane. Lanphier helped his great-grandfather stand up, put his arms through the red windbreaker and eased him into a wheelchair.

As McGee wheeled himself to the plane waiting on the runway, Lanphier walked slowly behind him and took in the surroundings. The proud family waving on the runway to send him off. Photographers snapping pictures of the multigenerational McGee legacy. The sheer honor that his great-grandfather commanded.

“It’s kind of a surprise every time,” Lanphier said as he made his way toward the steps of the plane. “I’m only 15 — I’m still not used to any of this.”

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V/R
Brian

BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF
Director, Public Affairs
U.S. Air Force Academy Office:

(b)(6)

Matt Gaetz: (00:00)

Mr. Secretary, why was Lieutenant Colonel Matthew Lohmeyer released of his command?

Secretary Austin: (00:05)

It was a decision made by his chain of command. And typically those decisions are made based upon either having confidence or a lack of confidence. This issue is under investigation by the IG. And so, I won't comment any further on that.

Matt Gaetz: (00:23)

In my previous discussions with service members, and particularly officers, I would hear about complaints over parts, not arriving on time, long deployments. And in my more recent discussions with those officers, the number one issue that they raised to me with concern often unable to speak publicly for fear of the type of retribution that Lieutenant Colonel Lohmeyer faced, they say that your stand down regarding extremism did not help our military. It hurt the military. And I want to share with you that perspective that it caused service members to otherize one another. It impaired group cohesion. And interesting to me is that I've heard those sentiments most frequently from units that are majority minority, that this was not particularly helpful. So I wanted to give you the opportunity to maybe share with us more specificity regarding the definitions that seem to be a challenge when Ms. Hartzler was asking questions. How should the Department of Defense think about critical race theory?

Speaker 3: (01:32)

Could I make a comment, Secretary? I'm sorry.

Matt Gaetz: (01:34)

I'm very limited on my time, General.

Speaker 3: (01:36)

I just want to make comment that-

Matt Gaetz: (01:38)

I've asked the question to the Secretary Austin.

Secretary Austin: (01:41)

I don't know what the issue of critical race theory is and what the relevance here in the department. We do not teach critical race theory. We don't embrace critical race theory. And I think that's a spurious conversation.

And so we are focused on extremist behaviors and not ideology, not people's thoughts, not people's political orientation. Behaviors is what we're focused on. But in one final point, and thanks for your anecdotal input. But I would say that I have gotten 10 times that amount of input, 50 times that amount of input on the other side that have said, hey, we're glad to have had the ability to have a conversation with ourselves and with our leadership, and that's what we need-

Matt Gaetz: ([02:33](#))

Reclaiming my time, Mr. Secretary. It may be that you're receiving that input in the ratios you describe because it was your directive. It may be that people are concerned about criticizing your decision because Lieutenant Colonel Lomeyer was not relieved of his command for his actions. He was not relieved of his command because of poor performance regarding his duties. He was relieved of his command precisely because of his thoughts and because of his critique of critical race theory.

Matt Gaetz: ([03:02](#))

It is particularly helpful that you have said that the Department of Defense does not embrace critical race theory, and that you think the discussion is not appropriate. I would suggest that it is the ideology that is not appropriate. And it is particularly concerning to me that you have hired a critical race theorist to give you advice on personnel matters. And that person is Bishop Garrison. And I would particularly observe that on July 27th, 2019, Bishop Garrison tweeted regarding former President Trump, "He's dragging a lot of bad actors out into the sunlight, normalizing their actions." And here's the relevant part. "If you support the president, you support that. There is no room for nuance in this. There is no more, but I'm not like that talk." And then he replies to his own tweet with what seems to be a very ethno nationalist hashtag, #black44. Could you enlighten us as to what advice Mr. Garrison has given you? And are you concerned that while you testify publicly to our committee, that the department doesn't embrace critical race theory, you have hired someone who is precisely a critical race theorist?

Secretary Austin: ([04:14](#))

This is the first I've ever heard Mr. Garrison be described as a critical race theorist. So this is new and I'm sure-

Matt Gaetz: ([04:24](#))

Did you review his tweets before you hired him personally? Did you review his tweets before you hired him?

Secretary Austin: [\(04:30\)](#)

I did not personally review his tweets.

Matt Gaetz: [\(04:32\)](#)

I would just ask that maybe that'd be helpful. Is there anything you can share in just these final seconds regarding any advice he's given you?

Secretary Austin: [\(04:39\)](#)

Let me just share one other thing that you brought up, congressmen about the input that comes to me. You know, I trust my leadership from top to bottom that they will give me fair and balanced and unvarnished input. And for you to say that people are telling me what I want to hear, I get it, but I'm smart enough that-

Matt Gaetz: [\(05:02\)](#)

That does happen.

Secretary Austin: [\(05:02\)](#)

Yeah. You know, maybe they're telling you what you want to hear.

Matt Gaetz: [\(05:06\)](#)

Well, I don't know that they even know what I want to hear.

Mr. Chairman: [\(05:08\)](#)

The gentleman's time has expired. Mr. Brown is recognized for five minutes.

Speaker 5: [\(05:11\)](#)

Thank you, Mr. Chairman-

Ms. Houlahan: [\(05:13\)](#)

... Mr. Chair, and thank you gentlemen, for joining us today. I know my time is very precious, but I would like to yield some of my time to General Milley, because I know that he had some comments that he wanted to make when Representative Gaetz was talking, as well as Mr. Waltz, about a similar subject of the stand down and race theory. Would you like a minute or so to comment on that? Do you remember what your line of questioning, your thought was there?

General Milley: [\(05:37\)](#)

Sure. First of all, on the issue of critical race theory, et cetera, I'll obviously have to get much smarter on whatever the theory is, but I do think it's

important actually for those of us in uniform to be open-minded and be widely read. And the United States Military Academy is university and it is important that we train and we understand. And I want to understand white rage and I'm white, and I want to understand it. So what is it that cause thousands of people to assault this building and try to overturn the constitution of the United States of America? What caused that? I want to find that out. I want to maintain an open mind here, and I do want to analyze it. It's important that we understand that because our soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and guardians, they come from the American people. So it is important that the leaders now and in the future do understand it.

General Milley: ([06:33](#))

I've read Karl Marx. I've read Lenin. That doesn't make me a communist. So what is wrong with understanding, having some situational understanding about the country for which we are here to defend? And I personally find it offensive that we are accusing the United States military, our general officers, our commissioned, non-commissioned officers of being quote woke or something else because we're studying some theories that are out there. That was started at Harvard Law School years ago. And it proposed that there were laws in the United States, antebellum laws prior to the Civil War that led to a power differential with African-Americans that were three quarters of a human being when this country was formed. And then we had a Civil War and Emancipation Proclamation to change it. And we brought it up to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It took another a hundred years to change that.

General Milley: ([07:19](#))

So look, I do want to know, and I respect your service. And you and I are both Green Berets, but I want to know, and it matters to our military and the discipline and cohesion of this military. And I thank you for the opportunity to make a comment on that.

Ms. Houlahan: ([07:31](#))

Thank you, general.

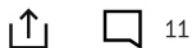
The Washington Post

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Opinion: Why U.S. military academies should teach critical race theory

Opinion by Lynne Chandler García

July 6, 2021 at 3:23 p.m. MDT



Lynne Chandler García is an associate professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The views expressed are the author's own.

Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Mark A. Milley's recent defense of teaching critical race theory at the U.S. military academies shows that it is not unpatriotic to understand a fuller version of American history, nor does it promote division among our military members.

As a professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, I teach critical race theories to our nation's future military leaders because it is vital that cadets understand the history of the racism that has shaped both foreign and domestic policy.

Cadets, like all military members, take an oath to defend the Constitution with their lives — so it is crucial they have a sensitive understanding of that Constitution.

In my classes, cadets learn about the ideals embedded in this founding document. We explore the liberalist theories that promoted these ideals, and we embrace our democratic system of government. But we also acknowledge that the United States was founded on a duality: liberalism and equal rights on the one hand; inequality, inegalitarianism and second-class citizenship on the other.

Critical race theory provides an academic framework to understand these nuances and contradictions. It helps students identify the structural racism and inequality that has been endemic in American society. And it provides methods for deconstructing

oppressive beliefs, policies and practices to find solutions that will lead to justice.

The reality of the Constitution is that it upholds the rule of law and human rights, but once also allowed slavery and has been used to perpetuate legal discrimination. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, although the Declaration of Independence and Constitution espoused liberty and justice, enslaved people had no part of those virtues and no reason to celebrate a day like the Fourth of July. Thurgood Marshall suggested a “sensitive understanding of the Constitution’s inherent defects and its promising evolution.”

This extends to understanding ourselves as the U.S. military. The military was among the first institutions to desegregate and has a celebrated history of diversity in its ranks, though that history has long been complicated. For instance, serving in the military was a path to freedom for some enslaved people, and thousands of Black soldiers, both enslaved and free, fought for America as early as the Revolutionary War. At the same time, George Washington is said to have initially opposed the recruitment of Black soldiers.

In other words, racism was ingrained in the system from the beginning, and the military still struggles with these issues. As a recent inspector general’s report on disparities in the Air Force and Space Force pointed out, Black service members lag behind their White peers in promotion rates but are overrepresented in disciplinary actions. Further, a recent Defense Department report documented the threat of white supremacy within the ranks. Cadets need to understand these contradictions within their institutions.

In addition to teaching critical race theories, I provide my cadets with lessons on political discourse and breaking down divides of polarization through communication and empathy. Cadets at the Air Force Academy will soon command racially diverse units. Racial minorities serve, especially in the enlisted corps, at greater rates than their representation in the general civilian workforce. As of May 2018, Black representation in the enlisted force was 19.1 percent, compared with roughly 13 percent in the general workforce.

Officers must comprehend the unique experiences and concerns of their diverse troops. A

holistic education leads to understanding and unity as service members consider what it's like to walk in another's shoes.

Our officer development curriculum is founded on pushing cadets outside their comfort zones: They jump out of planes, leap off 10-meter platforms, endure grueling physical challenges and assume difficult command responsibilities. Their intellectual development should be no different. To think critically and read broadly is fundamental to making them future leaders for times of both war and peace.

I don't coddle my cadets out of fear that exposure to certain literatures might make them uncomfortable or test their existing beliefs. Cadets must learn to be brave on the literal battlefield, yes — but they must also be equipped to participate bravely on the battlefield of ideas.

Read more:

[Michele Norris: Why the military is so well-suited to close down the critical race theory war](#)

[Eugene Robinson: The cold truth about Republicans' hot air over critical race theory](#)

[Karen Attiah: The challenge for educators amid the critical race theory backlash: How do you fight hot air?](#)

[George F. Will: A teacher pushes back against K-12 critical race theory indoctrination](#)

[Christine Emba: Why conservatives really fear critical race theory](#)

Updated March 3, 2021

America's Racial Reckoning: What you need to know

Full coverage: Race & Reckoning

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Newsletter: Subscribe to About US to read the latest on race and identity

George Floyd's America: Examining systemic racism through the lens of his life

Resources: Understanding racism and inequality in America



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Approach life after 50 with curiosity and enthusiasm. Smart advice on how to get better with age, plus tried-and-true tips from our readers, every Monday and Friday for 12 weeks.

Sign up

From: Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Dr. Brookfield and CRT
Date: Monday, August 23, 2021 11:04:08 PM

Thanks for the SA. No concerns. We need to keep doing the right things to prepare and develop faculty.

Sent with BlackBerry Work
(www.blackberry.com)

From: (b)(6)
Date: Monday, Aug 23, 2021, 6:05 PM
To: Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: FW: Dr. Brookfield and CRT

Ma'am,

FYSA.

VR,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, August 23, 2021 4:45 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Dr. Brookfield and CRT

Hello (b)(6)

In case this slipped your notice, I just wanted make sure you and the dean were aware that the (b)(6) bookgroup initiative has the potential to further the CRT storm. Here is the attachment (b)(6) referred to in his email below. (b)(6) has spoken with (b)(6) more recently and they are going to take some additional lengths to avoid any appearance of "indoctrination" of this particular perspective, to include providing additional readings that offer different perspectives. If you or the dean have any questions, please feel free to contact (b)(6) directly.

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 1:35 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Subject: RE: Dr. Brookfield

(b)(6)

Just to give you a heads up (see note from Joe Don below) CEI saw an opportunity to partner with MEIC and put together optional reading groups for Dr. Brookfield's book *Teaching Race: How to Help Students Unmask and Challenge Racism*, to be kicked off by a virtual presentation from Dr. Brookfield (all funded through SoTL gift funds) Currently 43 faculty have signed up for the virtual presentation and 28 have signed up for the book group.

Regards,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 12:44 PM
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Subject: RE: Dr. Brookfield

Colleagues,

I hope you are both well!

As we discussed, I shared the info on the book study/virtual presentation with (b)(6) (b)(6) who then shared with CW staff. Someone in CW then provided the attached and expressed concern about Dr. Brookfield's discussion topics related to critical race theory.

I emphasized to (b)(6) to share with the concerned party that this is voluntary for staff/faculty. Just share to make you aware in this climate and to be prepared for any potential outside criticism.

(b)(6)

Hello (b)(6)

Great question!

Inviting Dr. Brookfield to present virtually started out as a request for him to be our in-person SOTL keynote speaker for the fall SOTL forum. He is a prolific and well-known researcher on many aspects of higher education and teaching. However, he was not comfortable flying at this point in time, so the idea surfaced to have a virtual session with him based on his most recent and timely book. Dr. Brookfield graciously agreed to present virtually at USAFA, and we secured a SOTL keynote speaker who can attend in person.

Our plan is to have interested parties within DF participate in the book groups and attend his September (21st) and March (follow-on) sessions. For those folks we will purchase books from available Martinson funds.

We welcome others outside of DF to join the virtual session in September and March; however, our funds are limited, so we would not be able to purchase books for them. Perhaps you have access to funds to buy books for others outside of DF ?

Book groups will start meeting about the third week of August and continue through February. In March, we will schedule another Q&A session with Dr. Brookfield for those who have read the book. It would be great to have you join one of our book groups and/or attend and participate in his sessions. We can certainly buy a book for you :-)) just let me know or feel free to register.

I hope this answers your question but don't hesitate to reach out if you have other questions. Have an enjoyable evening!

Kind regards,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Thursday, August 5, 2021 3:18 PM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

Subject: Dr. Brookfield

(b)(6)

Hope you are having a great day!

As I was wandering around Fairchild today, I saw you flier on the Dr. Brookfield book study and virtual presentation. Might you have more info on these event and would they be open to folks outside of DF?

Thanks! (b)(6)

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
To:
Cc:
Subject: RE: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA
Date: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 2:03:38 PM

How about this tweak:

(b)(6) As with (b)(6) faculty colleagues, (b)(6) teaches a variety of courses in the American Politics and National Security curriculum. This curriculum includes courses on political theory, US government structure and process, and domestic and foreign policy. Course descriptions can be found in the [USAFA Curriculum Handbook](#).

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 1:27 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: Re: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA

(b)(6)

My recommendation:

(b)(6) did (b)(6) doctoral training in American Politics and teaches a variety of courses in the American Politics and National Security curriculum. This curriculum includes courses on political theory, US government structure and process, and domestic and foreign policy.

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 1:16 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc:
Subject: FW: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA

As discussed.

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 12:50 PM
To: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: RE: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA

Please see below for answers:

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 12:35 PM
To: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6); Colvin, Gail B CIV USAF USAFA
 USAFA/DS <Gail.Colvin@usafa.edu>; (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA
Importance: High

Team,

This is a WARNORD, official tasker via TMT will follow as soon as DSEA receives it. DF will be OPR to draft responses. Please see questions below from Senator Cotton's office:

- Does (b)(6) have tenure?
 No Tenure program is not to go into effect until July 2022
- Does USAFA offer tenure? (provide policy, if any)
 Please see attached memo...BL not in effect until July 2022.
- To what extent is CRT taught at USAFA?
 USAFA does not have a specific course on Critical Race Theory (CRT), nor is CRT part of

any course description. However, while the military is apolitical, part of USAFA's mission is to develop officers who will lead diverse forces and set the tone for an inclusive environment where every Airman and Guardian is valued. As an academic institution and an accredited university, cadets in the natural course of academic discussions are encouraged to engage in critical thinking and discourse which may drive some classroom discussion on CRT. We believe that leaders need to have a holistic understanding of all viewpoints, and our faculty are committed to teaching future officers how to think, not what to think.

Dr. Chandler-Garcia's op-ed illustrates the principles of academic freedom, as she emphasizes an instructor's responsibility to challenge students. Especially in a political science course it is important to look through many different lenses, to develop critical thinking and appreciate different viewpoints. The course in question is Political Science 211, Politics, American Government, and National Security (course description below for reference). The course explores different political theories, as well as praises and critiques of our political system, often through debate-based learning. So while some elements from a CRT lens are included in this debate-based format to encourage critical thinking, it is not a theory endorsed by the institution as institutional doctrine.

We remain committed to developing leaders with the critical thinking skills that will be demanded of them in order to meet the challenges of the future conflicts that they will face.

Course Handbook Description:

Pol Sci 211. Politics, American Government, and National Security. 3(1). This course introduces students to the study of politics and government and examines the basic theoretical, structural, and procedural choices faced by any political system. The course will emphasize the following areas of study: foundations and traditions of American democracy; the structure, decision-making processes, and policy outcomes of the American political system; the specific development of national security strategy and policy; and civil-military relations in the American Republic. Final exam. Prereq: None. Sem hrs: 3 fall or spring.

- Provide descriptions for all courses taught by (b)(6) Reaching out to (b)(6) for courses. Dr. Chandler-Garcia is the Course Director for PolSci211.

There is a separate ask about the liberal arts curriculum. We'll address that tasker separately.

--break, break--

For your reference, below is the Supt's approved language for an update to Rep Bergman referenced in Mr. McDonald's note:

Updated response to Rep Bergman:

(b)(5); (b)(6)

To be clear, USAFA does not have a specific course on Critical Race Theory (CRT), nor is CRT part of any course description. However, while the military is apolitical, part of USAFA's mission is to develop officers who will lead diverse forces and set the tone for an inclusive environment where every Airman and Guardian is valued. As an academic institution and an accredited university, cadets in the natural course of academic discussions are encouraged to engage in critical thinking and discourse which may drive some classroom discussion on CRT. We believe that leaders need to have a holistic understanding of all viewpoints, and our faculty are committed to teaching future officers how to think, not what to think.

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Vr,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 11:41 AM

To: USAFA/DSEA (Taskers) (b)(6) USAFA/DSX (Workflow)

(b)(6)

Cc: Colvin, Gail B CIV USAF USAFA USAFA/DS (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: WARNORD - Sen Cotton CRFI wrt CRT at USAFA

Good Afternoon Team,

Just wanted to provide you a heads-up that a quick turn CRFI from Sen Cotton's office will be coming via TMT later today asking the following:

- Does (b)(6) have tenure?
- Does USAFA offer tenure?
- To what extent is CRT taught at USAFA?
- Provide descriptions for all courses taught by (b)(6)

Can use a modified version of the Rep Bergman response to answer part of this but will need the additional information on (b)(6) course list/descriptions, and USAFA's tenure rules/policy.

On a similar note, I will also be following up with a short turn TMT directing a review of all applicable USAFA liberal arts curriculum to determine what, if any, CRT concepts/focus areas (not CRT itself) are present in USAFA's curricula.

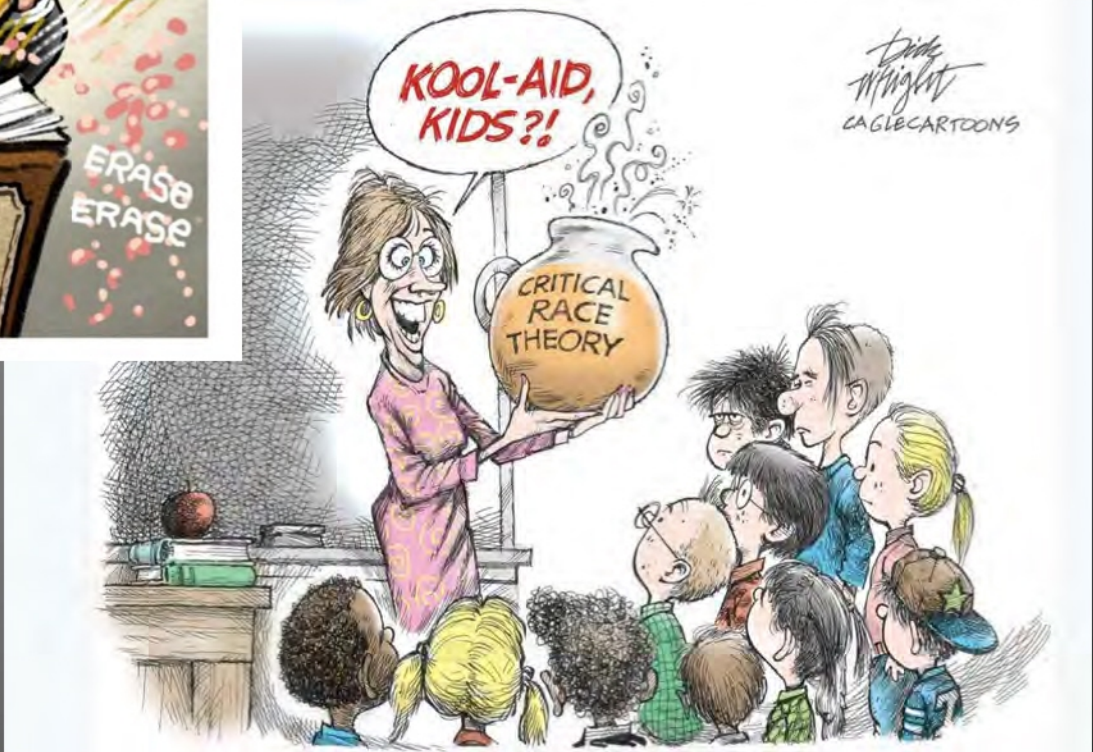
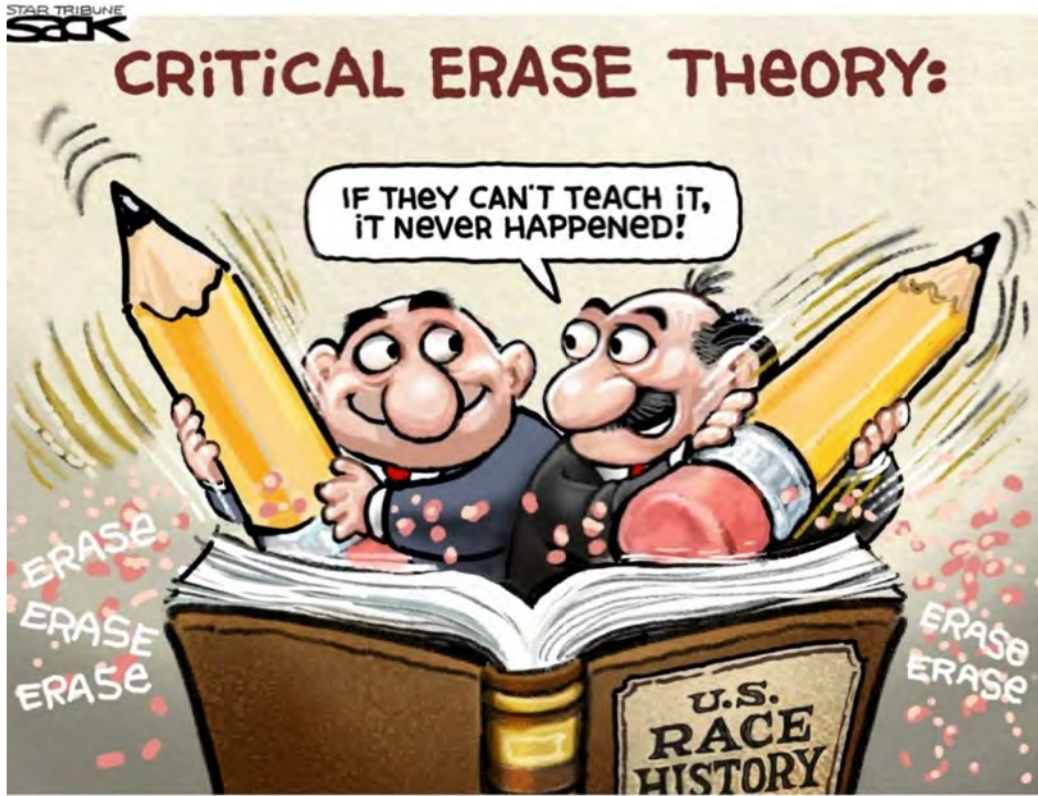
More to follow...

Thanks.

(b)(6)

(b)(6)





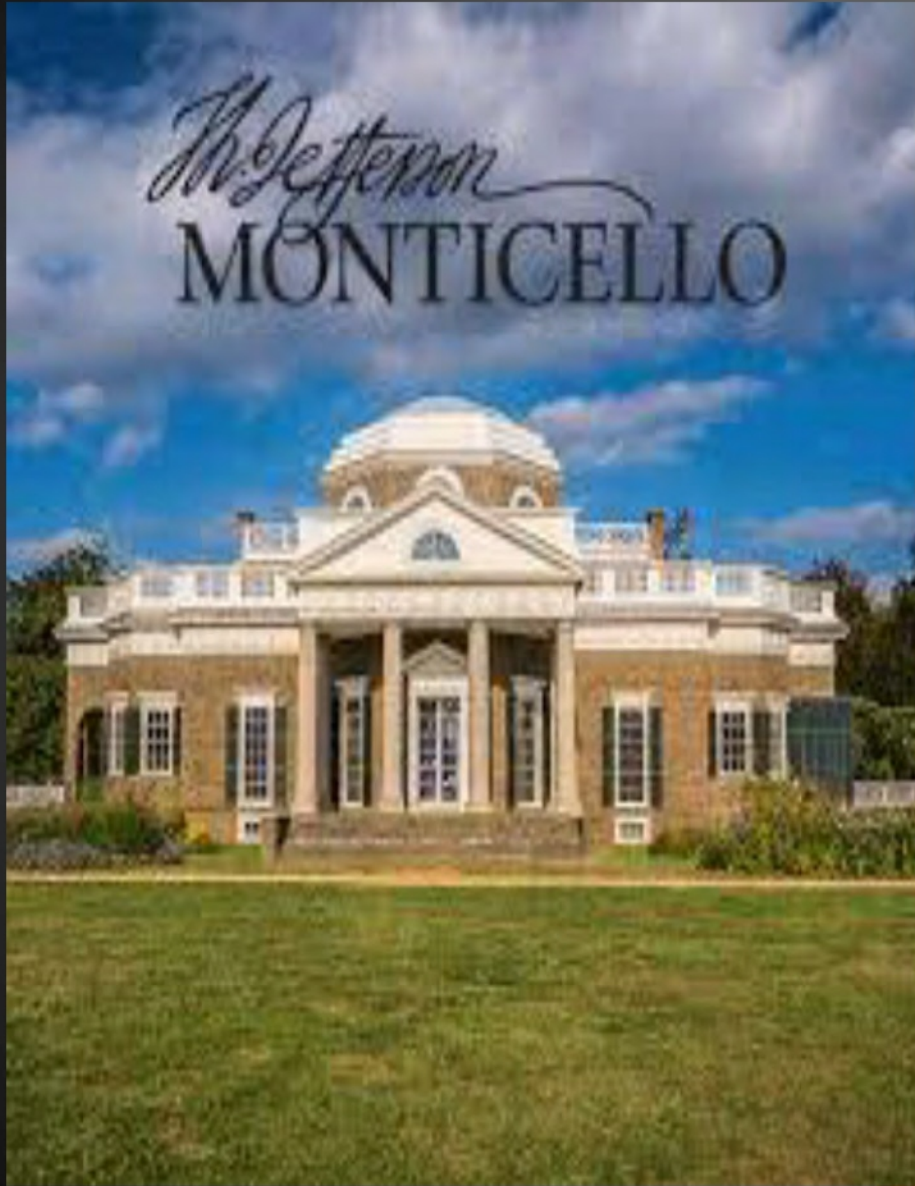
Lesson 28, Beh Sci 362
What is Critical Race Theory?
Why has CRT become so controversial?

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

OBJECTIVES

- Define sociological concept of "moral panic" and consider previous historical examples
- Explore the 1619 Project, including historical debates
- Summarize opposing positions on teaching Critical Race Theory
- Overall, ponder the q: how should race/racism in America's history be taught?

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Slavery at Monticello

Thomas Jefferson enslaved over six hundred people throughout his life. Four hundred men, women, and children lived in bondage at Monticello.



How should American history be taught, especially in regards to race & racisms?



The New York Times Magazine The 1619 Project



SUNDAY, AUGUST 18, 1911

The New York Times Magazine
The 1619 Project

SLAVES!

LONG LIST OF SALE

PLANTATION HANDS

FROM ALABAMA TO THE RESERVE.

BY N. VIGOR AUCTIONEER,
Office----No. 5 Banks' Arcade Passage, and corner of Conti street and Exchange Alley.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1858,

AT 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

Will be sold in the Rotunda of the
ST. JAMES HOTEL,

No. 1. ABSALOM, aged 28 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed.
No. 2. NED, aged 45 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed.
No. 3. TOM, aged about 40 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 4. BILL, aged about 23 years, Plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 5. KING, aged 17 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 6. EDWARD, aged 15 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 7. PULLY, Negress, aged 25 years, No. 1 plantation hand and fair Cook, Washer and Ironer, fully guaranteed.
No. 8. GEORGE, Griff, aged about 23 years, good plantation hand and carpenter, fully guaranteed.
No. 9. RICHARD, aged 15 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 10. IRONER, with a good iron, aged 15 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 11. NANCY, aged 6 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.
No. 12. MARY, aged 1-2 years, plantation hand, fully guaranteed, except having a defect in the right knee.

All of the above slaves are from the State of Alabama and sold under a full guarantee, except where otherwise stated.

ALSO, at the same time and place the following

LIST OF ACCLIMATED SLAVES.

No. 1. JOHN ROY & FRANKLIN

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AFTER ENSLAVED AFRICANS WERE FIRST BROUGHT TO VIRGINIA, MOST AMERICANS STILL DON'T KNOW THE FULL STORY OF SLAVERY.

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



The 1619 Project, published in the New York Times' magazine in August 2019, is a collection of essays and stories that argue that America was not founded in 1776 when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, but rather in 1619, the year that enslaved Africans were first brought to the land that became the United States.

- What is at stake in a version of U.S. history that foregrounds the lives and experiences of Black Americans?
- What if the possibility for some Americans to enjoy liberty and prosperity had been predicated on the very denial of those things to other Americans?

Federal Govt. Response: 1776 Commission

- 45 pages, no citations or references



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What is Moral Panic?

- Term framed by sociologist Stanley Cohen in 1972 in book, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*
- Occurs when a “condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests”

FOLK DEVILS & MORAL PANICS
The Creation of the Mods and Rockers



STANLEY COHEN



Components of Moral Panic & CRT

- 1. Threat perceived as new but reactivates old suspicions
- 2. Seen as damaging / harbinger of problems to come
- 3. People can “see” but the threat is opaque

Listen:
<https://www.npr.org/2021/07/02/1012696188/how-critical-race-theory-went-from-harvard-law-to-fox-news>



What is CRT?

- Decades-old, graduate level framework
- Rose in response to failures of Civil Rights Movement; that is, why are there still stark racial disparities despite reforms?
- Recognize that race is not biologically reality, but socially constructed and socially significant
- Helps us understand the legacy of racism and how embedded within social institutions
- Sees racism as systemic

Term coined by law Professors Kimberle Crenshaw (Columbia) and Derrick Bell (Harvard)



Anti-CRT Messaging



Texas Public Policy Foundation @TPPF · 22h



Are you wondering if Critical Race Theory is being taught in your child's school? Stay on the lookout for some of CRT's less "buzzworthy" names and language 📌 #BanCRT

How to identify

CRITICAL RACE THEORY IN THE CLASSROOM

1. CRT - critical race theory or culturally responsive teaching	12. Power structures or racial hierarchies
2. Equity, diversity, and inclusion	13. Normative
3. Cultural/ multi-cultural competence	14. Disparate outcomes or inequity
4. Implicit/ unconscious/ internalized bias	15. Identity
5. Social justice or restorative justice	16. Ally or ally-ship
6. Systemic/ structural/ institutional racism or oppression	17. Afrocentric/ Eurocentric
7. Micro-aggressions	18. Social constructs
8. Anti-racism	19. Black lives matter
9. White privilege/ fragility/ supremacy/ culture/ prejudice	20. Reparation/ liberation
10. CQ - like IQ but cultural intelligence	21. Ethnocentricity
11. Colonialism/ neo-colonialism/ colonizer/ decolonialism	

Think-Pair-Share

- Identify and summarize the arguments against teaching Critical Race Theory (CRT). Then, do the same for the arguments in support of teaching CRT.

CRT at USAFA?

Opinion: I'm a professor at a U.S. military academy. Here's why I teach critical race theory.

(link:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/07/06/military-academies-should-teach-critical-race-theory/>)

GEN Milley's Response to why CRT Should be studied at MSAs:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3uIZ4C3Y0Ng&t=452s>

Free Speech in the Military

Limitations on Political Activity

Active duty members may:

- Register
- Vote
- Express personal opinions on political candidates and issues (but not as official representatives of the armed forces)
- Attend political rallies or meetings on personal time, not in uniform
- Make contributions to a political organization or political committee favoring a particular candidate or slate of candidates
- Write a letter expressing preference for a political candidate or cause, but the letter must be personal and not for publication
- Display bumper stickers on vehicles
- Wear political buttons when not in uniform and not on duty

Active military members may not

- Serve in an official capacity nor be listed as a sponsor of a partisan political club, even in a personal capacity
- Influence an election, solicit votes for a particular candidate, or solicit political contributions if acting in an official capacity
- Participate in partisan political management, campaigns, conventions, or make public speeches during such activity (even if acting in a personal capacity).
- Display large political signs or posters on their private vehicles
- Hold civil office

Extremist Groups

- Groups that advocate **supremacist, extremist, or criminal gang doctrine**
- Participation in these groups is prohibited
- **Poses a threat to good order, discipline, or mission accomplishment**

The Commie Cadet



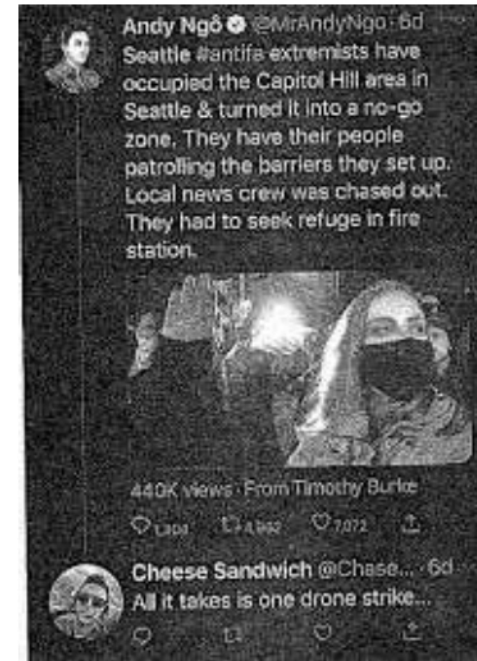
Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Marine Lance Cpl. Vasillios Pistolis

<https://www.propublica.org/article/vasillos-pistolis-imprisoned-marine-hate-groups>



Navy Midshipman 1st Class Chase Standage—aka “Cheese Sandwich”



What does Race have to do with Security?

SocSci 311, Fall 2021
Lesson 14

(b)(6)



Critical Race Theory

- Definitions

A collection of critical stances against the **existing legal order** from a race-based point of view. (Brooks 1994)

A collection of **activists and scholars** interested in studying and transforming the **relationship among race, racism, and power**. (Delgado 2017)

The view that the **law and legal institutions are inherently racist** and that **race itself**, instead of being biologically grounded and natural, is a **socially constructed concept** that is used by white people to further their economic and political interests at the expense of people of colour. (Curry 2009)



Race as Social Construct?

Witherspoon, David J., Stephen Wooding, Alan R. Rogers, Elizabeth E. Marchani, W. Scott Watkins, Mark A. Batzer, and Lynn B. Jorde. "Genetic similarities within and between human populations." *Genetics* 176, no. 1 (2007): 351-359.

Abstract:

- The **proportion of human genetic variation due to differences between populations is modest.**
- **Individuals from different populations can be genetically more similar than individuals from the same population.**
- Yet sufficient genetic data can permit accurate classification of individuals into populations.
- This provides empirical justification for caution when using population labels in biomedical settings, with broad implications for personalized medicine, pharmacogenetics, and the meaning of race.



Power and Conflict





Historical Examples



Nazi propaganda often portrayed Jews as engaged in a conspiracy to provoke war. Here, a stereotyped Jew conspires behind the scenes to control the Allied powers, represented by the British, American, and Soviet flags. The caption reads, "Behind the enemy powers: the Jew." Circa 1942.



Advertising poster for the antisemitic film, Der ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew), directed by Fritz Hippler. Germany, ca. 1940.

Source: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum - <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nazi-propaganda>

Academic Success - Professional Engagement
Personal Growth



Historical Examples



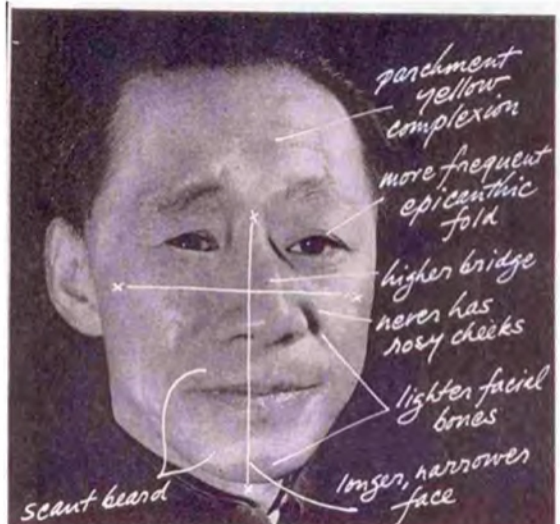
Editorial cartoon in 1942 in the New York newspaper PM by children's author Dr. Seuss (Theodore Seuss Geisel) with the caption 'Waiting for the Signal From Home', portraying Japanese Americans in California, Oregon, and Washington as a fifth column loyal to Imperial Japan, receiving explosives, prepared to conduct sabotage against the United States when directed by their mother country.

Source: UCSD Special Collections. Originally published in PM newspaper, "Copyright 1942 by Marshall Field".

Academic Success - Professional Engagement - Personal Growth

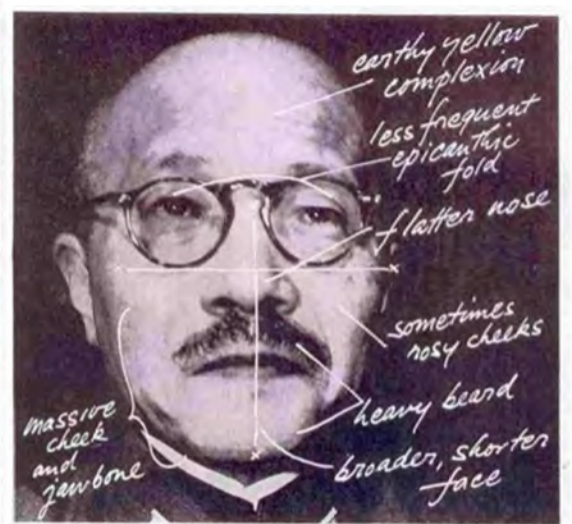


Historical Examples



Chinese public servant, Ong Wen-han, is representative of North Chinese anthropological group with long, fine-lined face and scant beard. Epicanthic fold of skin above eyelid is found in 85% of Chinese. Southern Chinese have round,

lined faces, not as massively lined as the Japanese. Except that their skin is darker, this description fits Filipinos who are often mistaken for Japs. Chinese sometimes pass for European, but Japs more often approach Western types.



Japanese warrior, General Hiroki Tojo, current Premier, is in general, closer in type of humble Jap than lightened relatives of Imperial Household. Typical are his heavy beard, massive cheek and jaw bone. Peasant Jap in squat Mongoloid, with flat, knob nose. An often sounder chin is facial expression, shaped by cultural, not anthropological, factors. Chinese wear rational calm of tolerant realists. Japs, like General Tojo, show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics.

Life Magazine article, "How to Tell Japs from The Chinese,"
22 December 1941.



Historical(?) Examples



Editorial Cartoon, *Los Angeles Times*, Fall 2002

Source: Jabbara, Nancy W. "Women, words and war: Explaining 9/11 and justifying US military action in Afghanistan and Iraq." *Journal of international women's studies* 8, no. 1 (2006): 236-255.



Take-Aways

- Regardless of whether we view race as biological or constructed...
 1. Racial categories have **functional impact**
 2. We see the use of racial categories to reinforce **power structures**
 3. We see the use of racial categories to motivate **conflict**
- If we ignore race, what are we missing?
 - Zvobgo and Loken, *Foreign Policy* article (2020)
 - Forbes, *Modern Diplomacy* article (2021)



What's Next?

- **Tues 21 Sep - Lesson 15**
 - Practice Simulation Day
 - **Constructivism/Critical Theories Quiz Due midnight Sun**
 - **Block 1 Capstone Essays Due midnight Mon**
- **Thurs 23 Sep - Lesson 16**
 - Restraint vs. Engagement
 - Read: A&G Chapter 21, pgs. 287-295
A&G Chapter 22, pgs. 296-304
- **Mon 27 Sep - Lessons 17 & 18**
 - Grand Strategy...Read: Drezner, Krebs & Schweller (2020)
 - National Interests...Read: Nuechterlein, Ch. 1, p. 15-29



UNITED STATES

Opinion: I'm a professor at a U.S. military academy. Here's why I teach critical race theory.

Today



Signs opposing the teaching of critical race theory line the entrance to the Loudoun County School Board headquarters, in Ashburn, Va., on June 22. (Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters)

Opinion by Lynne Chandler Garcia
July 6, 2021 at 5:23 p.m. EDT

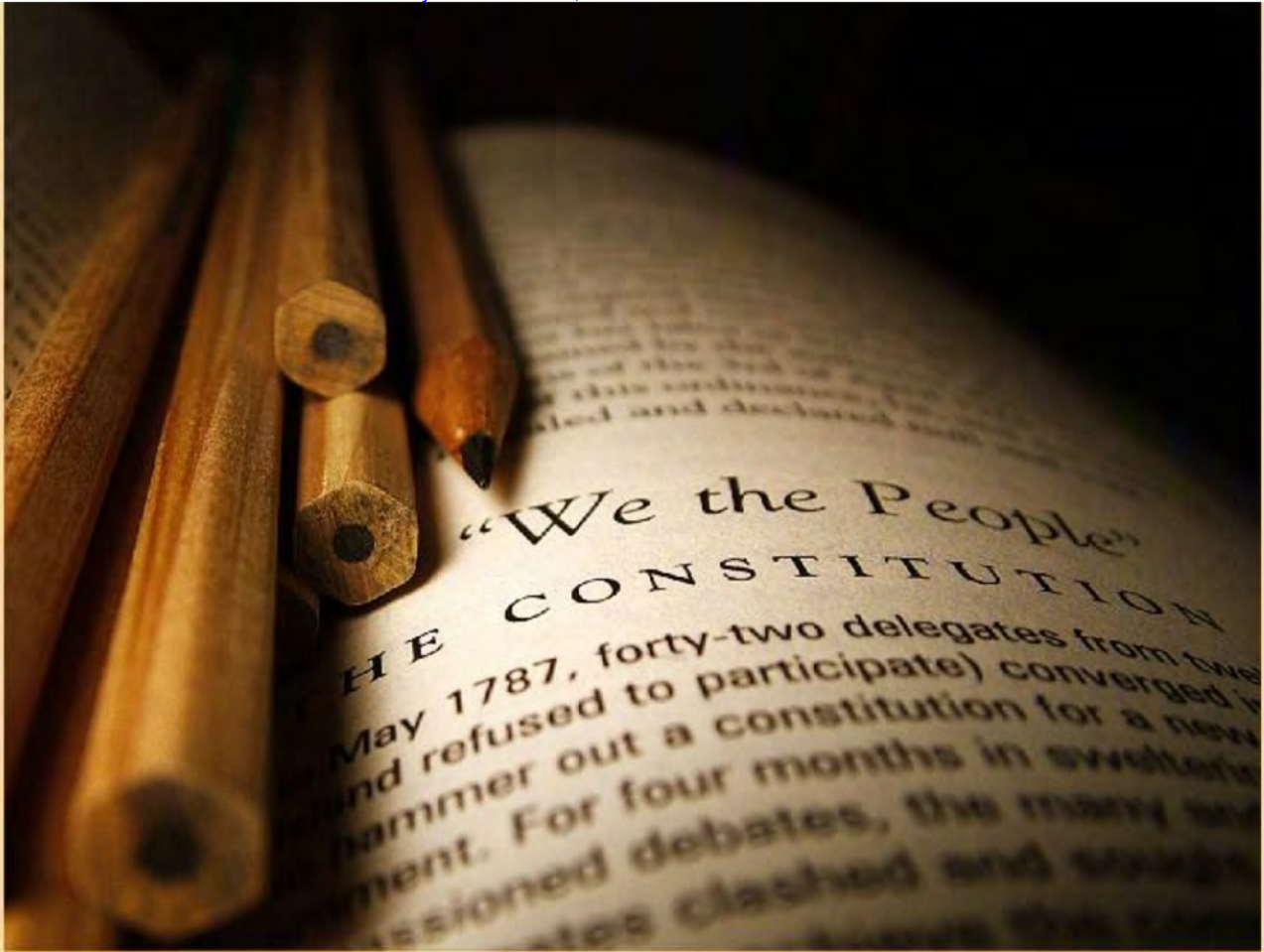
Lynne Chandler Garcia is an associate professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The views expressed are the author's own.



The reality of the Constitution is that it upholds the rule of law and human rights, but once also allowed slavery and has been used to perpetuate legal discrimination. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, although the Declaration of Independence and Constitution espoused liberty and justice, enslaved people had no part of those virtues and no reason to celebrate a day like the Fourth of July.

I don't coddle my cadets out of fear that exposure to certain literatures might make them uncomfortable or test their existing beliefs. Cadets must learn to be brave on the literal battlefield, yes — but they must also be equipped to participate bravely on the battlefield of ideas.





<https://poweredtemplate.com/09325/0/index.html>



Lesson 10
Tocqueville and
Rogers Smith
Dr. Chandler Garcia



Alexis de Tocqueville

**French Diplomat
Political Scientist**

Travel extensively in the U.S.

**Wrote "Democracy in
America" about his
experience in the U.S.**

**In many ways he pegged us!
In some ways, he got it
wrong.**



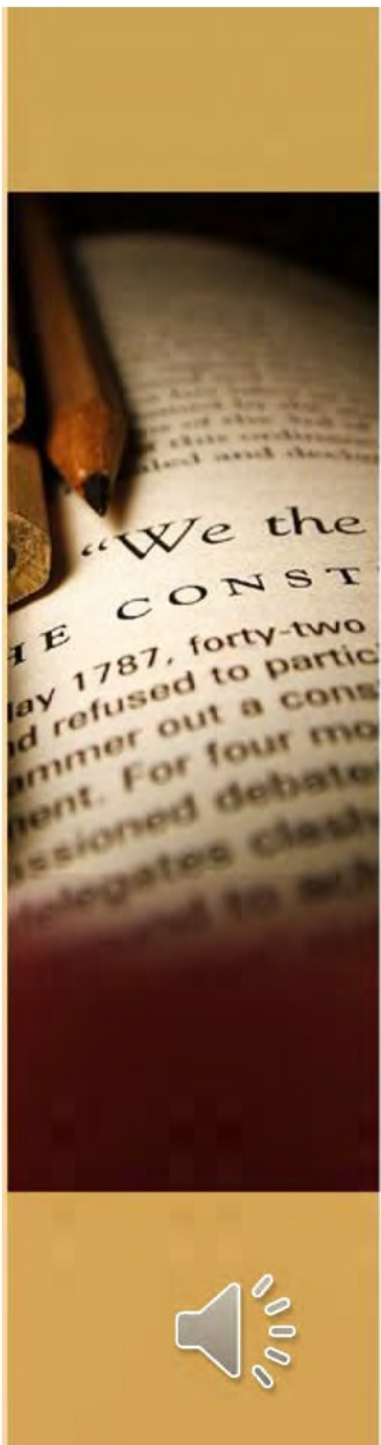
Introduction

“Among the new objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, none struck me more vividly than the equality of conditions.”

- Equality of Conditions – the reason for writing the book
 - Prominent in the New World, but he can see it in Europe as well
 - Inevitable
 - A little terrifying



Democratic Revolution



- There is a democratic revolution taking place:
 - After destroying feudalism and vanquishing kings, democracy is not going to retreat
- America has experienced the revolution, and we can learn from that
 - So far, democracy has grown in an untamed, wild manner
 - We need to tame it through studying it, putting in place orderly procedures, and laws

Changes toward Democracy

"But ranks are merging; barriers raised between men are falling; estates are being divided; power is being shared, enlightenment is spreading, intellects are becoming equal; the social state is becoming democratic, and the dominion of democracy is finally being established peacefully in institutions and in mores."

- Authority of state is respected as necessary rather than divine
- Love of the head of state is reasoned not passionate
- The power of the nobles is replaced by free association of all



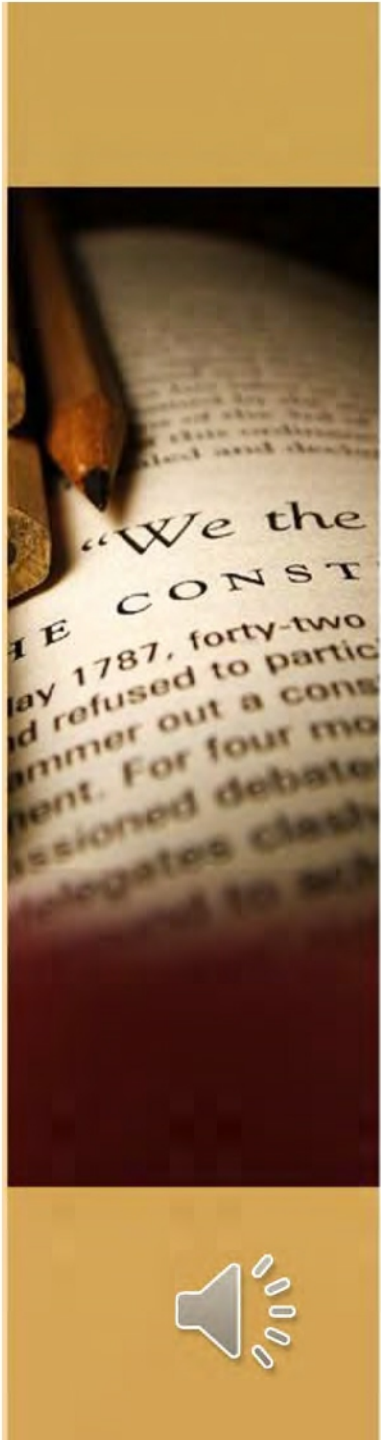
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Chapter 3: The Social State of the Anglo Americans

- The social state is Democratic
 - Emigrants to the US were on an equal footing
 - The laws of inheritance furthered equality because it required equal sharing of wealth among children (as opposed to the oldest son inheriting everything)
 - Education is also largely equal with no one being highly educated and no one being completely uneducated.



Trend toward mediocrity

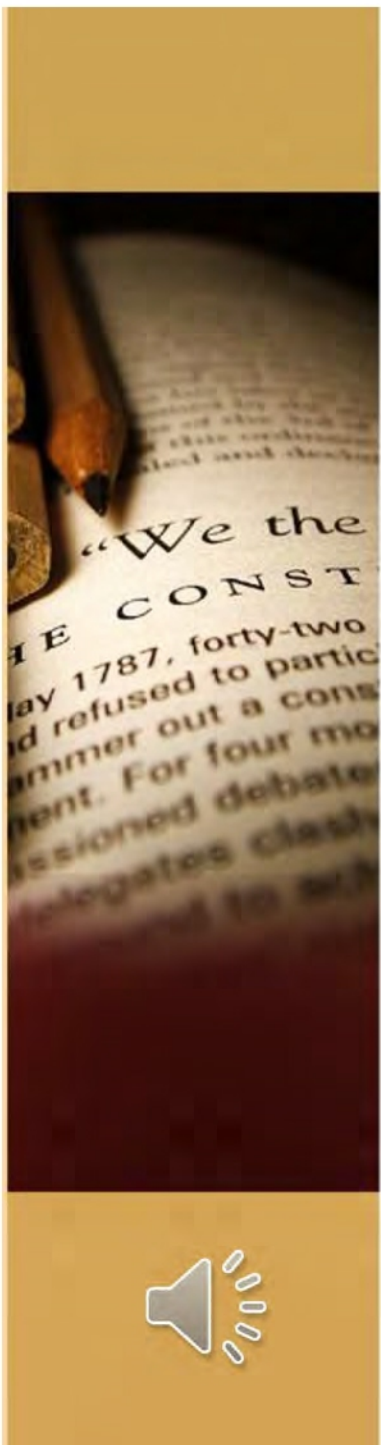


- There is a "middling standard"
- "The nation taken as a body will be less brilliant, less glorious, less strong perhaps; but the majority of citizens there will enjoy a more prosperous lot, and the people will appear untroubled, not because they despair of being better, but because they know they are well-off."
- "So America presents, in its social state, the strangest phenomenon. There, men appear more equal in fortune and in mind or, in other words, more equal in strength than they are in any other country in the world and have been in any century that history remembers."

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Pt 2 Chapter 5

Use that Americans Make of Civic Life

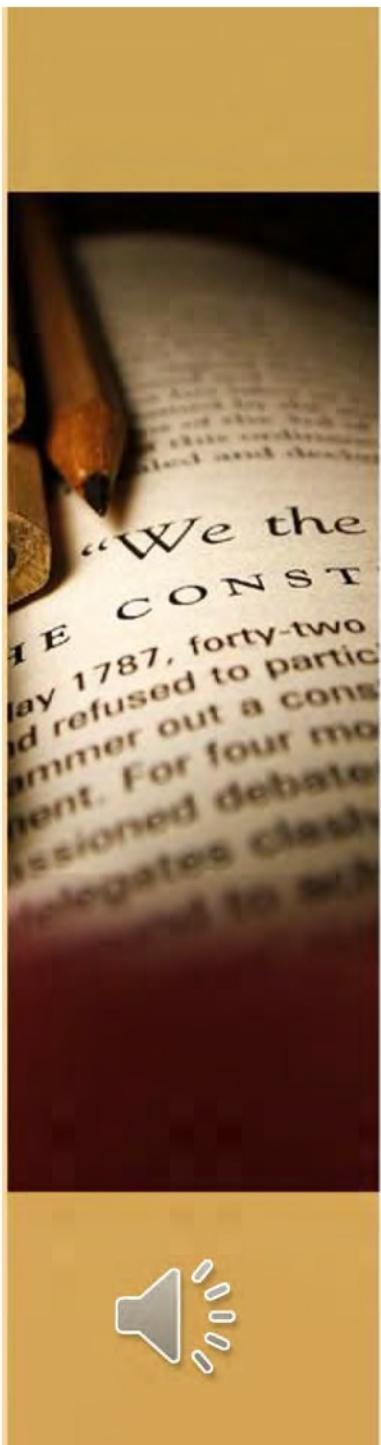


- Americans love their civil and social associations!
- Associations are awesome because they combat individualism and promote community
- Are we Bowling Alone these days?

Pt 2 Ch 7

Relations Between Civil and Political Associations

- Civil associations are great because they prepare citizens to participate in politics
- Political associations draw people together from different social circles and there is an educational process that occurs

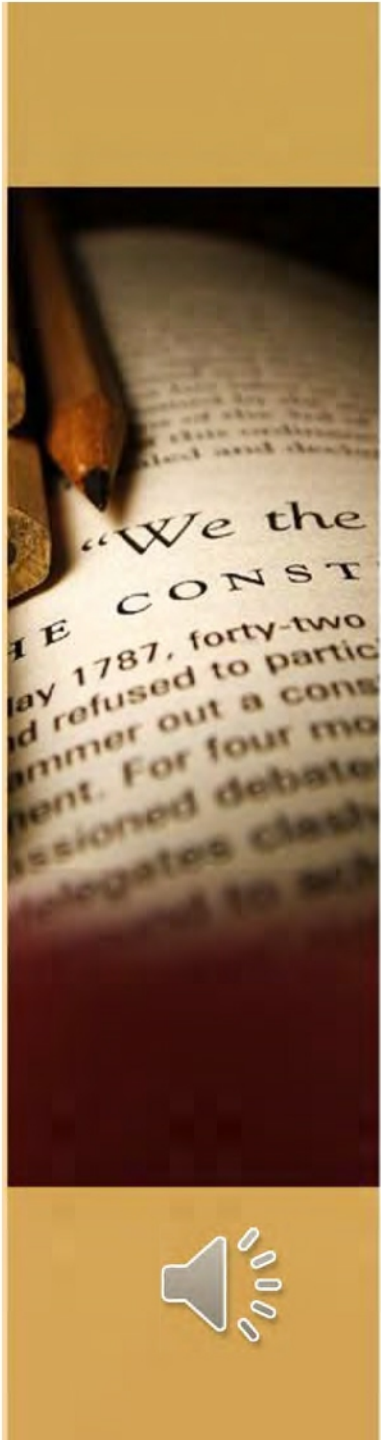




Rogers Smith



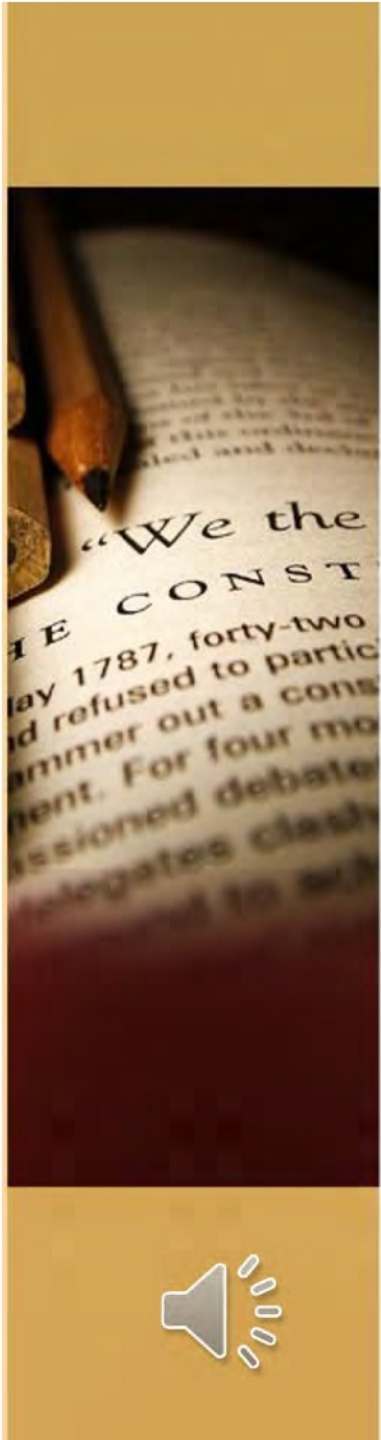
American political
scientist at University
of Pennsylvania
Political Philosopher
Known for work on
inequality
Very much alive!



Rogers Smith and Civic Ideals

- Article is a challenge to the idea that U.S. political thought and culture is dominated by liberal ideology such as espoused by Locke.
 - The founders followed Locke, but also adhered to illiberal tenets as well.
- Later it is the start of a book where he argues that U.S. citizenship was based on illiberal and undemocratic racial, ethnic, and gender hierarchies

Rogers Smith



- **He is not “anti-Tocqueville”**
 - Rather he is arguing that Tocqueville didn’t get it completely right.
 - Tocqueville over-emphasized the liberal, democratic aspects of American political culture.
 - This led to notable scholars (Hartz & Myrdal) building theories of American political thought based too heavily on the liberal democratic aspects
- **He credits Tocqueville**
 - He acknowledges that Tocqueville recognized that slavery was a stain on American ideals
 - Tocqueville abhorred how Native Americans were treated
 - Tocqueville was not willing to acknowledge the problems with gender rights, although Tocqueville did see a place for women in civic associations
- **He believes in liberal democracy**

Academic Success – Professional
 Engagement – Personal Growth

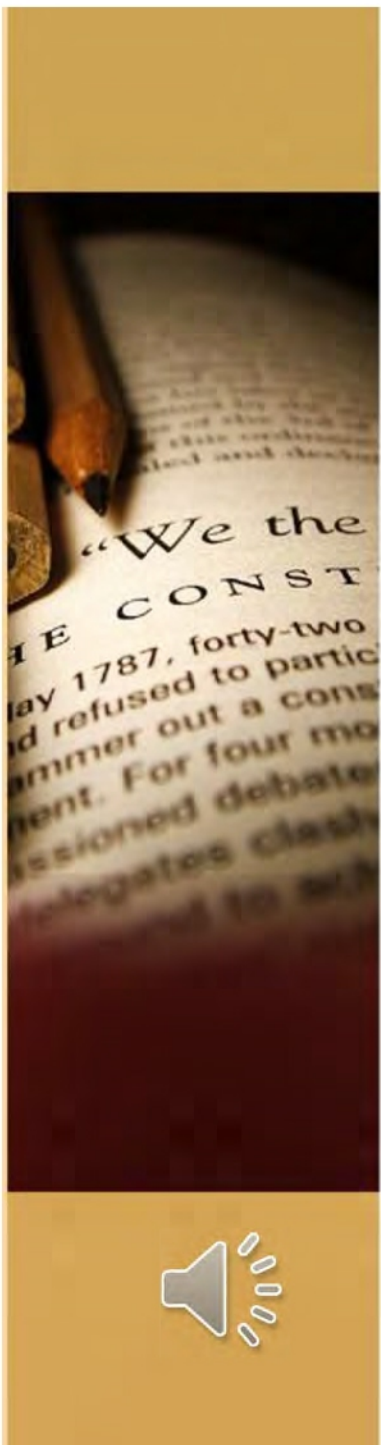
Duality of U.S. Political Culture

- There is indeed basis in republicanism, liberalism, equality, and rights
- There is also a basis in inequality, ascriptive inegalitarianism, second-class citizenship with limited rights



Tug of War

- U.S. history has been typified by a back and forth
- Sometimes liberal and democratic reforms are possible
- Sometimes ascriptive, inegalitarianism holds sway
- Reforms are usually met with push back from the other direction



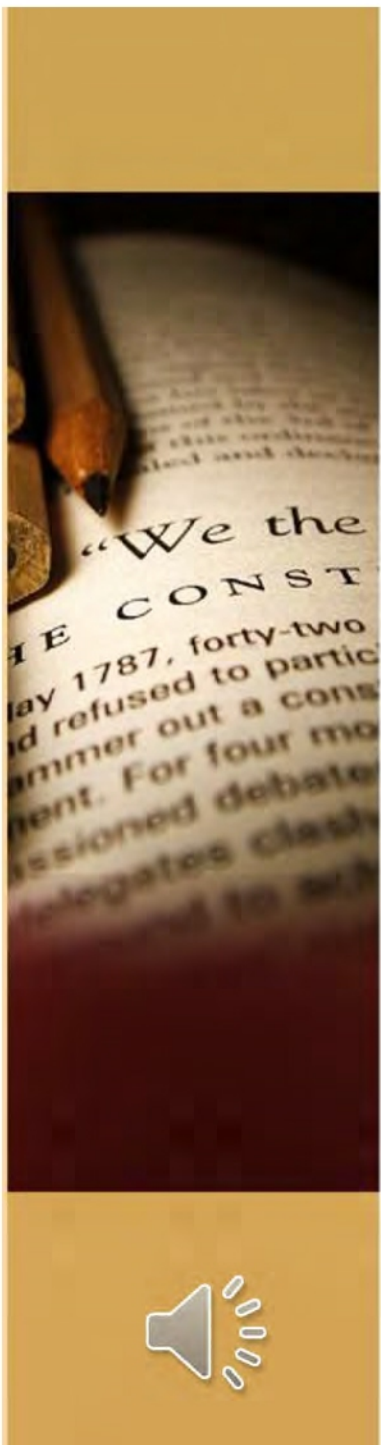
Creating "A People"

Smith argues:

- Political leaders require a population to lead that imagines itself to be a "people"
- Creating political communities is necessary – but it can also be dangerous
- This myth of peoplehood often requires creating a "chosen", superior class. In the U.S., this myth was based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual identity, and religion

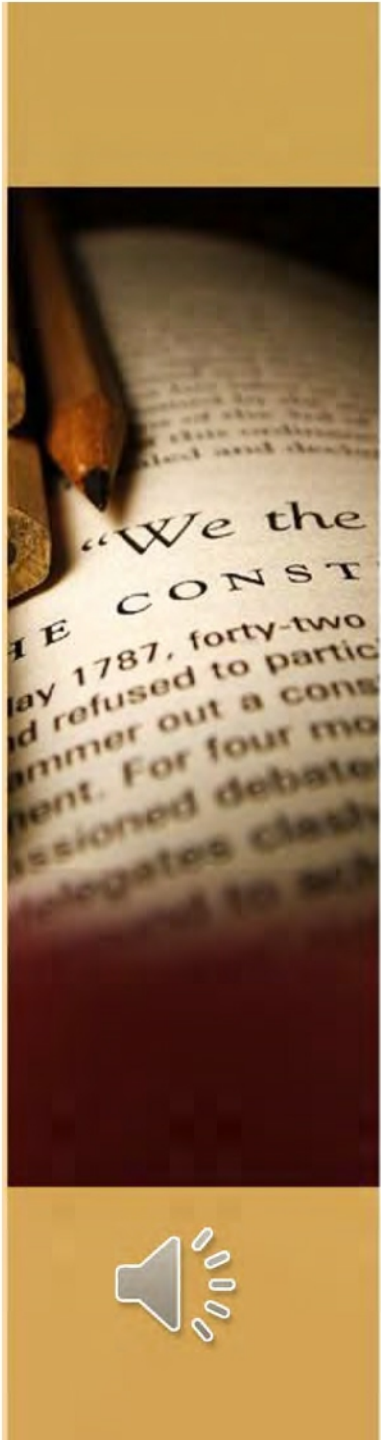


“Myth” of American Peoplehood



- In philosophy, we study Plato’s myth of the metals which is a creation myth.
 - The U.S. too has a creation myth.
 - The Declaration of Independence declares that all men have rights endowed by their Creator
 - Ideas of social contracts forged in a state of nature
 - Parts of the myth are based in truth
 - There is a love of liberty, freedom, democracy and equality
 - Parts are a fiction
 - Popular sovereignty where citizens engage in politics in an egalitarian fashion. Reality is that most people don’t actively participate and elite bargaining dominates decision-making
- Academic Success – Professional
Engagement – Personal Growth

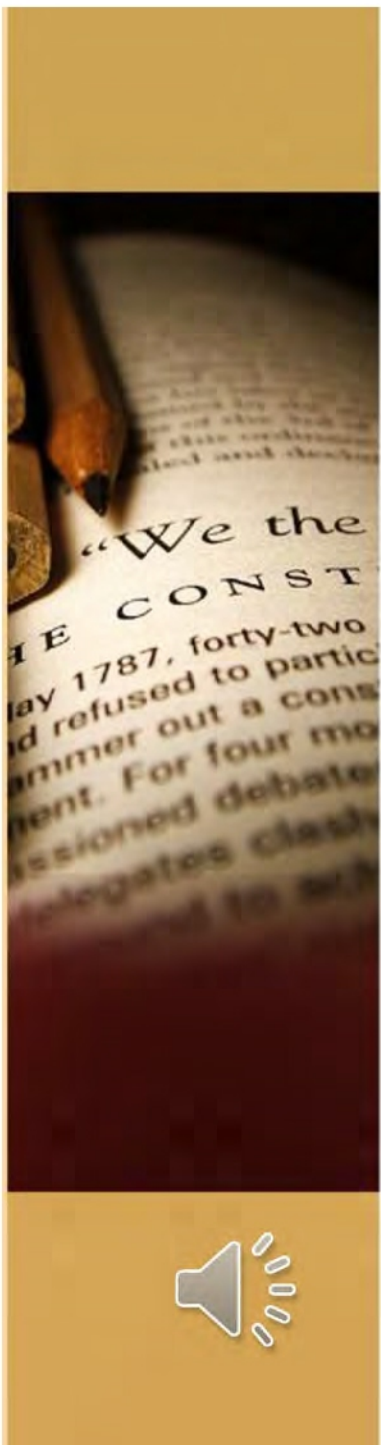
Multiple Traditions Theory



- “Political parties and actors will offer varying civic conceptions blending liberal, republican, and ascriptive elements in different combinations, and important conflicts will occur over all these contrasting elements.”
 - President Jackson era – Democrats supported agrarian republicanism and white supremacy
 - Whigs supported government promotion of economic growth, property rights, and Protestant cultural superiority

- Pure liberalism and Republicanism in a Lockean tradition threatened white, Christian, heterosexual, patriarchal Anglo-Saxon beliefs

Liberalism is Hard!



- liberal norms assume people to be rational, industrious, self reliant, and respectful of others. However, it offers little sense of distinctive membership in a larger group.
- ascriptive norms offer people the prospect that, "regardless of their personal achievements and economic status, their inborn characteristics make them part of a special community" that is "distinctively and permanently worthy" (p. 38).

Who is an “American”?

- There is a view that anyone committed to the notions of democracy, equality, and liberty can be an American
- At the same time, for 2/3 of U.S. history, the majority of the adult population was ineligible for citizenship based on race, gender, or original nationality



Problem with Tocqueville

- Equality of conditions was not a fact in the U.S.
- He largely based his analysis on his interactions with white men of European descent
- He used an aristocratic lens to view the U.S.
- Tocqueville marvels that the U.S. has no ascriptive hierarchy – no aristocracy, no hereditary monarchy, no nobility
 - This was indeed noteworthy
 - It was very different than Europe and comparatively more egalitarian
 - But in the midst of this, there was racial, gender, sexual orientation, & religious hierarchies that were not challenged by our founders.



Are you overwhelmed by all the things you need to do? Then stop needing to do all of them and start actually doing one of them.

Daily Motivation

Lesson 16: Black Lives Matter – Causes and Context

(b)(6)



If we all agree that all lives matter...

What's the point?



“...the movement is called Black Lives Matter because historically, Black lives have not mattered...”



CHAINSAWSUIT.COM







White privilege
doesn't mean your life
hasn't been hard;
it means that your skin
color isn't one of the
things making it **harder.**

©Uber99

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Emalee Short played with her dog outside her grandparents' home in Hensley, W.Va., in long-struggling McDowell County. Credit...Travis Dove for The New York Times



“It is also dedicated to affirming black people’s contributions to society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression...”

“The Black Lives Matter movement begin with a commitment to ending police brutality and state-sanctioned violence and injustice against black people”





How about
Police/Society
Relations?

Local or National?





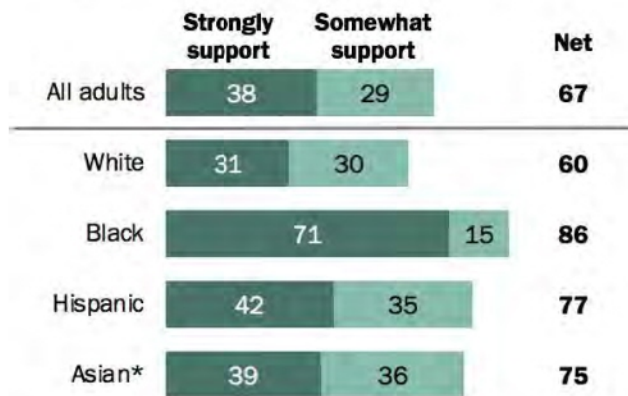
“The Movement for Black Lives, a collective of more than 50 organizations, advances a platform covering six areas of domestic-policy reform, including economic justice and investment in equitable education and health care instead of criminalization and incarceration.”

“...BLM bears some noteworthy distinctions from the civil rights movement, namely the acknowledgement of women (particularly as leaders), the decentralization of power and the fact that BLM’s women leaders self-identify as queer.”



Most Americans express support for the Black Lives Matter movement

% saying they ___ the Black Lives Matter movement



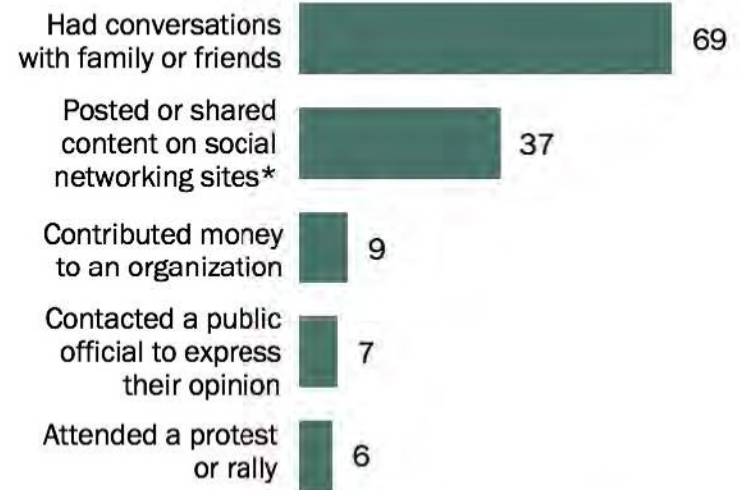
*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.
 Note: Figures may not add to subtotals due to rounding. White, black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are non-Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 4-10, 2020.
 "Amid Protests, Majorities Across Racial and Ethnic Groups Express Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

“When the civil rights movement was actually going, it was denounced...Now that we have distance from it, people celebrate it. It was not celebrated in the 1960s at all.”

About seven-in-ten Americans say they’ve had conversations about race in the past month

% saying they have ___ about/focused on race or racial equality in the last month



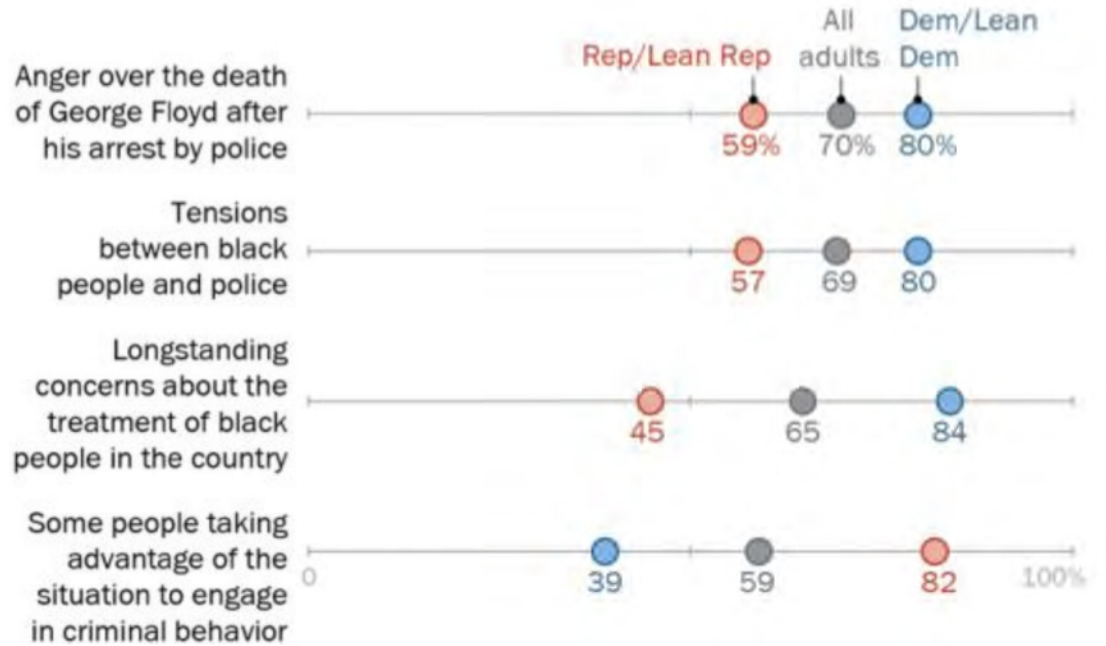
*Based on social media users.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 4-10, 2020.
 "Amid Protests, Majorities Across Racial and Ethnic Groups Express Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement"

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Public sees a mix of factors underlying recent protests; views differ widely by party

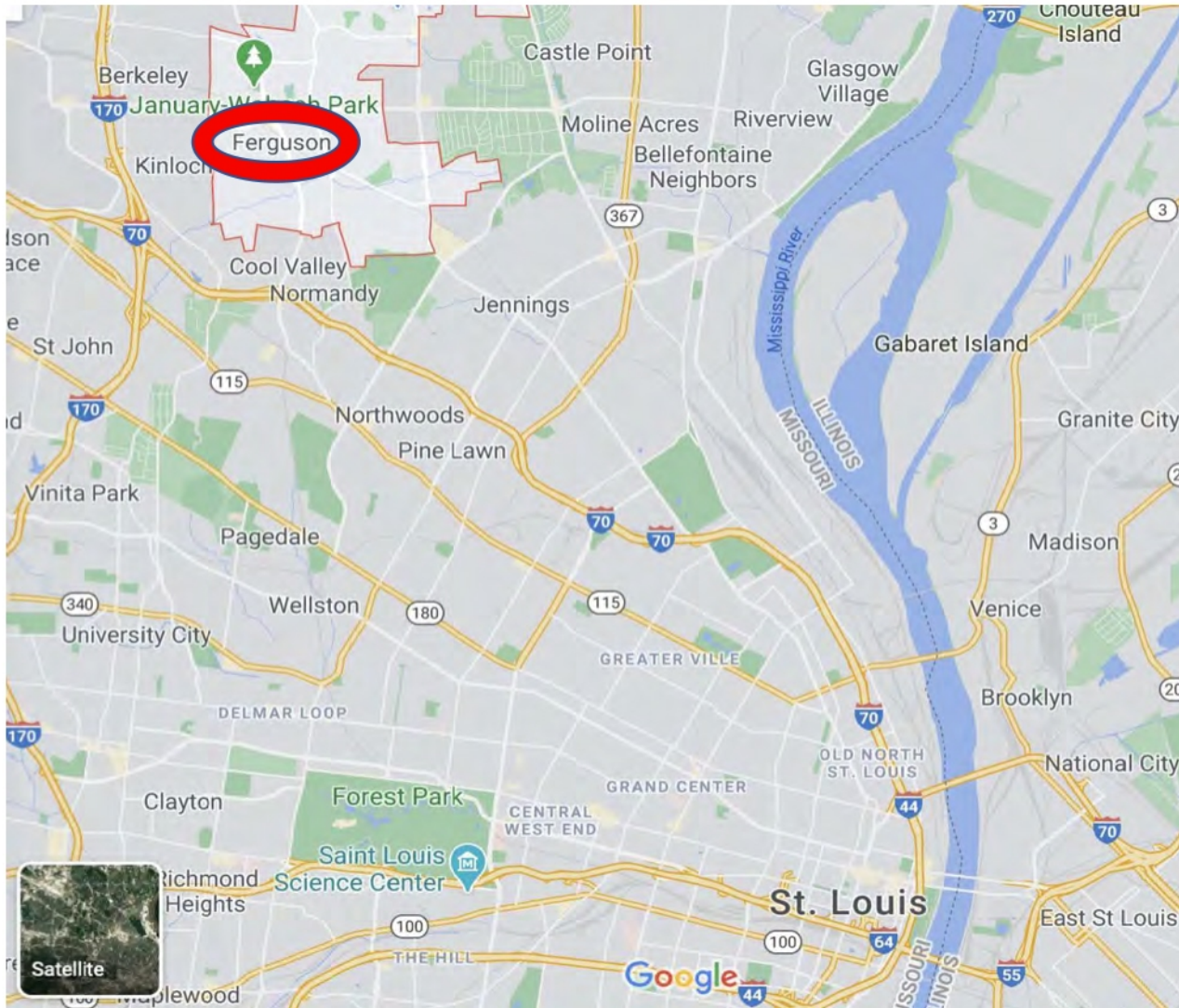
% saying each factor contributed a great deal to the demonstrations to protest the death of George Floyd

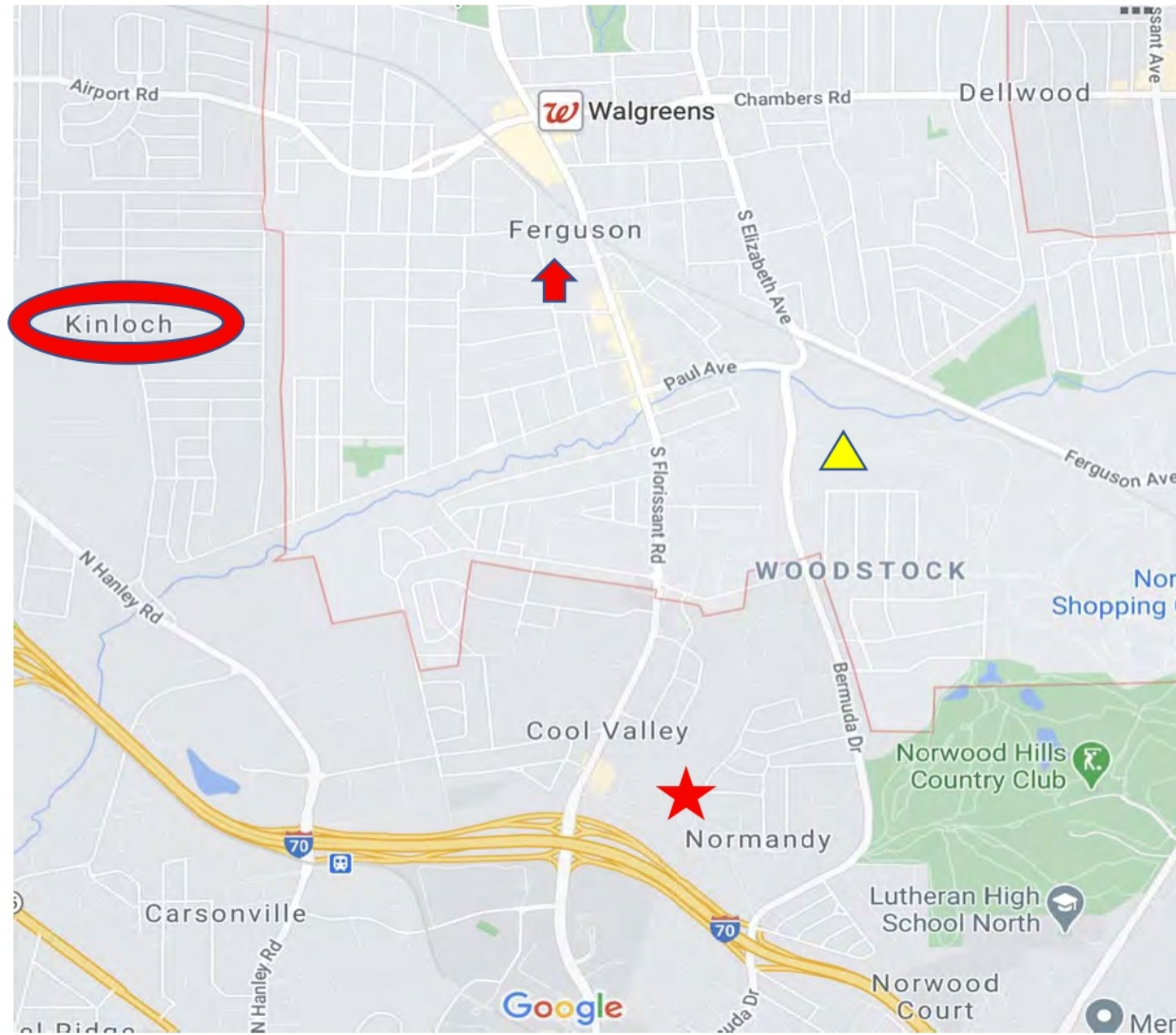






Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.





“Ferguson's law enforcement practices are shaped by the City’s focus on revenue rather than by public safety needs. This emphasis on revenue has compromised the institutional character of Ferguson’s police department, contributing to a pattern of unconstitutional policing...”



There is an altercation between Officer Wilson and Mr. Brown, who is standing at the window of the vehicle. Officer Wilson fires two shots from inside the vehicle, one likely grazing Mr. Brown’s thumb, and the other missing him.

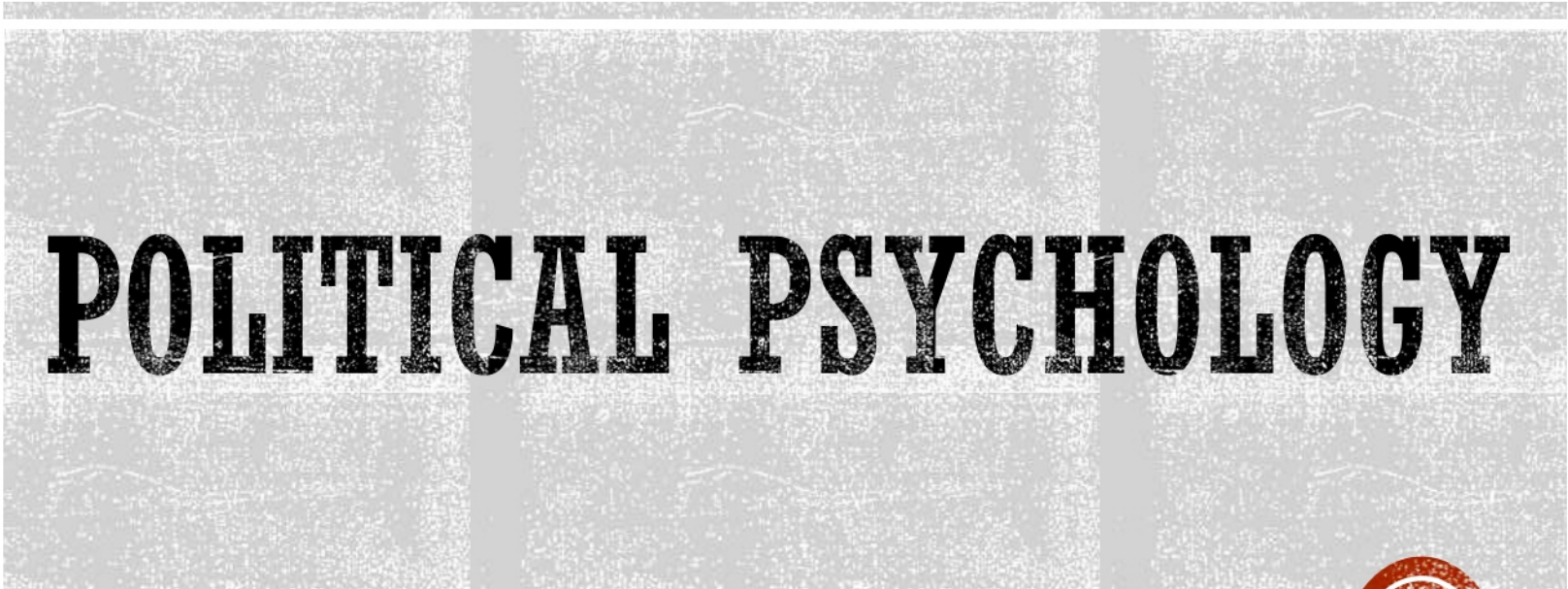
Mr. Brown runs east. Officer Wilson pursues him on foot. Mr. Brown stops and turns toward Officer Wilson, who also stops. Mr. Brown moves toward Officer Wilson, who fires several more shots. Mr. Brown is fatally wounded.

“Nearly 90% of documented force used by FPD officers was used against African Americans.”

“Our investigation indicates that this disproportionate burden on African Americans cannot be explained by any difference in the rate at which people of different races violate the law.”

“Rather, our investigation has revealed that these disparities occur, at least in part, because of unlawful bias against and stereotypes about African Americans.”





Lessons 32-33: Prejudice and Racism
Spring 2020



STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE

- What is the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice? In what ways are they the same, and how does Devine argue that they are different?
- Where do stereotypes come from, according to Devine?
- That is the difference between automatic and controlled processes? How do these two processes work in regards to stereotypes and prejudicial behavior?
- Based on the findings from this study, how can we get greater levels of racial tolerance?
- What are the implications for this study for politics? Are they optimistic or pessimistic?

STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE

- **Key Findings from Devine's Study:**
 - High and low prejudiced people have equal knowledge of racial stereotypes
 - Automatic activation of racial stereotypes leads people to prejudicial evaluations of ambiguous behavior even if people do not endorse the stereotypes with which they are primed
 - When an incongruence emerges between negative stereotypes and a person's personal beliefs, low-prejudiced individuals will reconcile the incongruence by rejecting the stereotype
 - The conflict between stereotype and personal beliefs has to be made salient!

RACE AND PARTISANSHIP

- What is Old-Fashioned Racism? What elements does it encompass? How does it differ from modern racism?
- Why does Tesler think old fashioned racism might influence partisan politics when it hadn't in the recent past? How does he reconcile his belief that Obama's presidency realigned the electorate with the idea that partisan identities are stable over time?
- What are Tesler's testable hypotheses? How does he test them? Does he find support for his theory—i.e. what are the key findings here?
- What are the implications of this study? How does it change the way we think about our current politics?

RACE AND PARTISANSHIP

- Stability in social identities is a function the fact that associated stereotypes change slowly overtime
- Because the President is the leader of his respective party → Obama signified a massive shift in image of the stereotypical Democrat
- The Democratic party became branded as the party of Black Americans



RACE AND PARTISANSHIP

- Opposition to interracial dating correlated with white partisanship after Obama's election despite being unrelated to party identification in previous decades
- Evaluations of Obama completely mediated that relationship between racism and partisanship
- Racism also predicted changes in white panelists' party ID between 2006 and 2011



FIGURE 1 White Americans' Support for Democratic Candidates for President as a Function of Old-Fashioned Racism.

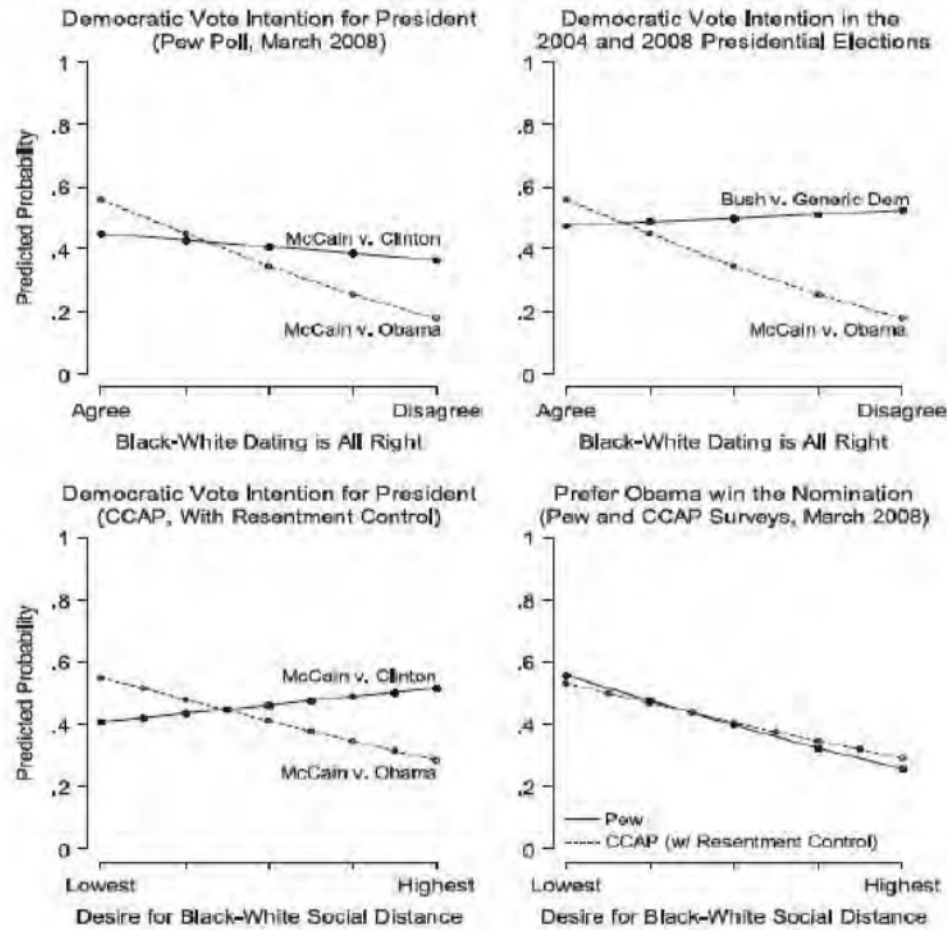


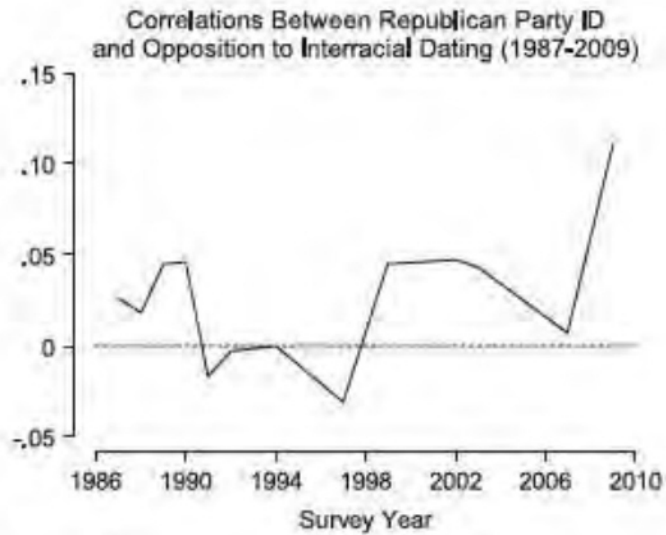
TABLE 1 (OLS) Predictors of White Americans' Party Identifications in 2009 and 2011

	PVS [1]	PVS [2]	CAPP [1]	CCAP [2]
Old-fashioned racism	.125 (.039)	.025 (.034)	.410 (.026)	-.009 (.020)
Obama support		-.599 (.020)		-.734 (.012)
Constant	.465 (.015)	.815 (.015)	.346 (.013)	.810 (.012)
Observations	1117	1117	2276	2252

Note: The dependent variable is a 7-point partisanship, recoded from 0 (strong Democrat) to 1 (strong Republican). All explanatory variables are coded from 0 to 1, with 1 being the highest value. Regression analyses utilize poststratification weights with robust standard errors presented in parentheses.

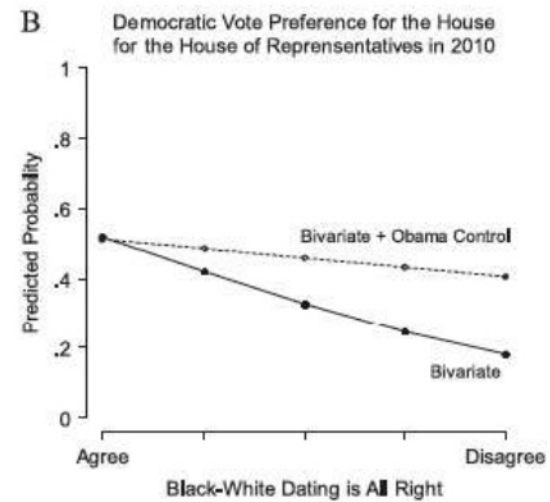
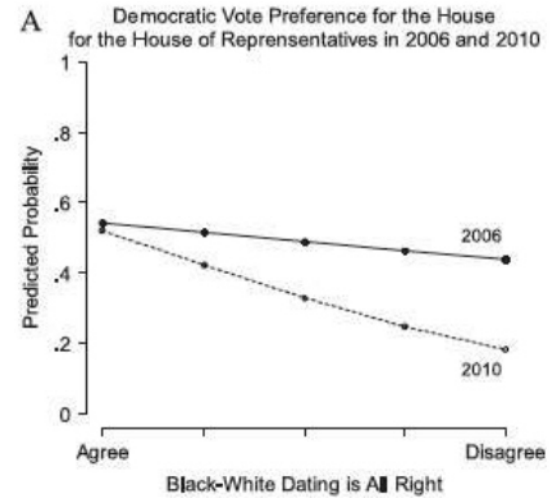
Source: Pew Values Study, April 2009; CCAP Reinterviews, 2011 Wave.

FIGURE 2 Correlations between Republican Party Identification and Old-Fashioned Racism among White Americans



Note: Dependent variable is a three-category partisanship.

Source: Pew Values Study Merger File



IMPLICIT VERSES EXPLICIT PRIMES

- Tali Mendelberg published a famous book on implicit racial cues in campaign messages called, *The Race Card*
- Mendelberg argues that implicit racial appeals carry a lot of persuasive power; however, their power dissipates when racial appeals becomes explicit
- The power of implicit appeals is a function of a long-standing tension in American politics between:
 - Powerful egalitarian norms about race
 - A two-party system driven, at least partially, by racial cleavages

IMPLICIT VERSES EXPLICIT PRIMES

- Political candidates will engage in implicit racial appeals when they:
 - Wish to avoid violating the norm of racial equality
 - Face electoral incentives to exploit and mobilize racially resentful white voters

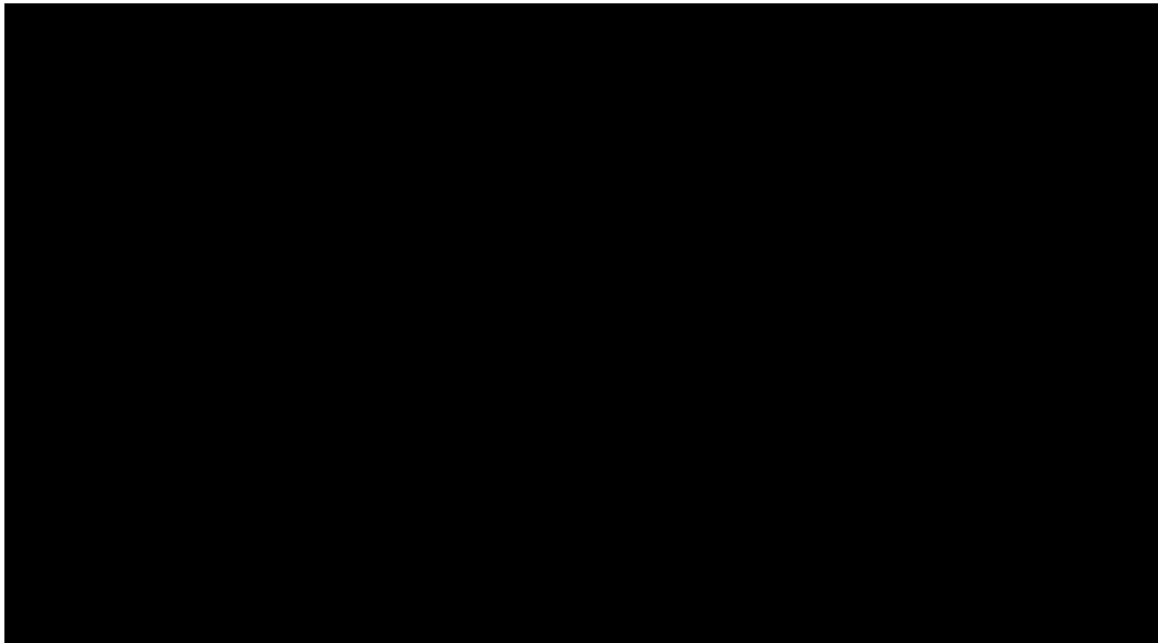
- Voters respond to such appeals because while they endorse equality in the abstract, they often hold negative racial stereotypes regarding work, violence, and sexuality
 - *“White voters respond to implicitly racial messages because they do not recognize these messages as racial and do not believe that their favorable response is motivated by racism” (Mendelberg 2001, 7)*

IMPLICIT VERSES EXPLICIT PRIMES

- **Explicit appeals use racial nouns or adjectives to endorse white prerogatives, to express anti-black sentiment, or to portray a threat from African Americans**
 - **Uses such words like “blacks,” “race,” or “racial” to express anti-black sentiment or to make racially stereotypical or derogatory statements**

- **Implicit racial appeals replace the racial nouns and adjectives with more oblique references to race when expressing a race-free conservative position on an issue while incidentally alluding to racial stereotypes or to a perceived threat from African Americans**

WILLIE HORTON AD: CRIME OR RACE?



2006 TENNESSEE SENATE RACE



RACIALIZATION OF PUBLIC POLICY

- A great deal of research has shown that racial primes make people a lot more conservative on a host of issues
 - Law & Order
 - Welfare policies
 - Race targeted policies
 - Social Security
- One recent paper looks how Trump voters and Clinton voters respond differently in their attitudes toward housing assistance programs because of racial cues

Figure 1. Stimuli from the Racial-Cue Conditions

White Condition:



Black Condition:

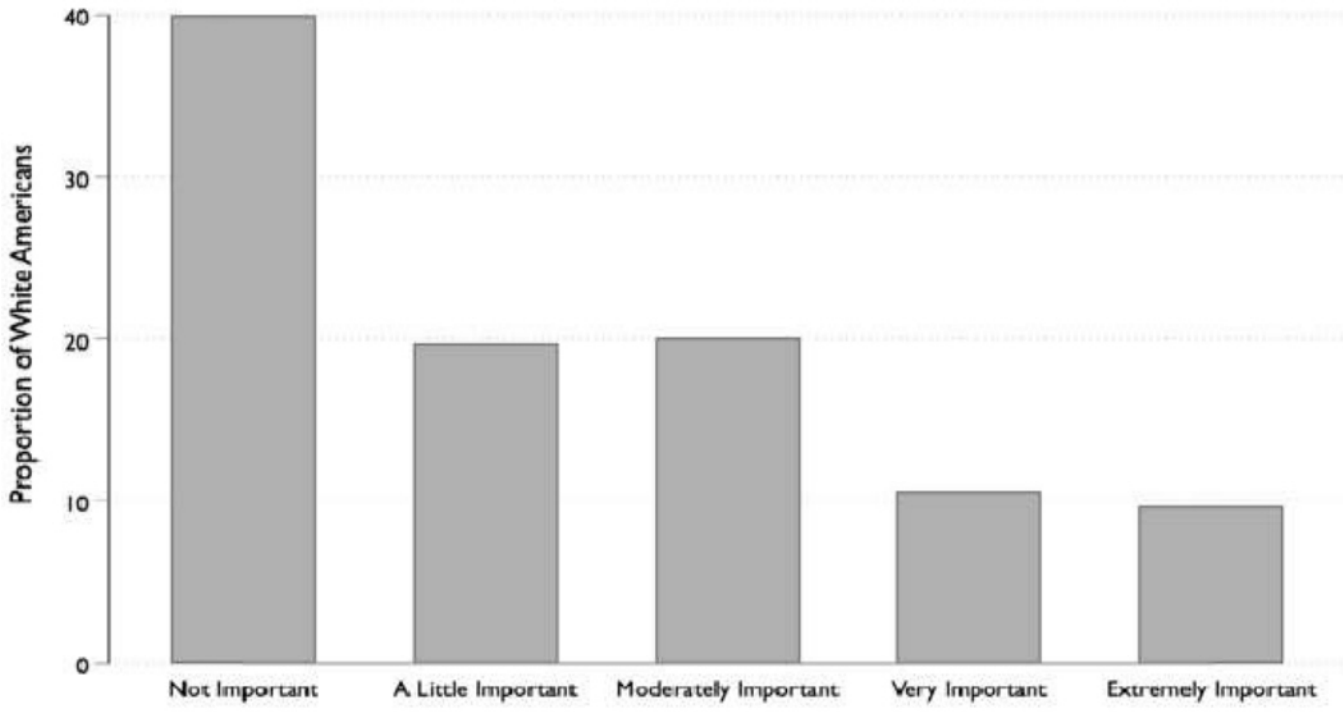


RACIALIZATION OF PUBLIC POLICY

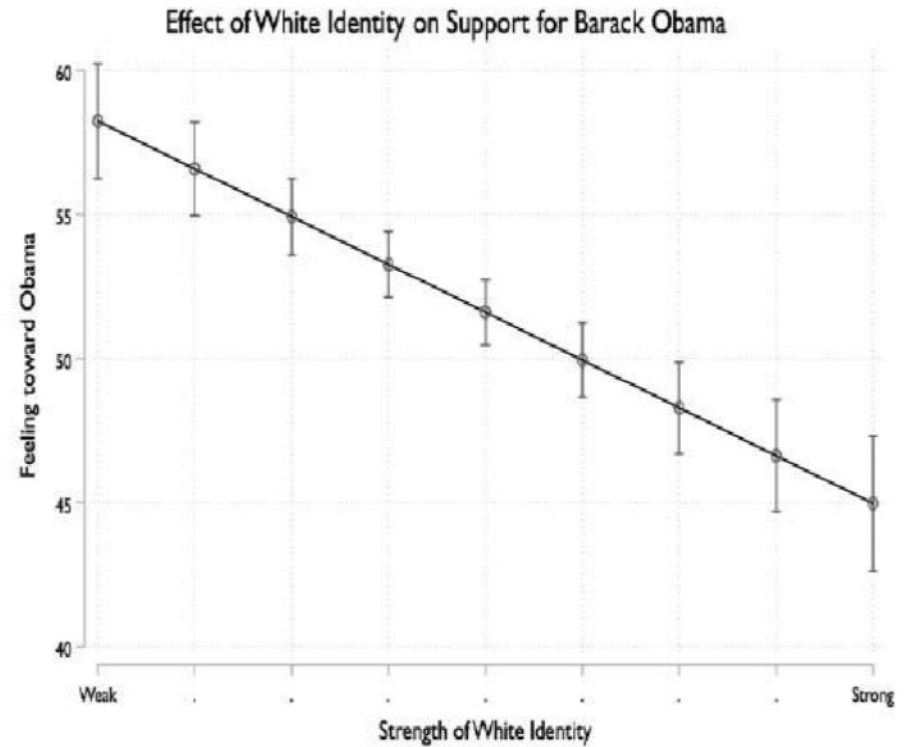
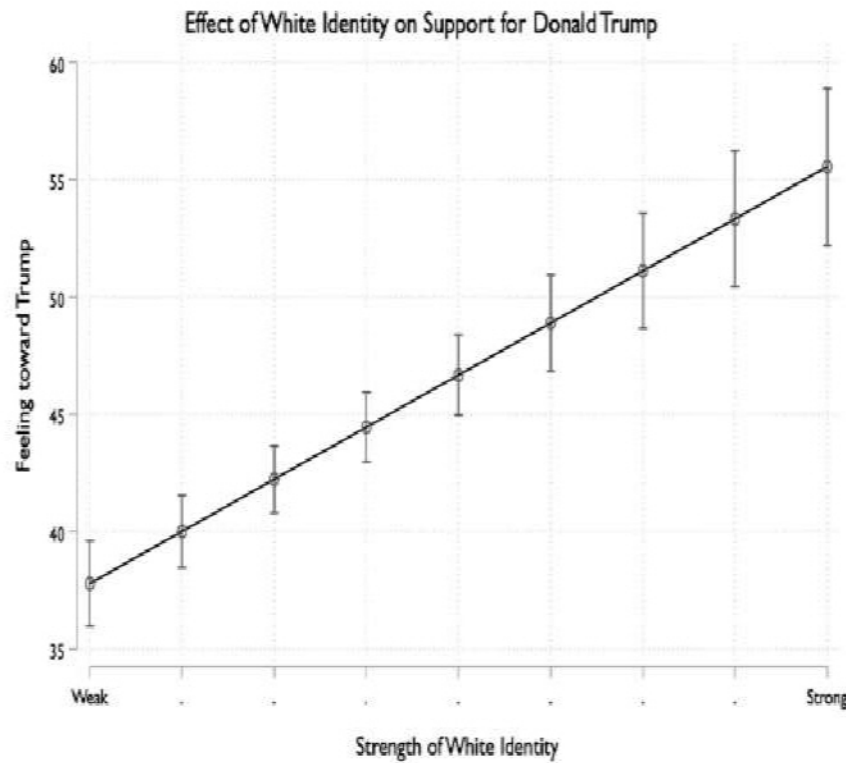
- They found that the image of a black man greatly impacted responses among Trump supporters
- After exposed to the black racial cue, Trump voters:
 - Were less supportive of housing assistance programs
 - Expressed higher levels of anger that some people receive government assistance
 - Were more likely to say that individuals who receive assistance are to blame for their economic situation
- Tesler (2012) produces similar findings when looking at support for the Affordable Care Act

WHITE IDENTITY AMONG WHITE AMERICANS

How Important is Being White to Your Identity?
Source: 2018 American National Election Study



HOW WHITE IDENTITY SHAPES POLITICS



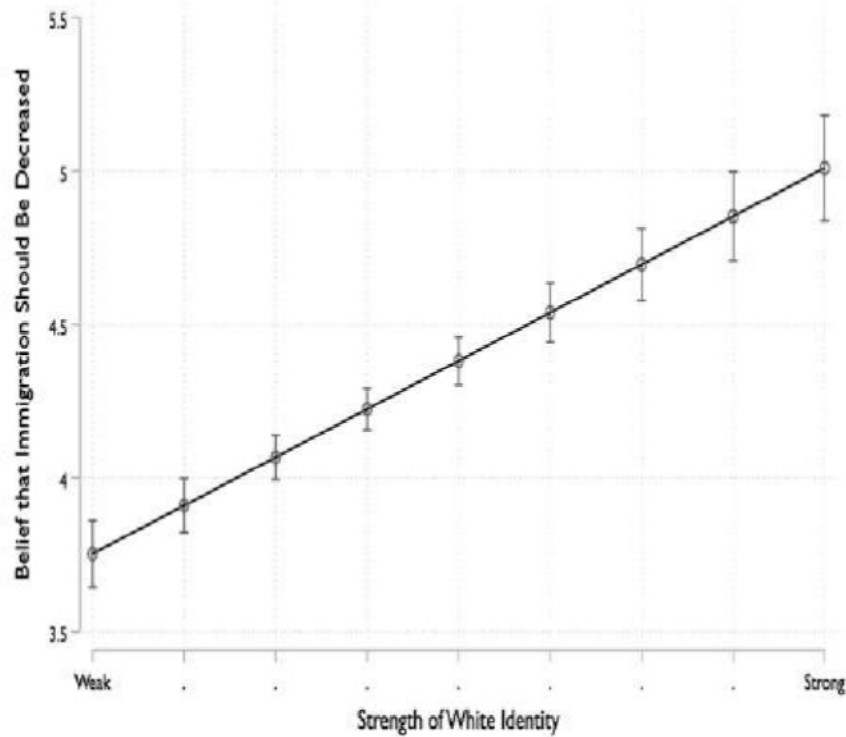
HOW WHITE IDENTITY SHAPES POLITICS

Predictors of Attitudes toward Hillary Clinton	
Republican	-11.779 (.211)*
White Identity	-.232 (.226)
Female	6.393 (1.063)*
Age	.026 (.031)
Education	.991 (.342)*
Constant	57.477 (3.187)*
R ²	.573
N	1,800

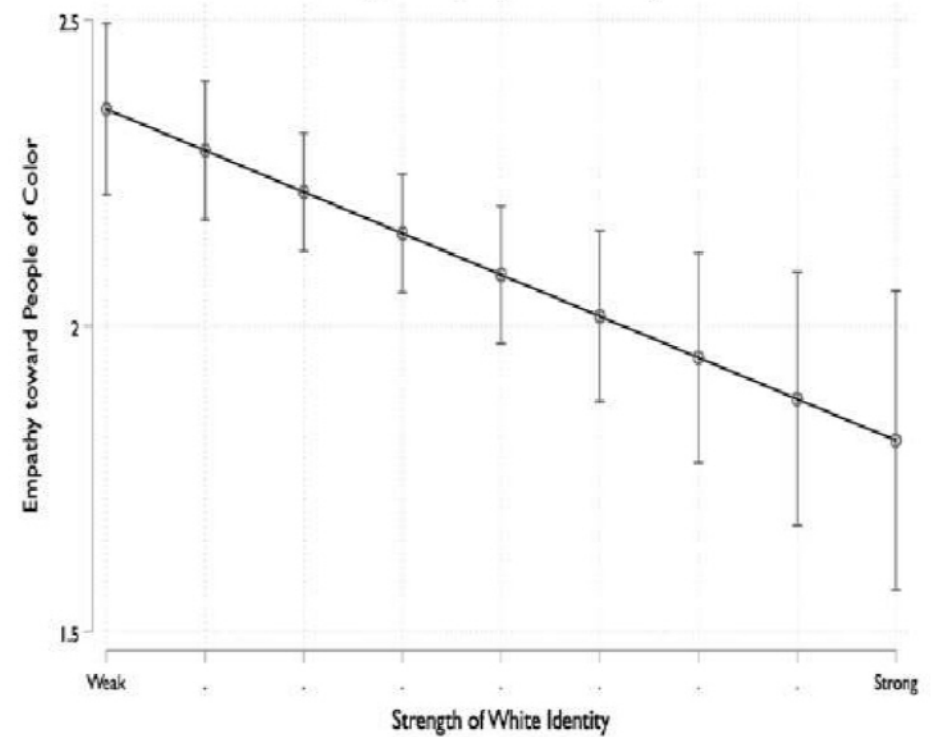
- While White identity predicts support for both Trump and Obama, it does not predict support for Hillary Clinton!

HOW WHITE IDENTITY SHAPES POLITICS

Effect of White Identity on Attitudes Toward Immigration

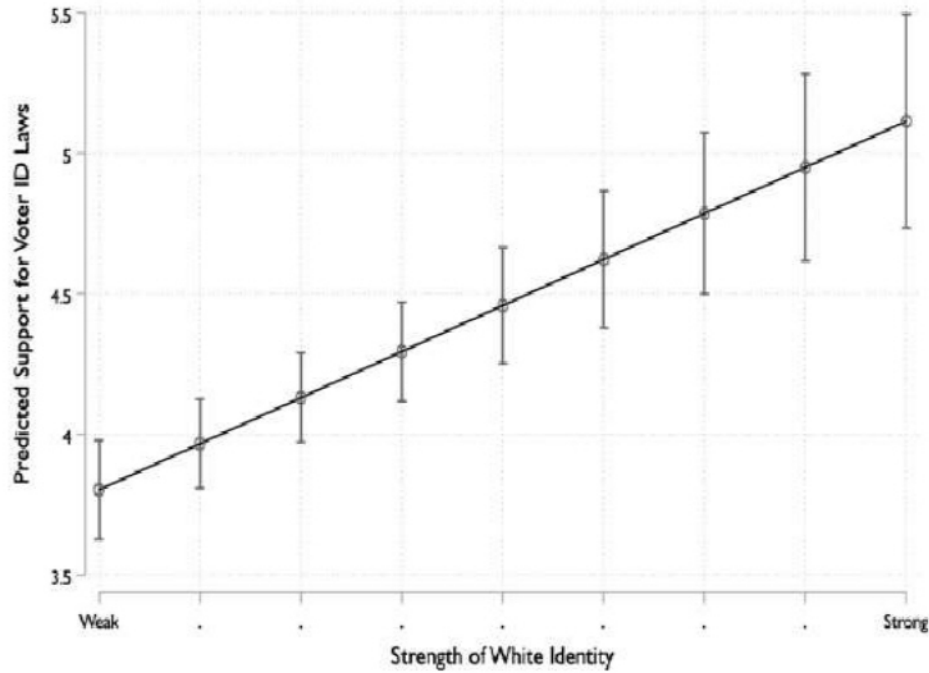


Effect of White Identity on Empathy toward People of Color

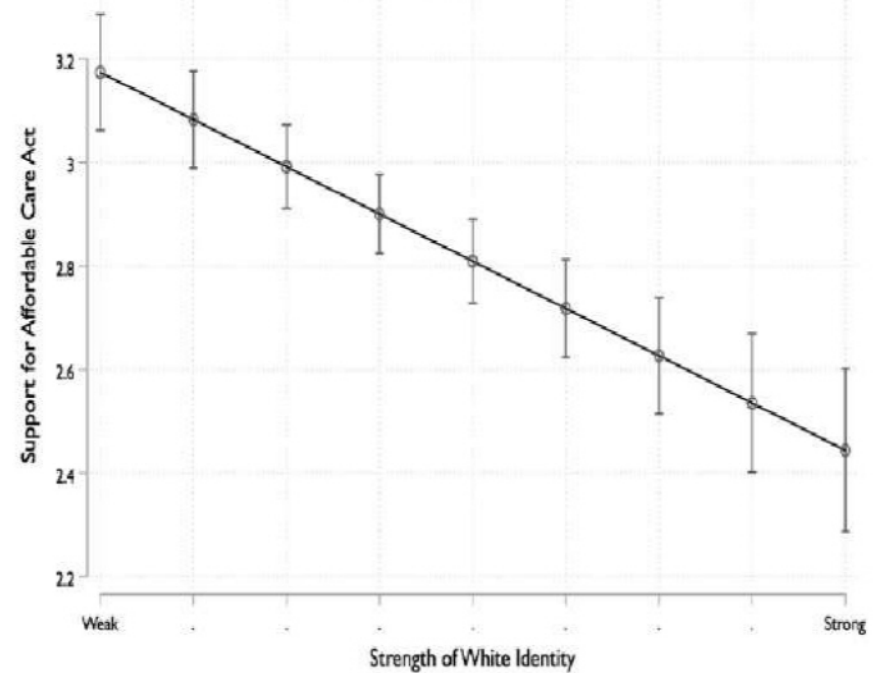


HOW WHITE IDENTITY SHAPES POLITICS

Effect of White Identity on Support for Voter ID Laws

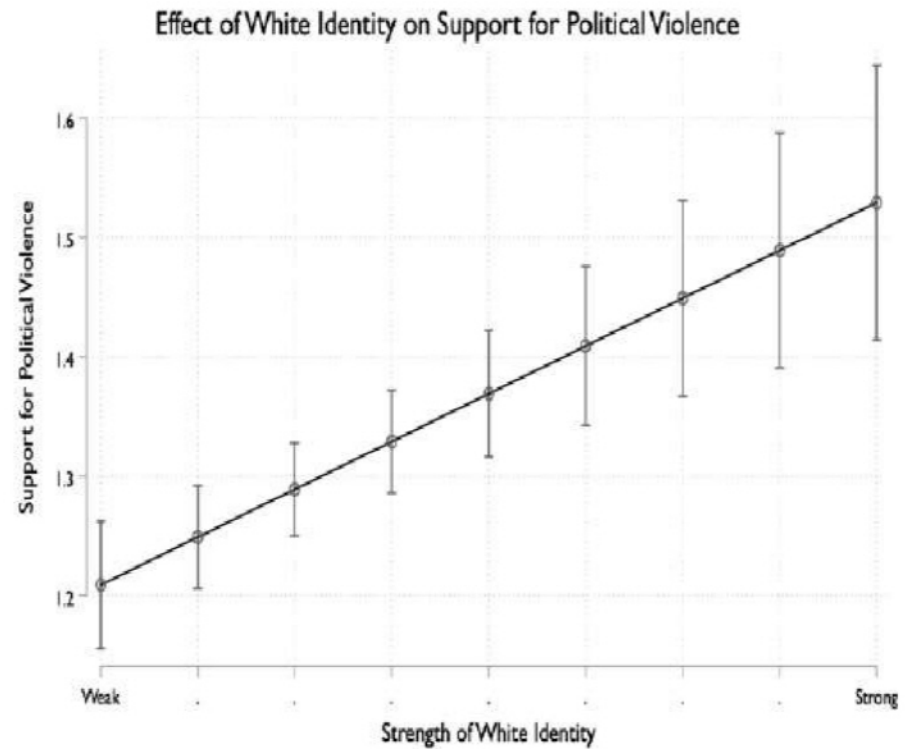


Effect of White Identity on Support for Affordable Care Act



PREDICTORS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Predictors of Support for Political Violence	
Republican	-.015 (.009)
White Identity	.040 (.009)*
Female	-.077 (.035)*
Age	-.014 (.001)*
Education	-.064 (.013)*
Constant	2.317 (.103)*
R ²	.11
N	1,799



SYMBOLIC RACISM: IS IT REALLY RACISM?

- Symbolic racism is described as a coherent belief system combining the following ideas:
 - Racial discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle to blacks' prosperity
 - Blacks' continuing disadvantages are due to their own unwillingness to take responsibility for their lives
 - Blacks' continuing anger about their own treatment, their demands for better treatment, and the various kinds of special attention given to them are not truly justified
- These beliefs are a psychological "blend" of negative affect directed against blacks with conservative values, particularly the belief that blacks violate American values

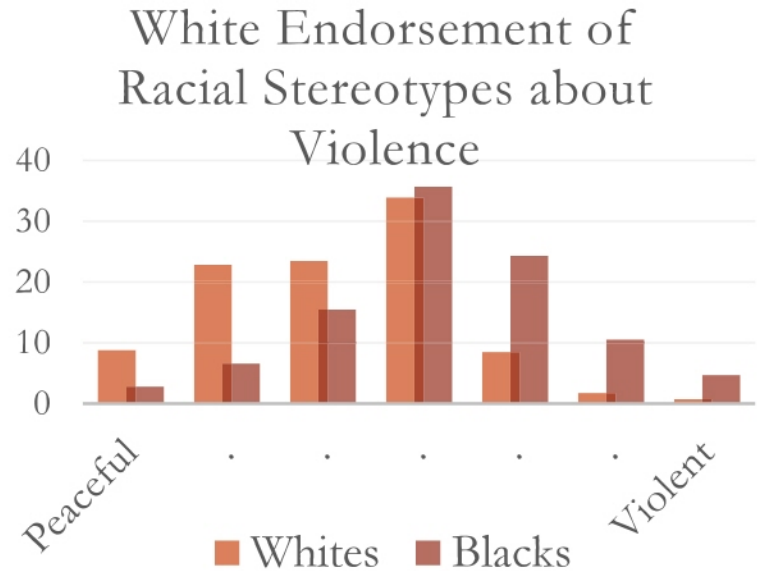
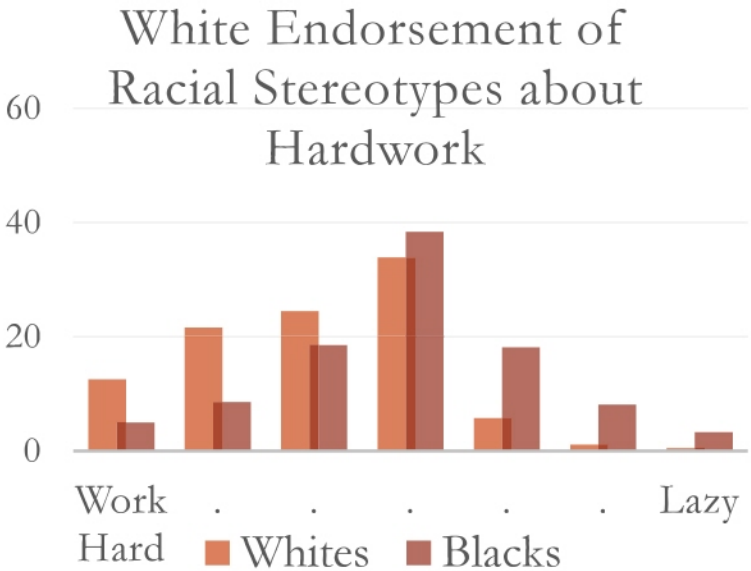
RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE

- This new term was substituted on the grounds that the term "symbolic racism" did not convey the central role of values in the theory
- The term "racial resentment" was used to bring focus to the idea that whites harbored genuine resentment about the perceived moral transgressions and values violations of blacks, that both values and prejudice were essential elements

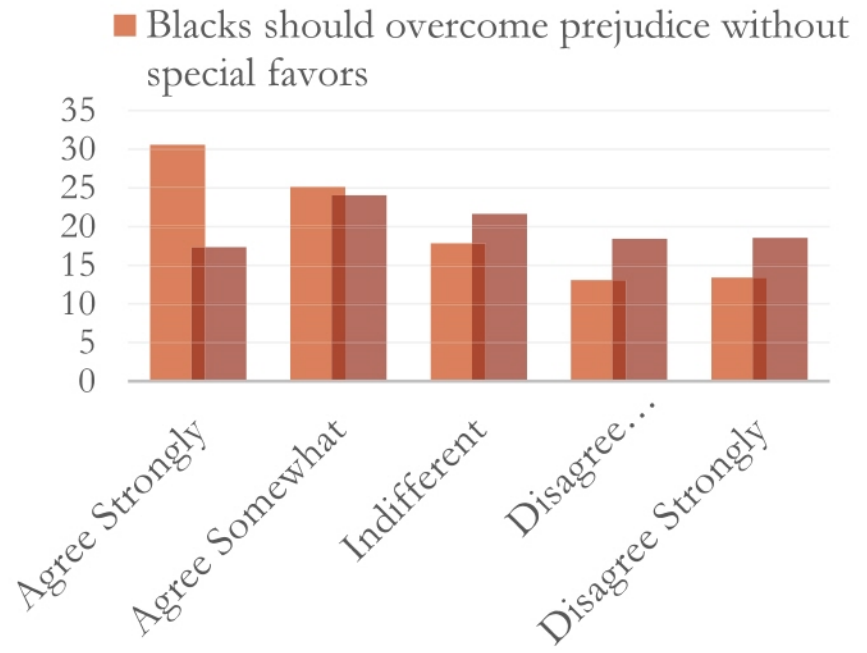
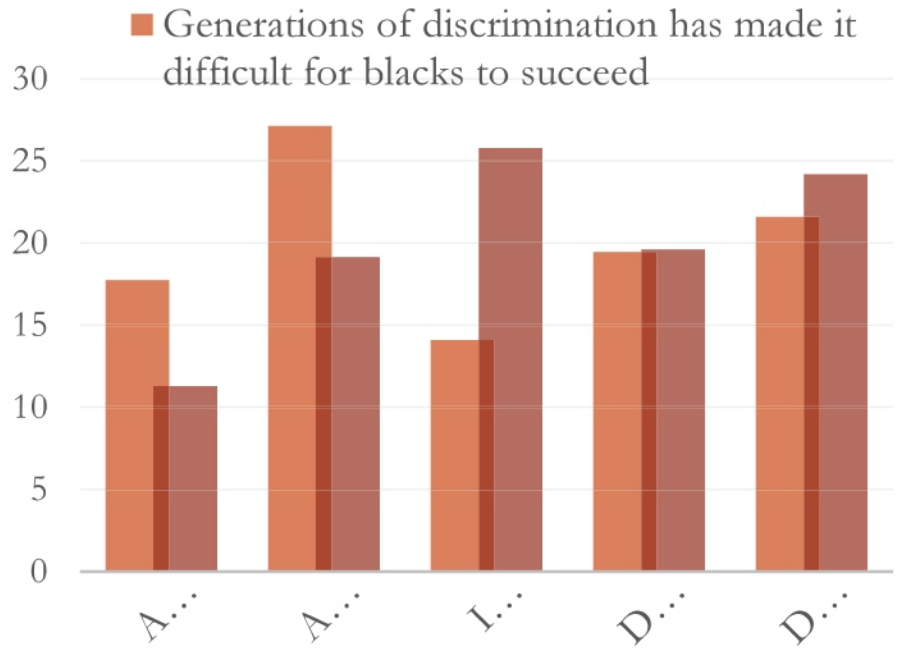
RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE

- 'Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.'
- 'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'
- 'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough, if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.'
- 'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'

STEREOTYPES WHITE AMERICANS HOLD OF WHITES AND BLACKS



RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE



POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Lessons 27-30: Group Identities

Fall 2020



ROBBERS CAVE EXPERIMENT (1954)

- A summer-long social experiment spearheaded by social psychologist, Muzaffer Sherif
- The experiment involved 22 twelve year-old boys separated into two equally sized groups at a summer camp in Oklahoma
- The groups stayed at opposite ends of the camp and neither group knew of the other's existence



ROBBERS CAVE EXPERIMENT (1954)

- The study asked several questions:
 - How quickly group identity could become established among strangers
 - How those identities would play out in competitive settings with other groups
 - How long it takes for group conflict to give way to cooperation

- The experiment unfolded in three phases:
 - Phase 1: The two groups bonded away from one another
 - Phase 2: Direct inter-group competition and frustration
 - Phase 3: Bridging Group Divides

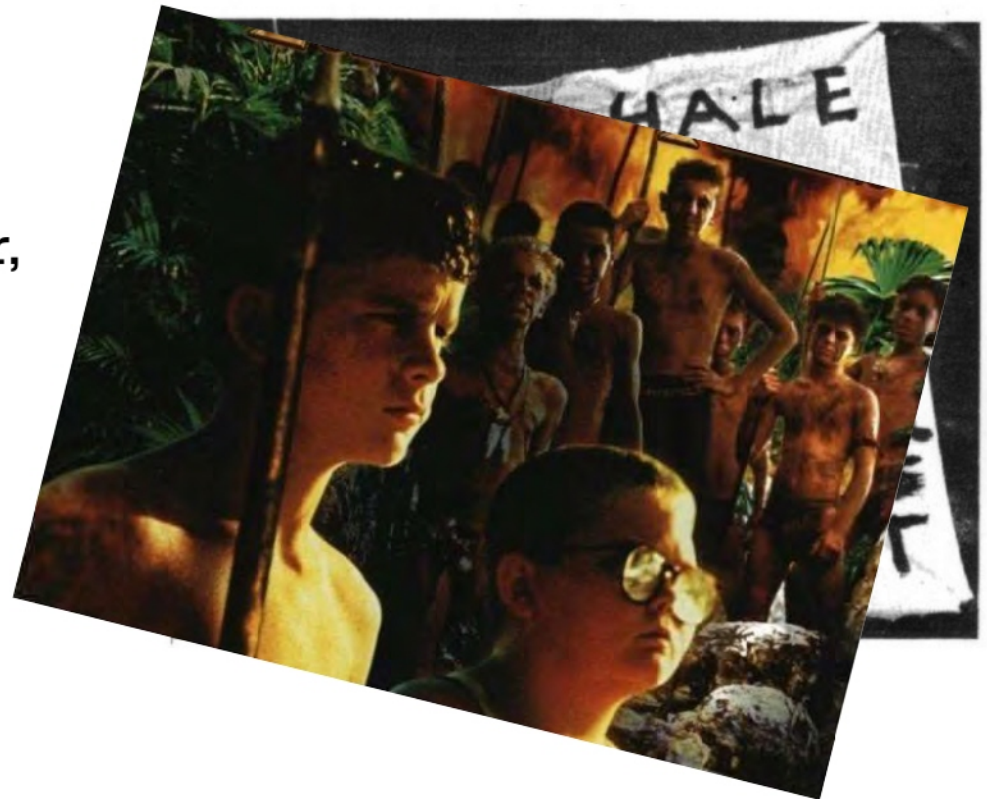
PHASE 1: BONDING

- Bonding occurred quickly → within a week, both groups created organized social hierarchies
- At the end of phase, each group was allowed a glimpse of the other, albeit with no direct contact



PHASE 2: RATTLERS AND THE EAGLES

- This phase began with planned competition between the two groups, e.g. baseball, tug of war, touch football, and a scavenger hunt
- Relations between two groups deteriorated rapidly



PHASE 3: INTER-GROUP COOPERATION

- Non-competitive contact between groups proved ineffective in stemming the animosity
- Researchers orchestrated a series of scenarios where the two groups had to work together to serve some common goal
- While cooperation arose slowly, by the end of the summer, the two groups reconciled their differences



IMPLICATIONS OF ROBBERS CAVE

- The insights from this experiment formed the basis of theories explaining inter-group dynamics
 - Realistic Conflict Theory → competition over scarce resources fosters inter-group hostility
 - Social Identity Theory → How a person's self-concept is derived from membership in perceived social groups

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

- **Social Identity Theory (SIT) has three tenets:**
 - **The social world is broken down into socially constructed categories that define individuals through group norms**
 - **Individual social identity is derived from self-categorization whereby a person defines him/herself in terms of group norms and associated group stereotypes**
 - **Social identities become a source of self-esteem, and as a result there is a tendency to create social comparisons that lead to negative evaluations of out-groups**

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

- SIT holds that people seek to maximize difference between in-group and out-group, including the perception of greater differences than may actually exist
- Difference fosters in-group favoritism and out-group derogation
- Stereotyping becomes the method by which people differentiate themselves from outgroup members



FROM SOCIAL TO POLITICAL IDENTITIES

- Huddy (2001) believes issues of identity are unexamined in political attitudes and behavior

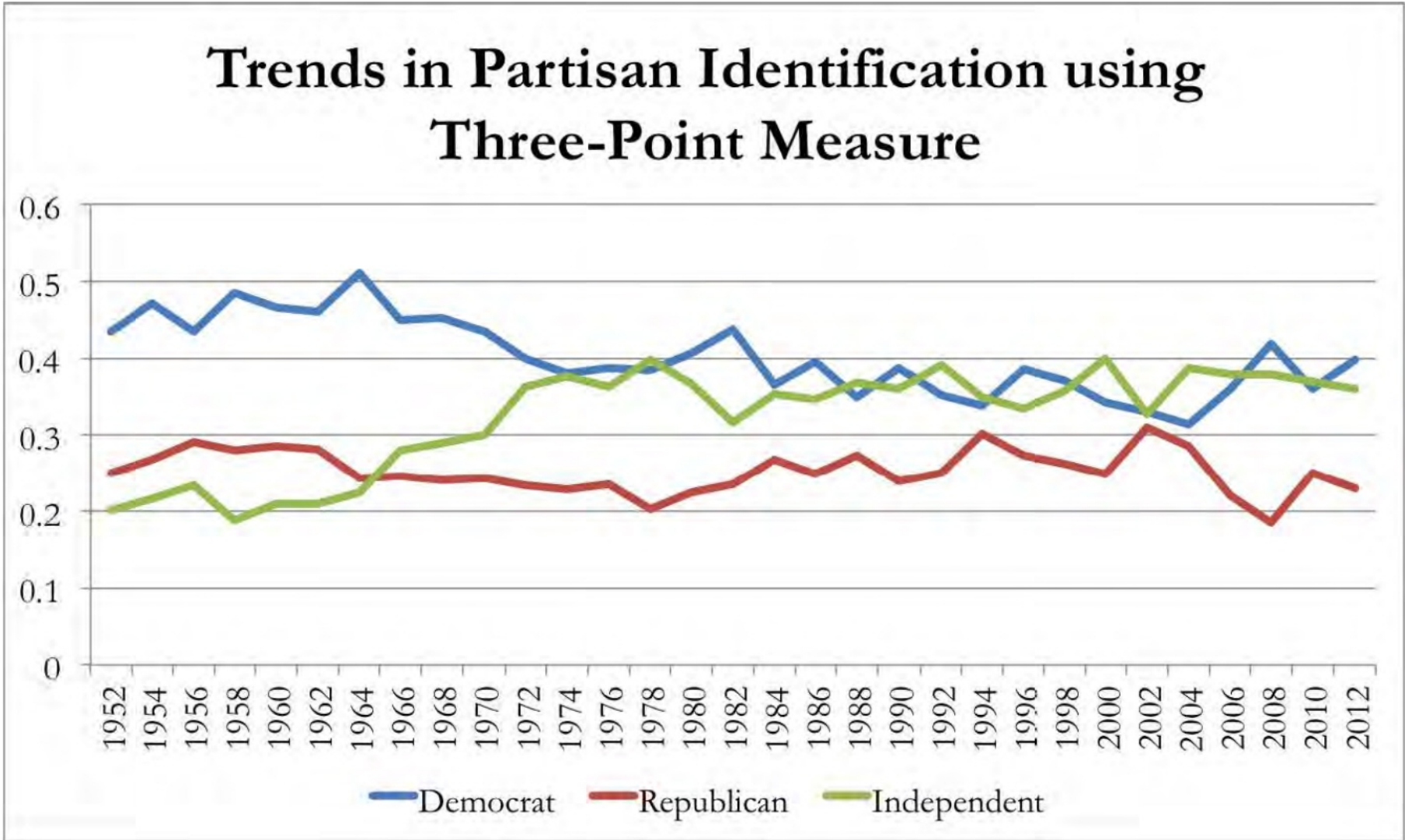
- Huddy identifies four areas for enhancing our understanding of social and political identities:
 - Understanding identity choice
 - Subjective meaning of social identities
 - Strength of identities
 - Stability of social identities over time

PARTISANSHIP AS A SOCIAL IDENTITY

- Party ID is a deeply-rooted and enduring psychological attachment to one of the major political parties
- Attachment to parties socialized early in life through family and social networks
- It is the ‘unmoved mover’ of American politics:
 - It is the chief determinant of vote choice
 - It serves as a filter by which people process and accept information
 - It shapes a person’s views on a wide range of public issues

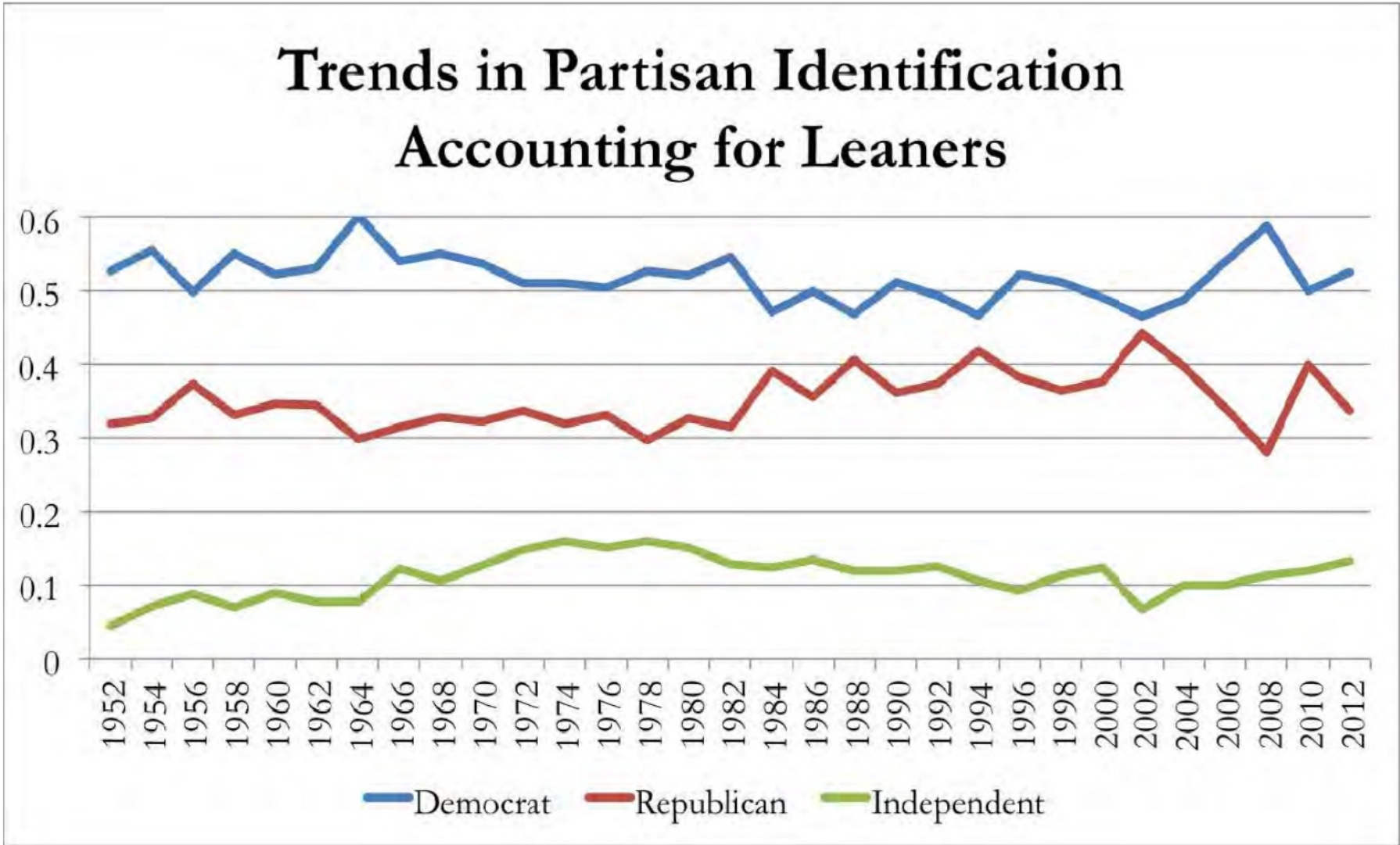
PARTISANSHIP AS A SOCIAL IDENTITY

- Partisanship is the most salient, most important social identity in American politics
- Within the context of partisanship, then, a clear preference for one party goes hand-in-hand with a negative attitude toward the opposition party
- A person's partisan identity is tied to their self-esteem



MYTH OF THE INDEPENDENT VOTER

- Since 1970s, people stopped identifying with Democrats, but they didn't become Republicans → they opted to identify as Independents instead
- In reality, most independents lean toward one of the two political parties and behave just like partisan voters
- The number of pure independents has remained constant since the 1950s—around 10-12%



PARTISANSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

- People tend to conflate partisanship and ideology → They treat the two words as synonymous, when they ARE NOT!
- *Ideology* speaks to constraint in one's *political attitudes*, while *partisanship* is loyalty to a *political party*
- Parties have not always been ideological → They have become ideological over the last 40 years

WHAT IS POLARIZATION?

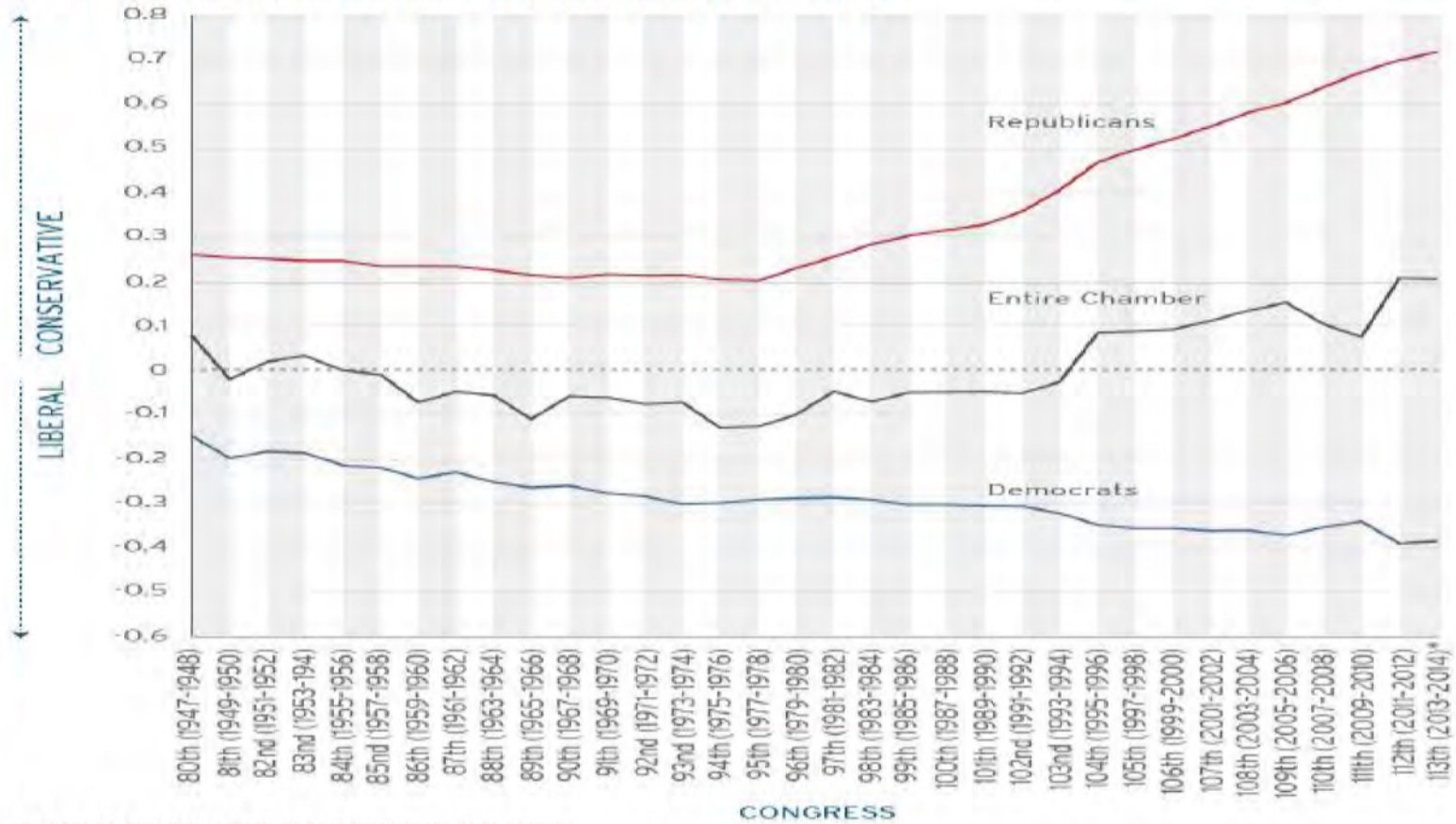
- There is disagreement about how we ought to think about polarization:
 - Some argue that polarization is only defined as the ideological shifting of lawmakers and the public away from the political center to ideological extremes
 - Others have a more expansive definition of polarization, which includes the ideological sorting of the electorate into each of the two parties—liberals into the Democratic party, conservatives into the Republican
 - Others still say it is something else entirely

ELITE POLARIZATION IN CONGRESS

- By any measure, there is clear polarization in congress
- State Legislatures are also becoming increasingly polarized
- Political activists are also polarizing



Average Ideological Positions of House Party Coalitions, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2014

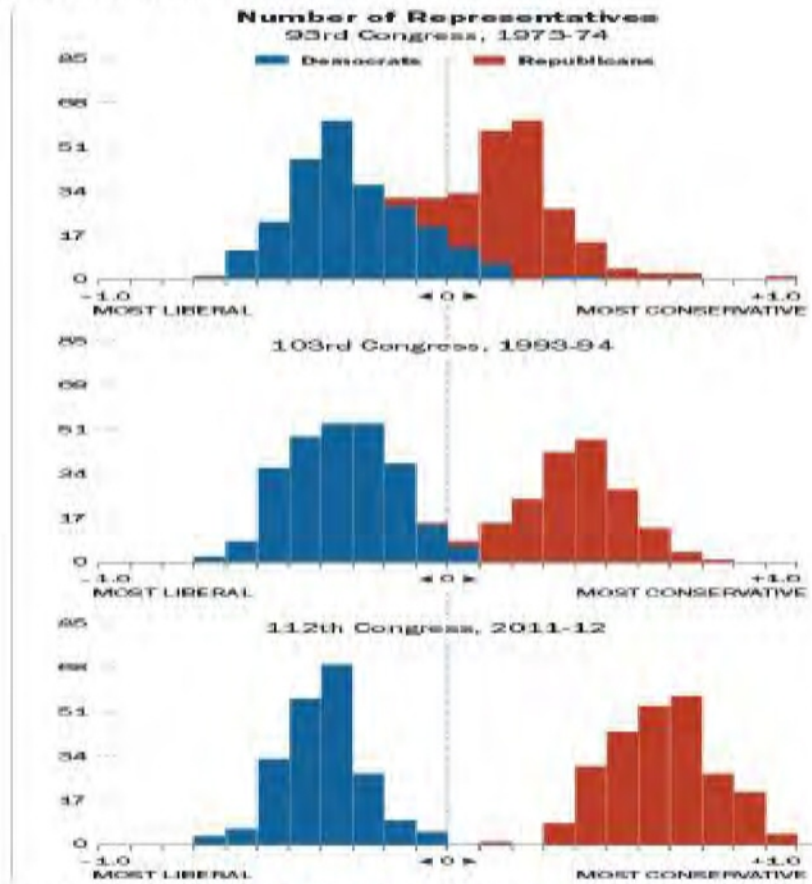
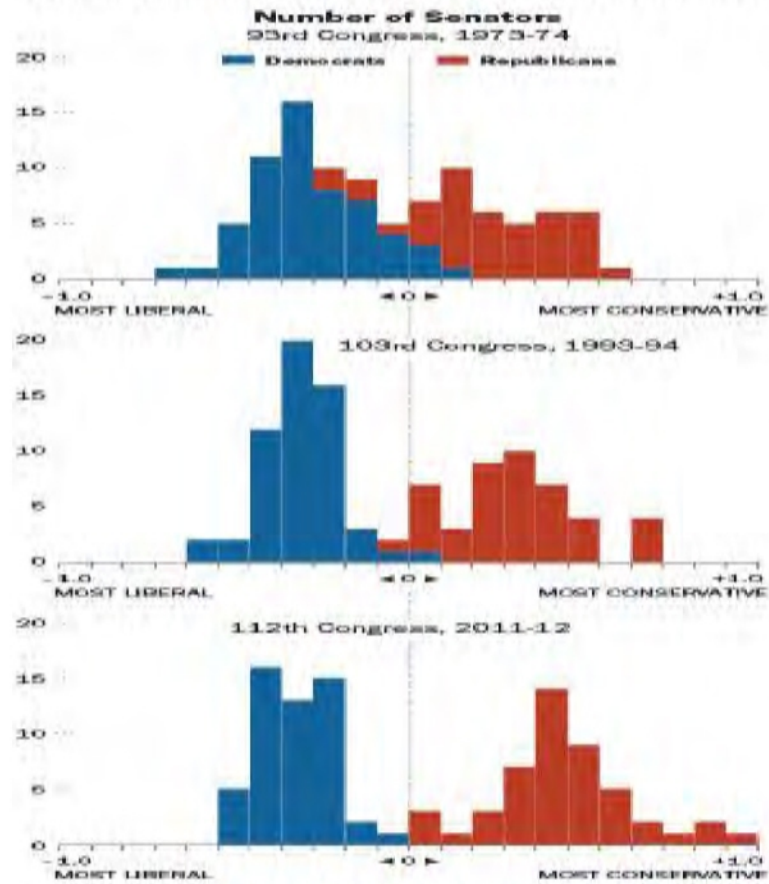


The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Source: Keith Poole, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and Howard Rosenthal, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, developed ideological scores based on members' voting records. The Poole-Rosenthal scores can be viewed at voteview.com. A positive score denotes a conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the most centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies.

In Congress as Well as Public, the Center Increasingly Cannot Hold

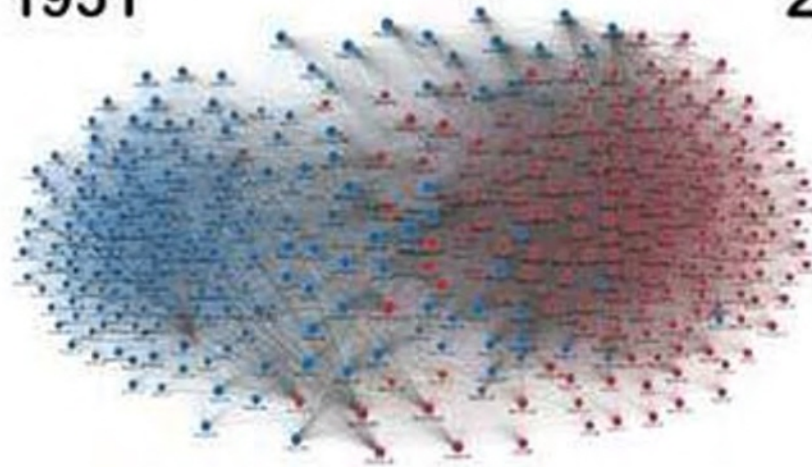
Ideological scores of senators and representatives based on roll-call votes. Negative numbers represent liberal views and positive numbers conservative views



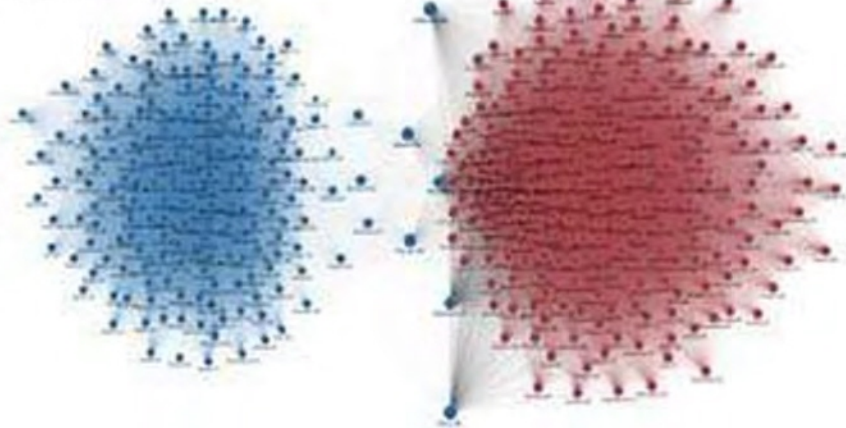
Sources: Rayce Carroll, Jeff Lewis, James Lee Nolan, Nolan McGarty, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, Voteview.com
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CO-SPONSORSHIP NETWORKS

1951

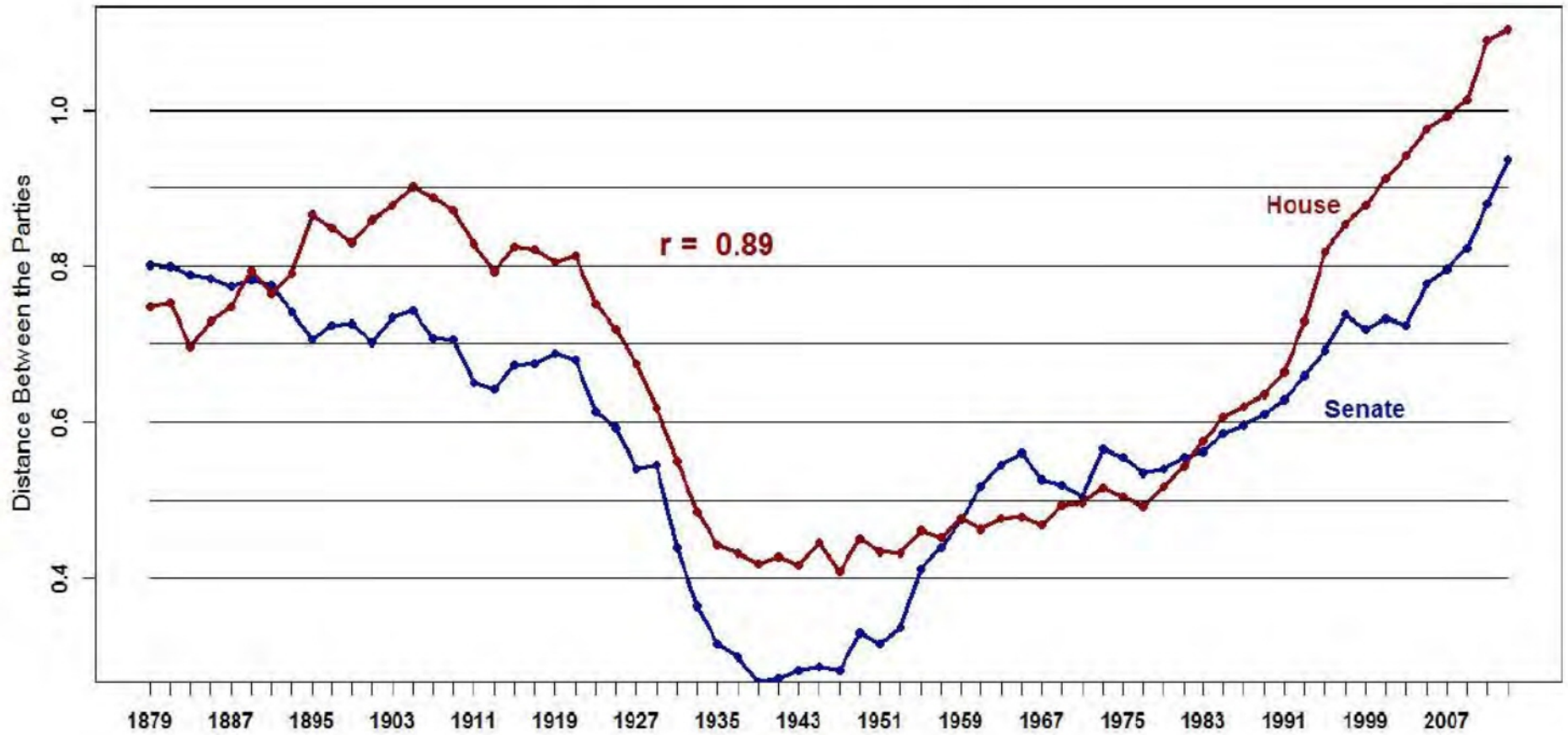


2011



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Party Polarization 1879-2013 Distance Between the Parties First Dimension

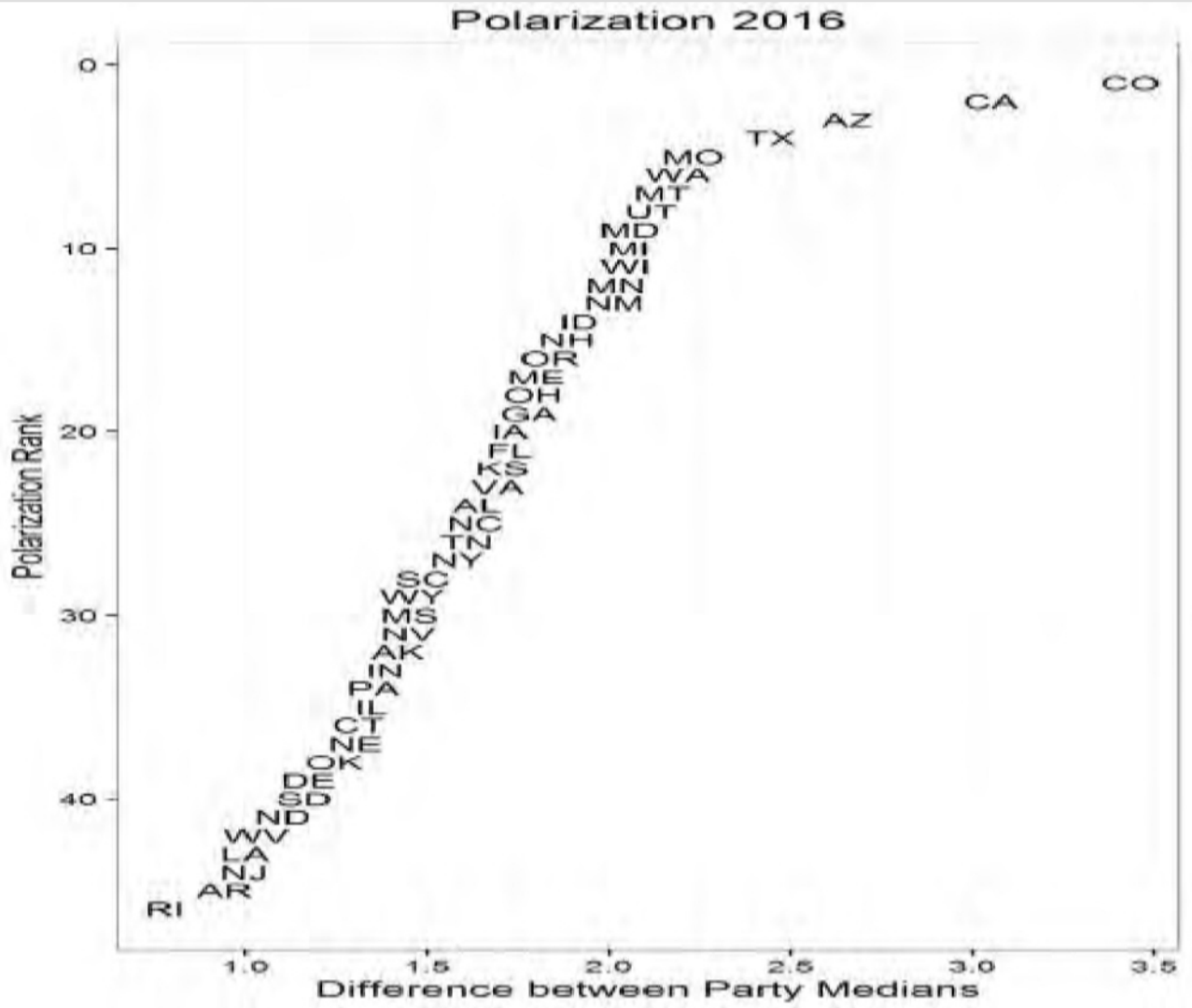


Polarized America / voteview.com

CAUSES OF CONGRESSIONAL POLARIZATION

- **External Factors**
 - The political realignment of the South
 - Redistricting (maybe, but probably not)
 - Party Primaries and partisan activists
 - Income Inequality

- **Internal Factors**
 - The reorganization of Congress
 - Changes in procedural rules
 - Change in legislative agenda



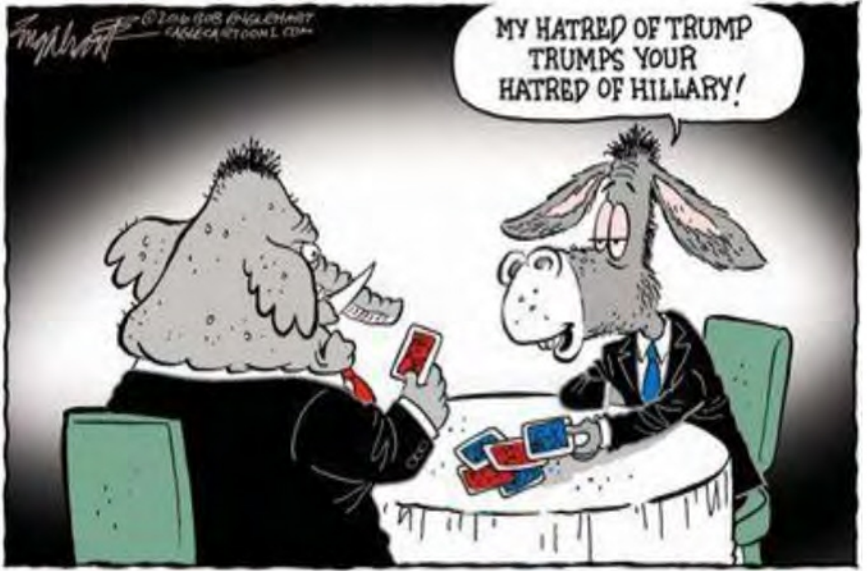
POLARIZATION IN STATE LEGISLATURES

MASS POLARIZATION

- Using traditional measures, there is considerable debate over whether or not polarization exists among the general public
- How one answers this question hinges on the definition of polarization used
- It is true that the mass electorate has sorted itself out between the parties
- There has been a steep decline in split-ticket voting and voters are increasingly partisan in their voting preferences

MASS POLARIZATION

- However, most Americans still tend to be ideologically moderate—maybe?
- Morris Fiorina argues that increased partisan divisions are due to voters being presented with polarizing choices rather than holding polarizing preferences

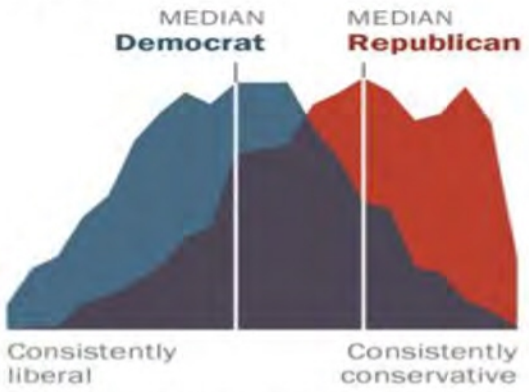


Polarization Surges Among the Politically Engaged

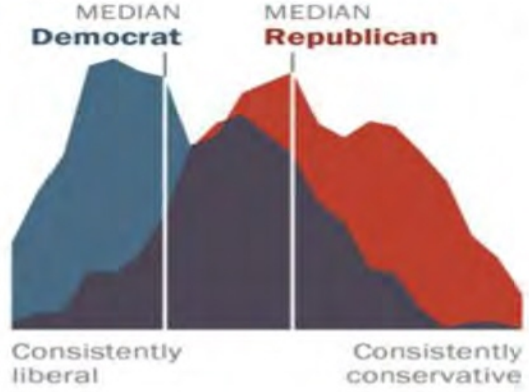
Distribution of Democrats and Republicans on a 10-item scale of political values, by level of political engagement

Among the politically engaged

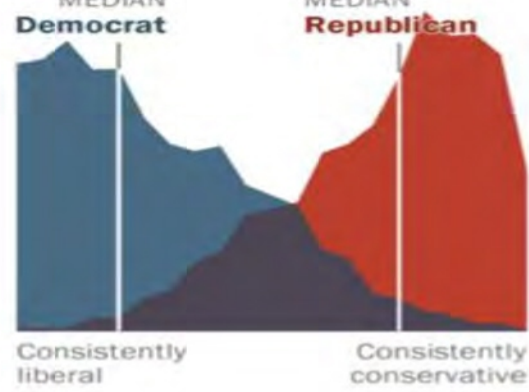
1994



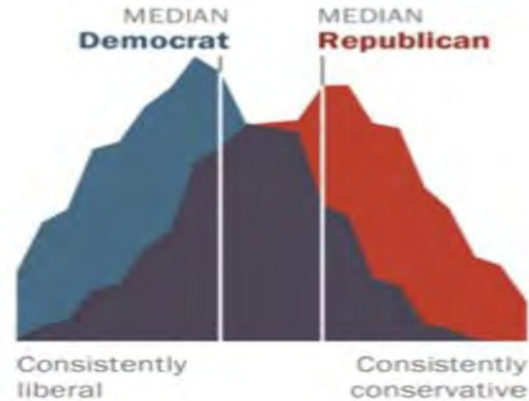
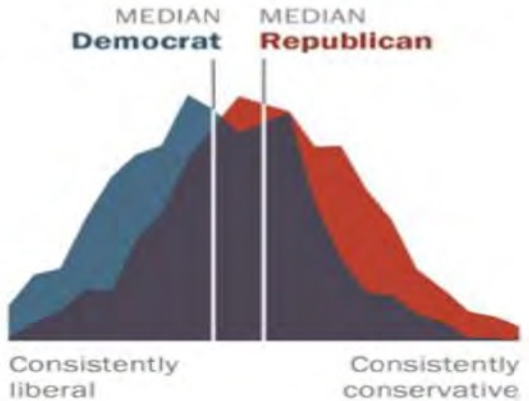
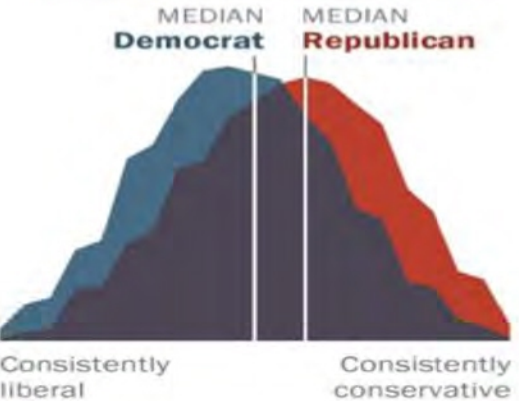
2004



2014



Among the less engaged



NATIONAL IDENTITY: WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- What is Theiss-Morse’s social theory of American national identity? What does it entail?
- What are alternative views of American national identity? Why have people argued that American national identity is unique or ‘exceptional’?
- What are the consequences of national identity, according to Theiss-Morse?

NATIONAL IDENTITY: WHO COUNTS AS AMERICAN?

- Theiss-Morse makes a distinction between patriotism and national identity:
 - Patriotism is defined as a love of country and the symbols that represent it
 - National identity is a group identity that consists of a cognitive and affective attachment to the group
- This group attachment generates a sense of obligation to fellow nationals that patriotism does not
- The more people identify with the group, the greater their sense of responsibility to that group as well as concern for the group's collective well-being.

WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- People with strong identities also set stricter group boundaries and operate with a narrower definition of who is included in it

- In other words, having a strong national identity is a double-edged sword
 - Strong identifiers are more willing to make personal sacrifices for the common good
 - They are also more willing to exclude marginal groups that do not adhere to their more stringent group norms and stereotypes

WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- Among strong identifiers, the prototypical American is older, less-educated, Christian and, above all else, White
- Marginalized groups often excluded from conceptions of the average American are racial, ethnic minorities, and extreme liberals.



WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- Central to a strong identifier's commitment to their national group is an intense loyalty to that group
- This loyalty makes strong identifiers much less likely to accept criticism, especially by people who do not qualify as prototypically American



WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- Strong identification with American identity shapes political attitudes and behavior toward marginalized populations in the United States
- They are more likely to oppose government programs (namely welfare programs) that are believed to primarily benefit marginalized populations
- The result is that exclusionary conceptions of national identity exacerbates societal inequalities

WHO COUNTS AS AN AMERICAN?

- Theiss-Morse offers two potential correctives to the problems caused by national identity:
 - Change the stereotypes associated with American national identity, especially among younger Americans
 - Another corrective is to simply promote greater awareness about group dynamics

RURAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN PERSPECTIVE

- How does Walsh contribute to the debate over why people vote against their interests? What are the previous explanations?
- What is rural consciousness? What are the three dimensions of rural consciousness identified by Walsh?
- How does rural consciousness as a place identity differ from urban and suburban conversations?
- What does this paper tell us about the state of our politics today?

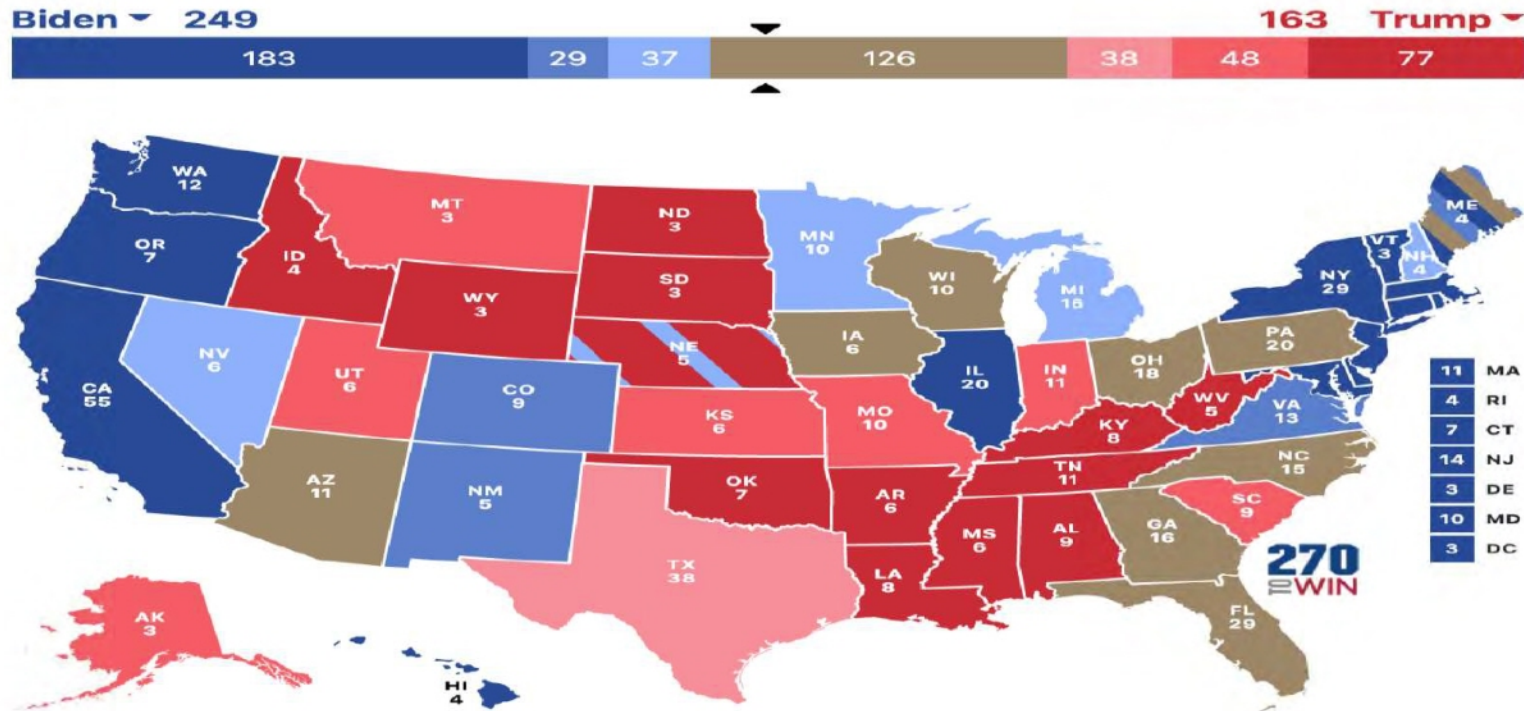
New California declares 'independence' from rest of state
Movement seeks to separate California's rural areas from its metropolitan coast.

Frustrated Rural Colorado Counties Want to Secede as 51st State

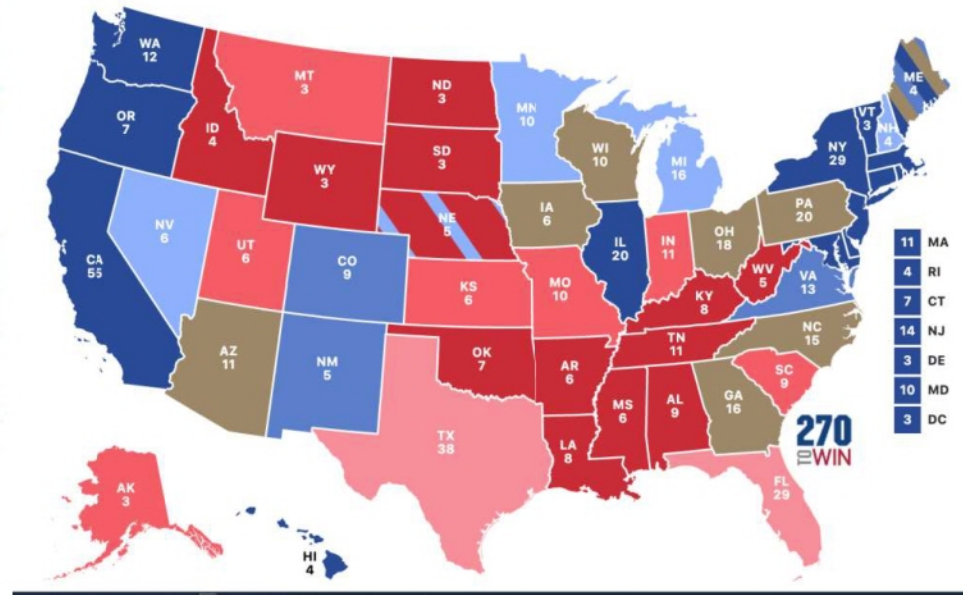
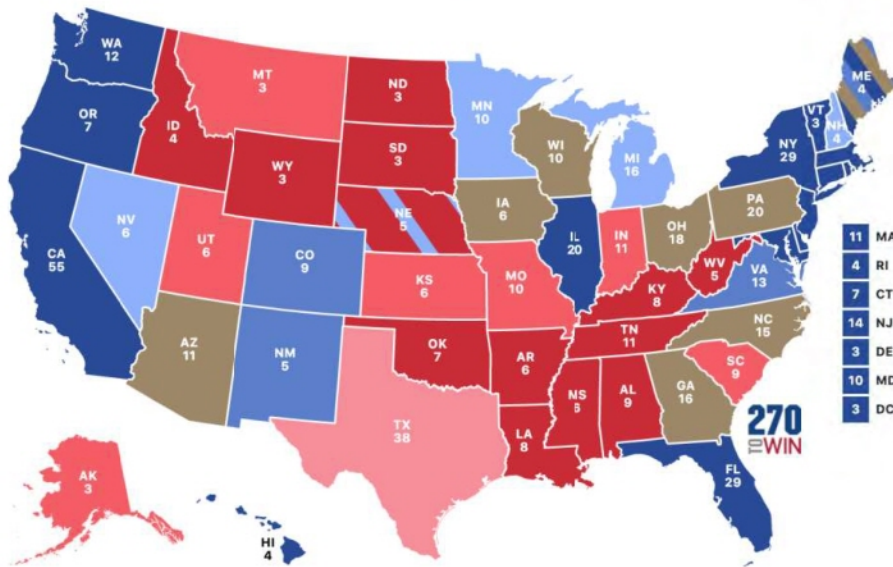
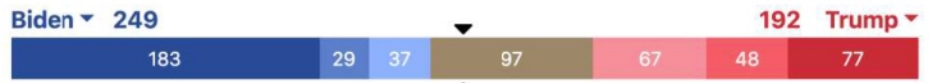
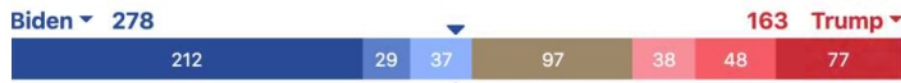
'New Colorado' and 'Lincoln' are names being considered for the possible state.

Politicians look to separate Chicago from Illinois to create 51st state

THE 2020 ELECTIONS!



It All Comes Down To Florida

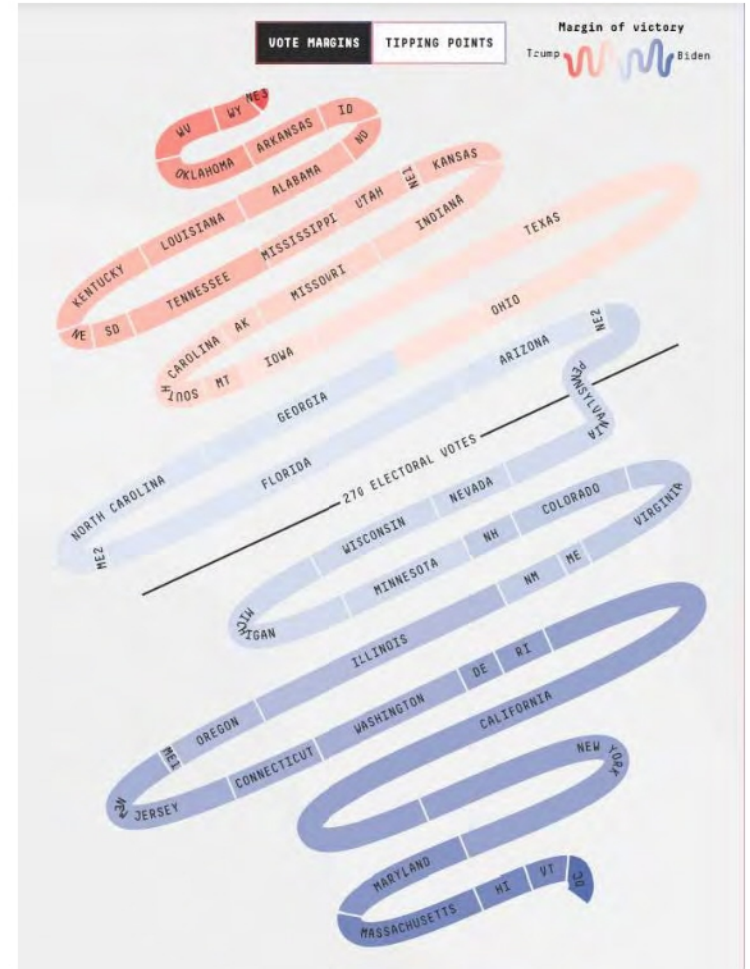
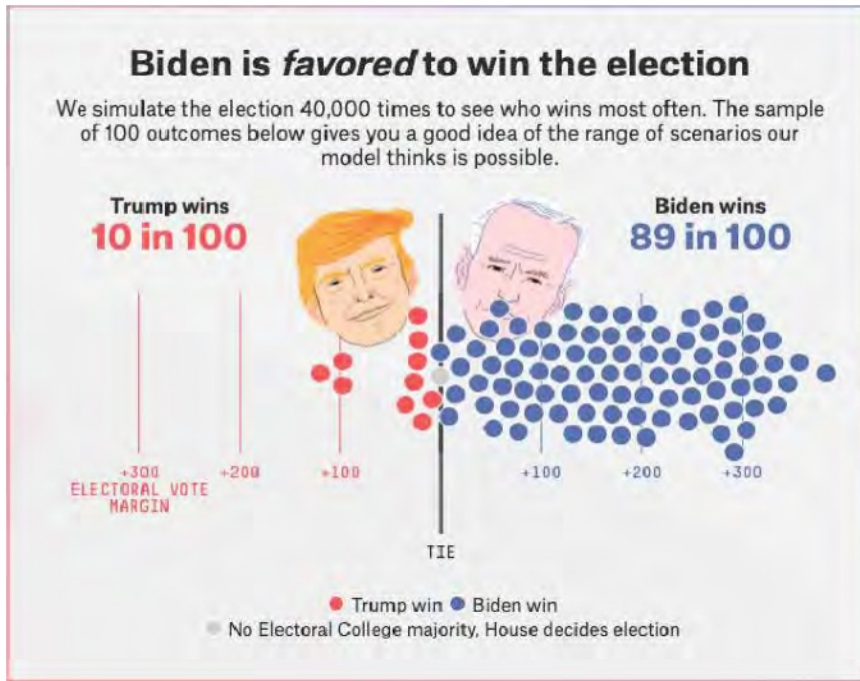


Possible Election Night Scenarios

- If Joe Biden wins early victories in any of the following: FL, NC, OH, GA, or AZ → We'll know relatively early who will be the next president
- Donald Trump squeaks out narrow victories in all five early swing states → attention turns to PA
- Early swing states are too close to call → long, protracted wait as all ballots are counted → Possibly leads to the dreaded “red mirage, blue shift” scenario

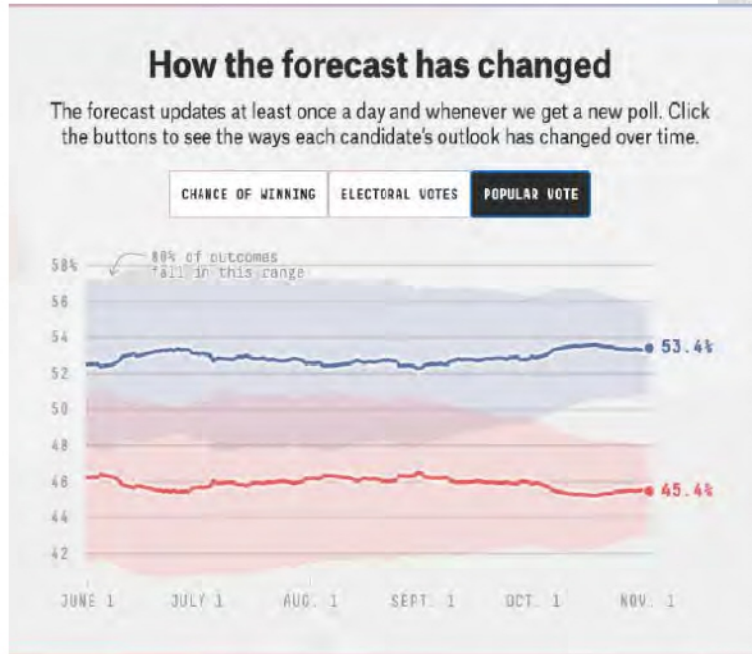


Fivethirtyeight Forecast



WHAT IF POLLS ARE WRONG?!

- With voter turnout on pace to be the highest its been in over a century, likely voter filters will almost certainly be off
- We can't say what direction the error will be!



A snapshot of current polling averages
Polling misses are normal, and can be even bigger than they have been in recent years.

	POLLING LEADER	IF POLLS ARE AS WRONG AS THEY WERE IN...	
		2010	2012
U.S.	+8 Biden	+7	+12
N.H.	+11 Biden	+8	+15
Wis.	+10 Biden	+4	+14
Minn.	+10 Biden	+4	+12
Mich.	+8 Biden	+4	+14
Pa.	+6 Biden	+1	+7
Nev.	+6 Biden	+8	+9
Neb. 2*	+5 Biden	+9	<1
Maine 2*	+4 Biden	+9	+9
Ariz.	+4 Biden	+2	+2
Fla.	+2 Biden	<1	+4
N.C.	+2 Biden	+3	+3
Ga.	+2 Biden	<1	+2
Ohio	<1 Trump	+6	<1
Texas	+2 Trump	+4	+1
Iowa	+2 Trump	+6	+3

UPDATED NOV. 2 8:25 AM ET.

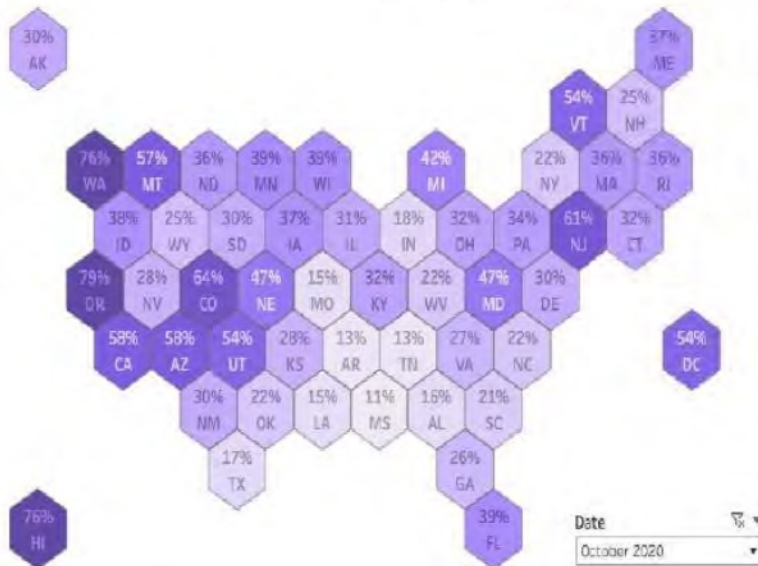
Percent who are likely/not likely to vote by mail, by state

Apply filters here >> ☰

% who are very likely

- Very likely 36%
- Somewhat likely 11%
- Not so likely 11%
- Not likely at all 41%

Select a state to filter by that state. Click white space to go back to national view.



Unlikely / Likely for All

Breakdown by Party affiliation

Hover over a bar for a more granular view

Group	Total	Unlikely	Likely
Grand Total	152,436	52%	47%
Democrat	73,412	34%	66%
Independent	15,396	49%	51%
Republican	62,081	72%	27%

Poll dates: Oct-01-2020 to Oct-18-2020

Results among Registered Voters.

RED MIRAGE, BLUE SHIFT?

SENATE RACES TO WATCH

Things to Know

- Current senate is composed of 53 Republicans, 47 Democrats
- 23 Republicans, 12 Democrats up for re-election
- It is strongly believed that Doug Jones (D-AL) will lose to Tommy Tuberville
- Democrats need to win four seats to retake the majority

Ranked most to least likely to flip

- Colorado: Gardner (R) vs. Hickenlooper (D)
- Maine: Collins (R) vs. Gideon (D)
- Arizona: McSally (R) vs. Kelly (D)
- North Carolina: Tillis (R) vs. Cunningham (D)
- Iowa: Ernst (R) vs. Greenfield (D)
- Georgia 1: Loeffler (R) vs. Warnock (D)
- Georgia 2: Perdue (R) vs. Ossoff (D)
- Montana: Daines (R) vs. Bullock (D)

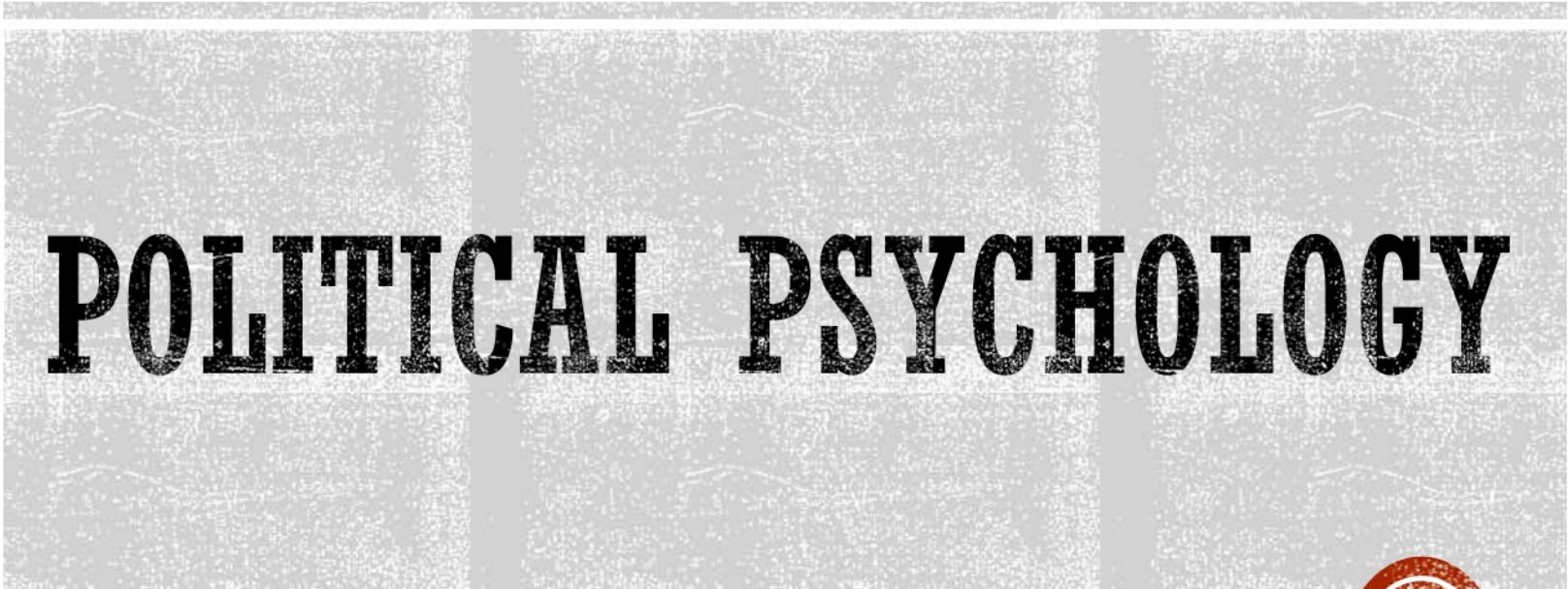
RACE FOR THE HOUSE

- The race for control of the House is being waged in suburban districts across the country
- The current balance in House favors Democrats, 233-201
- Democrats are expected to pick up an additional 8-10 seats



IDENTITY AND TERRORISM

- According to Schwartz et al. how does identity help explain terrorist activity? What are the various levels of identity that the authors identify? How do they interact?
- Why do some people get involved with terrorism, but some only support terrorist activity? Why are some people willing to give their lives for the cause, while others are only willing to kill outgroup members?
- Do you buy the distinction the authors make between religious and ethnic terrorism and domestic terror groups in the United States? Why or why not?
- How does Kruglanski et al.'s theory of radicalization differ from Schwartz et al?
- How is the process of deradicalization different from the process of radicalization?
- How do we deal with the challenge of international terrorism? Are military solutions adequate?



Lesson 39: Political Tolerance
Fall 2020



POLITICAL TOLERANCE: A DEFINITION

- Any discussion of political tolerance has to be made in reference to democratic theory
- In the 1950s, Samuel Stouffer noticed in surveys that a broad societal consensus around the endorsement of democratic values and the robust protection for civil rights and liberties in the abstract
- However, when those rights or liberties protections were extended to specific groups of people, he found that the vast majority of people refused to apply those protections to groups they did not like

TOLERANCE AND DEMOCRACY

- Stouffer's research called into question two fundamental assumptions of democratic theorists:
 - The first assumption that was undermined was that United States citizens had internalized properly the rules of the game needed for democracy to work
 - The second assumption called into question was that a national consensus on how to apply the democratic rules of the game was a prerequisite to having a democracy → Elite theories of democracy

TOLERANCE AND THE CULTURE OF CONFORMITY

- How does Gibson address this debate about the political consequences of intolerance?
- What is the primary side-effect of intolerance, according to Gibson?
- What are the implications of his study?

MEASURING INTOLERANCE

- The General Social Survey has been tracking levels of political tolerance in the United States since the 1970s

- The original Stouffer measures used target groups:
 - Atheists
 - Fascists
 - The KKK
 - Communists
 - Homosexuals

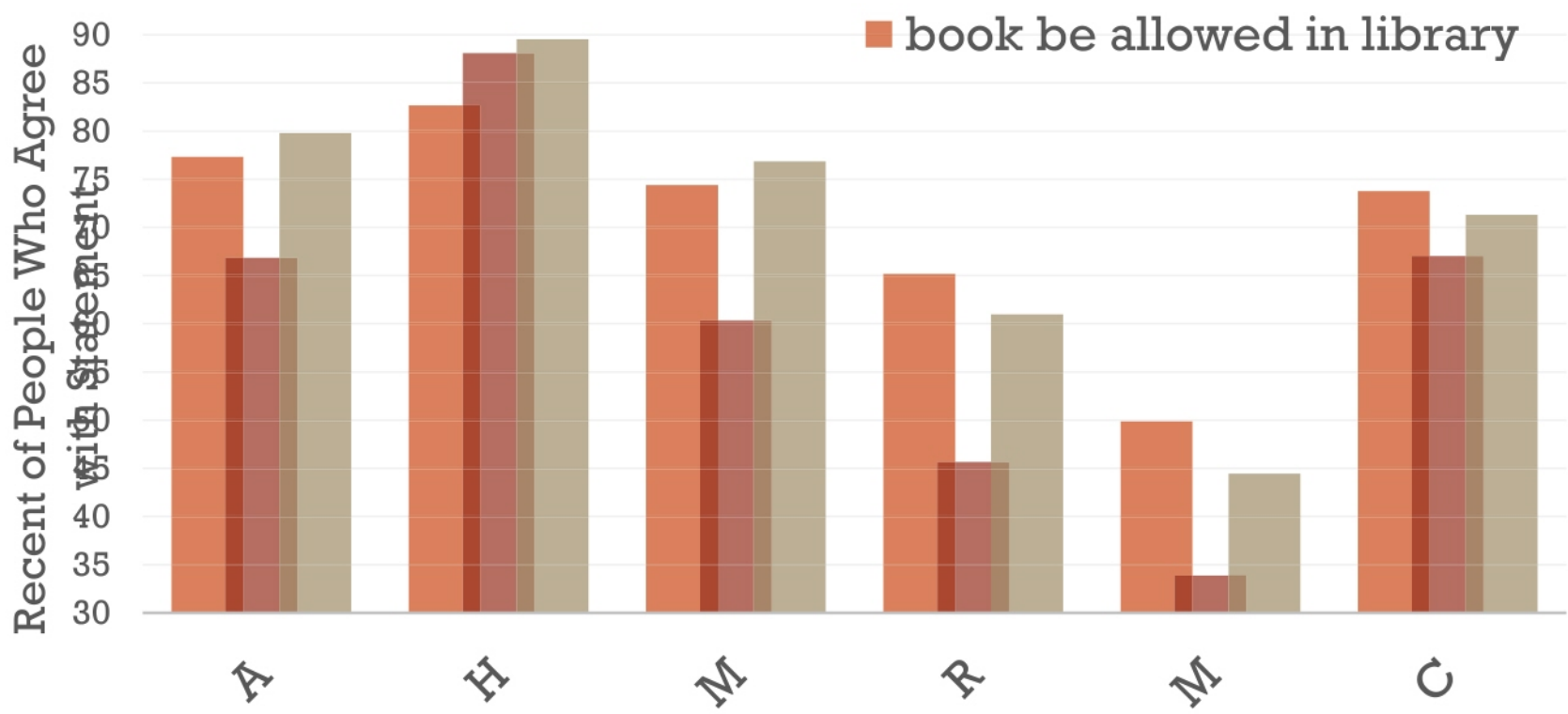
- Since 9/11, a sixth group has been added: Muslims

MEASURING INTOLERANCE

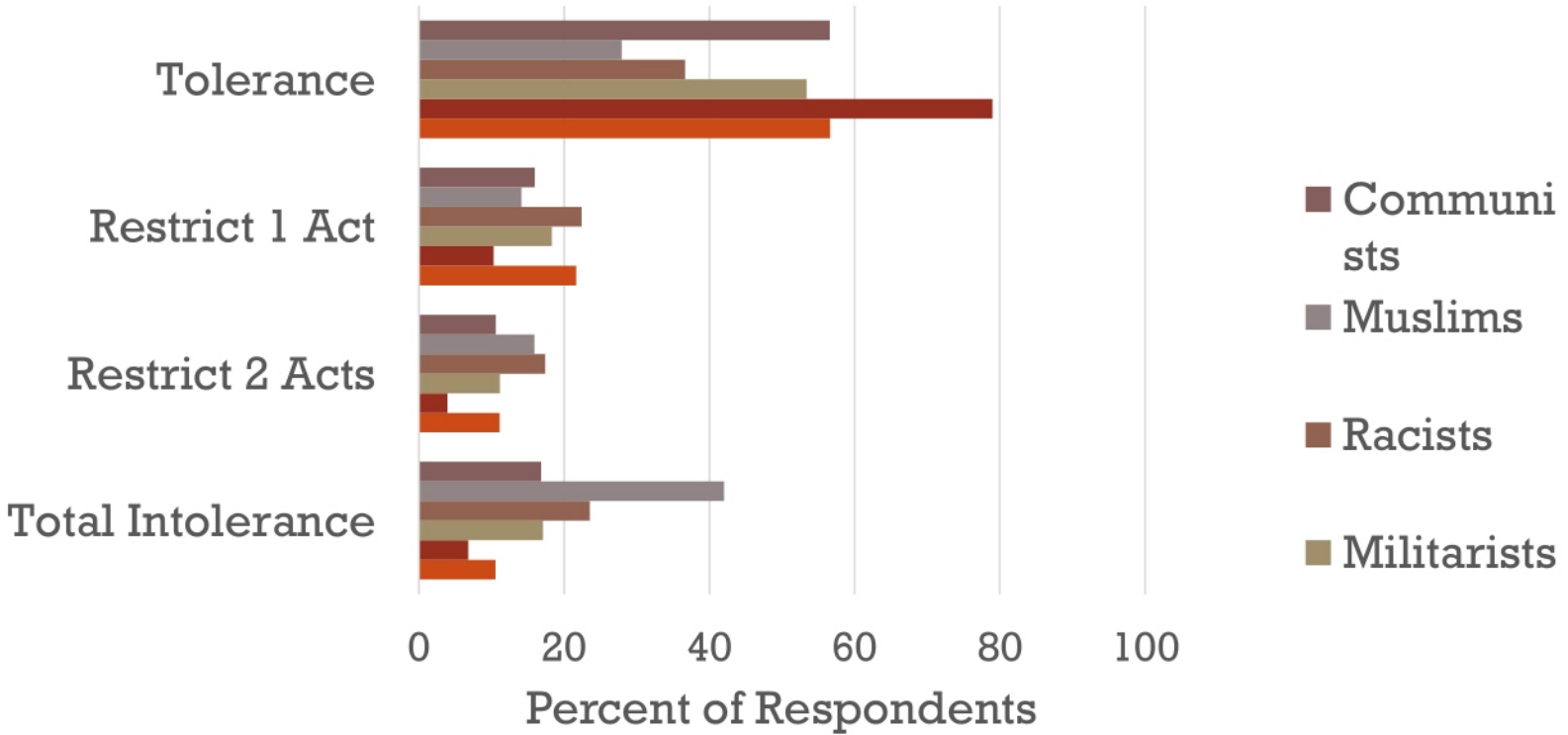
- **The Original Stouffer measure asked three questions (GSS):**
 - Should a member of [insert group] be able to teach in schools
 - Should a member of [insert group] be allowed to speak in public
 - Should a book from a [insert group] member be allowed in libraries

- **Gibson has produced more extensive batteries that also ask:**
 - should [insert group] be outlawed
 - should [insert group] members be allowed to hold elected office,
 - should [insert group] be allowed to demonstrate in public

TOLERANCE LEVELS TOWARD SELECTED GROUPS

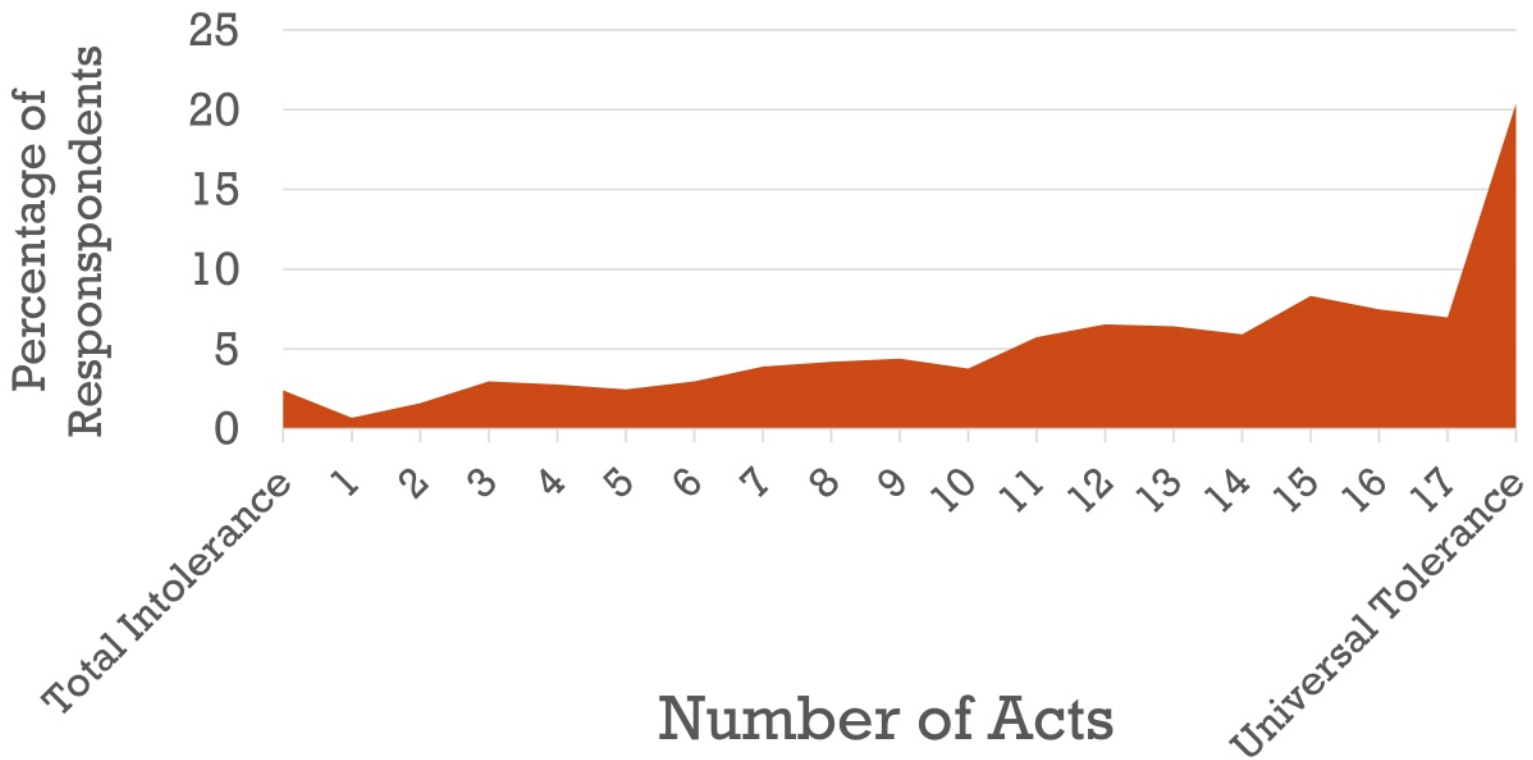


NUMBER OF ACTS PEOPLE WOULD RESTRICT BY GROUP



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTS ALLOWED ACROSS GROUPS



THREAT, ANXIETY, AND SUPPORT FOR ANTITERRORISM

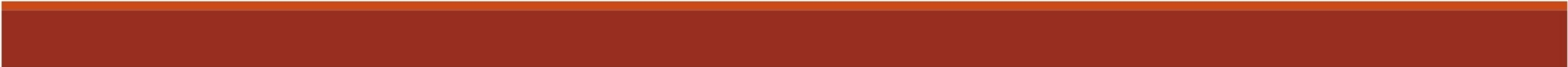
- How do the authors believe dual responses to terrorism--elevated anxiety and increased threat—effect attitudes toward government action? Are threat and anxiety the same thing?
- How does the Huddy et al piece fit into this larger discussion of political tolerance? Does it apply at all, or is it talking about something else?



American Politics & National Security

LESSONS 10-11: POLITICAL CULTURE

(b)(6)



Lessons 10-11

- Political Culture & Civic Identity

Lessons 12-16

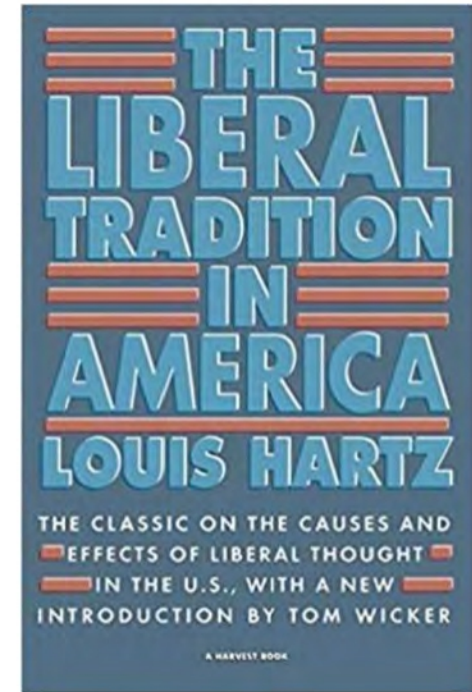
- Civil Liberties & Civil Rights

Reminders

- Domestic Issues Paper Outline **Due Lesson 14**
- Midterm Exam **Lesson 17**

American Political Culture

- In 1955, Louis Hartz wrote *The Liberal Tradition in America*
 - American political culture was irreducibly liberal
 - Liberalism is not just the dominant political ideology, but the sole political ideology
- Modern day liberals and conservatives both draw their heritage from classical liberalism
- One advocates a limited-state liberalism, the other an active-state liberalism



Defining Liberalism

- Liberalism cannot be explained without reference to the rise of capitalism
- Both developed around the same time, within the same context, and they represent a convergence of economic and political philosophies built around “free choice”
 - *“Liberalism developed as an ideology intended to persuade men that it was both possible and right for them to further the progress of the industrial revolution by launching a revolutionary attack against the established political order”* – Isaac Kramnick

Defining Liberalism

- Liberalism is NOT synonymous with democracy
- Early liberals articulated limited government, separation of powers, and declaration of rights, but advocated for restricted suffrage
- Liberalism democratized slowly as the boundaries of citizenship expanded under popular public pressure throughout the 19th and 20th centuries

Lockean Liberalism

John Locke is considered the first liberal philosopher

His *Two Treatises on Government* is a foundational text on social contract theory

- Locke argued that **freedom and equality** were the natural condition of man—represented *two-sides of the same coin*
- In the state of nature, everyone has a natural right to life, liberty, and property

Lockean Liberalism

- For Locke, the right to property is a person's predominant right, which is derived from self-possession or self-ownership
- Property refers not only to the objects people acquire and consume but also to their capacities--namely, their capacity to labor
- Since people own their labor, they become owners of the objects on which they labor (known as his 'labor theory of value')

Lockean Liberalism

- The state of nature places moral limits on the right to acquire property → people cannot take more than they can use because surplus goods spoil
- The development of money, however, circumvents the natural morality limited the acquisition of property
- Money introduces inequality which is a source of continual conflict in the state of nature, which ultimately leads to a ‘perpetual state of war’

Lockean Liberalism

- A social contract requires the creation of government to protect the state of nature—and man’s natural rights—from the state of war
- Creates a government that:
 - Disavows hereditary authority
 - Advocates limited government
 - Embraces rule of law
 - Separation of Power

Negative vs. Positive Liberty

- By the 19th century, the industrial revolution forced people to question whether the absence of government restraints was enough to protect liberty
- People could be free of government interference but still not be free due to exploitation by others—namely those in industry
 - Hire at low wages
 - Ignore unsafe factory conditions
 - Set prices artificially high

Negative vs. Positive Liberty

- The state becomes the instrument for protecting rights and liberties of citizens from interference by others—thus, allowing people to fully utilize their freedoms
- While negative liberty is defined as the absence of government restraint, positive liberty is the active use of government power to protect individual rights and liberties
- The pursuit of positive liberty also serves as the basis for the modern welfare state

• Rule of Law and the Promotion of Justice

- Central to liberalism—and American political culture—is a disdain for hereditary and capricious authority and an open embrace of limited government
- These two tendencies coalesce around a reverence for the rule-of-law
- Rule of law, it is argued, preserves liberty, promotes fairness, and dispenses justice

Lincoln and MLK

- Please, identify your favorite quote from either of the two readings.
- What did Lincoln believe was the primary threat to the United States? Why?
- What did Lincoln believe should be done with bad laws?
- What is the connection Lincoln makes between the rule-of-law and the preservation of our political institutions? Why are strong political institutions necessary for preserving the American experiment?
- What did MLK believe should be done with bad laws? What is civil disobedience and why is it an appropriate response to injustice?
- Why was King so frustrated with ‘the White moderate’ and the ‘White Church’?
- How are Lincoln and MLK’s ideas similar? How are they different? Why?

Tocqueville - Democracy in America

What is the big theme that permeates throughout Tocqueville?

Where does American equality come from? Why is it more important than liberty?

Why does Tocqueville believe that radical equality makes people vulnerable to despotism?

What does Tocqueville believe is the solution to combating it?

Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz

- What is Smith's major issue with the major theories of American political culture in general and Tocqueville in particular?
- What is the Tocquevillian Thesis? How have Myrdal and Hartz built from it?
- What does Smith think should replace the Tocquevillian Thesis? Why?
- The use of the Multiple Traditions Thesis offers an understanding of American politics that differs from Tocqueville four ways. What are those four key insights?



American Politics & National Security

LESSONS 12-16: CIVIL RIGHTS & LIBERTIES

(b)(6)

Today

Civil Liberties

Next Lesson

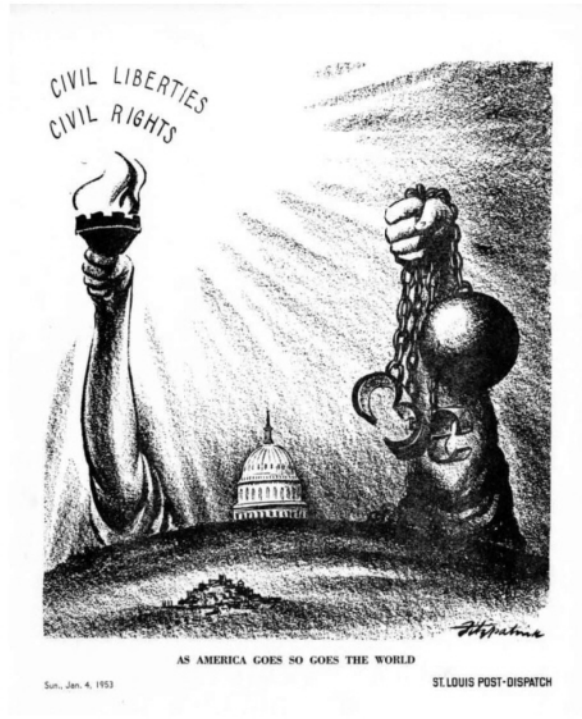
Civil Liberties, Con't

Reminders

- Domestic Issue Paper Outline due [Lesson 14](#)
- Mid-term Exam ([Lesson 17](#))

Lecture Outline- Civil Liberties & Rights

- Bill of Rights as a Bill of Liberties?
- Substantive Due Process and Incorporation Doctrine
- A Right to Privacy?
- Civil liberties vs. Civil Rights
- Struggle for Black Equality
- Struggle for LGBT Equality

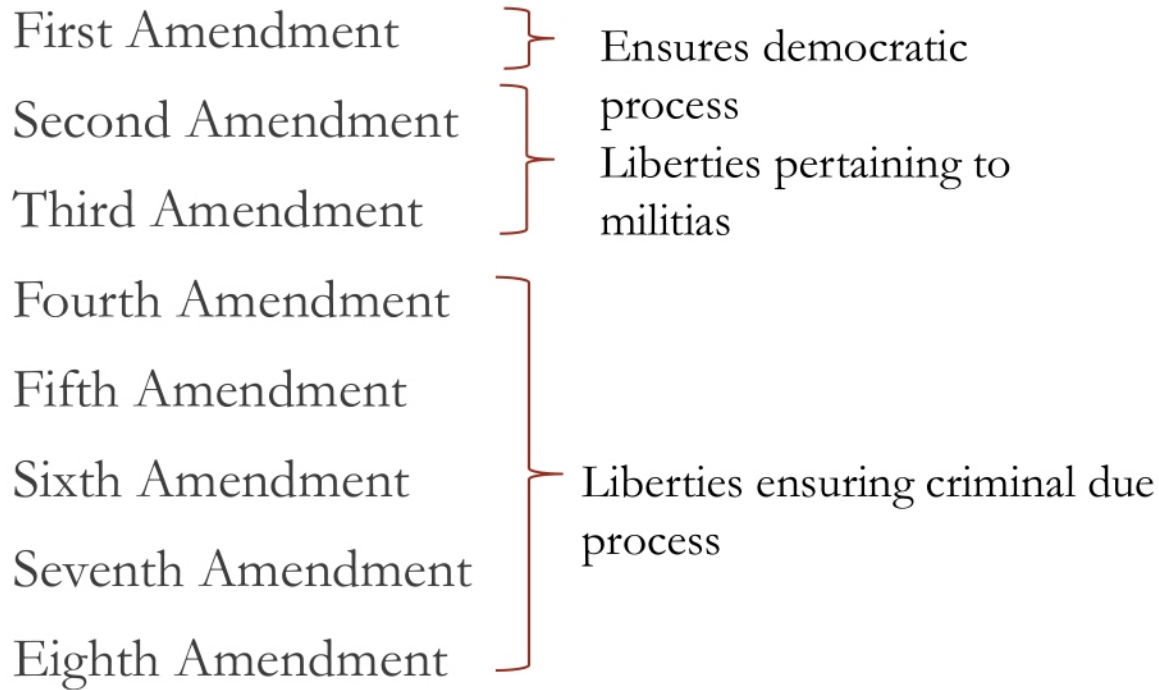


Civil Liberties Protections

- Ratification of the Constitution hinged on the addition of a Bill of Rights to placate Antifederalist concerns
- The Bill of Rights encompass the first 10 Amendments to the Constitution → They form the basis of our *civil liberties* protections
- These are freedoms enumerated in the Constitution upon which the government cannot take away



The Bill of Rights



Sidebar: The First Amendment

- Entire courses can be taught on the First Amendment. The textbook does a serviceable job covering some of the highlights.
- Only a few quick remarks:
 - The first Amendment only restrains against government infringement of speech
 - Not all speech is constitutionally protected
 - There is an inherent tension between the free-exercise and establishment clauses
 - Perhaps the most interesting jurisprudence dealing with the freedom of assembly deals with how it relates to political parties, which are fundamentally private organizations that serve public purposes

Rauch's In Defense of Prejudice

- Why does Rauch believe dissident, even objectionable, speech should be protected?
- Why is intellectual pluralism preferable to purism? Why does he use the metaphor of science to defend pluralism?
- Why does he have issue with legal sanctions on hate speech?
- According to Rauch, who is most likely to be silenced in a world dominated by purism, oppressors or the oppressed? Why?
- For Rauch, why is equating speech with violence problematic? Is it really true that hateful speech against marginalized groups doesn't cause lasting damage?
- How might a 'purist' respond to Rauch's argument? What does Rauch potentially leave out

Does the Bill of Rights Apply to the States?

- It is unclear based on early debates over ratification
- The Bill of Rights were presumably designed to restrict the national government from depriving citizens of civil liberties
- However, the Senate rejected an Amendment curtailing state power, calling it unnecessary
- The issue was ultimately put to rest by the Supreme Court

Barron v. Baltimore (1833)

- The city of Baltimore incidentally diverted the course of some streams in the process of paving certain streets around the waterfront
- The whole effort led to silt and sediment build-up around a wharf owned by John Barron
- Barron sued for damages under the Takings Clause of 5th Amendment → The Court rejected his claim



The Fourteenth Amendment

- The Supreme Court's precedent in *Dred Scot v. Sandford* (1857) held that African Americans could not be citizens
- Following the Civil War, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act (1866) giving African Americans the rights of citizenship
- However, it wasn't clear Congress had the Constitutional authority to give former slaves citizenship
- The Fourteenth Amendment enshrined the Civil Rights Act (1866) into the Constitution

The Fourteenth Amendment

Section I: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge *the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States*; nor shall any State *deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law*; nor *deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws*”

Section 5: “The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article”

The Fourteenth Amendment

- The 14th Amendment includes three important clauses:
 - Privileges and Immunities Clause
 - Due Process Clause
 - Equal Protection Clause
- Initially, the Reconstruction Congress intended the rights of citizenship to flow through the *Privileges and Immunities Clause*
- The Court closed that possibility in the *Slaughterhouse cases*

The Origins of Substantive Due Process

- After the Court closed the door to using the Privileges and Immunities Clause, the court sought other methods for limiting state power
- In the late-19th century, a concern for property and economic rights led many on the Court to believe the ‘liberty to contract’ was a fundamental right that deserved special protection, even from state infringement
- The Court turned to the *Due Process Clause* of the 14th Amendment:
 - *If liberty means anything, it means the fundamental liberty to contract*
 - This era became known as the Lochner Era

The Fall Substantive Due Process

- The irony is that the 14th Amendment was designed to protect the rights of American citizens—especially Black Americans—but it was used to protect the economic rights of corporations
- The liberty to contract—and substantive due process--was largely discredited following the constitutional crises of the 1930s
- However, the Court suggested that the same basic logic could be used protect other fundamental liberties *already enumerated* in the Constitution

Doctrine of Selective Incorporation

- Incorporation is the use of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to apply provisions of the Bill of Rights to the states
- It initiated a long debate as to how the process of incorporation would occur:
 - Total incorporation
 - Selective Incorporation
- *Palko v. Connecticut* (1937) found that some rights are fundamental to well-ordered liberty and that the 14th Amendment absorbs those rights to be applied to the states

Civil Liberties: A Right to Privacy?

- Recall the Lochner Era's use of '**substantive due process**' to ensure a liberty of contract—and its ultimate demise
- In the 1960s, the Court resurrected the doctrine to define a constitutional right to privacy, built mostly around decisions in the family unit:
 - Child-rearing decisions
 - Intimate relationships
 - Family Planning
 - Abortion

A Right to Privacy?

- Unlike *Lochner*, the Court argued the right to privacy was implicit in the Bill of Rights:
 - “specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights have *penumbras*, formed by *emanations* from those guarantees that help give them life and substance” – Justice Douglas (1965)
- Where is this implied right rooted?
 - 1st Amendment freedom of thought and assembly
 - 3rd Amendment freedom from the quartering of troops
 - 4th Amendment prohibition against unlawful search and seizure
 - 5th Amendment right to not self-incriminate
 - 9th Amendment acknowledgement that other liberties exist

Betts – Whose Knowledge of Whom

- How does Betts define privacy? How is his definition different from the legal definition?
- In the debate over balancing liberty and security, what are the two big mistakes that people often make, according to Betts? What does he think is the best way to balance liberty and security?
- What does Betts see as the biggest failure of the American response to 9/11 when it comes to violations of civil liberties? Why?
- Why is Betts ultimately willing to compromise privacy rights in the name of national security? Why does he see privacy as a double-edge sword?
- Where do you think the line should be drawn in balancing privacy with security? How do you avoid falling into a slippery slope?

Today

Civil Rights

Next Lesson

Civil Rights, con't

Reminders

- Mid-term Exam ([Lesson 17](#))

Distinguishing Rights from Liberties

Civil Liberties

- Freedoms we enjoy because government leaves us alone
- Government cannot limit without strict scrutiny
- Guaranteed by:
 - Bill of Rights
 - Due Process Clause of 14th Amendment
- Akin to negative liberty

Civil Rights

- Freedom from arbitrary discrimination
- Government is compelled to act to ensure equal treatment
- Guaranteed by:
 - Equal Protection Clause of 14th Amendment
 - Civil Rights Legislation
- Example of positive liberty

Black Political Inclusion

- After the war, the Congress passed the Reconstruction Act (1866), which made the enfranchisement of Blacks a condition for re-entry into the Union
- The Fifteenth Amendment later removed race as a barrier to voting in the North and the South.



Black Political Inclusion

- African Americans in the South exercised the vote and even held elected office
- By 1872, there were 300 Black legislators from states of the former confederacy
- Then...



Black Exclusion: Reign of Terror

- After Reconstruction, the South was left to deal with racial issues on its own

- The Ku Klux Klan wage a systematic war of terror on Southern Blacks
 - Intimidation tactics
 - Torture
 - Lynchings
 - Gang Rape



Black Exclusion: Political Exile

- By the 1890s, Southern states implemented a slate of laws eliminating Southern Blacks from politics
- Tools of white oppression:
 - Voter registration rules
 - Literacy tests
 - Poll taxes
 - White Primary



Black Exclusion: *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)

- Louisiana passed a law segregating Blacks to their own rail cars on trains
- Homer Plessy bought a train ticket for a whites only rail car → He was arrested for violating the Separate Car Act (1890)
- Constitutional Question:

Does a law mandating separate facilities based on race violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

Black Exclusion: *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)

- The Court ruled 7-1 that so long as separate facilities maintained the same amenities and overall quality, legal segregation was permitted—i.e., separate, but equal
- Justice Harlan's Dissent:

“the destinies of the two races are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law.”

Race Relations Post-*Plessy*



- The policy of legal racial segregation extended beyond the South, albeit in less explicit ways
- The federal government engaged in policies denying Black Americans equal rights:
 - New Deal programs included exclusion clauses
 - G.I. Bill denied to Black Americans → first explicitly, then in practice
 - FHA Loans not available to Blacks → encouraged use of restrictive covenants

Brown v. Board of Education (1954/1955)

- Warren Court officially overturned the precedent set in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
- Relied on sociological data to show how segregation created legal and social structures that made African Americans inherently unequal
- Relied on the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment
- Required desegregation of public schools ‘with all deliberate speed’

Civil Rights after *Brown*

- Despite the success of *Brown v. Board of Education*, segregation in the South persisted
- The push for civil rights continued and culminated in the:
 - Civil Rights Act (1964)
 - Voting Rights Act (1965)
 - Fair Housing Act (1968)



Civil Rights after *Brown*

- In the North, decades of local, state and federal policies had established deeply rooted patterns of residential segregation
- Complicated efforts to achieve racial equality, especially as:
 - Lines for wealthy school districts were routinely drawn to exclude black neighborhoods
 - White communities in suburbs emancipated themselves from racially diverse cities through municipal incorporation
 - White flight precipitated capital and economic flight → led to concentrated poverty in the urban core
 - Banks routinely excluded racial minorities from getting home loans through the FHA-inspired practice of red-lining





Race and Protest



- White Northern moderates and liberals were willing to support the Civil Rights struggle for political freedom in the South
- Once it moved to the streets of Northern cities over issues related to busing, housing, and economic opportunity, that support dissipated
- Throughout the 1960s alone, urban protests sprang up in over a dozen cities, most notably in Los Angeles, Baltimore, and Detroit

Watts (1965)



Detroit (1967)



A Portrait of Two Americas



The Kerner Commission (1968)



“Our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal.... Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.”

“What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.”

The Kerner Commission (1968)



CAUSES OF RIOTS

- Black frustration at the lack of economic opportunity
- Concentrated poverty and segregation
- Inadequate education
- Lack of safe, affordable housing
- Poor municipal services
- Discriminatory police practices

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

- Open suburban residential areas to Black settlement
- Greater local government responsiveness to Black grievances
- Reforms to the criminal justice system

Residential Segregation Today



- Despite the stark conclusions of the Kerner Commission, patterns of racial residential segregation established in the mid-twentieth century have persisted
- The Cooper Center use census data to map residential segregation in the 21st century: <http://racialdotmap.demographics.coopercenter.org/>
- Contrary to conventional wisdom, the most segregated cities in America tend to come not from the South, but the North

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

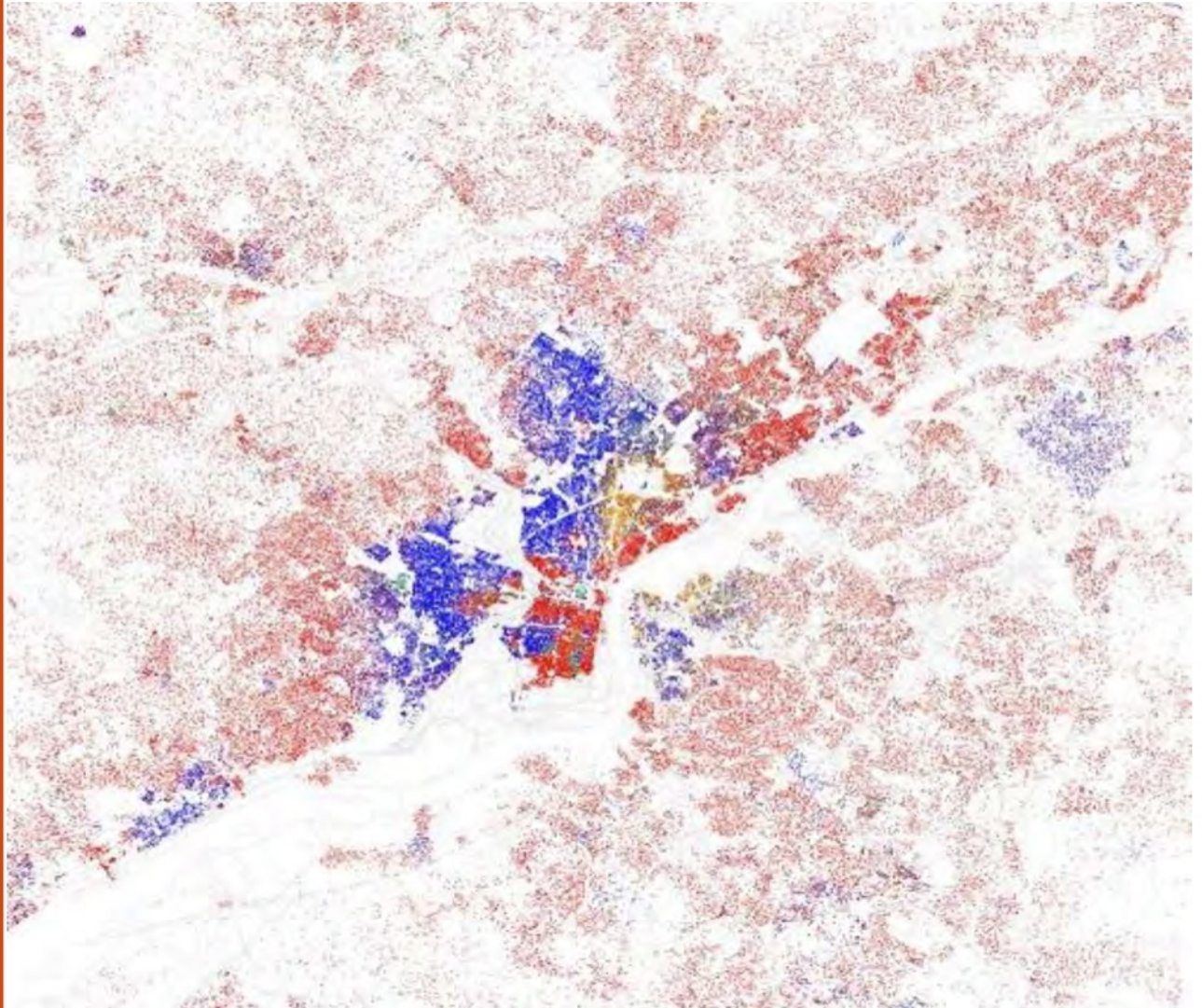


Houston

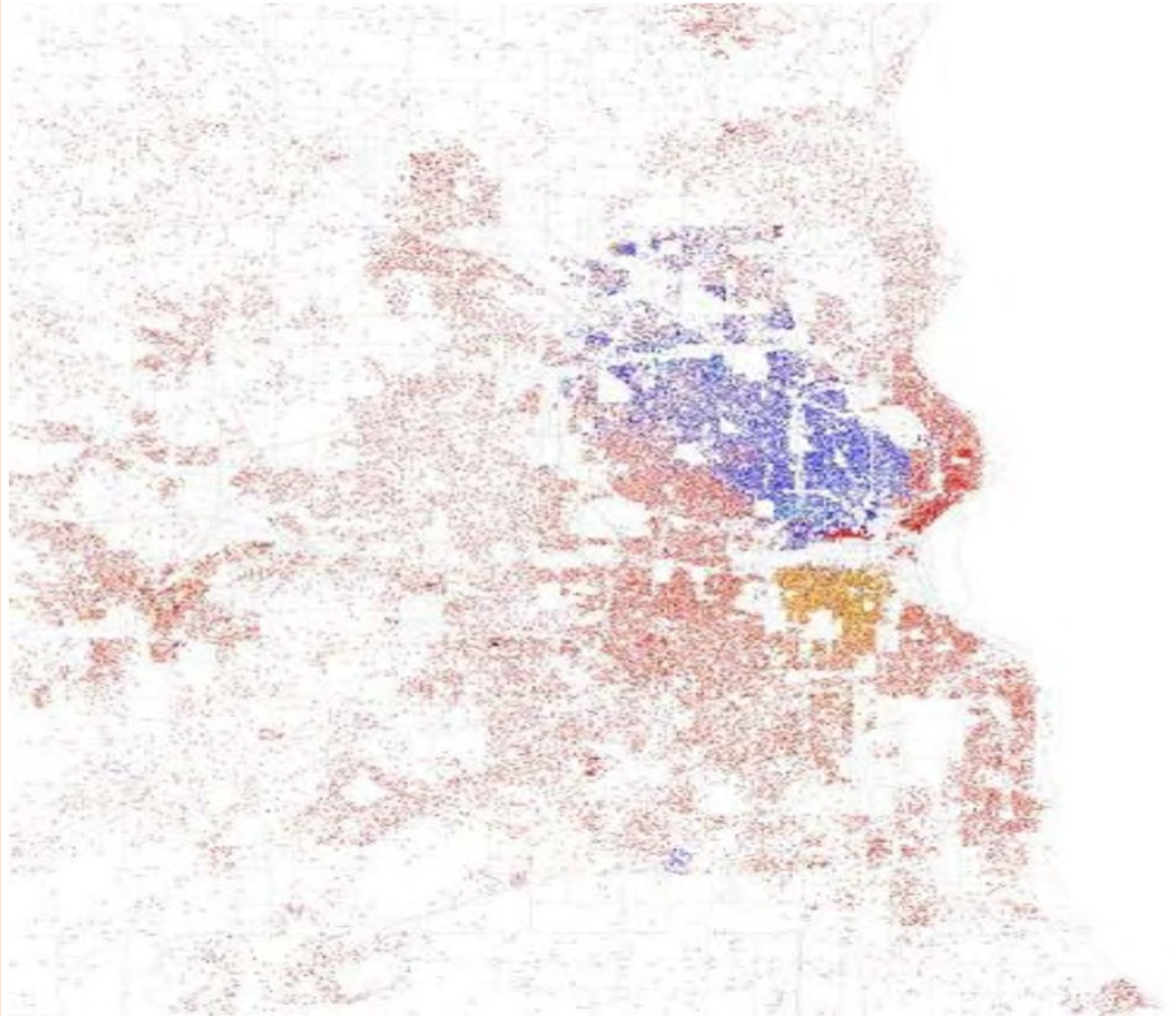
Los Angeles



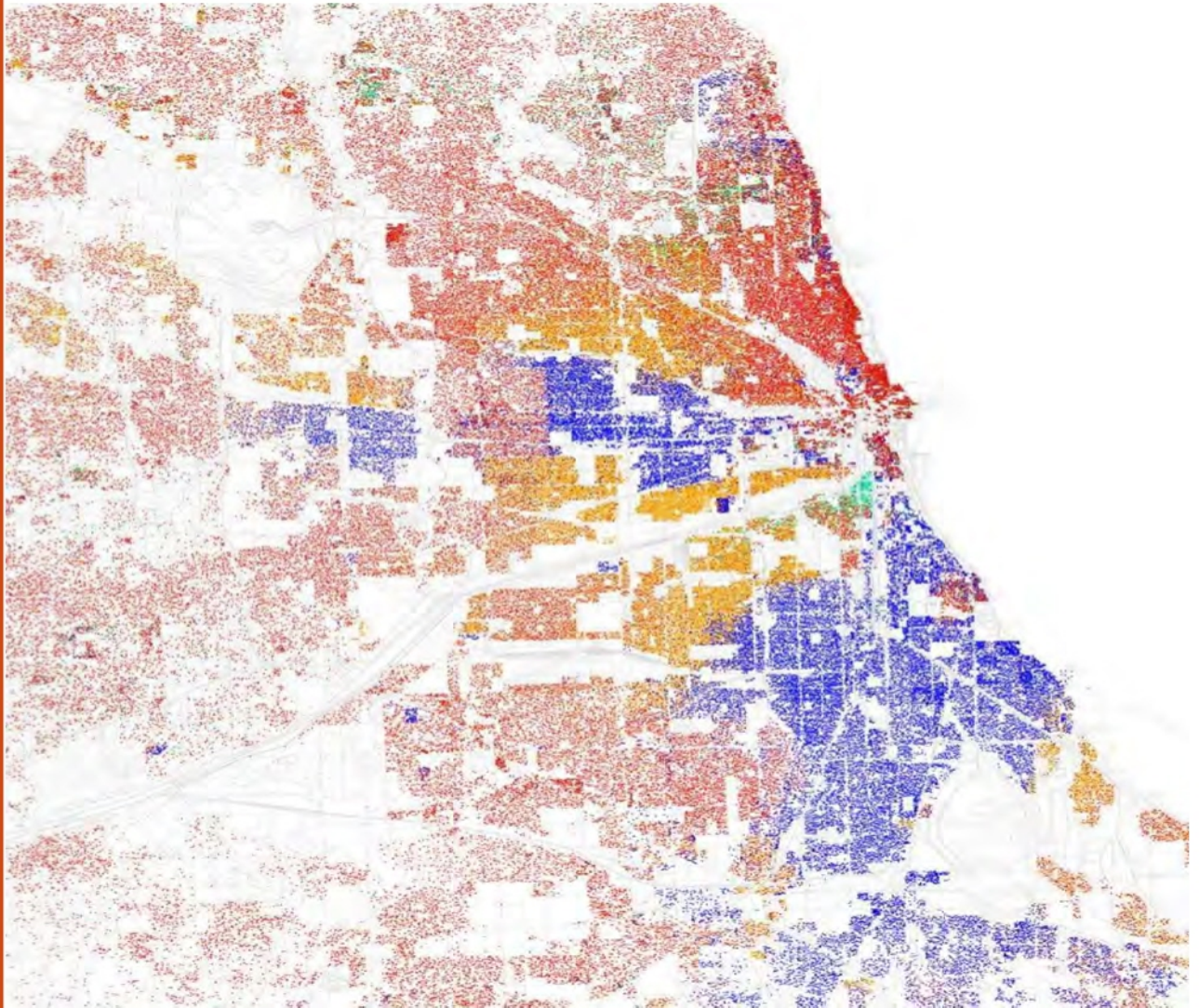
Philadelphia



Milwaukee



Chicago





New York



Detroit

“What the 4th of July Means to Me”

Why does Douglass spend so much time setting up the monumental struggle the founders engaged in to preserve freedom and liberty?

What is Douglass’s reaction to the celebration of the Fourth of July? What does it mean to him? Why?

Why does Douglass get frustrated by those who suggest that the abolitionist cause would be better served if they ‘argue their case more’ rather than spending their time denouncing and rebuking?

What is the self-evident point supporters of slavery are willfully ignoring?

Douglass's Take on the 4th

“What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.”

The Case for Reparations: Housing Policy

- According to Coates, why is home-ownership central to social and economic prosperity? Why is Coates so focused on Housing policy more broadly?
- What is a ‘contract sale’ on a house? How is it different from a mortgage you would get from a bank?
- Why didn’t Black Americans just get a normal mortgage? How common were “contract sales”? What is the practice of red-lining?
- What is the Contract Buyer’s League? Why is their story so crucial to Coates larger case for reparations?

What are Reparations?

“Reparations—by which I mean the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences—is the price we must pay to see ourselves squarely. What I’m talking about is more than recompense for past injustices—more than a handout, a payoff, hush money, or a reluctant bribe. What I’m talking about is a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal. Reparations would mean the end of scarfing hot dogs on the Fourth of July while denying the facts of our heritage. Reparations would mean the end of yelling ‘patriotism’ while waving a Confederate flag. Reparations would mean a revolution of the American consciousness, a reconciling of our self-image as the great democratizer with the facts of our history.”

A Case Against Reparations?

- What is Richard Epstein's core complaints about those who advocate for reparations? There are three.
- To what extent, if at all, are Epstein and Coates talking about different things—that is, are they talking past each other?
- How might Coates respond to Epstein?

Diversity, Inclusion, and National Security

- According to the authors today, what are some reasons why a recognition of diversity is important for our national security? Name Four.
- Why did General Milley formally apologize for his involvement in the photo op at Saint John's Church?
- How can we better ensure unit cohesion and readiness given our rapidly changing society?

Where Does This Leave Us?



- In the 1940s, Gunnar Myrdal wrote a landmark study on the history of race-relations in the U.S. called *An American Dilemma*
- Reflected a moral dilemma embodied by the gap that existed between the values enshrined in the 'American Creed' and the unfair, discriminatory treatment Black Americans endured in gross violation of that creed.
- The dilemma stemmed from how Whites maintained and justified White Supremacy
 - Whites set up formal and informal structures of political, economic and social oppression
 - When Blacks proved unable to succeed in American life as a result, black failure served as a reason for their oppression

Where Does This Leave Us?



- Both Douglass and Coates speak to how the “American Dilemma” has played out over time
- Douglass highlights to glaring contradiction between the values of the revolution and the harsh realities of American slavery → Seen as a cry for political recognition → a recognition of a slave’s humanity
- Coates’ goal is to highlight how social and economic structures created by national policies have continued to hold Black Americans at a systematic disadvantage to this very day

LGBT Rights



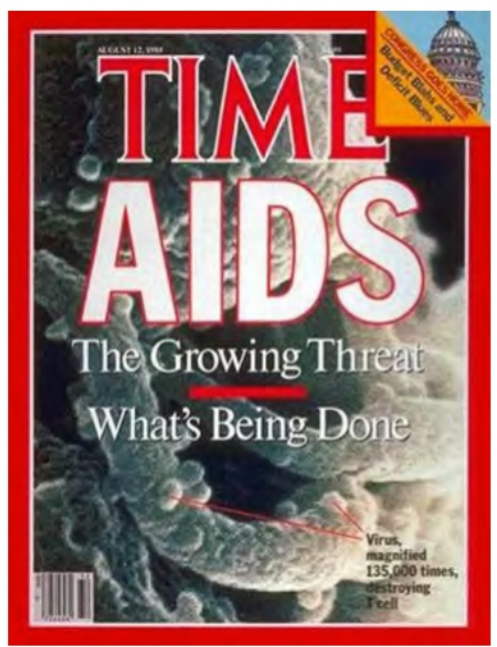
- Supreme Court jurisprudence on gay rights has gone through an incredible transformation in only a couple decades
- In the 1980s the Court treated gay rights with a general indifference, bordering on hostility
- Homosexuality viewed as deviant behavior that warranted social ostracism → A violation of moral and cultural norms



LGBT Rights



- Cultural attitudes reinforced in 1980s by the AIDS epidemic
- In 1981, the Centers for Disease Control reported that over a hundred gay men had mysteriously died of pneumonia and other diseases easily treatable diseases
 - The only common link among these deaths was the presence of a virus that systematically destroys the immune system
 - By August of that year, the CDC had identified the condition caused by the virus as Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS)



LGBT Rights



- The disease crested in the mid-1990s, suggesting that peak infection occurred mid-1980s
- Known as the ‘gay disease’ → devastated an entire generation of gay men
- Fostered fear and anxiety toward homosexuality
 - Officials within the Reagan administration even contemplated quarantining all gay men



Bowers v. Hardwick (1986)



- Michael Hardwick was charged with violating a Georgia anti-sodomy law
- 5-4 majority upheld the Georgia law
 - “no connection between family, marriage, or procreation on the one hand and homosexual activity on the other has been demonstrated either by the Court of Appeal or by respondent.”
 - ”It is obvious to us that neither of these formulations [of fundamental rights] would extend a fundamental right to homosexuals to engage in acts of consensual sodomy”

After *Bowers v. Hardwick*



- The politics of gay rights became part of the culture war
 - Don't ask, Don't tell
 - Defense of Marriage Act
 - The ban on gays in the Boy Scouts



After Bowers v. Hardwick



- By the 2000s, attitudes toward gays and lesbians shifted radically
- Enhanced cultural presence
 - Ellen
 - The Real World
 - Will & Grace
 - Modern Family



Recent Action on Gay Rights



Lawrence v. Texas (2003)

- Anti-sodomy laws are unconstitutional

Repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell (2010)

United States v. Windsor (2013)

- Denial of federal benefits to same sex couples is a violation of Due Process Clause of Fifth Amendment

Obergefell v. Hodges (2015)

- The right to marry is a fundamental right, the denial of which to same sex couples is a violation of the 14th Amendment



Levels of Scrutiny

- The Supreme Court had long held that some legal challenges might require a higher level of judicial scrutiny than others
- The standard level of scrutiny is known as “*rational basis review*” → All the state has to prove is that a law is rationally related to legitimate government interest
 - Economic legislation is typically assessed using the rational basis test

Levels of Scrutiny

- However, some legal challenges will automatically trigger a higher level of judicial review, known as *strict scrutiny*
- The presumption is that the law is unconstitutional unless it is:
 - Necessary to serve a *compelling state interest*
 - Narrowly tailored and uses the least restrictive means to serve that interest
- Strict scrutiny applies to any legal challenges involving:
 - Electoral rules or political processes
 - Liberty protections in the Bill of Rights
 - Anything that discriminates against ‘discrete and insular’ minorities

Levels of Scrutiny

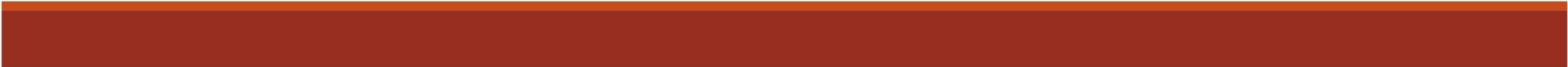
- Race was added to the list of ‘discrete and insular’ minorities that required strict scrutiny in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967)
- Gender also triggers heightened scrutiny, albeit only an *intermediate level of scrutiny*
 - Asks whether the law's gender classification is substantially related to an important governmental objective
 - The denial of strict scrutiny is rooted in recognition of biological gender differences



American Political System & Theory

LESSON 25-31: LAW & DEMOCRACY

(b)(6)



Today

- Voting Rights – Vote Denial

Next Lesson

- Voting Rights – Vote Dilution

Reminders

The Centrality of the Vote

Elections in general—and voting in particular—serve four functions in a democracy

- Elects public officials
- Ensures accountability of lawmakers in office
- Give voters influence in direction of public policy
- Provide legitimacy to government

Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886):

- The vote is a ‘fundamental right’ because its “preservative off all other rights”

Voting in Constitution

There is no affirmative right to vote in the Constitution

- *Bush v. Gore* (2000) “[t]he individual citizen has no federal constitutional right to vote for electors for the President of the United States.”

The *original* Constitution says very little about who can vote.

- “electors of members of the House of Representatives have the qualification requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature” – Article 1, Section 2.
- “The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations” – Article 1 Section 4.

Constitutional Amendments

- 15th Amendment – Prohibits withholding the franchise on the basis of race
- 19th Amendment – Prohibits withholding the franchise on the basis of sex
- 23rd Amendment - Gives residents of Washington D.C. the right to vote in presidential elections
- 24th Amendment – Bans the use of poll taxes
- 26th Amendment – Prohibits withholding the franchise on the basis of age for people over age of 18

Voting and the Property Restriction

- Attitudes about the franchise were divided between Federalists and Anti-Federalists
- In practice, states adopted voting rules following the old British colonial model
- Limited eligible voters to ‘freeholders’—i.e. white male property owners over 21 years of age
- Some states included religious restrictions as well

The Property Requirement Removed

- By early 19th century, the idea of universal white male suffrage took hold
- Some non-property owners began to gain voting rights through the payment of an alternative 'poll tax'
- Other non-property holders gained the vote through military service

Black Inclusion and then Exclusion

- By the start of the Civil War, five Northern states allowed African American suffrage
- After the war, the Republican Congress passed the Reconstruction Act of 1866, which made the enfranchisement of Blacks a condition for re-entry into the Union
- The Fifteenth Amendment later removed race as a barrier to voting in the North and the South

Black Inclusion and then Exclusion

- Throughout the 1870s, African Americans in the South exercised the vote and even held elected office
- In 1872, there were 300 Black legislators from states of the former confederacy
- Election of 1877 led to the end of Reconstruction, and the tides shifted on the African American enfranchisement

Black Inclusion and then Exclusion

- After Reconstruction, the South systematically limited black voting rights, first through violence in 1870s-1880s, then through legal restrictions beginning around 1890
- Nearly all blacks in the South kept from voting by 1900
- Tools of white oppression of black voters
 - Voter registration
 - Literacy tests
 - Poll taxes
 - White Primary

Voter Registration

- The state of Alabama passed a new state constitution in 1901 designed specifically to disenfranchise African Americans
- *Giles v. Harris* (1903):
 - Giles filed suit on behalf of himself and 5,000 others in Alabama as a violation of 15th Amendment, claiming that the entire electoral system in Alabama was illegal
- Oliver Wendell Holmes' opinion refused to grant relief:
 - "If the conspiracy exists, a name on a piece of paper will not defeat them... Unless we are prepared to supervise the voting in that state by officers of the court, it seems to us that all that the plaintiff could get from equity would be an empty form."

Literacy Tests

- Between 1890 and 1908, Southern states passed as part of disenfranchisement movement
- Whites excluded from test through ‘grandfather clause’
 - Declared unconstitutional in *Guinn v. United States* (1915)
- *Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections* (1959)
 - Held that the use of literacy tests are not, on their face, unconstitutional, so long as they are applied in a race-neutral fashion
- Literacy tests were banned under the Voting Rights Act (1965)

The Poll Tax

- By 1904, all southern states had adopted a poll tax.
- *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections* (1966)
 - Overturned a poll tax using the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment
 - “Wealth, like race, creed or color, is not germane to one’s ability to participate intelligently in the political process”
- Poll taxes later made constitutionally impermissible by the passage of the 24th Amendment

The White Primary

- In the one-party South, exclusion from primaries was tantamount to exclusion from the whole electoral process due to one-party rule
- Parties considered private associations and primaries are private affairs. See *Newberry v. United States* (1921).
- *Smith v. Allwright* (1944):
 - Overturned white primary restrictions in Texas
 - White primary unconstitutional because party primaries constituted ‘state functions;’ therefore, the fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments applied.

Black Re-enfranchisement

- Black participation in World War II re-opened the national discussion on civil rights in the South
- The Voting Rights Act of 1965
 - Section 2 – Restated 15th Amendment prohibition on racial discrimination
 - Section 4 – Banned literacy tests in South—extended to whole nation in later Amendments—and provided coverage formula for who was covered under Section 5
 - Section 5 – Federal Preclearance Requirement
- *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) struck down section 5 due to the ‘outdated’ coverage formula

Expansion of Women's Suffrage

Minor v. Happersett (1875):

- The passage of the 14th and 15th Amendment does not provide a legal basis for female suffrage.
- Based on narrow reading of the Privileges and Immunities clause

Women's suffrage became a political issue after the ruling in *Minor*

In 1890, Wyoming became first state to offer women's suffrage, followed by Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and other western states

Pro-Suffrage Posters



Anti-Suffrage Posters



Election Administration Reforms

National Voter Registration Act (1993)

- Voters can register at state motor vehicle offices
- Imposes restrictions on the way states can purge voter rolls
- Standardized by-mail registration

Help America Vote Act (2002)

- Voting equipment upgrades
- Provisional ballots
- Statewide voter database
- Voter Identification for by-mail registrants

Election Integrity and Voting Rights

- Since the 2020 Elections, Republican lawmakers in 33 states have proposed over 165 new laws limited access to the ballot
 - Limit mail voting access
 - Imposes stricter voter ID requirements
 - Slash voter registration opportunities → ending same day registration/eliminate automatic voter registration
 - Enable more aggressive voter roll purges
 - Exact signature matching requirements

Election Integrity and Voting Rights

House Resolution 1: For the People Act

- Automatic Voter registration
- No-excuse mail in balloting
- 15 days window for early voting
- Restoration of voting rights to felons who served their sentences
- Requires states to set up independent commissions for federal congressional redistricting
- Tighter campaign finance rules
- Ethics reforms
- Disclosure of Presidential Tax Returns

Prisoners and Felons

- According to Manza and Uggen, why is the question of felon disenfranchisement so important for democratic theory?
- How do racial politics correspond to the rise of the carceral state—and felon disenfranchisement? Also, how does it exacerbate racial inequality?
- What have been the practical consequence of non-incarcerated felon disenfranchisement?
- Why might re-enfranchisement help facilitate ex-felon reintegration into American society?

Equal Representation in House?

- Are voters represented equally across all Congressional districts?
- There is state-by-state variation in the number of people in each district
- Until the 1960s, there was wide variation within each state as well!

One-Person, One-Vote Doctrine

- Prior to 1960s, Court ruled malapportionment cases were non-justiciable under political question doctrine
- The Court reversed positions in *Baker v. Carr* (1962)
- Precedent set in *Baker* initiated a line of cases requiring redistricting plans to follow an equal population rule

Redistricting and Gerrymandering

- Fair districting practices speak to one's ability to cast a meaningful vote in choosing their representation
- Central to the political and legal debate over redistricting is concern over 'vote dilution.'
- In other words, do institutional rules give some people more political voice than others?



Gerrymandering

- A form of redistricting where congressional boundaries are purposely manipulated to benefit of one group over the other
- The practice named after Elbridge Gerry, who created a state Senate district in Massachusetts that looked like a salamander.
- Gerrymandering techniques:
 - Cracking
 - Packing
 - Stacking

Types of Gerrymandering

- Bi-partisan Gerrymandering
- Partisan Gerrymandering
- Racial Gerrymandering

Partisan Gerrymandering

The Court's position on partisan gerrymandering is mostly sound and
fury that represents nothing

Davis v. Bandemer (1986)

- Challenge to the districting of Indiana's state legislature
- Court ruled that gerrymandering claims are justiciable.
- No majority on the equal protection claim
- Plurality opinion upheld plan, but laid out standard for the adjudication of future cases—that standard never garnered majority support on Court

Partisan Gerrymandering

By 2000s, this confusion has led some constitutional scholars to conclude:

- “Far from leading to a requirement of proportional representation, the courts almost without exception have rejected partisan gerrymandering claims, setting a legal standard that extends an invitation to litigation without much prospect of redress.” –Issacharoff and Karlan (2002)

Vieth v. Jubelirer (2004) considered a Pennsylvania districting plan

- The court refused to strike down the plan
- Justice Kennedy suggested that a reasonable standard for resolving such disputed was still possible

Gill v. Whitford (2018)

This case dealt with a Republican districting plan in Wisconsin following redistricting in 2010

- Republicans won 48.6% of the statewide vote, but won 60% of the state legislative seats
- In 2014, the GOP won 52% of the vote, giving them 63 seats

Plaintiffs argued they had a test for determining an unconstitutional gerrymander known as the Efficiency Gap

- Any vote for a losing candidate or any vote beyond the bare minimum needed for a plurality victory is considered wasted
- $EG = (\text{Dem Wasted Votes} - \text{Republican Wasted Votes}) / \text{Total Votes Cast}$
- Anything over 6% considered an unconstitutional gerrymander

Gill v. Whitford (2018)

The Court ultimately punted on this case by denying William Whitford standing to sue in Court

The majority found that the plaintiffs alleged but did not prove individual harms, providing evidence instead only of statewide harms of alleged partisan gerrymandering.

In a concurring opinion, Justice Kagan suggested that future claims ought to demonstrate injury via the first Amendment's right to association



Rucho v. Common Cause (2019)

Two additional partisan gerrymandering cases were brought to the court → Consolidated into a single case

- In NC, Democrats won 47% of the statewide vote, but only won 3 of the state's 13 House seats
- In MD, Republicans won 36% of statewide vote, but only won 1 of the state's 8 House seats



Rucho v. Common Cause (2019)

In a 5-4 decision, the Court dismissed the case and declared that partisan gerrymandering claims were non-justiciable → Constituted a political question

Justice Roberts wrote:

- *We have never struck down a partisan gerrymander as unconstitutional — despite various requests over the past 45 years. The expansion of judicial authority would not be into just any area of controversy, but into one of the most intensely partisan aspects of American political life. That intervention would be unlimited in scope and duration — it would recur over and over again around the country with each new round of districting, for state as well as federal representatives.... What the appellees and dissent seek is an unprecedented expansion of judicial power.”*

Racial Gerrymandering

The Court's position on racial gerrymandering is incredibly convoluted

Tension exists between the Court's interpretation of the Voting Rights Act (1965) and the line of cases stemming from Court's decision in *Shaw v. Reno* (1993)

Recent questions also exist around whether majority-minority districts actually undermine minority voting power

Voting Rights Act (1965)

After the first wave of VRA enforcement successfully put an end to racially motivated 'vote denial,' a second wave of judicial cases focused on efforts to dilute minority voting strength

The centerpiece of the VRA was Section 5's federal preclearance provision

Section 4's preclearance coverage formula:

- 1) If as state used test or device for voting or
- 2) Fewer than 50% of state's VAP registered to vote or voted in 1964 election.

Districting Rules and Preclearance

Do districting rules require preclearance?

Allen v. State Board of Elections (1969)

- State of Mississippi wanted to move from districted elections to multi-member at-large elections
- Mississippi officials argued that preclearance was only required for voting rules
- The court disagreed, arguing that the right to vote is affected by dilution as well as outright denial

Federal Preclearance Standard

The preclearance standard in the VRA used by the DOJ is whether new electoral rules have a retrogressive effect on minority representation

In other words, do the new electoral rules leave racial and ethnic minorities worse off than current law?

If answer is 'no,' preclearance is granted

The Rise of Majority-Minority Districts

New redistricting disputes over minority vote dilution after 1980 census opened the door to a new line of cases

City of Mobile v. Bolden (1980):

- Court ruled that a *constitutional* challenge to redistricting plans leading to racial vote dilution had to prove not just a discriminatory effect, but also the intention to discriminate
- In other words, reliance on the 14th and 15th Amendment required a higher evidentiary standard than VRA's Section 5

The Rise of Majority-Minority Districts

Congress passed Amendments to Section 2 of the VRA in 1982 that overruled the *Mobile* decision and required a practice of maximizing minority representation

Thornburg v. Gingles (1986):

- Legislative district lines cannot dilute minority representation

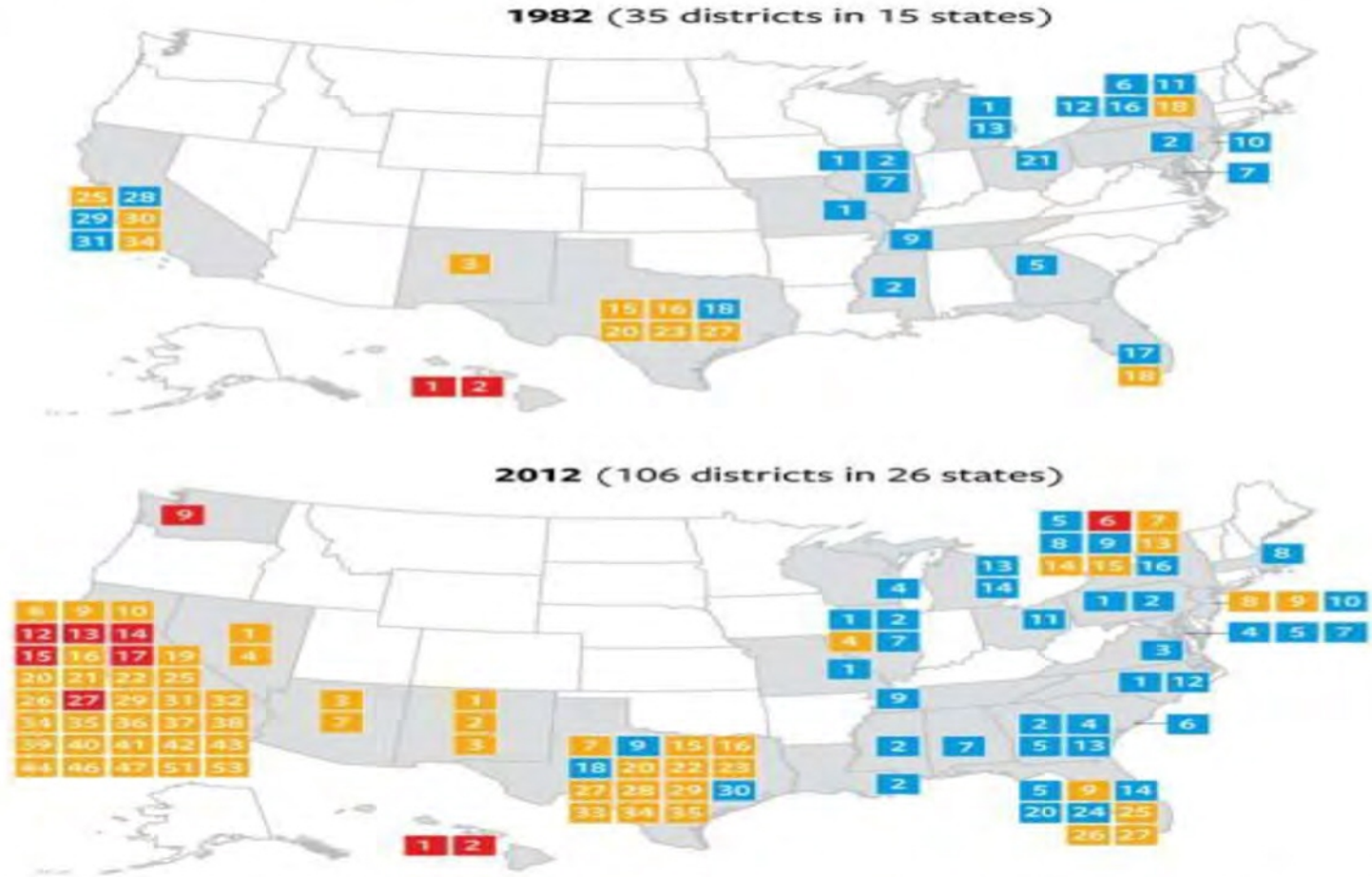
- Developed a three-pronged test for assessing vote dilution cases
 - 1) The minority group had to be sufficiently large to constitute a majority in a single-member district
 - 2) The group has to prove that its politically cohesive
 - 3) White block voting against preferred minority candidates

Minority Districts Multiply

Since 1982, the number of congressional districts in which a majority of residents are nonwhite has tripled. In 2012, for the first time, a majority of states hold at least one minority-majority congressional district.

Congressional districts with a nonwhite majority, by leading race or ethnicity

■ African-American ■ Asian ■ Latino



Graphic by PETER BELL and DAVID WASSERMAN

Sources: *The Cook Political Report*; Census Bureau

Challenges to Minority-Majority Districts

Shaw v. Reno (1993)

- The case dealt with the redistricting in North Carolina, which was required to create two majority-minority districts by the DOJ
- Plaintiffs argued that it strict reliance on race violated the Equal Protection Clause
- The Court agreed:
 - “[North Carolina’s 12th District] is so extremely irregular on its face that it can only be viewed as an effort to segregate the races for purposed of voting, without regard for traditional district principles and without sufficiently compelling justification. . . . The district bears an uncomfortable resemblance to political apartheid.”

Racial Gerrymandering Post-*Shaw*

- Is second 2's results test unconstitutional? → *Brnovich v. Democratic Central Committee* (2021)
- How does one prove racial gerrymandering now that partisan gerrymandering is non-justiciable?
- Do majority-minority districts actually dilute the substantive representation of minorities?

Redistricting with Independent Commissions

What are the authors trying to accomplish with this paper? In other words, what is their research question (frame it as a why question with only the DV)?

What are the authors key findings? What are some of the implications of these findings for electoral politics?

Is there a difference between partisan gerrymandering and bi-partisan incumbency protection? Does this difference matter?

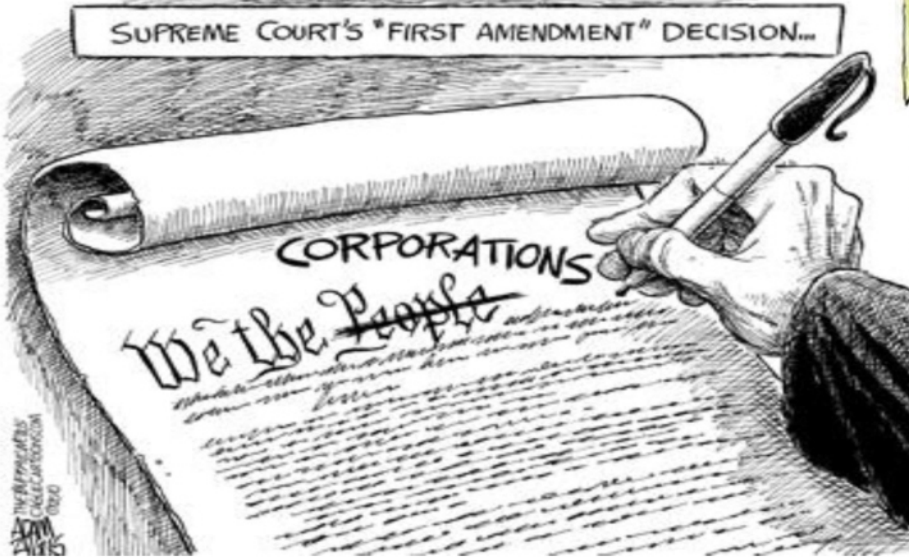
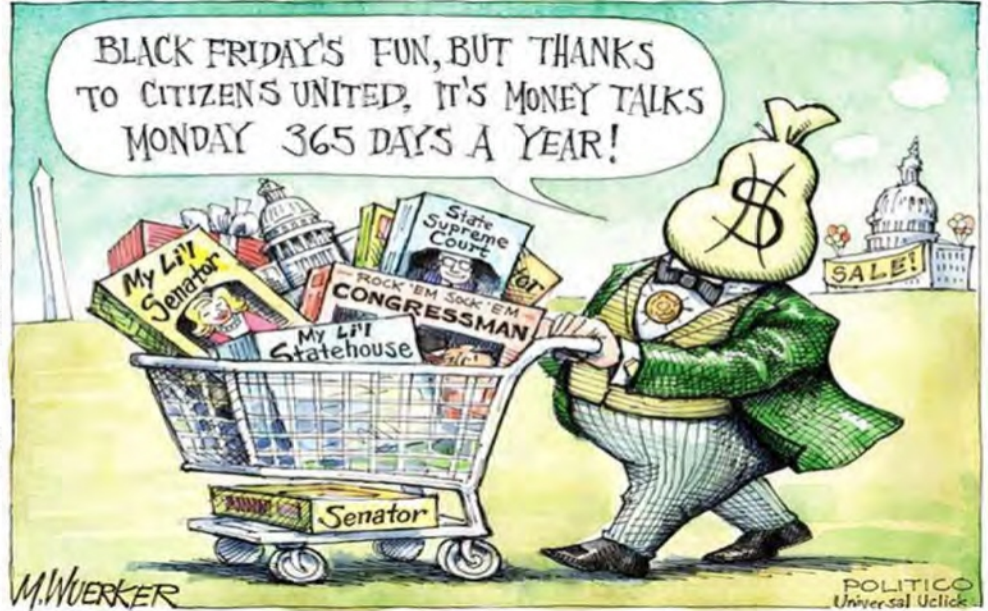
Why Do We Care About the Influence of Money in Politics?

Conflict over campaign finance is fundamentally a conflict between political equality and political liberty.

Supporters of political equality often tie their criticism to the perception of corruption in politics



“MO’ MONEY, MO’ PROBLEMS” – NOTORIOUS B.I.G.



Origins of Campaign Finance

- Initial attempts at regulating the flow of money into elections go back to the Progressive Era
- The Tillman Act (1907) – A complete ban on all corporate contributions. Later amendments required disclosure requirements and set spending limits on congressional campaigns
- Taft-Hartley Act (1947) - Placed permanent ban on all labor union contributions

Federal Election Campaign Act (1971/1974)

- Placed aggregate limits on all candidate expenditure and restricted contributions by candidates to their own campaigns
- Limited independent, third-party expenditures
- Set contribution limits for citizens
- Disclosure requirements on fundraising and expenditures
- Federal Election Commission to monitor new financing system

Buckley v. Valeo (1976)

- Every major component of FECA was challenged in Court, namely as a violation of the 1st Amendment's right to free speech
- The Court rejected argument that campaign finance was merely regulating conduct. Instead, it ruled that money is equivalent to speech in political campaigns
- Limits on campaign finance has implications for political speech rights and associational rights. The regulation of those rights face strict legal scrutiny
- Justice Department argued that the compelling state interest was to 'prevent corruption or the appearance thereof'

Buckley v. Valeo (1976)

- Limits on direct contributions are constitutional because they present the potential for bribery or undue influence—i.e. quid pro quo
- Limits on the following all unconstitutional:
 - Candidate spending (Expenditures)
 - Self-Financing
 - Independent Expenditures
- Disclosure requirements constitutional
- Public financing constitutional as long as it is voluntary

Buckley v. Valeo (1976)

The Court rejected the argument that the promotion of political equality justified limiting campaign money.

- “the concept that government may restrict the speech of some elements of society in order to enhance the relative voice of others is wholly foreign to the First Amendment.”

Supporters of reform are henceforth forced to rely on mitigation of corruption argument to justify future regulation

Consequences of FECA and *Buckley*

Explosion in Political Action Committees

Rise of 'Soft Money'

- Political parties can raise money outside federal limits for non-federal party activity and party building efforts
- By 1990s, parties figured out how to spent soft money funds on advertising in the form of 'issue ads,' so long as those ads avoided certain 'magic words'

Role of Political Parties

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2018



Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (2002)

Eliminated soft money contributions to parties

Increased contribution limit on hard money donations to candidates—raised to \$2,600—and indexed to inflation

Restricted independent expenditure ads that specifically mentioned a candidate within 30 days of primary election and 60 days of general election

Required “I approve this message” on advertisements

Citizens' United v. FEC (2010)

Court ruled that limits on *independent expenditures* by interest groups and corporations violate First Amendment

Federal government may not prohibit corporations from funding independent expenditures from their central treasuries—i.e. they no longer must set up separate PACs.



Corporate Personhood & the Constitution



Campaign Finance after *Citizens' United*

Following *Citizens' United*, the Court extended its logic to apply to wealthy individuals in *Speechnow.org v. FEC (2010)*

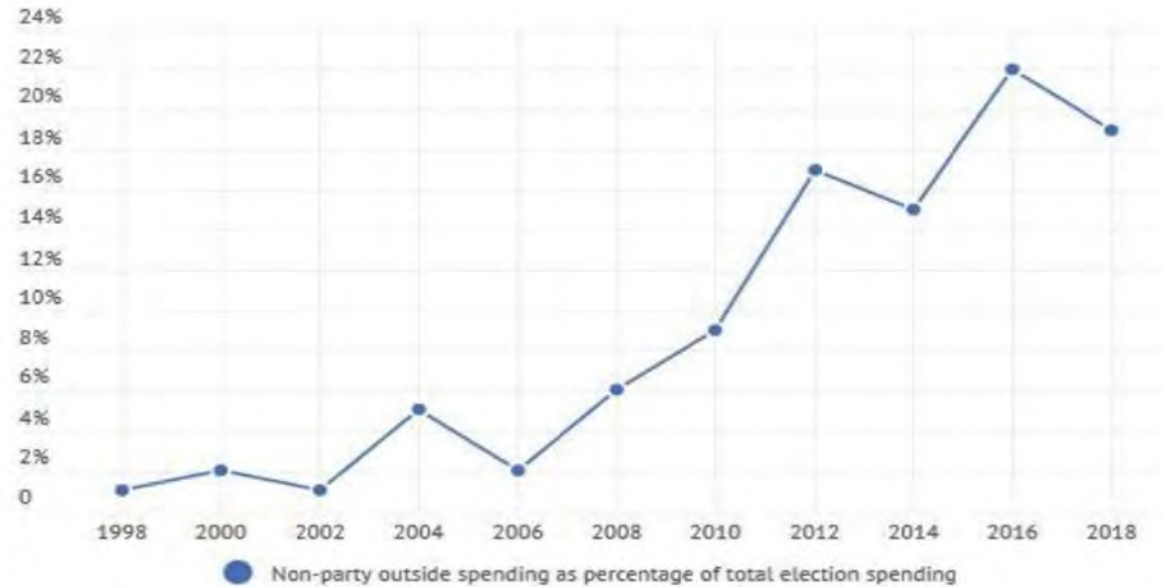
Speechnow.org is a non-profit organization that sought to accept contributions from individuals in excess of the \$5,000 contribution limit

The Court ruled that contributions to independent organizations did not create actual or apparent quid pro quo corruption, thus contribution limits violated the 1st Amendment

Proportion of Non-Party Outside Spending (1998-2018)



Following the Citizens United decision in January 2010, outside spending exploded, becoming a larger proportion of total election-related spending with each midterm and presidential election.



Overall Spending in National Elections

Total cost of US elections

\$US, adjusted for inflation

■ Congressional Races ■ Presidential Race

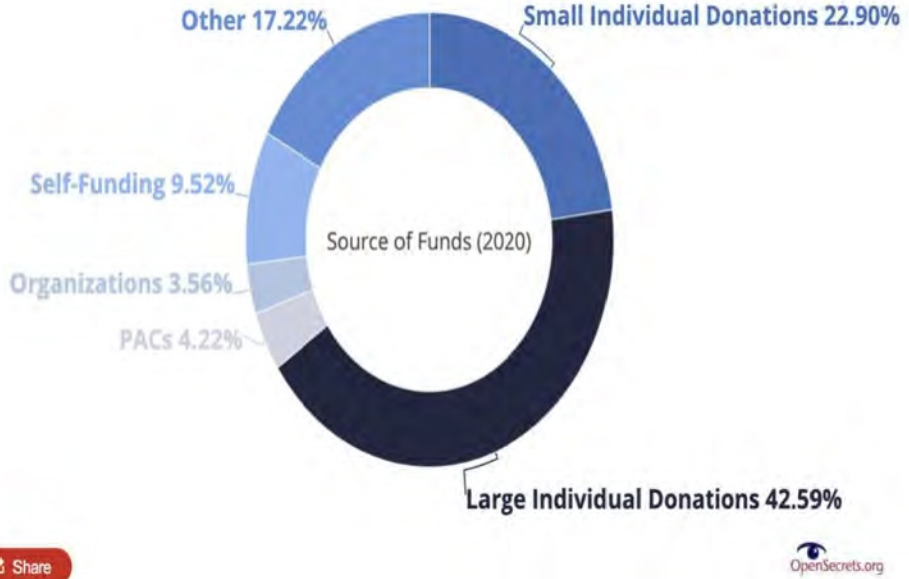
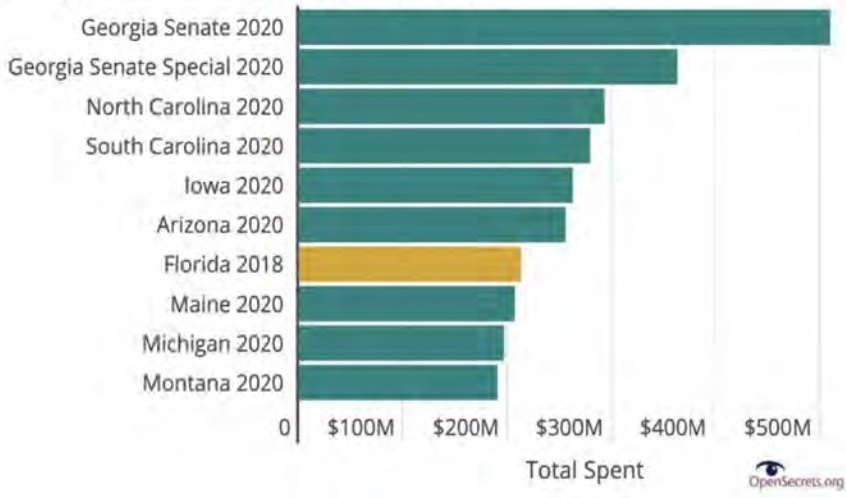


Source: Center for Responsive Politics, via Open Secrets

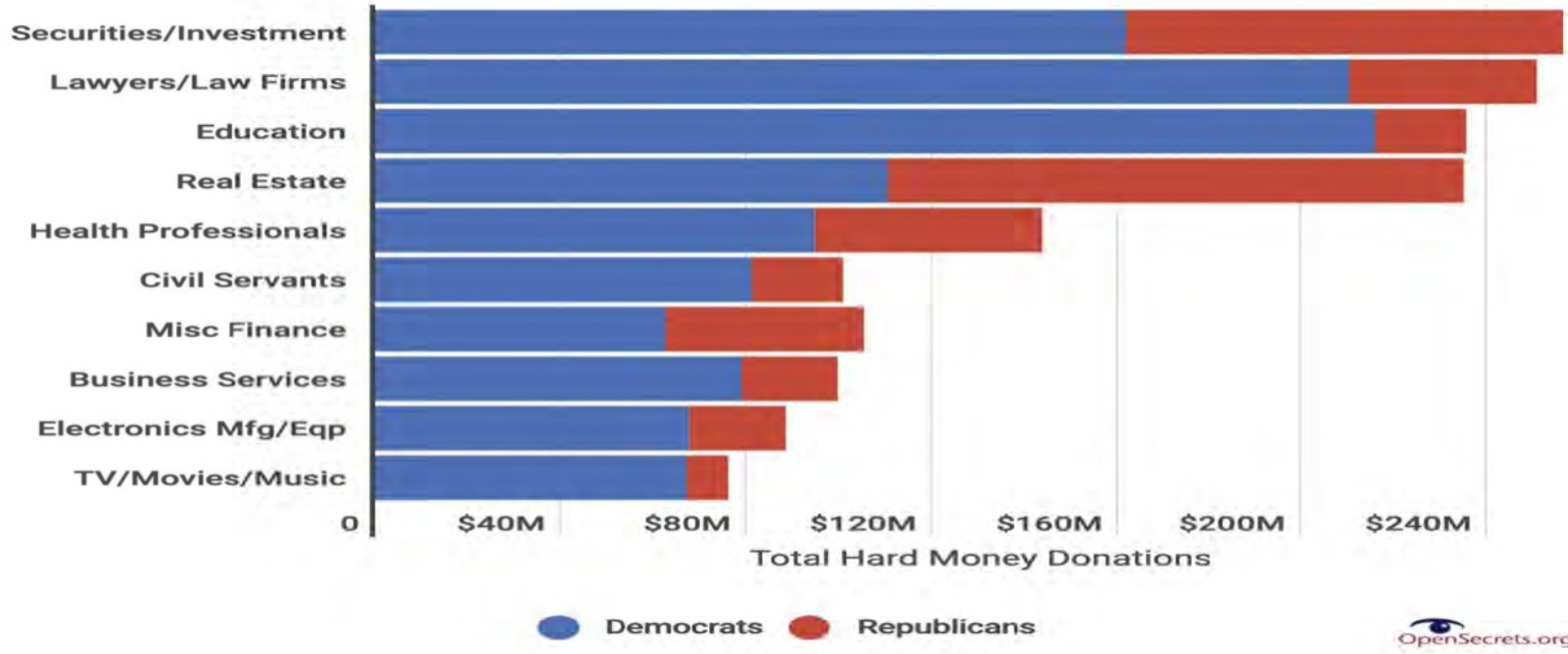
Money Spent in 2020 Elections

Most Expensive Senate Races Ever

The 2020 elections saw nine of the 10 most expensive Senate races ever, with the Georgia Senate contests taking the top two spots.



Independent Group Donations in 2020



Current Problems in Campaign Finance

Dysfunction of the Federal Election Commission

The rise of Super PACs

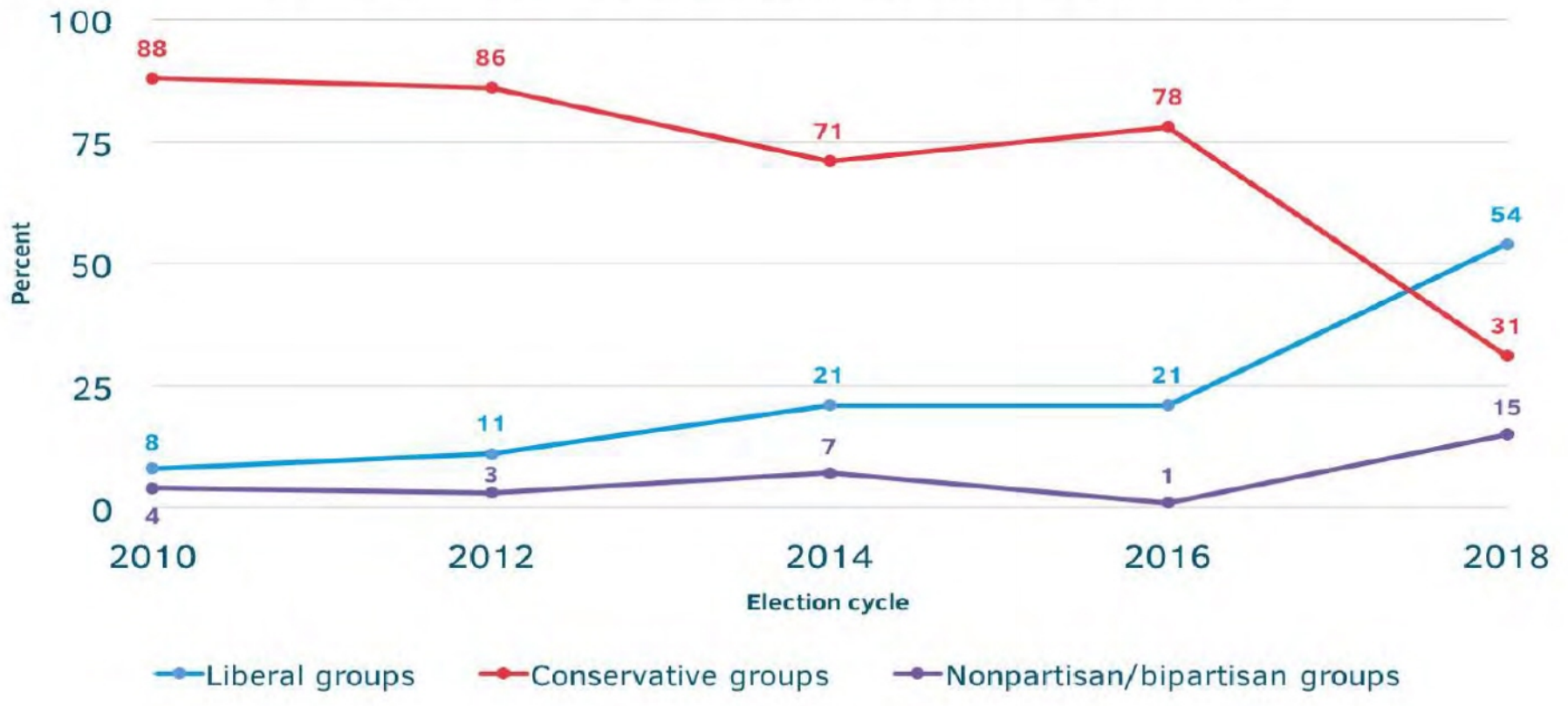
Concern over influence of interest groups relative to political parties

Is public financing dead?

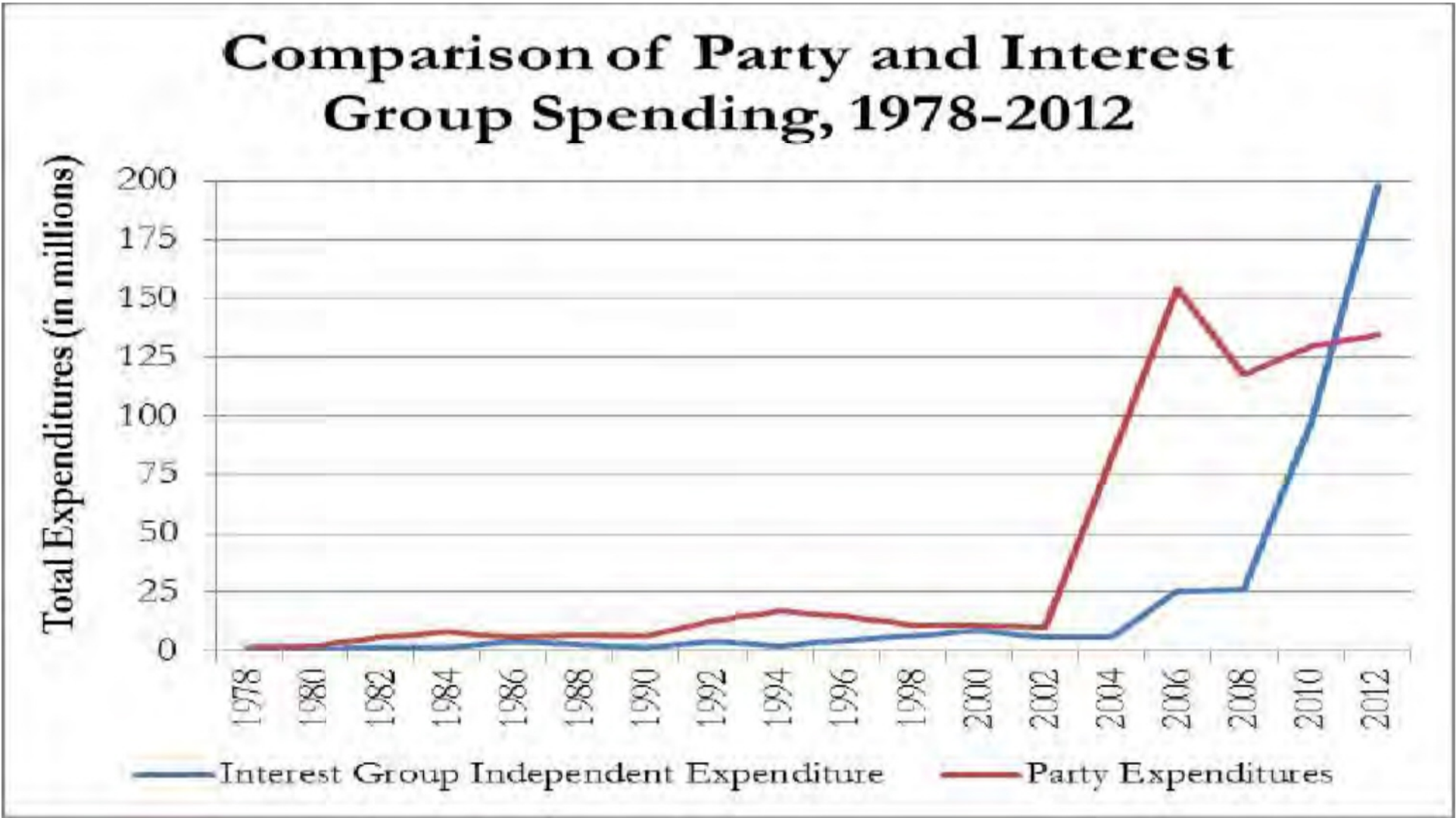
The need for new disclosure rules

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Who is spending dark money?



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Why So Little Money In Politics?

What is the conventional wisdom about the purpose that money serves in politics, according to the authors?

What is Tullock's puzzle? How do the authors resolve the puzzle?

What do the authors conclude is the role of money in politics? What purpose does it serve?

Small Donor Campaign Finance Reform

What explains the small donor revolution in political campaigns that we have seen over the last 10 years? Why is it viewed by reformers as a generally good thing?

Why is Pildes worried about the influence of small donors?

What provisions of H.R.1 is Pildes most skeptical of? Why? What proposed fixes does he offer?

The Empirical Literature on Money in Politics

What are the three assumptions that people hold about the influence of money in politics?
What are the three conclusions that the empirical literature tends to draw?

Why is non-incumbent spending more important than incumbent spending? What is the relationship between incumbent spending and electoral victory?

What is the “simultaneity problem” with capturing the true effect of money in elections?

What are some of the normative implications for the empirical findings on money in politics?
Does it change the way we ought to think about reform?

Elections and Money in Politics

Conventional Wisdom

- The more money candidates spend, the more votes they receive—i.e. money buys votes
- The candidate who spends the most is most likely to win
- Money not only helps people win, but it helps to keep them in office

Does Social Science support this view?

Key Findings in the Literature

Incumbent v. Challenger Spending

- In open seats, the more a candidate spends, the more they increase their vote share
- Challenger spending is highly predictive of candidate strength and more spending equates to higher likelihood of winning
- Incumbent spending is only modestly linked to increased vote share; sometimes, they are even negatively linked.

Why is this the case?

- Threshold effects and diminishing returns

Final Thoughts on Campaign Finance

Does having more political voice distort electoral outcomes?

Has an unprecedented amount of money in politics fundamentally changed the way elections operate?

Post-Citizens' United gives interest groups more voice at the expense of political parties

More limitations on campaign spending could hurt challengers more than incumbents!

Significance of Political Parties

“Political Parties created democracy, and democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties” – E.E. Schattschneider (1942)

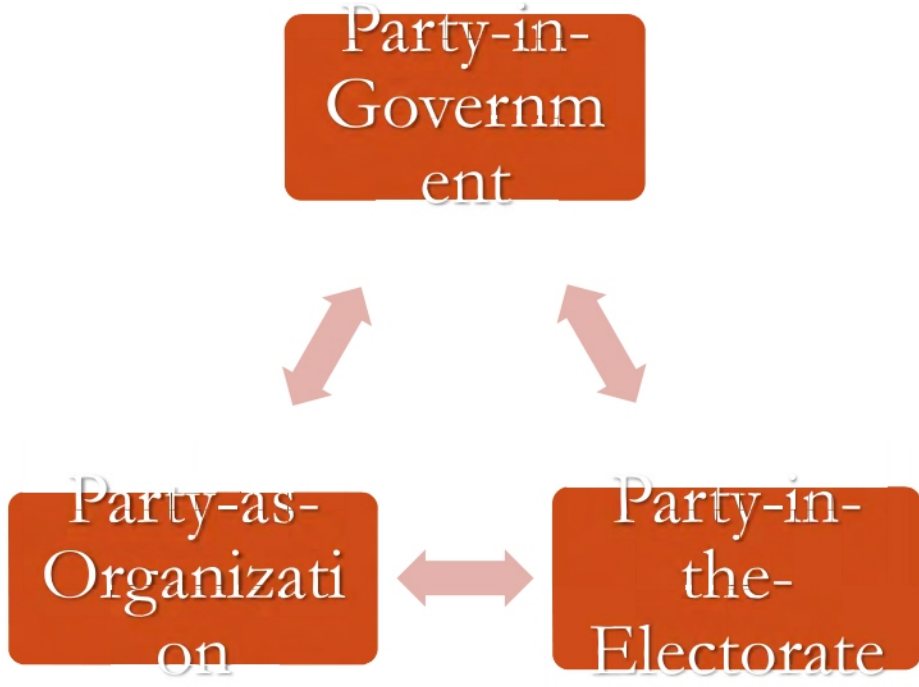
“The only way collective responsibility has ever existed, and can, exist, given our institutions, is through the agency of the political party.” – Morris Fiorina (1980)

Significance of Parties

Political parties play essential role in democracy because they provide means by which citizens organize themselves and select leaders who will represent them

In other words, parties serve to as a vital linkage institution where individual interests are aggregated together and represented in government

Key's "Tripartite View" of Political Parties



The Different Functions of Parties

Party-in-the-Electorate	Parties-as-organizations	Parties-in-government
Conceptualized as one's partisan identification	Recruit, train, and fund political candidates	Provide stable rules and procedures for handling conflict in Congress
Provides a short-hand cue for voting	Run party primaries and caucuses	Craft party platforms that help guide decision-making
Mobilizes voter turnout	Winnows down the list of potential candidates	Provide common ground and regulate/coordinate interactions among different branches and different levels of government

The Five 'Party Eras'

A Party Era is defined as a time when two-party competition in American history is stable

The Five Eras:

- 1796-1816: Democratic-Republicans and Federalists
- 1840-1856: Democrats and Whigs
- 1860-1896: Republicans and Democrats
- 1896-1932: Republicans and Democrats
- 1932-Present: Democrats and Republicans

Realignment Theory

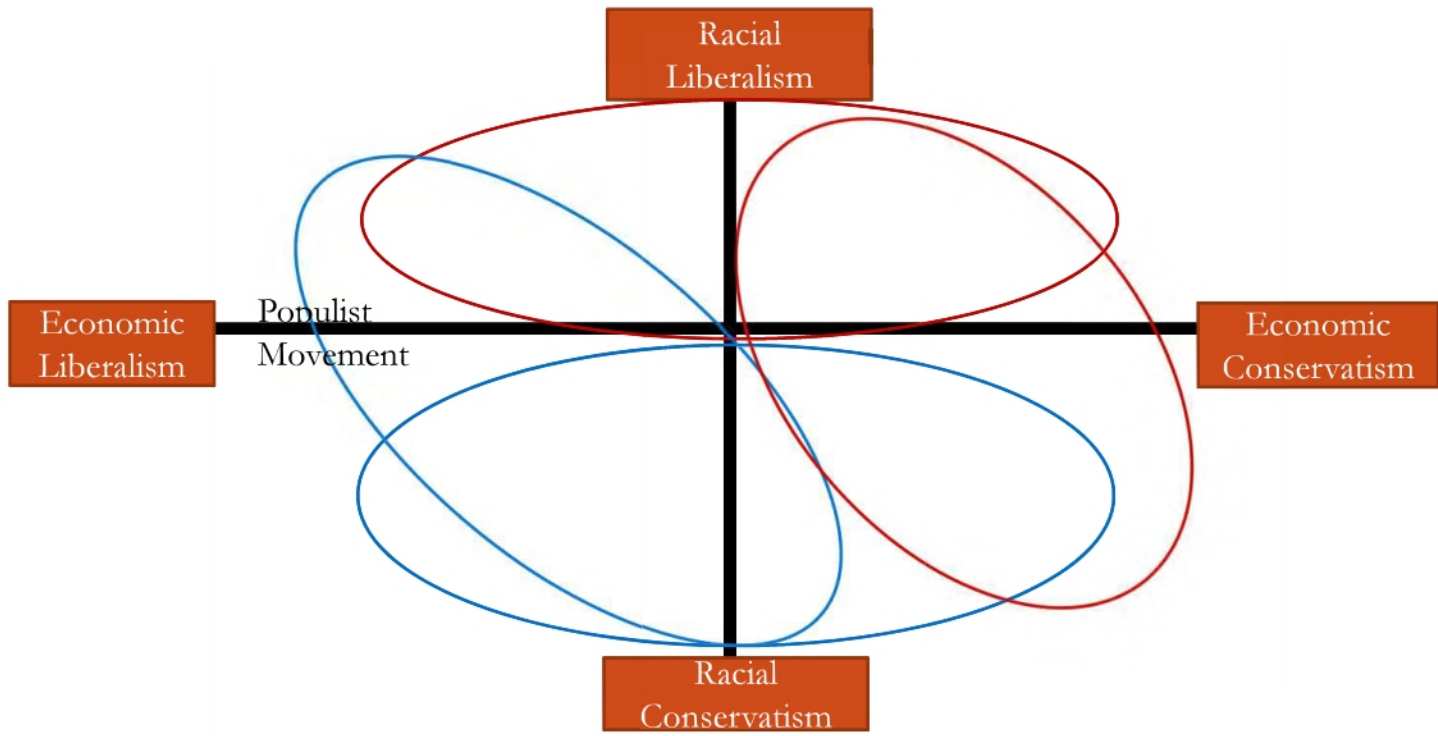
Proposition 1: American political ideology and elite discourse can be conceptualized in a two-dimensional space—with an economic and racial dimension (later reconceived as more broadly social and cultural)

Proposition 2: At any given time, political discourse is dominated by a single axis

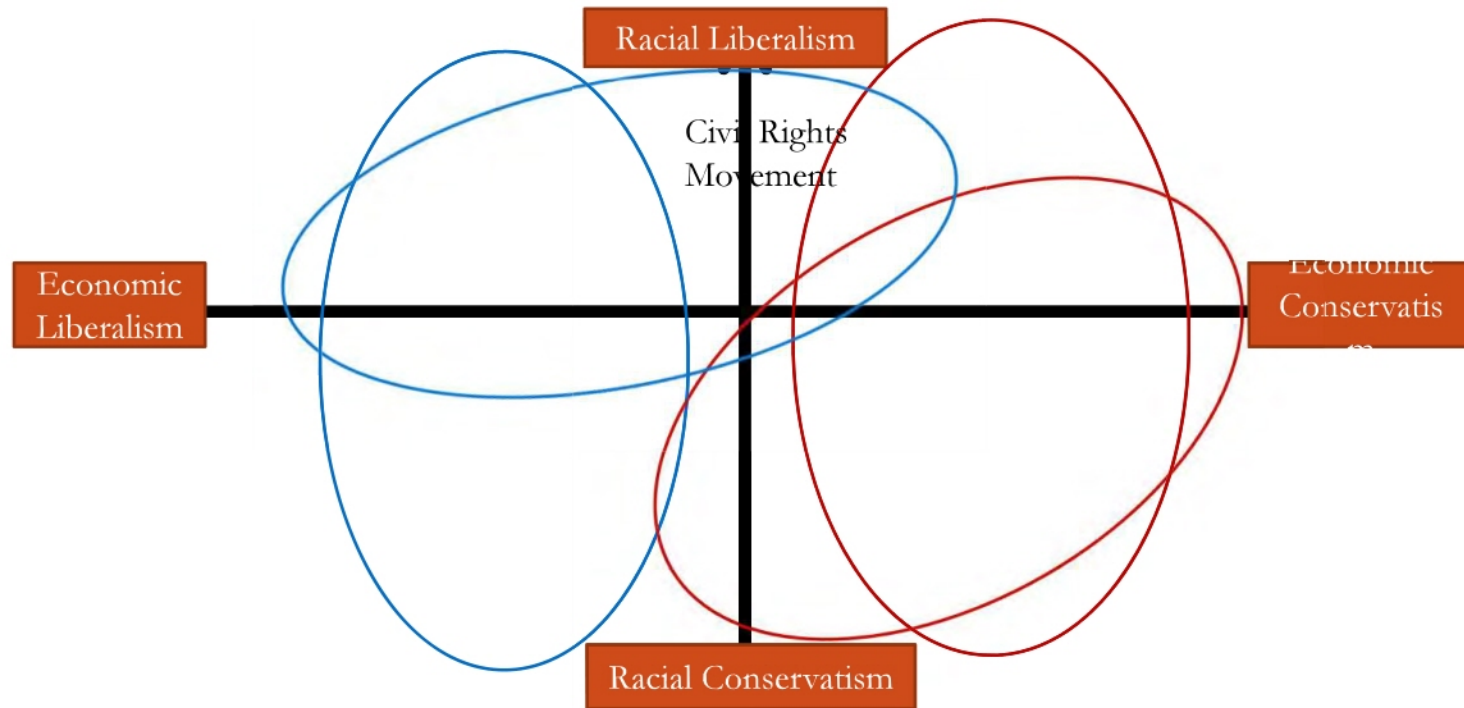
Proposition 3: Catalyzing events produce disaffected constituencies that dominant discourse cannot address

Proposition 4: Elites from the two parties attempt to co-opt these constituencies for electoral advantage

Partisan Realignment: 1865-1896



Partisan Realignment: 1932-2016



Are Parties Public or Private Institutions?

The laws regulating political parties attempt to strike a balance between their constitutional obligations as serving state functions and their rights at private associations

Regulation of parties stems back to late 19th century with the adoption of the Australian ballot

- “The official ballot recognition of parties provided the legal arguments for future regulation. Official ballot recognition required that a party’s nominations be certified by party officers to government officials.” – Lee Epstein (1986)

Parties' Constitutional Obligations

Newberry v. United States (1921)

- Question was whether a federal statute limiting campaign contributions and expenditures applied to U.S. Senate primaries.
- Court ruled that the statute did not apply because regulation of primaries fell outside the scope of federal power and primaries are private affairs
- “primaries are in no sense elections for an office but merely methods by which party adherents agree upon candidates whom they intend to offer and support for ultimate choice by all qualified electors.”

Parties' Constitutional Obligations

White Primary cases, which dealt with all-white primaries in Texas, overturned the precedent set by *Newberry*.

Smith v. Allwright (1944)

- All white primaries are unconstitutional under the Fifteenth Amendment
- Parties function as state actors in its conduct of primary elections
- State regulation of and involvement in primaries effectively made them state functions.

Important caveat: the exclusion of blacks in primaries were unconstitutional because it involved the state passing discriminatory laws

Parties' Associational Rights

Three lines of cases lay out the boundaries of parties associational rights

- Cases dealing with presidential nominations
- Cases concerning state laws that regulate primary elections
- Regulation of political parties internal processes

Presidential Nominations

Democratic Party of the United States v. Wisconsin ex rel. La Follette (1981)

- National Party rules clearly stated that delegate selection was limited to only party members—i.e. closed primaries
- Wisconsin law required an open primary system, however, and the DNC refused to seat the Wisconsin delegation at the convention
- Wisconsin officials sued, but court ruled in favor of the national party and stated that parties are not required to seat delegates chosen in compliance with state law but in violation with party rules

State Primary Laws

Tashjian v. Republican Party of Connecticut (1986)

- Connecticut had a closed primary law, but the Republican Party adopted a party rule allowing independent voters to vote in primary elections
- Democrats in legislature refused to modify law
- Court struck down the state law as a violation of 1st Amendment using strict scrutiny

State Primary Laws

California Democratic Party v. Jones (2000)

- California amended the state's constitution to abolish the state's closed primary system and replace it with a 'blanket primary.'
- Many of the state party organizations challenged the new primary system by arguing that it forced them to associate with non-party members against their wishes
- Using strict scrutiny, the Court struck down the blanket primary

State Primary Laws

Washington State Grange v. Washington State Republican Party (2008)

- After the Jones decision, Washington passes a modified ‘top-two’ non-partisan blanket primary.
- The State GOP challenged the law arguing that candidates’ declared partisanship gives appearance of party endorsement
- Court upheld primary and got around the *Jones* decision on the ground that Washington’s system didn’t select party nominees; rather, top two candidates proceed to general election regardless of party affiliation

The Internal Operation of Parties

Eu v. San Francisco County Democratic Central Committee (1989) & *New York State Board of Elections v. Lopez Torres* (2008)

- The court struck down various California and New York laws regulating parties, including a ban on their endorsing candidates in primaries
- There is no constitutional right to a candidate having a ‘fair-shot’ of winning the party’s nomination

A Group Theory of Political Parties

What is the elite view of political parties? What is the alternative view that the authors here offer? Who is at the center of their theory?

Who are policy demanders? Why are parties primaries so important for the group theory of parties?

What two issues caused changes in the modern party coalitions? Who forced this change in party coalition position taking?

How do the authors explain the polarization of MCs over the last 40 years? What role does the average voter play? What is an electoral blindspot?

What are the implications of adopting a group centered theory of parties for politics?

Partisanship in the Trump Era

According to Larry Bartels, what does the current partisan landscape look like?
What are the animating issues driving the two parties?

What does Bartels' analysis tell us about how each party thinks about politics?

How does Bartels challenge conventional wisdom about the two parties since 2016?

What does Bartels tell us about the prospect of partisan change moving forward?

Asymmetrical Politics

What does Grossman and Hopkins mean by asymmetrical politics? What puzzle are they trying to solve in articulating their theory?

What is their basic theory of partisan asymmetry? What can their theory help explain about party politics in a pre-Trump era? Name at least two.

How well does G & H's theory hold up given the last five years of the Trump era?

American Inequality

What are the areas where the task force is most concerned when it comes to growing inequality?

How does economic inequality exacerbate racial inequalities? How does economic inequality get translated into political inequality?

What do you see as the role of political science in addressing societal problems?

Asymmetrical Politics – Part II

What is the puzzle that Cayton and Dawkins are trying to solve?

What is the operational-symbolic disconnect in American public opinion? How does it structure the way Dems and Reps construct their party coalitions?

What is C&D's theory of asymmetrical representation?

C&D highlight three sets of actors: lawmakers, party elites, and rank-and-file voters. What role do each play in the construction and maintenance of partisan coalitions?

How does the theory C&D articulate differ from G&H's? What theory can better explain the two parties in the 2020s?

Interest Groups – Population Ecology

According to Lowery and Gray (1995) what explains the density of interest group networks? How is their explanation different from the economic explanations offered by past research?

Why do the authors adopt a biological explanation of interest group density? What are the assumptions of population ecology?

What is the ESA model? How do the authors apply it to interest groups? How do they measure the assumptions of the ESA model?

Interest Groups – Buying Time

What is the "Rational PAC" explanation of interest group influence in Congress? What puzzles arise with this explanation when compared against empirical evidence?

What is Hall and Wayman's revised explanation of interest group influence? What are the principle assumptions that underwrite their theory? What advantages does their theory have?

What are the key findings of this paper? What influence do interest groups have compared to average citizens?

What parallels, if any, do you see between the theory and findings of this paper, and the role interest groups play in the literature and 'extended-party networks'?

Interest Groups and Representation

What are the four theories of American democracy that Page and Gilens deal with? Explain each. Who are the major thinkers in each of the four theories?

What are the key findings for this paper? What are the implications of these findings? How can we apply them to our current politics?

What papers have we read that support these findings? What have we read that challenge them?

Table 4
The separate policy impact of business-oriented and mass-based interest groups

Average citizens' preferences	.05 (.08)
Economic elites' preferences	.78 (.08)***
Mass-based interest groups	.24 (.07)***
Business interest groups	.43 (.08)***
R-sq	.07

***p<.001

Note: All predictors are scaled to range from 0 to 1. The dependent variable is the policy outcome, coded 1 if the proposed policy change took place within four years of the survey date and 0 if it did not. Predictors are the logits of the imputed percent of respondents at the fiftieth ("average citizens") or ninetieth ("economic elites") income percentile that favor the proposed policy change, and the Net Interest-Group Alignment Indices described in the text. Standard errors are asymptotically distribution-free, and all analyses reflect estimated measurement error in the predictors, as described in Appendix 2. N=1,779.

BREAK IT DOWN
THINGS TO KNOW

- **Critical Race Theory** studies racism as a social construct
- Impact on **education, housing, justice system**
- Proponents say learning the history of racism is **crucial to addressing inequities**
- Critics say theory teaches that the **U.S. is fundamentally racist**



How to identify
CRITICAL RACE THEORY
IN THE CLASSROOM

1. CRT - critical race theory or culturally responsive teaching	12. Power structures or racial hierarchies
2. Equity, diversity, and inclusion	13. Normative
3. Cultural/ multi-cultural competence	14. Disparate outcomes or inequity
4. Implicit/ unconscious/ internalized bias	15. Identity
5. Social justice or restorative justice	16. Ally or ally-ship
6. Systemic/ structural/ institutional racism or oppression	17. Afrocentric/ Eurocentric
7. Micro-aggressions	18. Social constructs
8. Anti-racism	19. Black lives matter
9. White privilege/ fragility/ supremacy/ culture/ prejudice	20. Reparation/ liberation
10. CQ - like IQ but cultural intelligence	21. Ethnocentricity
11. Colonialism/ neo-colonialism/ colonizer/ decolonialism	

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



GOV Recording



• The (White) Elephant in the Room

Another White man leading something
doesn't this underscore the power of W

At the heart of racism is the fact that many W
not examined what it means to have a White

The idea of 'interest convergence' – change
White people see how it benefits them

White students & colleagues need to see us
unremarkably center racial dynamics as a fact
& leadership – "equity pause" in meetings

Diversity, equity & inclusion (DEI) work often
racial conversations & alliances – a team of
different racial identities best facilitate this





• *I am from...**

the sound of seagulls crying over the north sea and mersey beat blasting at the Cavern club,

the smell of fish & chips, factory waste and coal burning fires,

the taste of grease, sour milk tea and dust at the back of my throat

• *the idea of community pride & the triumph of humor over pretentiousness*

• *Adapted from the poem *Where I'm From* by George Ella Lyon



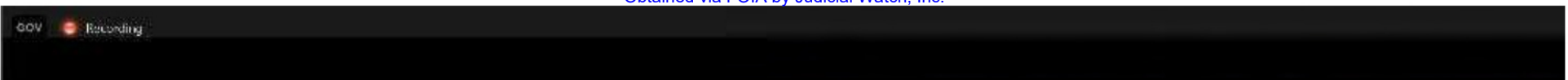
• Situating Myself as a Teacher

History of academic mediocrity – failed high school leaving exams, university places cancelled, College of Technology, graduated in bottom half of my class, turned down for graduate study, failed my master's degree exam – *Broadening student-centered assessment measures*

Watching my doctoral supervisor – giving me 'bad' inconvenient news in a way that I knew was in my own best interests
Ethical use of teacher power
Relational underpinnings to critical thinking
Balancing credibility & authenticity

Talking: Stephen Brookfield the...





- Pose a question at start of class to assess what knowledge, preconceptions students bring talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...
 - Pose quick questions during class to check for understanding, identify misconceptions
 - Invite students to raise questions or seek clarification anonymously
 - Interrupts the normal privileging of speech, extroverts, dominant language speakers – no one can dominate
 - Anonymity means students aren't afraid to ask 'dumb' questions
 - As with all activities, open to sabotage
- sli.do
backchannelchat.com
tweedback.de



Go to: **sli.do**

Enter Code: **18670**

Or use the QR code opposite

You'll see a statement: *"When I know we're going to talk about race I feel...."*

Vote for the response that most closely matches your own

Talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...





Preparing to Teach with Race in Mind – A Sequence

Talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...

- Lose Your Desire/Expectation to Be ‘Perfect’
- **When Possible Teach & Model Racial Cross-Talk as a TEAM**
- **Begin w/ Introductory Reading/Viewing***
- **Take the Emotional Temperature –sli.do, Mood Meter**
- **Begin By Modeling Self-Disclosure**
- **Introduce the Concept of Brave Space**
- **Consider Introducing Racial Affinity Groups**
- **Use Conversational Protocols to Engage Everyone**
(Circle of Voices, Circular Response, Bohmian Dialogue)
- **Check In Regularly via Anonymous Channels**
(sli.do, backchannelchat.com)

- * Letter to White America (George Yancy) <https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/12/24/dear-white-america/>
- * What it Means to be American (Color of Fear) https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=2nmhAJYxFT4&feature=emb_logo
- * Conversations on Race (New York Times) <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/your-stories/conversations-on-race>
- * How Can We Win (Kimberly Latrice Jones) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZkedkvNn5V0>



Recording



TEAM TEACHING



- Allows you to....
- Foreground race as an expected point talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...
- Model an open acknowledgment of how racial identity frames team decisions & process
- Show you sit with difference – talking about how you acknowledge & negotiate teaching team members experiencing the classroom differently
- Address racial imbalance in the teaching team's operation, dynamics & decision-making – micro aggressions, power asymmetries
- Demonstrate how to engage in difficult conversations in a way focused on behaviors not personhood, & on learned white supremacy not essential moral differences or failings
- Facilitate racial affinity groups

MODELING

Talking: Stephen Brackfield (the...

- how our racial identity frames our actions & choices
- the structural blindness we carry re. other racial groups
- how addressing racial issues is part of good leadership
- how we struggle to understand & negotiate racism we witness & enact
- how we uncover assumptions that have been challenged
 - how we experience racism & racial microaggressions
 - how we practice self-care in the face of battle fatigue
 - how we build communities of support

Recording

The Fatigue of WWW - Witnessing White Woke-ness

Talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...

"I honestly have been having a hard time being in predominately white classes lately as people in this country realize, *again*, the issues that exist in America for Black people.

While she was giving her long spiel on her good work, I couldn't figure out where to place my feelings. I could see it from a mile away; I even prepped myself for it before the class.

I prepared for *THIS*, but I still wasn't ready. Her actions were soooo predictable, well, to me. It was something I knew was bound to happen in a class placed right in the heart of the world grappling with whether or not Black lives matter. But still I felt completely uncomfortable, sick.

Now, I am not one to dim anyone's light, but all I felt like saying was, "oh, okay. That's cute. You want a cookie?"

I couldn't help but think, "this is not something new, why is it new to you? Why are you just now having these conversations?"

I do not know this woman and may never have a class with her again; however, I will always remember what she did and how it made me feel."

Carmina Maye 2020 *I Really Wanted this to Be a Poem*. (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York)

Recording



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Talking: Stephen Brookfield (re....

Recording



<https://www.citybureau.org/notebook/2019/12/19/safe-spaces-brave-spaces-and-why-we-gon-be-alright>

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781119548492.ch4>



The normality of strong emotions & feelings being expressed
talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...
 frustration, sadness, fatigue, desperation, confusion, anxiety

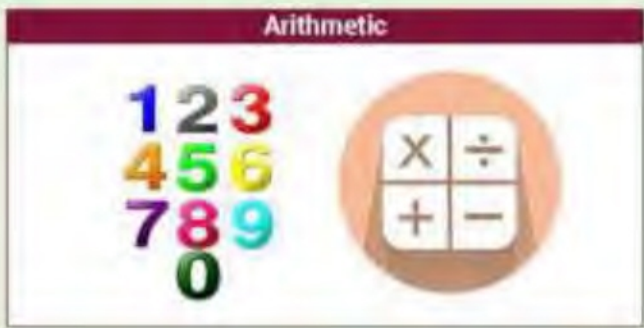
The discomfort that lies ahead that is completely predictable & 'normal'

The lack of closure

The normality of silence as a necessary dynamic as we make sense of starkly different racial realities – beginning all discussions with a deliberately named period of silence; viewing multiple silences as necessary not awkward

The commitment to understanding others

Recording



An **arithmetic level** of understanding of the dynamics of pervasive, structural racism amongst many whites who have not thought much about racial identity & whiteness

THIS IS A REASON FOR AFFINITY GROUPS

Ali Michael 2015. *Raising race questions*. New York: Teachers College Press

- A **calculus level** of understanding amongst Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC) who have negotiated the dynamics of structural racism all their lives & are tired of *WITNESSING* 'WOKENESS' in White people coming to new racial awareness

FTC Part 1

$$\frac{d}{dx} \left[\int_0^x \sqrt{t^2 + 4} dt \right]$$

$$\frac{d}{dx} \left[\int_5^{x^2} \sqrt{t^3 - 4} dt \right]$$

$$\frac{d}{dx} \left[\int_{x^3} \sqrt{t^4 - 2} dt \right]$$

OOV Recording

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13

Carmina Maye 2020 *I Really Wanted this to Be a Poem*. (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York)



WHITE AFFINITY GROUPS

No need to prove oneself as a “good, woke White person” – or to declare allyship

No opportunity to ask BIPOC to educate White people on race

Lessens fear of saying the ‘wrong’ thing in front of BIPOC peers

Removes temptation to ‘confess’ to racism & ask absolution from BIPOC

• BIPOC AFFINITY GROUPS

- No need to ‘take care’ of Talking: Stephen Brookfield (the... White egos
 - Chance to relax in real talk around experiences of racism
- Can develop support networks & provide emotional sustenance
- Share knowledge of negotiating the White power structure
- No requests to ‘teach’ Whites about race



Recording



Hard Truths I've Learned as a White Instructor/Leader

- I MUST call out racist behavior (including in myself) as soon as I see it. If I don't, I have no credibility in eyes of BIPOC students & colleagues
- I MUST assume that for students and colleagues of color EVERYTHING is seen through the lens of race. For them, NOTHING is "race free".
- I MUST acknowledge my own racist behavior when it's pointed out to me – not try to 'explain' it away, not protest my innocence
- I MUST watch out for the dangers of preaching, disdain & withholding*

Talking:

* European American Collaborative Challenging Whiteness. 2010. White on white: Developing capacity to communicate about race with critical humility" In, V. Sheared, J. Johnson-Bailey, S.A.J. Colin III, E. Peterson and S. Brookfield (Eds.). *The handbook of race and adult education: A resource for dialogue on racism*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Recording



*Hard Truths I've
Learned as a
White
Instructor/Leader*

- I MUST NEVER invoke “being respectful” as a way to avoid difficult conversations about racism.
- I MUST NEVER claim to be an “ally”, “accomplice” “co-conspirator” – but must act in those ways
- I MUST NEVER ask people of color to teach me about racism – figuring out what whites should do is MY responsibility.
- I MUST NEVER ask a BIPOC student or colleague to speak for their race
- I MUST NEVER “confess” my racism so as to seek “absolution” from BIPOC students & colleagues

Talking: Stephen Brookfield (the...

ODV Recording You are viewing Stephen Brookfield (Dr. Jim, Jr.)'s screen View Options View



Circle of Voices

S. Brookfield & S. Preskill. 2015. *The Discussion Book: 50 Great Ways to Get People Talking*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

- Requires every person to speak but in a way that's as non-threatening as possible – important for subsequent participation
 - Designed to elicit a variety of perspectives & to stop the discussion being channeled prematurely into one analysis or viewpoint
- Trains us in habits of careful listening
- Encourages conversation to build on earlier contributions & go deeper

OOV Recording

You are viewing Stephen Brookfield (he, him, his) 's screen View Options View

Circle of Voices

What are the chief difficulties you encounter as an instructor or leader when trying to get people to examine race as an issue?

- PROCESS...
- Individuals reflect silently & individually on the discussion topic or question (1-2 minutes). Then form groups of 5.
- Participants go round the circle in order - each person has up to 1 minute of uninterrupted air time to give their viewpoint on the topic. No interruptions are allowed
- After all have spoken, people move into free discussion with the ground rule that every comment offered must somehow refer back to a comment made by **someone else** in the opening circle of voices. This need **NOT** be agreement - it can be a disagreement, a question, an elaboration or extension, an illustration, a request for clarification etc.
 - PLEASE KEEP A NOTE OF THE DIFFICULTIES SHARED SO WE CAN TALK ABOUT THESE

00V

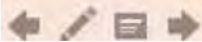
Some Resources Authored by Stephen

- *Becoming a white antiracist: A practical guide for educators, leaders &...* Sterling, VA: Stylus (w/Mary Hess)
- *Gospel Beautiful Podcast*: <https://www.buzzsprout.com/680528/846003...>
brookfield-and-mary-hess-becoming-a-white-antiracist
- *Teaching race: Helping students unmask and challenge racism*. Hoboken
Publishing
- *Becoming a critically reflective teacher*. 2017 (2nd. Ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley
- *Handbook of race and adult education*. 2010. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing
Sheared, Juanita Johnson-Bailey, Scipio Colin Jr III, & Elizabeth Peterson.
- *The discussion book: 50 great ways to get people talking*. 2016. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley
Publishing (w/Stephen Preskill)



• www.stephenbrookfield.com

- (Go to “Resources”, “Creating an Anti-Racist White Identity” and “Recent Writings” links)



Critical Race Theory: A Primer

Contents:

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- **What is Critical Theory?**
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PRE-DECISIONAL

Executive Summary:

The primary purpose of this document is to provide a thorough background on Critical Theory, Critical Race Theory, Political Science curricula that relates to these areas, Political Science teaching methodology, and additional background information and context.

There are a number of possible responses to this issue. You could begin and end at academic freedom, trying not to take a personal or institutional stance on anything CRT. You could go one level deeper and include the difference between teaching theory and indoctrination, endorsing, or espousing theory. You could go a third level deeper and address the *way* we teach through dialectic and debate to encourage familiarity and critical engagement across the spectrum of knowledge. I do not think the institution wants to go there, but the final level would be to endorse teaching critical race theory among other critical theories and many other diversity, equity, and inclusion topics.

Notably, in all of our courses in DFPS, our focus is on encouraging cadets to critically analyze the information presented to them, not to suggest there is one way to think or any specific right perspective. Quite to the contrary—the emphasis is on the intellectual purchase these theories provide, which may vary depending on what one is trying to analyze. Additionally, for virtually every critical theory mentioned, the concept is paired with an article or in-class explanation of opposing sides. The DFPS pedagogy is **always** focused on introducing ideas that challenge cadets to think critically rather than indoctrinating them as to the “right” perspective, and instructors frequently use a methodology of debate in assigned readings and classroom activities to encourage cadets to see many sides of any given topic and dig beneath the bumper-sticker headlines.

Terminology

“Teach” = concepts are identified and discussed in class

“Espouse” = concepts are supported or condoned

Tough Questions/Answers

“Does USAFA teach critical race theory?” USAFA does not have a course on Critical Race Theory (CRT), nor is CRT a part of any course description. However, as an academic institution and an accredited university, USAFA encourages cadets to engage in critical thinking and discourse, which may drive classroom discussion involving themes that may be explicitly or implicitly related to CRT. USAFA supports an instructor’s responsibility to challenge students to evaluate issues from different perspectives and to do so in an environment of academic freedom.

“Does USAFA espouse/support/condone critical race theory?” No. Education should never direct or compel students to adhere to anything outside of the military values, and the education provided at the USAFA abides by that principle.

“Does USAFA agree with the sentiments of Dr. Chandler Garcia?” The institution supports the right of academic freedom for all of our faculty. Our curriculum acknowledges the right for faculty and students to express differing opinions, and fosters intellectual honesty, freedom of inquiry and instruction, freedom of speech, and freedom of association.

Isn’t teaching critical race theory at a military academy divisive? Doesn’t it highlight differences when we need uniformity? There is no better way to promote division than to pretend that people all have the same background, experiences, and outlooks and tell them to think about the world the same way. Unity demands open discussion as it is the only path to inclusion.

What is Critical Theory?

Critical Theory, in general, describes a broad spectrum of theories that span a variety of academic disciplines and thematic genres. The core principle behind this body of scholarship is a desire to engage the structures of power in society (i.e. law, government, business, education) and see what norms, traditions, assumptions, and power structures are operating underneath. Critical theories reject the idea that “blindness” to race, gender, religion, ethnicity, class, or any other number of categories or ideas is either useful or possible. These theories arose as an analytical lens in response to mainstream theories with the suggestion that they can help scholars understand aspects of a complex world that are often overlooked in mainstream, traditional, or dominant perspectives – though they are rarely meant to replace or supplant traditional theories.

To illustrate: in a military context, critical theory suggests “one size fits all” means that one size fits male – a reality we have seen in the fact that body armor, flight suits, boots, and even cockpits are not designed to fit the female body. In an international conflict context, the historical predominance of men in international law and governance bodies means that the issues of sexual violence in war were largely ignored until the number of female voices increased—even though the issue impacts both men and women.

Overall, critical theories operate to provide normative theoretical frameworks enabling scholars, practitioners, and policy makers to understand and engage embedded dynamics that operate to render certain populations oppressed or disempowered. Notable critical theories include Marxism (economics/class); Feminism, to include feminist international relations theory (gender); Critical Race Theory (race); and New Stream (power structures in int’l law in general).

What is Critical Race Theory (CRT)?

Critical Race Theory emerged in the 1980s as an American legal theory suggesting the Civil Rights movement had not completely eradicated racism in this country. Although the overt indications of racism disappeared through the dismantling of segregation practices and Jim Crow laws, hidden and structural racism remained, evidenced by the large and continuing disparities in many outcomes across races. CRT argues that race is socially constructed, meaning that there is no meaningful inherent differences across races, and thus argues that disparate outcomes are at least partially caused by this systemic racism that migrated deep into power structures. While many forms of overt racism have been removed, neither the ideas nor the people who held power changed. The terminology, however, did. For example, in law school admissions, “whites only” applicant requirements were replaced by conversations about whether all-black colleges were sufficiently rigorous or black students were sufficiently meritorious.

CRT is a collection of diverse perspectives on race and power in America and generally spans three approaches: the baseline theory presents critical stances against the existing legal order from a race-based point of view (Brooks 1994). CRT also includes a collection of activists and scholars who study and aim to transform relationships among race, racism, and power (Delgado 2017). Finally, the most extreme application of CRT aligns with views that the law and legal institutions are inherently racist¹ and that race itself is a socially constructed concept (Curry 2009). This extreme view leads public discourse today regarding the theoretical foundations and contributions of CRT.

Specifically, CRT exploded within the public discourse after the launch of the [1619 Project](#), a long-form journalism project developed by Nikole Hannah-Jones and writers from *The New York Times* and *The New York Times Magazine*. This project argues that the historical origins of the United States of America lie not in 1776 but rather in 1619, the date African slaves first reached the shores of what is now the United States. This initiative aims to expand the nation’s historical narrative by illustrating the role and influence of slavery throughout the history of American society.

¹ Here, a definition of racist or racism may be helpful. CRT construes racism or racist institutions not just as individual discrimination by race, but also as the condition in which institutions have systemically negative impacts on racial groups, intentionally or not.

Attachments

Attachment 1: Original Op-Ed

Dr. Chandler Garcia's original op-ed was published by the Washington Post on July 6, 2021:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/07/06/military-academies-should-teach-critical-race-theory/>

Attachment 2: Legalistic CRT Primer

For a primer on CRT and its origins as a legal tool of scholarship, see this article (also attached at the end of this primer with highlights): <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/06/30/critical-race-theory-lightning-rod-opinion-497046>.

Attachment 3: Contemporary CRT Critiques

For an exploration of contemporary critics of CRT who argue that the theory is intolerant and divisive, see this article: <https://www.heritage.org/civil-society/heritage-explains/how-identify-critical-race-theory>.

Attachment 4: Contemporary CRT Discussion

Another recent description can be found here: <https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/27/us/critical-race-theory-lens-history-crt/index.html>. The embedded video explains what CRT is and is not (via an interview with Kimberle Crenshaw) and the text provides a host of examples of systemic and legalized racism from the signing of the Constitution to recent decades.

Attachment 1: Original Op-Ed**Washington Post - Opinion: Why U.S. military academies should teach critical race theory**

by Lynne Chandler García

July 6, 2021 at 3:23 p.m. MDT

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/07/06/military-academies-should-teach-critical-race-theory/>

Lynne Chandler García is an associate professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The views expressed are the author's own.

Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Mark A. Milley's recent defense of teaching critical race theory at the U.S. military academies shows that it is not unpatriotic to understand a fuller version of American history, nor does it promote division among our military members.

As a professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, I teach critical race theories to our nation's future military leaders because it is vital that cadets understand the history of the racism that has shaped both foreign and domestic policy.

Cadets, like all military members, take an oath to defend the Constitution with their lives — so it is crucial they have a sensitive understanding of that Constitution.

In my classes, cadets learn about the ideals embedded in this founding document. We explore the liberalist theories that promoted these ideals, and we embrace our democratic system of government. But we also acknowledge that the United States was founded on a duality: liberalism and equal rights on the one hand; inequality, inegalitarianism and second-class citizenship on the other.

Critical race theory provides an academic framework to understand these nuances and contradictions. It helps students identify the structural racism and inequality that has been endemic in American society. And it provides methods for deconstructing oppressive beliefs, policies and practices to find solutions that will lead to justice.

The reality of the Constitution is that it upholds the rule of law and human rights, but once also allowed slavery and has been used to perpetuate legal discrimination. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, although the Declaration of Independence and Constitution espoused liberty and justice, enslaved people had no part of those virtues and no reason to celebrate a day like the Fourth of July. Thurgood Marshall suggested a "sensitive understanding of the Constitution's inherent defects and its promising evolution."

This extends to understanding ourselves as the U.S. military. The military was among the first institutions to desegregate and has a celebrated history of diversity in its ranks, though that history has long been complicated. For instance, serving in the military was a path to freedom for some enslaved people, and thousands of Black soldiers, both enslaved and free, fought for America as early as the Revolutionary War. At the same time, George Washington is said to have initially opposed the recruitment of Black soldiers.

In other words, racism was ingrained in the system from the beginning, and the military still struggles with these issues. As a recent inspector general's report on disparities in the Air Force and Space Force

pointed out, Black service members lag behind their White peers in promotion rates but are overrepresented in disciplinary actions. Further, a recent Defense Department report documented the threat of white supremacy within the ranks. Cadets need to understand these contradictions within their institutions.

In addition to teaching critical race theories, I provide my cadets with lessons on political discourse and breaking down divides of polarization through communication and empathy. Cadets at the Air Force Academy will soon command racially diverse units. Racial minorities serve, especially in the enlisted corps, at greater rates than their representation in the general civilian workforce. As of May 2018, Black representation in the enlisted force was 19.1 percent, compared with roughly 13 percent in the general workforce.

Officers must comprehend the unique experiences and concerns of their diverse troops. A holistic education leads to understanding and unity as service members consider what it's like to walk in another's shoes.

Our officer development curriculum is founded on pushing cadets outside their comfort zones: They jump out of planes, leap off 10-meter platforms, endure grueling physical challenges and assume difficult command responsibilities. Their intellectual development should be no different. To think critically and read broadly is fundamental to making them future leaders for times of both war and peace.

I don't coddle my cadets out of fear that exposure to certain literatures might make them uncomfortable or test their existing beliefs. Cadets must learn to be brave on the literal battlefield, yes — but they must also be equipped to participate bravely on the battlefield of ideas.

Attachment 2: Legalistic CRT Primer

POLITICO – Opinion: I've Been a Critical Race Theorist for 30 Years. Our Opponents Are Just Proving Our Point For Us.

Seemingly overnight, my obscure legal specialty became a national lightning rod. What would CRT say about that?

Opinion by GARY PELLER
06/30/2021 04:31 AM EDT

<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/06/30/critical-race-theory-lightning-rod-opinion-497046>

*Gary Peller teaches constitutional law at Georgetown University Law Center. He is a contributor to and co-editor of **Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement**.*

Some 25 states have already enacted or are considering laws to ban teaching what they call “critical race theory” (“CRT”) in public schools, a concept that school officials around the country deny they even teach. A parents’ group in Washoe County, Nevada wants teachers to wear body cams, just to make sure. And Ted Cruz just charged that CRT is “every bit as racist as the klansmen in white sheets.”

As a law professor closely associated with the critical race theory movement for more than 30 years, I am astonished. Most academic work never gets noticed at all, and ours is being publicly vilified, even banned. While we wrote footnotes and taught our classes, did our ideas become the new orthodoxy in American society and the foundation of K-12 education, as our critics charge?

Hardly.

CRT is not a racist ideology that declares all whites to be privileged oppressors, and CRT is *not* taught in public schools.

But over the past nine months or so, first slowly in right-wing media conversation and now quickly in state houses and even mainstream newspapers, conservative activists have branded all race reform efforts in education and employment as CRT—a disinformation campaign designed to rally disaffected middle- and working-class white people against progressive change.

If you understand what CRT actually is, though, it’s easy to see that it has nothing to do with the cartoonish picture of reverse racism that its critics depict. And, more importantly, CRT is a pretty good lens for understanding why the campaign against it has been able to spread so fast.

CRT, in the real world, describes the diverse work of a small group of scholars who write about the shortcomings of conventional civil rights approaches to understanding and transforming racial power in American society. It’s a complex critique that wouldn’t fit easily into a K-12 curriculum. Even law students find the ideas challenging; we ourselves struggle to put it in understandable terms. We embrace no simple or orthodox set of principles, so no one can really be “trained” in CRT. And if

teachers were able to teach such analytically difficult ideas to public school students, it should be a cause for wild celebration, not denunciation.

The common starting point of our analysis is that racial power was not eliminated by the successes of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. That movement succeeded in ending the system of blatant segregation reflected in the “Whites Only” and “Colored” signs that once marked everyday life in America—but in its wake, in the 70s and the 80s, racial-justice reform in countless institutions was halted by old-guard resistance.

For example, as a first-year law teacher in the early 1980s, I served on the University of Virginia Law School admissions committee. UVA had been regularly admitting a tiny number of Black students for some 15 years by then. But some of my colleagues serving on the admissions committee were the very same people who had administered the school when it was segregated. The rules had changed, but they were still in charge. So, there they were, decades after formal desegregation, insisting categorically that all graduates of historically Black institutions were unprepared for the rigors of law study at such an elite school like Virginia, and voting against their admission.

The same story was playing out in institution after institution. The “Whites Only” signs were gone, but the racial power remained in a myriad of social practices—now couched in the language of race-neutrality, such as the old guard administrators’ professed concerns about “standards,” and their ideas about what those standards should be.

CRT was first articulated in the 1980s by a new generation of scholars who confronted this kind of racial power in the universities we attended and in the law schools where we would eventually teach. As American constitutional law embraced “colorblindness” as the ideal of racial justice, we focused on all the ways that racial power was exercised in supposedly “colorblind” ways. And while we have a number of different approaches and beliefs, our shared goal—broadly speaking—is to understand how those subtler racial power structures work, how they often pose as “neutral” institutions in law and society, and how to undo the injustices they’ve been causing.

From the viewpoint of traditional liberal thinking, the problem of “civil rights” was that the policy of racial integration was never implemented strongly enough. But, from a critical perspective, Black students getting admitted into mainstream institutions wasn’t enough to achieve racial equality—because once inside the gates, they confronted norms organizing what was taught and how it was taught that had been created exclusively by whites operating in all-white institutions. There were, or could be, racial power dynamics embedded even in what was called “knowledge” in academia or “neutrality” in law. Rather than seeing “racism” as an irrational deviation from rationality, we began to explore how liberal categories of reason and neutrality themselves might bear the marks of history and struggle, including racial and other forms of social power.

Critical race theorists analyze social practices—and the law is a social practice—in terms of how they help to construct or maintain the subordination of the Black community. We reject “colorblindness” as an ideal because being conscious about race is the only way to tell whether the situation of the Black community is improving or not. As appealing as colorblindness might sound to some, it’s also dangerous: It can lull decision-makers, wrongly, to assume that once they no longer explicitly discriminate along racial lines in admissions or hiring, then racial power no longer plays a part in social life.

So, in thinking about police reform, a CRT perspective would focus on the historical relations between the community and the police, rather than simply on the idea of neutral enforcement of rules like probable cause requirements. (The idea of imposing race-neutral standards of “reasonableness” on police is hollow in the actual context of white suburban police officers sealed off in high-tech patrol cars patrolling the urban streets of Black neighborhoods.) Similarly, to counter claims that “objective” market forces explain the continuing wealth inequities between Black and white America, a CRT perspective would highlight the long history of discrimination—in employment, in real estate, in education and healthcare—that built and still underlies the economy we have today.

We likewise question the traditional ways that liberals have defended affirmative action as a useful exception to a presumed race-blind ideal of “merit.” To us, the very definitions of merit reflect racial and other forms of social power.

Asking critical questions about widely shared values always makes people uncomfortable, and understandably so. The opponents of CRT seize upon our critique of the ideology of colorblindness to charge that we are divisive—or, as Ted Cruz put it, that we are in fact racist. But colorblindness is an empty ideal that works to ensure confirmation of its own premises: If one is not permitted to see the social consequences of policies in terms of race, then the disparate racial effects of policies simply become invisible. Racialized police violence disappears when no racial statistics are kept on police interactions. Racial redlining looks like simple risk-based pricing if one doesn’t look at the racialized ZIP code results. The way to end racial subordination is to end it in fact, not to define it away.

In contrast to being racially divisive, the “critical” part of CRT holds that there is no objective and neutral idea of merit that could explain the distribution of wealth, power, and prestige in America. The unfairness extends to whites as well as to Blacks, and to all those whose place on the hierarchies of American life are supposedly legitimated by ways that “merit” is defined by the professional classes.

CRT is a powerful lens for understanding the racial dynamics of the current cultural situation. The campaign against CRT has spread so fast in large part because of how narrowly traditional civil rights approaches comprehended racial power. As the civil rights “revolution” of the 1960s was institutionalized in American cultural understanding, whites were taught to understand racism simplistically in terms of bad individuals who carry around racist ideas. The “redneck” Southern sheriff became the consensus villain for mainstream America.

But such a simplistic analysis of racial power meant that there was never a national reckoning with the subtle and systemic effects of American apartheid, as they marked schools and workplaces over multiple generations. And if racism means identifying bad actors, as the conventional image holds, then whites are understandably anxious that renewed attention to all these forms of institutionalized racial power means that they will be blamed and shamed.

It makes sense that the depictions of CRT by its opponents bear so little resemblance to our actual work and ideas. Like the invocation of Willie Horton in the 1980s and affirmative action after that, the point of those who seek to ban what they call “CRT” is not to contest our vision of racial justice, or to debate our social critique. It is instead to tap into a dependable reservoir of racial anxiety among whites. This is a political strategy that has worked for as long as any of us can remember, and CRT simply serves as the convenient face of the campaign today—a soft target.

The multiracial, multigenerational popular mobilization in the wake of the murder of George Floyd last summer is a sign that the old strategy is weakening. And, while it is a lie that CRT itself is being taught to elementary and high school students, it is likely true that many teachers and administrators in school systems across the country have been motivated since George Floyd's murder to include themes of racial justice in their schools.

This basic effort to tell the truth—the inspiring as well as the ugly—about American history and government must be encouraged, not denounced. Most readers can recall in their own educations the tired and idealized cartoons of civics and American history that has held sway for generations in American schools. It is a good thing that teachers and other school officials are trying to change that by taking a more thoughtful and accurate approach to our history, and being more honest about what needs fixing. And as they do, it's worth bearing in mind that what's really under attack right now isn't the bogeyman of "critical race theory" — it's the modest and long overdue change being ushered in by teachers and school administrators. They may never have heard of CRT, but they intuitively understand why it exists—and rightfully see the absurdity of the conservative charge that teaching about racism is itself racist.

PRE-DECISION

Attachment 3: Contemporary CRT Critiques

HERITAGE EXPLAINS

How to Identify Critical Race Theory

Knowing critical race theory when you see it and fighting it when you can

<https://www.heritage.org/civil-society/heritage-explains/how-identify-critical-race-theory>

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Critical Race Theory (CRT) makes race the prism through which its proponents analyze all aspects of American life.
- CRT reimagines the U.S. as a nation split by groups, each with specific claims on victimization.
- CRT's intolerance can be found in schools, the workplace, and the entertainment sector, "normalizing" belief in systemic racism for the average American.

Critical race theory (CRT) is an academic discipline founded by law professors who used Marxist analysis to conclude that racial dominance by whites created "systemic racism." Critical race theorists have been dominant in colleges and universities for years, but their impact on public policy was limited until recently. The precepts of CRT have now burst outside the universities, affecting K-12 schools, workplaces, state and federal governments, and even the military. This has sparked resistance from Americans who refuse to have their children indoctrinated or to submit to race-based workplace harassment.

As a new tactic against this grassroots opposition, CRT's defenders now deny that the curricula and training programs in question form part of CRT, insisting that the "diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)" programs of trainers such as Ibram X. Kendi and Robin DiAngelo are distinct from the academic work of professors such as Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, and other CRT architects. While there are many different CRT variations, there are bedrock features that are common to all its theorists and practitioners.

HOW TO IDENTIFY CRT

1. Systemic Racism: CRT's key assertion is that racism is not the result of individual, conscious racist actions or thoughts. Racism is "systemic" and "structural." It is embedded in America's legal system, institutions, and free enterprise system, and imposes "whiteness" as the societal norm. The system, including capitalism, is "rigged" to reward white behavior and preserve white supremacy. Curricula and training sessions that teach that racism is systemic and structural, and demand that Americans work to

dismantle laws, traditions, norms, institutions, and free-market enterprise— the entire American system itself—are part of CRT.

CRT AT WORK: “It’s important to try to help youth understand how bias and oppression are institutional, structural and systemic, and not simply interpersonal,” asserts Dorinda Carter Andrews, chairperson of the Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University.

2. Race Drives Beliefs and Behaviors: Critical race theorists assert that American culture is a conspiracy to perpetuate white supremacy by imposing white concepts on people of other races. Thus, members of minority groups must retain their cultural habits and never adopt standard practices or norms, no matter how neutral. Curricula or DEI programs that separate individuals by race, or teach that concepts such as being on time, hard work, literacy, etc., are products of white values, and therefore must be rejected by minorities, are part of CRT.

CRT AT WORK: “[M]any Latinos naturally view information about time more generally and simply cannot see the judicial system’s need for specificity and exactitude,” says Maria Ontiveros in “Critical Race Feminism.” (p. 223).

3. White Privilege: Because of the above, critical race theory says that white people are born with unearned privilege that other Americans are denied. This produces a “whiteness premium” that prevents working-class whites from working with working-class blacks to change the economic system. Reflecting its Marxist origins, CRT asserts that to achieve the unification of the working class, whites must recognize their white privilege and renounce it. Any curricula or DEI program that compels students or employees to accept their white privilege and/or work to abandon it, are part of CRT.

CRT AT WORK: As Derrick Bell writes in “Race, Racism and American Law,” segregation “represented an economic-political compromise between the elite and working-class whites [that] gave to the poor the sense of superiority, while retaining the substance for the rich.”

4. The System Won’t Allow Non-Whites to Succeed: Critical race theory teaches that whites have rigged the system, so the criteria used to measure merit and success in school or the workplace are not objective, but are designed to keep white individuals on top. Hiring metrics and workplace benchmarks, such as punctuality and logical thinking, need to be eliminated if non-whites are to succeed. Any curriculum or training program that says color blindness is a myth and advocates for eliminating standard measurements of success, including standardized testing for university admissions for reasons of racial equity, are part of CRT.

CRT AT WORK: “In short, merit serves as the phony pennant of color-blindness, used as justification for opposition to affirmative action,” claims Derrick Bell in “Popular Democracy.”

5. Equity Replaces Equality: “Equity” sounds like “equality”, but under critical race theory, it has become its functional opposite. “Equality” means equal treatment of all Americans under the law. CRT’s “equity” demands race-based discrimination. Because systemic racism has produced disparities between the races and because the system will only deepen these disparities by rewarding the “wrong” criteria, government must treat individual Americans unequally according to skin color to forcibly produce equal outcomes. Advocating equity over equality is part of CRT.

CRT AT WORK: “Equitable treatment means we all end up in the same place,” said Vice President Kamala Harris.

HOW TO STOP CRT

1. Find out what your schools teach. Submit a FOIA request to gain access to public documents, including school board and school district materials. If requested, the government is required to hand over the records via “open records laws” and “sunshine laws.” Learn more at <https://bit.ly/3zclRtZ>

2. Speak to your child’s teacher and principal and share with them Heritage’s analysis (heritage.org/critical-race-theory) showing that treating students in the manners described above violates several statutes, including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 14th Amendment.

3. Engage with your local school board. More than 14,000 school boards and 100,000 school board members across the country determine the shape and content of curriculum in their school districts, holding the key to how these various issues are addressed in American classrooms.

- Identify local school board meetings to attend throughout the year (these typically occur monthly during the school year).
- Stay abreast of board activities by reading meeting minutes (usually posted online after the meeting).
- Locate school district budget documents and draft questions about spending on CRT/DEI-related activities, training, and personnel.
- Look up the local school board’s mission statement and become familiar with assigned textbooks.
- Become involved in the school’s Parent Teacher Association/Organization (PTA/PTO).
- Set up a parent group on Facebook or other social media for families in the local school community.

4. Become a whistleblower. You can submit documentation of CRT training at your school or workplace to Parents Defending Education (defendinged.org), activist Christopher Rufo (christopherrufo.com), or The Daily Signal (comments@dailysignal.com).

Attachment 4: Contemporary CRT Discussion

Critical race theory is a lens. Here are 11 ways looking through it might refine your understanding of history

By [Elliott C. McLaughlin](#), CNN

Updated 9:44 AM ET, Thu May 27, 2021

<https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/27/us/critical-race-theory-lens-history-crt/index.html>

(CNN) [Critical race theory](#) is just that -- a theory -- but the term has been weaponized, with its most extreme critics alleging that merely studying the theory is racist.

Long before the concept dubbed CRT drew controversy, scholars were studying how bigotry and bias infiltrated American institutions and shaped American life. After all, any telling of American history cannot fairly ignore that 177 of the country's 245 years -- 72% of its existence, all but roughly three generations -- played out under slavery or Jim Crow.

As [Kimberlé Crenshaw](#), a preeminent CRT scholar, put it: The theory is an approach to "grappling with a history of White supremacy that rejects the belief that what's in the past is in the past."

Yes, race relations are better than they were in 1776, or in 1976, but that's not the point. No one who overlooks the role racism has played in the laws and policies of the United States can have a true and full understanding of its history. It's just dishonest.

"Critical race theory's a catchy phrase, but most people talking about it are clueless. To most of us who have been doing this work, it means talking critically about our racist history," said Texas A&M sociology professor Joe Feagin, whose contributions to the scholarship include co-authoring "[White Racism: The Basics](#)" and "[Living with Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience](#)."

The driving forces of history-- be they racism, sexism, classism or the like -- need to be discussed in classrooms, where scholars can rigorously suss out fact and fiction. In reconsidering the role of race and racism in American history, that's what students of critical race theory aim to do.

"Kids of color need honest information about society as much as White kids do, so they're prepared to deal with racism," Feagin said. "We are founded on racial oppression. Where I start with this is concrete history. I don't even bring in concepts."

CRT has been around for decades, largely without contention, but given the increasingly divisive nature of the term, let's put it aside and look instead at its underpinnings, the reasons many academics and a growing set of layfolk believe it's needed in today's educational landscape -- not only on college campuses but for younger students, too.

These are established facts of American history, many of them included in "Race, Whiteness, and Education" by scholar Zeus Leonardo, who presented these and other wayposts in an effort to "capture a reliable portrait of White supremacy."

The following list is by no means comprehensive, but it lifts key and oft-overlooked elements of America's story to the fore in an attempt to analyze how they've molded the present and might shape the future.

Land was taken

Before the United States was born, European settlers [killed millions of indigenous people](#) across the Americas, but the fighting didn't stop after 1776. [The Last Massacre](#), as the Battle of Kelley Creek in Nevada was known, unfolded in 1911.

[Deemed "savages"](#) who must be civilized, Native Americans were left out of the 14th Amendment, which grants birthright citizenship, [until 1924](#). This came after [more than three centuries of seizing land from tribes](#), some of whom had been on the continent since Before Christ. The [Indian Removal Act](#) codified the relocation, regularly violent, of people from their homelands. While the [Trail of Tears](#) is the most famous of the forced migrations, [state-sponsored violence against tribes](#) was profound and persistent.

The so-called ["termination policy,"](#) another attempt to assimilate Native Americans, wasn't abandoned until 1970. Legislative and judicial disputes over sovereignty [continue today](#).

Recommended reading: California Gov. Peter Burnett's 1851 remarks on [a "war of extermination,"](#) the [Indian Appropriations Act](#) of 1871 and ["A Short History of Indian Law in the Supreme Court"](#)

Slavery was the law

To subjugate people to chattel slavery or indentured servitude, the ruling class regards itself as superior to the enslaved.

The Constitution, that great founding document, was the original basis for slavery in the United States, dictating slaves [were three-fifths of a person](#), that escaped slaves [must be returned to their owners](#) and [forbidding any prohibition](#) on slavery until 1808 (all of which, while long invalidated, [remain in the Constitution](#).)

Add to that [a litany of federal court rulings](#) upholding slavery. The [Slave Trade Act of 1794](#) banned participation in the international trade in humans, but slavery was not abolished until [the 13th Amendment](#) was passed in 1865. The amendment carried a caveat -- "except as a punishment for a crime" -- that resonates today in a country where Black and Hispanic inmates [make up more than half of the populations in US prisons](#), and where incarcerated people are often required to perform labor for little or no compensation.

Recommended reading: ["Slavery in the United States: Persons or Property?"](#), ["The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850: Symbolic Gesture or Rational Guarantee?"](#) and ["We Can't Be Free Until We Fully Abolish Slavery"](#)

Interracial marriage was banned

There's little more supremacist than outlawing the "mixing of races" to maintain the "purity" of one race. Before the United States was founded, Maryland not only banned unions between White and Black

people, the colony [ordered servitude for any woman](#) engaged in such activity, as well as children born of such unions.

Several states enacted anti-miscegenation laws after 1776 and reenacted them after Reconstruction. There were at least three attempts to add a miscegenation ban to the US Constitution, the last [introduced by Sen. Coleman Blease in 1928](#).

By the time the Supreme Court's 1967 [Loving v. Virginia](#) ruling authorized interracial marriages, most states had nixed the laws. A few (mostly Southern) holdouts remained with no legal backing. South Carolina did not officially repeal the law from its constitution [until 1998](#). Alabama overturned its interracial marriage ban in 2000, and state lawmakers will meet next year to, possibly, [remove racist language on that subject and others from its constitution](#).

Recommended reading: [Pace v. Alabama](#), a [1986 report on the "long, cruel history" of America's "last taboo"](#) and scholar Allison Skinner's 2016 report on the ["hidden bias against interracial couples"](#)

Voting was restricted

After fighting a war for their tenuous freedom, African American men became citizens with [the 14th Amendment](#), but they were routinely turned away from polls, prompting Congress to enact [the 15th Amendment](#), allowing them to vote.

[It had limited effect](#) as states employed [literacy tests](#), "good character" vouchers, [poll taxes](#) and [more odious tactics](#) to keep Black men out of ballot boxes. While women were granted the right to vote with the [19th Amendment](#) in 1920, many Black women didn't see that right realized until the [Voting Rights Act of 1965](#) banned various forms of disenfranchisement.

The Supreme Court [pulled teeth from the act](#) in 2013. Congress has yet to decide whether to enact new federal safeguards for voters. After last year's presidential election saw the highest [turnout in history](#), lawmakers in several states [have aimed to restrict voting](#).

Recommended reading: [The fight to vote](#) in one of Georgia's Blackest counties, ["What a Colored Man Should Do to Vote"](#) and [Sherby County v. Holder](#)

Jim Crow was accepted

Voting rights, citizenship and property ownership for African Americans [came during post-war Reconstruction](#), which later saw Black Southerners ascend to political power -- but it didn't last. Twelve years after the Civil War, Jim Crow -- an evolution of [slave codes and Black codes](#) -- took hold, ushering in a series of laws and societal norms that would prove ruinous to the newly freed Americans.

As clergy, journalists, politicians and scientists [reinforced the abhorrent notions of White supremacy](#), Jim Crow laws [provided the backbone](#) of America's racial caste system, which the Supreme Court upheld in 1896. It would remain the law of the land for about seven more decades.

States [enacted segregation laws](#), separating public services and spaces along racial lines or barring African Americans outright, while the Jim Crow era's [etiquette rules](#) governed everything from how Black people showed affection to each other to how they addressed White people. The price for defiance? Usually beatings or lynchings.

Recommended reading: ["Plessy v. Ferguson: Who Was Plessy?"](#), ["Jim Crow Guide: The Way It Was"](#) and ["Daily Life in the Jim Crow South, 1900-1945"](#)

Lynching was tolerated

Laws prohibited the arbitrary or extrajudicial killing of Black people, but more important than what was codified during Jim Crow is what was not codified. When an [anti-lynching bill was introduced in Congress](#) in 1918, it took years to pass the House before hitting a Senate roadblock.

Southern lawmakers [baselessly claimed Black men were lynched for raping White women](#) -- a phantasm that [still haunts Black men](#) -- and asserted laws governing lynchings were best left to the states. Researchers have found evidence of [thousands of lynchings](#) -- and they're sure they're undercounting.

While many associate lynchings with hangings, historians say numerous mass killings fit the definition -- from the political violence in [New Orleans](#) in 1866, [Colfax, Louisiana](#), in 1873, and [Wilmington, North Carolina](#), in 1898, to massacres in [Atlanta](#) (1906), [Springfield, Illinois](#), (1908) [East St. Louis, Illinois](#), (1917) [Tulsa, Oklahoma](#), (1921) and [Rosewood, Florida](#) (1923), to name a few.

Congress has never passed an anti-lynching law. A bill named for [Emmett Till](#) passed the House last year by a 410-4 vote, but was [held up in the Senate by a lone lawmaker](#) who called it overly broad.

Recommended reading: [United States v. Cruikshank](#), ["The Charleston Massacre and the Rape Myth of Reconstruction"](#) and CNN's report on [America's long legacy of lynching](#)

Immigration was biased

White supremacy was clearly at the heart of early immigration laws. The [1790 Naturalization Act](#) said only "a free white person" need apply. In the mid- to late 1800s, as German, Irish and Chinese immigrants began to arrive on American shores, Asian immigrants were singled out in the [Page Act of 1875 and later the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882](#). Immigration officials were particularly hard on Asian women, who were maligned as [disease-ridden and promiscuous](#) and subjected to [humiliating interrogations and physical exams](#).

Beginning in 1929, California and other states deported about 2 million people of Mexican ancestry, more than half of whom [had been born in the United States](#) (about 400,000 in California alone were citizens or legal residents). In the 1950s, Operation Wetback (yes, the actual name) resulted in hundreds of thousands of deportations to Mexico, [though the exact number is disputed](#).

While immigration policies are fairer today, at least one successful presidential candidate resurrected specters of America's dark past, [praising Operation Wetback, attacking Dreamers, using bigoted terms](#) for Covid-19 and allegedly bashing immigrants [from "s**thole countries](#), including Haiti and some African nations.

Recommended reading: ["History of Angel Island Immigration Station,"](#) a [report on the lost history of Mexican "repatriation"](#) and ["The Chinese Must Go!"](#)

Education was curtailed

Slavery brought with it anti-literacy laws, which states continued to [pass and enforce until the mid-1800s](#). The aversion to educating African Americans wasn't limited to the South. See the stories of a rejected [proposal for a college in New Haven, Connecticut](#), a [mob's destruction of the Noyes Academy](#) in Canaan, New Hampshire, or the [attack on a school for "young ladies of color"](#) in Canterbury, Connecticut.

Post-slavery, segregation ensured Black children were sent to their own schools, and while [the Supreme Court's Plessy v. Ferguson decision](#) demanded "separate but equal" facilities, there was nothing equal about the education Black kids received. The high court recognized as much in its landmark Brown v. Board of Education ruling.

Still, [segregated school systems](#) remain [a reality](#). Rights groups have pointed out inequality throughout the US education system, including in [school funding](#), ["tracking" practices](#), [redistricting](#), school [discipline](#) (and the ["school-to-prison pipeline"](#)), [high-stakes testing](#) and how [African American boys are perceived](#), among other phenomena. The uneven treatment can continue [in college](#) and [after](#).

Recommended reading: ["The Essence of Innocence: Consequences of Dehumanizing Black Children,"](#) the US Department of Education's 2014 report on ["troubling racial disparities"](#) in public schools and the [personal narrative of a woman jailed in 1854 in Virginia](#) for teaching Black children to read

Good jobs were elusive

Slavery and Jim Crow funneled workers of color into low-wage vocations, such as farm work, housecleaning and driving wagons -- and the percent of [people of color working in similar occupations today](#) remains skewed.

Black codes and their subsequent Jim Crow manifestations criminalized elements of African American behavior -- whether [promoting "social equality"](#) in Mississippi or [waiting in the wrong room for a train](#) in Kentucky -- reopening them to slavery via incarceration, a la the 13th Amendment.

Anti-enticement measures tilted the jobs landscape by [forbidding employers from offering Black workers higher wages](#) than they were already receiving. Debt peonage -- in which an employer compels someone to work to cover a debt -- was outlawed in 1867, but through transportation and living expenses, merchant credits and sharecropping loans, scurrilous White employers could force minorities to work until [the system was eradicated in the 1940s](#).

The [Fair Labor Standards Act](#) and [Wagner Act](#) improved working conditions and collective bargaining, respectively, but they also excluded many jobs filled by people of color.

Data on 2019 household income showed that while wages have risen since 2000, [Asian and White households fare the best](#), with the median White household bringing in \$20,000 a year more than a median Hispanic household and \$30,000 more than a Black one. Meanwhile, since 1980, funding and staffing for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [has been on the decline](#).

Recommended reading: ["The Impact of Structural Racism in Employment and Wages on Minority Women's Health,"](#) economist [William Spriggs' 2019 testimony to a House committee](#) and a report on how Black workers face two lethal pre-existing conditions for Covid-19: [racism and economic inequality](#)

Housing was exclusionary

Following the broken promise of "[40 Acres and a Mule](#)," Jim Crow stoked the [Great Migration](#) of millions of Southern Black people to the North and West -- which, in turn, spurred exclusionary zoning. In 1910, Baltimore became the first city to [ban African Americans](#) from living in White neighborhoods. The practice spread [west to Oklahoma City and north to Colwyn, Pennsylvania](#), by 1916.

After the Supreme Court ruled such discrimination unconstitutional in [1917's Buchanan v. Warley decision](#), cities devoted significant real estate solely to detached single-family housing -- which, without mentioning race, [shut out most minorities](#). Racial [covenants in property deeds](#) also precluded non-White buyers.

The Federal Housing Administration, created in 1934 to boost home ownership, exacerbated matters. Worried that African American homeowners [would bring down White property values](#), the FHA refused to insure Black homes in White neighborhoods, resulting in [redlining](#) -- whereby [African Americans were steered to "hazardous" inner cities](#) and Whites to "desirable" suburbia. [Government underwriters](#) and [1944's GI Bill](#) continued the pattern of prejudice, while the [American Housing Act of 1949](#) and [Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956](#) displaced tens of thousands of minorities. Discriminatory lending and racial covenants weren't outlawed [until 1968](#).

After the subprime lending crisis hit in 2007, about 2.5 million Americans lost their homes by 2009, with Black and Latino homeowners' [foreclosure rates among recent borrowers more than doubling](#) that of their White counterparts. The return of Whites to cities in the last decade [further displaced minorities](#). In 2019, Black home ownership hit its [lowest rate since 1970](#), and a recent study shows Hispanics and African Americans [must earn more than Whites](#) to live in affluent neighborhoods.

Recommended reading: Report on [cities questioning single-family zoning](#), the [Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty Co.](#) and ["The controversial history of Levittown, America's first suburb"](#)

Health care was inferior

In the country's early years, the medical profession believed it was OK to experiment on minorities -- often without consent -- and [deliver subpar, if any, medical treatment](#), but the behavior continued long after that.

The [father of gynecology](#) experimented on [enslaved women without anesthesia](#) in the mid-1800s; loose laws in the early 1900s allowed [forced sterilization of countless minorities](#) and others, [into the 1970s](#); the US government-led [Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment](#), which let 399 Black men go untreated for the disease, ran from 1932 to 1972; Ebb Cade, a Black man, was unknowingly the first subject in [the Manhattan Project's human radiation experiments](#); and Henrietta Lacks' cells have led to [groundbreaking medical breakthroughs](#), but the 31-year-old Black woman died of cancer in 1951 with no knowledge [her tissue had been taken without her consent](#).

Black Americans' [trust in the medical profession](#) remains battered. Recent studies show bias, while better, remains problematic -- with [pain management](#) and [health care algorithms](#) offering just two examples. African Americans are also disproportionately enrolled in [studies that don't require informed consent](#) and are hit much harder when it comes to a range of medical issues, from [maternal mortality](#) to [Covid-19](#).

A [dearth of Black doctors](#), of course, does nothing to rectify the issues.

Recommended reading: ["Health Inequality Actually Is a 'Black and White Issue,' Research Says,"](#) the debate over [former Surgeon General Thomas Parran's legacy](#) and ["A medical hell recounted by its victims"](#)

PRE-DECISIONAL

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

CRFI // Rep Bergman // Follow-up, Critical Race Theory at USAFA

The Department of the Air Force recently responded to your inquiry regarding the teaching of Critical Race Theory (CRT) at USAFA. The previous response affirmed USAFA does not have any course on or teach CRT. This determination was made as the result of USAFA's review of its courses and curriculum, but that review did not include querying each of the course's professors. This update provides additional context to the previous response given the recent Op-Ed in the Washington Post written by Dr. Chandler-Garcia where she claims to teach Critical Race Theories.

As an academic institution and an accredited university, USAFA encourages cadets to engage in critical thinking and discourse, which may drive classroom discussion involving themes that may be explicitly or implicitly related to CRT.

USAFA supports an instructor's responsibility to challenge students to evaluate issues from different perspectives, and to do so in an environment of academic freedom. However, the presentation of a particular theory or viewpoint by an individual faculty member, be it CRT or otherwise, does not imply or constitute institutional endorsement of the theory itself nor does USAFA as an institution indoctrinate its cadets in CRT. .

While the military is apolitical, part of USAFA's mission is to develop officers who will lead diverse forces and set the tone for an inclusive environment where every Airman and Guardian is valued. The department believes that leaders need to have exposure to different viewpoints. Additionally, USAFA's faculty are committed to teaching future officers how to think, not what to think.

The course Dr. Chandler-Garcia taught last year (*Political Science 211 - Politics, American Government, and National Security; course description below for reference) explores different political theories, as well as provides praise and critiques of our political system, often through debate-based learning. In one lesson, a reading from what would be considered foundational CRT tenet is used to set up a contrast with the views of Alexis de Tocqueville as a means to explore viewpoints on the history of racism and inequality in our political system. A later lesson has a reading from Social Justice Theory (not specifically CRT but some might draw links to CRT) as part of a larger look at different viewpoints in the civil rights movement. These are tactical academic choices intended to encourage analysis through different lenses and develop critical thinking.

We remain committed to developing leaders with the critical thinking skills that will be demanded of them in order to meet the challenges of the future.

Course Handbook Description:

*Pol Sci 211. Politics, American Government, and National Security. This course introduces students to the study of politics and government and examines the basic theoretical, structural, and procedural choices faced by any political system. The course will emphasize the following areas of study: foundations and traditions of American democracy; the structure, decision-making processes, and policy outcomes of the American political system; the specific development of national security strategy and policy; and civil-military relations in the American Republic.

CRFI // Sen Cotton // Critical Race Theory at USAFA

The United States Air Force Academy (USAFA) submits the following responses to Senator Cotton's questions:

Question #1: Does Ms. Garcia have tenure?

(Response) No, there are currently no tenured faculty at USAFA.

Question #2: Does USAFA offer tenure?

(Response) USAFA does not currently have a tenure system. However, a tenure system is in development with a planned implementation in the summer of 2022. Tenure policy has not been finalized.

Question #3: To what extent is CRT taught at USAFA?

As an academic institution and an accredited university, USAFA encourages cadets to engage in critical thinking and discourse, which may drive classroom discussion involving themes that may be explicitly or implicitly related to CRT.

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We remain committed to developing leaders with the critical thinking skills that will be demanded of them in order to meet the challenges of the future.

Question #4: Provide descriptions for all courses taught by Ms. Garcia.

(Response) Along with her Political Science faculty colleagues, Dr. Chandler-Garcia teaches a variety of courses in the American Politics and National Security track of the Political Science curriculum. This curriculum includes courses on political theory, U.S. government structure and process, and domestic and foreign policy.

Course identifiers and descriptions are as follows:

***PS-211 – American Politics, Government, and National Security.** This course introduces students to the study of politics and government and examines the basic theoretical, structural, and procedural choices faced by any political system. The course will emphasize the following areas of study: foundations and traditions of American democracy; the structure, decision-making processes, and policy

CRFI // Sen Cotton // Critical Race Theory at USAFA

outcomes of the American political system; the specific development of national security strategy and policy; and civil-military relations in the American Republic.

PS-301 – Political Theory. Provides an overview of political thought from the ancient Greeks to the present. Philosophers studied include Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Marx, and Nietzsche. The course's examination of the debates about human nature, the best regime, justice, equality, freedom, community, natural rights, and between religion and comparative and national security politics provide an essential foundation for the political science major and are invaluable for any airman scholar.

PS-482 – U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is extremely influential in American politics, sometimes even acting as a policy-making body, deciding the fate of such contentious matters as abortion, capital punishment, public expressions of religious belief, and even a presidential election. We will study the Court's rulings in these areas and many others, focusing on the Court's written opinions, the thoughts of those who designed our government, and competing views about the Court's proper role in our system of separated powers. Final exam or research paper.

PS-491 – Capstone Seminar in Political Science. This course is the culmination of the political science curriculum. Readings and discussions will encourage a critical and synthetic application of the discipline's subfields (American Politics, Comparative Politics, and International Relations) in thinking strategically about a rapidly changing world and America's role in it. Cadets will undertake an elected research project with a faculty mentor. This blend of experiences seeks to produce officer-scholars with the intellectual foundations to develop as adaptive and strategic thinkers and national security leaders able to navigate the political-military dimensions of their profession.

The Washington Post

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Opinion: Why U.S. military academies should teach critical race theory

Opinion by Lynne Chandler García

July 6, 2021 at 3:23 p.m. MDT



Lynne Chandler García is an associate professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The views expressed are the author's own.

Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Mark A. Milley's recent defense of teaching critical race theory at the U.S. military academies shows that it is not unpatriotic to understand a fuller version of American history, nor does it promote division among our military members.

As a professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, I teach critical race theories to our nation's future military leaders because it is vital that cadets understand the history of the racism that has shaped both foreign and domestic policy.

Cadets, like all military members, take an oath to defend the Constitution with their lives — so it is crucial they have a sensitive understanding of that Constitution.

In my classes, cadets learn about the ideals embedded in this founding document. We explore the liberalist theories that promoted these ideals, and we embrace our democratic system of government. But we also acknowledge that the United States was founded on a duality: liberalism and equal rights on the one hand; inequality, inegalitarianism and second-class citizenship on the other.

Critical race theory provides an academic framework to understand these nuances and contradictions. It helps students identify the structural racism and inequality that has been endemic in American society. And it provides methods for deconstructing

oppressive beliefs, policies and practices to find solutions that will lead to justice.

The reality of the Constitution is that it upholds the rule of law and human rights, but once also allowed slavery and has been used to perpetuate legal discrimination. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, although the Declaration of Independence and Constitution espoused liberty and justice, enslaved people had no part of those virtues and no reason to celebrate a day like the Fourth of July. Thurgood Marshall suggested a “sensitive understanding of the Constitution’s inherent defects and its promising evolution.”

This extends to understanding ourselves as the U.S. military. The military was among the first institutions to desegregate and has a celebrated history of diversity in its ranks, though that history has long been complicated. For instance, serving in the military was a path to freedom for some enslaved people, and thousands of Black soldiers, both enslaved and free, fought for America as early as the Revolutionary War. At the same time, George Washington is said to have initially opposed the recruitment of Black soldiers.

In other words, racism was ingrained in the system from the beginning, and the military still struggles with these issues. As a recent inspector general’s report on disparities in the Air Force and Space Force pointed out, Black service members lag behind their White peers in promotion rates but are overrepresented in disciplinary actions. Further, a recent Defense Department report documented the threat of white supremacy within the ranks. Cadets need to understand these contradictions within their institutions.

In addition to teaching critical race theories, I provide my cadets with lessons on political discourse and breaking down divides of polarization through communication and empathy. Cadets at the Air Force Academy will soon command racially diverse units. Racial minorities serve, especially in the enlisted corps, at greater rates than their representation in the general civilian workforce. As of May 2018, Black representation in the enlisted force was 19.1 percent, compared with roughly 13 percent in the general workforce.

Officers must comprehend the unique experiences and concerns of their diverse troops. A

holistic education leads to understanding and unity as service members consider what it's like to walk in another's shoes.

Our officer development curriculum is founded on pushing cadets outside their comfort zones: They jump out of planes, leap off 10-meter platforms, endure grueling physical challenges and assume difficult command responsibilities. Their intellectual development should be no different. To think critically and read broadly is fundamental to making them future leaders for times of both war and peace.

I don't coddle my cadets out of fear that exposure to certain literatures might make them uncomfortable or test their existing beliefs. Cadets must learn to be brave on the literal battlefield, yes — but they must also be equipped to participate bravely on the battlefield of ideas.

Read more:

[Michele Norris: Why the military is so well-suited to close down the critical race theory war](#)

[Eugene Robinson: The cold truth about Republicans' hot air over critical race theory](#)

[Karen Attiah: The challenge for educators amid the critical race theory backlash: How do you fight hot air?](#)

[George F. Will: A teacher pushes back against K-12 critical race theory indoctrination](#)

[Christine Emba: Why conservatives really fear critical race theory](#)

Updated March 3, 2021

America's Racial Reckoning: What you need to know

Full coverage: Race & Reckoning

Thank you very much for sending me this info! Is that the correct link to the video below? I think that may be a different story. Would love to see the video if possible.

Thank you!

Regards,

Kelly McNally
Senior Producer/Booker, Tucker Carlson Tonight
[1211 Avenue of the Americas, 18th Floor](#)
[New York, NY 10036](#)
(p) 212-301-5683

(b)(6)

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 12, 2020, at 9:38 PM, (b)(6) wrote:

Hi Kelly! I have a great story for Tucker. This week he had Senator Tom Cotton on to talk about the politically correct renaming of buildings at West Point Academy. There is a similar, but more serious, controversy going on at the Air Force Academy. The football team prepared a "Black Lives Matter" video to show their support for the movement. The head coach, assistant coaches, and players all participated in it. They say things like:

- "Healthcare for all"
- "Black lives are not treated as equal in our society"
- "Mass incarceration of blacks"
- "Racial profiling by police"
- "Not enough to not be racist; must be anti-racist!"
- "Time for me (a white person) to recognize my bias"

Video and story is here: <https://www.capitalgazette.com/education/naval-academy/ac-cn-midshipmen-racist-tweets-20200617-r5wj12wdrvctzdxdiv32xrhwi4-story.html>

A large group (getting larger by the day) of Academy alums are working to have the video taken down due to its false/unproven statements, and because it violates DoD regs prohibiting advocating for a political position, and violates Trump's recent order prohibiting the promotion of critical race theory. A complaint has been filed but action on the complaint has been stalled, leaving them no alternative but to go the media. Below is an email sent this week to Senator Tom Cotton's office from Lt. General Rod Bishop (Ret). He is available to appear on the show, as well as the attorney who filed the complaint, Mike Rose, an Academy/NYU/Harvard grad and a former SC State Senator. They are cc'd.

Please let us know if interested! Thanks!

Jim Breslo
Founder, RealKast
Host, Hidden Truth Show

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)

To: (b)(6)

Cc: [REDACTED] (b)(6)
 Sent: Wed, Nov 11, 2020 3:02 pm
 Subject: Critical Race Theory (CRT) at USAFA and the USNA

Dear Mr [REDACTED] (b)(6),

Good afternoon! I am Lt Gen USAF (Ret) Rod Bishop (<https://www.af.mil/About-Us/Biographies/Display/Article/104829/lieutenant-general-robert-d-rod-bishop-jr/>)

I am writing to thank Senator Cotton for shining a light on CRT issue at West Point! (And congratulate him on his near landslide re-election--the people of Arkansas (and the United States) are blessed to have him as a Senator!)

I have tried calling both numbers I was given for you to share some additional, related "stories" at two of our other Service Academies--got a "fast busy" on one and left a voice mail on the other one. When a person combines these stories of what is going on at the Air Force Academy and the Naval Academy, with the story Senator Cotton did such a great job of exposing at West Point, we should all have cause for great concern!

Here is a short summary of the USAFA/USAF story--the one I am most familiar with as a '74 graduate of that institution:

In July 2020, the USAFA football team coaches produced a video on their Facebook Page and which was highlighted in the Colorado Springs Gazette (our local newspaper) in an article dated 7 Jul--the headline read "Air Force Football Takes Firm Social Stance With Video in Support of Black Lives Matter."

The video can be accessed by googling "USAFA BLM"--something that is telling and something that has sparked embarrassment among many in the graduate community. The video also can be assessed at:

<https://www.facebook.com/1768796646691218/posts/2651638268407047>

The day I saw the video, I wrote to the USAFA Superintendent, then Lt Gen (Ret) Jay Silveria, (who had worked for me in his Colonel days) an email which stated in part:

I don't know one--not one--USAFA grad who would have objected to a video the Football Team could have produced if the message was "we have stood strongly against racism in our institution and our sport for years--but we are not there yet and are recommitting ourselves to raising the anti-racist bar even higher." I believe every USAFA grad I know has been committed to judging someone by the content or their character and not the color of their skin as Dr MLK dreamt. Can we as a nation do even better? No doubt.

When you produce a video, though, that says in essence "we support Black Lives Matter", like it or not, intentional or not, you cross a line and place yourself squarely in the middle of a political debate raging across America.... It will be divisive!

From the 9th of July through the middle of Sep (a period of over 2 months), a number of graduates (initially in an uncoordinated manner) communicated with the Superintendent, the Athletic Director and the Football Coach through literally hundreds of emails, telephone calls, and Zoom Meetings, respectfully requesting the video be removed from the internet for the following reasons:

- 1.) We want to stand UNITED in defeating any remaining type of racism in America today--saying "Black Lives Matter" 7 times in an angry tone, certainly conjures up images of the BLM Organization--an organization with

Marxist roots, seditious intent and proven destructive capabilities. That group and the slogan they coined is divisive--not unifying!

2.) Four retired Air Force Legal Officers have told us the video violates the law--(DoD reg 1344.10 and AFI 51-508)

3.) Those same retired USAF legal officers tell us the video certainly also violates OMB Directive M-20-34 (9/4/20) and a Presidential Executive Order dated 9/22/20 banning Critical Race Theory training in federal agencies, including at military academies.

4.) Finally (and most importantly), the video is just flat out wrong! It teaches our future officers and other viewers through the words it says--the wrong lessons about the state of race relations in America today--"Jim Crow laws" have not been on the book for decades," mass incarcerations" just aren't happening, "red lining" and "racial profiling" are illegal, police brutality is illegal and rare, etc

Approximately 3 weeks before a new Superintendent (Lt Gen Rich Clark) took command in Sep, I opened a line of communication with him, telling him "we are trying to solve this issue before you take command", but think you should be aware of an issue you may have to deal with." I sent some 17 emails--many of which were trying to educate him on the origins of BLM, where the money goes when people donate, the intent of the organization etc, etc. before he took Command.

Unfortunately, we were not able to convince the outgoing Superintendent and apparently the new Superintendent either--as he wrote to a member of our group (that had coalesced into a loosely formed combined effort toward the end of Jul) an email in Sep that said in part: "I happen to be on the side of the issue that supports the message of the video".

Sadly, believing after 2 months we had exhausted all avenues of convincing USAFA leadership to remove something that many viewed as "offensive" and wrong, we submitted a complaint to the USAF Inspector General. When the Commander in Chief Executive Orders were released in September, we supplemented our Complaint. I have attached those two documents above. After 8 weeks of review with no response to date, we have reason to believe it is time to take the issue to the public/Congress and respectfully ask Senator Cotton to examine this issue.

We believe we have gone "the extra mile" and explained our concerns to the umpteenth degree to both USAFA and Air Force leadership--and still the video remains "up" and there has been really no public disassociation from USAFA or the Air Force from the video. The SECAF is aware of our concerns as well.

Finally, the lawyer for our group has been assisting the lawyer for Midshipman Standage who is, as you may know, facing expulsion for (among other reasons) tweets supporting police and not BLM. Facts that have bubbled to the top in that case are disconcerting to say the least.

Please thank Senator Cotton again for us for highlighting this CRT issue and wish him a "Happy Veterans Day". I will follow up with you in a couple of days either by phone or email to see if I can be of further assistance--or please feel free to contact me either by email or at the number below. Thank you in advance for anything you can do to help!

Very Respectfully, Rod

ROD BISHOP Lt Gen USAF (Ret)

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

(b)(6)

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From: [Redacted]
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: follow up from call today
Date: Friday, July 30, 2021 8:32:18 AM

Aye – thanks – have a good weekend...

v/r,

[Redacted]

From: [Redacted]
Sent: Friday, July 30, 2021 10:30 AM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: follow up from call today
 It is cancelled. Confirmed.
 Otis

Sent with BlackBerry Work
www.blackberry.com

From: [Redacted]
Date: Friday, Jul 30, 2021, 8:20 AM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
 [Redacted]

Subject: RE: [Non-DoD Source] Re: follow up from call today
 Otis: Greetings. I heard the 1030 EST meeting today is canx – can you confirm?
 Thx

v/r,

[Redacted]

From: [Redacted]
Sent: Friday, July 23, 2021 5:45 PM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
 [Redacted]

Subject: [Non-DoD Source] Re: follow up from call today

[Redacted]

[Redacted] beat me to it, I was going to ask if I could get a copy of the Supe’s email as well.

v/r - Goat

On Fri, Jul 23, 2021 at 16:28 [Redacted]

[Redacted] wrote:

Otis: greetings. On the call today you mentioned additional/changed honor training and also your corps of cadets re-doing their oath. Is it a different oath? Or standard officer accession oath but re-doing to underscore updated honor expectations? Also, you mentioned your Supt send out an email IRT CRT – any chance he could share that with my Supt (or if ok, if you could share with me and I’ll forward it up).

Many thanks,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

From: [Redacted]
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Cc:
Subject: RE: Another CRT Article
Date: Friday, July 16, 2021 12:09:06 PM

Thanks [Redacted] (b)(6)

From: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, July 16, 2021 11:41 AM
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Cc: [Redacted] (b)(6)
 USAFA DS/DDS [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: Another CRT Article

Ma'am, as requested.

v/r,

[Redacted] (b)(6)

[How the Air Force Academy Makes the Disloyal Military Leaders of Tomorrow | Frontpagemag](#)

[Redacted] (b)(6)

V/R Rich Clark

From: Jones, Otis C Col [redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, June 14, 2021 8:18 AM
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [redacted] (b)(6)
 [redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Appointee Video

Sir we can get the CAG to tee the portion of the video that's in question up for you so we can discuss. I don't see it as high threat, but definitely consistent with the issues they've expressed previously.

V/R

Otis

OTIS C. JONES, Colonel, USAF
Vice Superintendent
United States Air Force Academy, CO

[redacted] (b)(6)

From: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, June 14, 2021 8:11 AM
To: Jones, Otis C Col [redacted] (b)(6)
 [redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: FW: Appointee Video

Otis [redacted] (b)(6), I have not seen the video that we are offering to the appointees, but I may need to see it before I start talking to alumni groups. I don't think there is an issue, but I need to understand it better. Do you guys have thoughts?

V/R Rich Clark

From: [redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Sunday, June 13, 2021 10:45 PM
To: [redacted] (b)(6)
Cc: [redacted] (b)(6)
 [redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: Re: Appointee Video

Will,

Thanks for your reply, from the bottom of my heart. One of the positives of these past twelve months has been getting acquainted with you. It is truly a blessing!

I hope the months ahead will help us all become united in bringing the Long Blue Line together, in ways that precluded us from feeling united while we were at USAFA. I'll defer to Baseball and Bibles - in God's Kingdom, He cares not about the color of our skin. I pray that ALL Cadets and Grads can serve our country, united, regardless of any differences we might have to uphold and defend our incredible Constitution. It's time to take politics out of the conversation and get back to the roots of what our Founding Fathers envisioned. "All men (and women) are created equal, with certain unalienable rights . . . "

I'm "All in" in trying to preserve that with Grads, Cadets and Appointees/Candidates. I'm also "All in" in doing everything possible to keep the Marxist principles of CRT from prevailing USAFA and other institutions of our society. We MUST make sure that every young person of every race and socio-economic background pursues an Appointment to a Service Academy, and then serves our country. And we MUST sure that they understand how incredibly precious the heritage of our country is. We're flawed, without question - but no other civic institution in the history of the world has been so committed to individual liberty.

I pray that USAFA will forever uphold the commitment to pursue such liberty!

Blessings, My Brother!

Rick

On Sun, Jun 13, 2021, 23:21 [REDACTED] wrote:

Rick, thanks for the note. I agree with you about increasing engagement of Black grads and I anticipate the AOG Board will be examining that in the near future. I'm committed to helping our new AOG Board Chair, Bob Lowe (copied), and the rest of the Board, as well as Mike Gould and his stellar staff to chart a course to increase engagement of grads across several categories— young grads, active duty grads, minority grads etc.

By the way, since our last conversation, I finished reading your book, Baseball and Bibles. I enjoyed it! I particularly enjoyed the third section, "Life Lessons". I note that one of those life lessons talks about errors. I'm not up to speed on the entire below discussion, especially the so-called appointee video. As a result, in order to avoid making an error, I'm not going to comment until I'm better informed.

All the best,

Will

Sent from my iPhone

On Jun 13, 2021, at 11:25 PM, [REDACTED] wrote:

Rod,

Thanks for sharing the information about the Appointee training.

Mike Gould (and Marty),

We need to talk. As the President of THE most active AOG Chapter in the country,

I'm feeling neglected. If the AOG wants Grads to be engaged, you all need to decide what that really means. Karina does a really good job of trying to keep us informed, but I can pretty much assure you every Chapter feels detached. Still can't understand why you all cancelled the Chapter Presidents Conference.

I've had two significant events for Appointees for the Class of 2025 over the last week, and I shouldn't be blindsided like I was with the indoctrination training that was provided to Appointees.

Will,

WE (you and I, as a Black Grad and a White Grad) MUST do a better job of getting Black Grads engaged. USAFA did a piss poor job of making that happen while you were there, and while I was there - the only valid response is "No Excuse Sir!" I'm doing everything I can here in North Texas to get the Christian Evans and the Reggie Remberts and the Dennis Dabneys and every single Black Grad in North Texas engaged - but it needs to start with the Class of 2025 who are reporting next week. The "indoctrination" that was sent to the 2025 Appointees TOTALLY missed the mark. Their words (the Appointees), not mine. Critical Race Theory has NO place at USAFA.

I love our Air Force Academy! I love our United States of America! I'm committed to preserving both institutions. We're at a critical point in determining where we go from here.

You all (addresses on this email) are General Officers and influential decision makers. I separated as a lowly Major - but I can influence 700 North Texas Air Force Academy Graduates through my emails to them, and they can probably influence 30 of their Classmates, who can influence 10 of their Classmates. USAFA and our country are at a crossroads - it's time for USAFA to come together and take the lead. 50,000 Grads could have a HUGE influence on where our country goes from here. Politics have NOTHING to do with this - it's ALL about what the Founding Fathers wrote over 200 years ago, and about the Oath I took almost fifty years ago.

I, Richard Harold Wright, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic;

Our country is facing enemies - "enemies from within" unlike anything we have ever faced. McCarthyism pales in comparison. Khrushchev said he would defeat our country without ever firing a shot. That was during my time of service in the 70's and 80's. It's even more of a threat now than it was then.

The USAFA Class of 2025 will either prevent that from happening, or be a part of it.

Lt. Gen. Clark and Lt. Gen. Gould and Lt. Gen. Bishop - you three have the opportunity to determine our collective future. I separated as a Major - but I GUAURANDAMTEE you (a phrase used by my CS-18 AOC, Major at the time, since then retired Brig Gen. ret Jimmy Cash) - Major Cash would have GUARANDAMTEED that everyone who swore the oath should have died defending our Constitution. Critical Race Theory is based on Marxism, and the Appointee orientation totally smacked of CRT. Is USAFA really trying to indoctrinate Appointees on Marxism before they report for I-Day? WOW!

to divide us.

Marxism IS a political issue, and one would think that **standing up** against Marxism (especially given we have spilled a lot of American blood and spent much of our national treasure over the last 7 decades fighting this kind of ideology around the world) should NOT be a Democrat vs Republican or Conservative vs Liberal political issue--it SHOULD be an *American* political issue.

So in my opinion, Lt Col Lohmeier was/is using his outstanding speaking ability and his considerable writing skills (instead of the F-15 he used to fly) to stand up and fight against this poisonous, Marxist ideological invasion.

Korea...Vietnam...many other places throughout the world....unfortunately, now the threat is from within--and believe me, STARRS, a group of over 1700 supporters, (and growing every day), comprised of people from all races across our great land, has dozens of examples of military members writing us, reinforcing what Matt articulated in **Irresistible Revolution**--and not one example of what the media is telling us is the biggest threat--i.e., "white supremacy".

This threat from within, many consider to be the "domestic enemy" Abraham Lincoln warned us against--and is embedded in the oath Lt Col Lohmeier and every veteran dead and alive has taken--"I do solemnly swear to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and **domestic**..." Once again, it seems like Lt Col Lohmeier was doing just what he swore an oath to do.

(As an aside, I wonder if the two previous generals you interviewed had even read his book?) I can assure you I have (in fact I have bought six copies and are giving them away to friends and family I believe need to hear this message))

What I did not say in response to your question, but should have (but perhaps Lt Col Lohmeier did) was that he had raised the issue through his chain of command--all the way to the Commander of the US Space Force and filed an IG complaint as well (a complaint that was dismissed). Seems to me he did all the right things in an effort to make his concerns known.

Continuing to see and experience the negative effects of this "identity politics" type of divisiveness was having, Lt Col Lohmeier has said his intent in writing his book was to try and foster a conversation on the topic. Seems to me he was trying to help his Service understand the negative repercussions the training was having .

And to my way of thinking, when he published his book, he was also doing EXACTLY what the Secretary of Defense had asked military members to do back in Feb--i.e., call our extremism where and when they see it. The Secretary of Defense confirmed this was his intent in testimony before the SASC yesterday (first 2 minutes plus are examples of CRT manifestation in the Services and the confirmation of the SECDEF's advice comes at about the 5:30 point) .

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBeynho0_vQ

I would hope most people realize identity politics divides people rather than unites them--as an article (Culture War on the Military) published on 3 Jun 21 in the Washington Examiner pointed out:

"...attempts by the military to address an *alleged* lack of "diversity" in the ranks can actually lead to **division** by pushing "identity politics."

I could write more, but will stop here and underscore the point I made at the end of our discussion--from all accounts across our nation, across all of the Services, and across all of our Service Academies, the type of training--or at least the way the military is going about addressing "Diversity, Equity and Inclusion" is driving a wedge into the

cohesiveness of our fighting forces. It isn't working. As one of my USAFA classmates, a former football player, told Coach Calhoun after the coaches produced what many called a BLM propaganda video last July, "it's time to call a new play coach." Our opponents (China, Russia, Iran among them), I am sure are pleased.

One would have to hope the Services will eventually come to realize this and understand the following--no one is going to want to fight for a country when they are taught that country is inherently evil or inherently racist and "that when the Constitution of the United States was ratified, white supremacy became the law of the land" (an example of the type of training at then Buckley Air Force base, Lt Col Lohmeier points out in chapter 2 of his book.)

Thankfully, we have officers of the caliber of Lt Col Lohmeier who are willing to sacrifice their own career, in an effort to hopefully make the leaders of our nation and our military understand the harm they are self inflicting.

As Thomas Jefferson once said, "one man with courage is a majority".

Thank-you David, for asking for additional information!

VR, Rod

ROD BISHOP Lt Gen USAF (Ret)

PS. Regarding our conversation, I have one small technical correction regarding STARRS--I believe I told you "STARRS had formed a 501c3 and was awaiting tax-exempt status." We all learned from one of our lawyers on Wednesday, that the more correct way of expressing what we are is "STARRS has formed a corporation and is awaiting approval of 501c3 tax exempt status from the IRS."

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Monday, March 15, 2021 10:28 AM

To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Concerns about Extremism at the Air Force Academy

Dear Lt. Gen. Clark:

I am writing to you as a Member of the United States Air Force Academy Board of Visitors. I have written previously to the Chairman of the Board of Visitors, my fellow Board Members, as well as the Designated Federal Officer, Anthony "Ryan" McDonald, with limited success. I am concerned about a number of issues that I have learned about, and I respectfully ask that you provide me with certain information so that I can further evaluate, discuss and make recommendations regarding these issues of concern at the Air Force Academy.

Specifically, please provide me a copy of all documents that indicate guidance or instructions about a leadership stand-down or other efforts to address extremism in the Air Force, including at the Air Force Academy, published by the Department of Defense, the Department of the Air Force and/or the Air Force Academy (see attachment.)

I am particularly concerned that efforts to eradicate extremism in the military may be targeted against conservatives on the "Right" while omitting eradicating extremists who are progressives or liberals on the "Left."

For example, the only four "case studies" of extremism in the military listed in the DoD document entitled "Leadership Stand-Down to Address Extremism in the Force" (see attachment) involve "Nazi" and/or "white supremacist" "problematic behaviors" that occurred in 2019 but completely omit the extremist activities of Black Lives Matter, ANTIFA and other members of the "Left" during 2020-2021. It seems inconsistent and discriminatory to focus on extremism on the Right but to totally ignore extremism by the Left that caused during 2020-2021 over fifty riots in several US cities resulting in the death of at least 29 persons, injuries to more than 2000 police, the burning and destruction of over \$2 billion in property, attacks on US buildings and the creation of a so-called "autonomous zone" purporting to be independent of the local, state and US governments.

Why does this DoD guidance target only extremists on the Right and not extremists on the Left? Do similar guidance or directives from the Department of the Air Force or the Air Force Academy do the same? Please send me a copy of those publications so I can read and judge for myself.

I am similarly concerned about the content and tone of what the Air Force Academy teaches, allows and requires about race relations, and whether the Air Force Academy has caused or will cause teachings about race that promote hostility against a certain race by being discriminatory, hateful,

toxic, accusatory, divisive, false/misleading, trafficking in racial stereotypes, and/or involving collective guilt, racial segregation and/or race-based harassment. For example, the Air Force Academy apparently has allowed its football coaches to publish a video associated with the AFA to which many object as racist because it contains some of the characteristics listed in the preceding sentence. Please tell me if cadets or others at the Air Force Academy would be allowed to publish a similar video associated with the Air Force Academy praising/referencing “White Lives Matter,” “Police Lives Matter” or “All Lives Matter;” if not, why not; if anyone doing that would be considered to be an extremist; and, if so, why.

Similarly, I understand the Air Force Academy has created a “Diversity and Inclusion Reading Room.” Please tell me which, if any, of the following books are being provided in that “Diversity and Inclusion Reading Room” for cadets or other AFA personnel to read: How to be an Antiracist, The New Jim Crow, and Sexual Minorities and Politics. Are the publications provided by the Air Force Academy in that so-called “Safe Space” balanced with readings by authors with views on both the “Left” and the “Right” or only espousing the views about race by the Left? If the publications state only views of the Left, why are they not balanced with the views of the Right?

I understand that social media messages by midshipmen and officers at the Naval Academy have expressed hatred toward the police, the President and the United States and have supported ANTIFA, Black Lives Matter and violent protests, and that many consider those messages to be racist and improper. I also understand that a midshipman expressing contrary views may be sanctioned.

Does the Air Force Academy allow or prohibit cadets and others at the AFA to publish statements of that nature on social media? Please send me a copy of any document that regulates or defines what cadets and others at the Air Force Academy may or may not say on social media.

Public articles state that Task Force Navy One has proposed that Navy sailors be required to take the following pledge to combat discrimination in the Navy:

“I pledge to advocate for and acknowledge all lived experiences and intersectional identities of every sailor in the Navy. I pledge to engage in ongoing self-reflection, education and knowledge sharing to better myself and my communities. I pledge to be an example in establishing healthy, inclusive and team-oriented environments. I pledge to constructively share all experiences and information gained from activities above to inform the development of Navy-wide reforms.”

Will cadets and others at the Air Force Academy be asked or required to take that pledge or a similar pledge? What will happen if a cadet or other Air Force member refuses to give the pledge because he or she disagrees with, for example, the notion of “intersectional identities” or believes that the pledge is inconsistent with the United States Constitution? If a pledge like the above will be required at the Air Force Academy, can it be modified to include also pledges not to engage in racist behavior that is discriminatory, hateful, toxic, accusatory, divisive, false/misleading, trafficking in racial stereotypes, and/or involving collective guilt, racial segregation and/or race-based harassment?

I and many others are concerned that the Air Force Academy and other institutions are, ironically, in fact being racist, divisive and counter-productive by the manner in which they are purporting to

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combat racism. I and many others agree with United States Senator Tim Scott's statements on March 8, 2021, that "Woke supremacy is as bad as white supremacy. We need to take that seriously." I and many others also agree with former NFL star Burgess Owens and Heisman Trophy winner and former NFL star Herschell Walker that Black Lives Matter and ANTIFA are racist like the Klu Klux Klan. What would happen to a cadet or other military member who expressed those views? I do not think that the Air Force or the Air Force Academy should penalize any cadet or other military member for believing or expressing the same, but fear that they will deem anyone having or expressing those beliefs as extremists and penalize them.

I very much would appreciate and respectfully request that you read the attached article by Chris Rufo entitled "Critical Race Fragility" to better understand the nature of the concerns I and others have about the direction the Air Force Academy, the Air Force and other military services appear to be going by purging those having beliefs not shared by those currently leading the military.

Thank you very much for your consideration and assistance with these matters.

Sincerely,

(b)(6)

From: [Redacted]
To: (b)(6)
Cc:

Subject: Consideration for Rep Lamborn Meeting (Academic Freedom)
Date: Friday, July 9, 2021 1:26:41 PM
Attachments: [1940 Statement on Academic Freedom.pdf](#)

Given the discussions that may transpire wrt Dr. Chandler-Garcia's continued employment/status at USAFA, you may want to mention that you reviewed the situation and determined the actions/approach she used were consistent with the principals of academic freedom (attached) which have been in place since 1915 and endorsed by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and over 250 other organizations that support and advocate for educators nationwide. This gives you a professional standard in which USAFA can ground itself against.

Off the record - Dr. Chandler-Garcia would only be in violation of the principles of academic freedom should DoD or DAF come out with guidance stating CRT (or other related theories) are not congruent with the ideals of military service. To my knowledge, no such guidance exists.

You are welcomed to use or not use, just wanted to give you another piece of ammo.

(b)(6)

[Redacted]
(b)(6)

I have recently migrated to Cloud Hosted Enterprise Services. Please update your email address for me to [Redacted] (b)(6)

From: [Redacted] (b)(6)
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Courses please
Date: Friday, July 9, 2021 1:43:31 PM
Attachments: [Critical Race Theory - A Primer \(9 July 21\).pdf](#)

Forgive me – been tied up all day (haven’t we all). Attached is an updated version of the primer. The Dean is meeting with the Supt this afternoon and will provide him with additional info as well.

[Redacted] (b)(6)

[Redacted] (b)(6)

From: Jones, Otis C Col [Redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, July 9, 2021 8:47 AM
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
 [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Courses please

[Redacted] (b)(6)

SAF/MR plans to send the courses with the answer to the congressional. We can use the generic answer, but they will list the actual courses and link to the course description.

OTIS C. JONES, Colonel, USAF
 Vice Superintendent
 United States Air Force Academy, CO

[Redacted] (b)(6)

From: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, July 9, 2021 8:44 AM
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
 [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Courses please

Stand by for a v6 of that primer. We’re going to add some “internal use only” bumpers and provide some section headers, etc.

[Redacted] (b)(6)

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Friday, July 9, 2021 8:21 AM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: RE: Courses please

Col Jones, (b)(6)

Apologies for the delay. I assume the list of courses taught by Dr. Chandler-Garcia this past year (see below) is for internal consumption/background. I believe it's imperative for external audiences that we stick with the more generic language that she "teaches a variety of courses in the American Politics and National Security track of the Political Science curriculum."

Also attached is a primer authored by (b)(6) to "provide a thorough background on Critical Theory, Critical Race Theory, Political Science curricula that relates to these areas, Political Science teaching methodology, and additional background information and context." We see this as an internal document to provide you with the deeper background on this topic.

Dr. Chandler-Garcia AY20-21 courses:

- **Fall 2020**
 - Course Director and Instructor: PS211 – American Politics, Government, and National Security
 - Course Director and Instructor: PS301 – Political Theory (no explicit CRT taught in this course)
- **Spring 2021**
 - Course Director and Instructor: PS482 - U.S. Supreme Court (no explicit CRT taught in this course)
 - Instructor: PS491 - Capstone Seminar in Political Science (no explicit CRT taught in this course)

Standing by for questions.

(b)(6)

From: [Mike Rose](#)
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: Critical Race Theory: What It Is and How to Fight It
Date: Sunday, April 18, 2021 7:10:43 AM

Ladies and Gentlemen,
 Many appear not to be familiar with “critical race theory” or to recognize/understand how it is affecting America and why it should concern all of us.
 I think the article below provides a good explanation of CRT and urge you to read it.
 STARRS is seeking to educate but also to be educated. If you have a comment or, especially, a rebuttal to the article below, please feel free to provide it.

Thanks.
 Mike Rose
 -----Original Message-----
From: Senator (ret) [Redacted] (b)(6)
To: XXXXX
Sent: Sat, Apr 17, 2021 6:00 pm
Subject: Critical Race Theory: What It Is and How to Fight It

Critical Race Theory: What It Is and How to Fight It

Critical Race Theory: What It Is and How to Fight It

March 2021 • Volume 50, Number 3 • [Christopher F. Rufo](#)

Christopher F. Rufo
 Founder and Director, **Battlefront -- IMPRIMIS**

Christopher F. Rufo is founder and director of **Battlefront**, a public policy research center. He is a graduate of Georgetown University and a former Lincoln Fellow at the Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy. As executive director at the Documentary Foundation, he has directed four films for PBS, including most recently *America Lost*, which explores life in Youngstown, Ohio, Memphis, Tennessee, and Stockton, California. He is also a contributing editor of *City Journal*, where he covers topics including critical race theory, homelessness, addiction, and crime.

The following is adapted from a lecture delivered at Hillsdale College on March 30, 2021.

Critical race theory is fast becoming America’s new institutional orthodoxy. Yet most Americans have never heard of it—and of those who have, many don’t understand it. It’s time for this to change. We need to know what it is so we can know how to fight it.

In explaining critical race theory, it helps to begin with a brief history of Marxism.

Originally, the Marxist Left built its political program on the theory of class conflict. Marx believed that the primary characteristic of industrial societies was the imbalance of power between capitalists and workers. The solution to that imbalance, according to Marx, was revolution: the workers would eventually gain consciousness of their plight, seize the means of production, overthrow the capitalist class, and usher in a new socialist society.

During the 20th century, a number of regimes underwent Marxist-style revolutions, and each ended in disaster. Socialist governments in the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, Cuba, and elsewhere racked up a body count of nearly 100 million of their own people. They are remembered for their gulags, show trials, executions, and mass starvations. In practice, Marx's ideas unleashed man's darkest brutalities. By the mid-1960s, Marxist intellectuals in the West had begun to acknowledge these failures. They recoiled at revelations of Soviet atrocities and came to realize that workers' revolutions would never occur in Western Europe or the United States, where there were large middle classes and rapidly improving standards of living. Americans in particular had never developed a sense of class consciousness or class division. Most Americans believed in the American dream—the idea that they could transcend their origins through education, hard work, and good citizenship. But rather than abandon their Leftist political project, Marxist scholars in the West simply adapted their revolutionary theory to the social and racial unrest of the 1960s. Abandoning Marx's economic dialectic of capitalists and workers, they substituted race for class and sought to create a revolutionary coalition of the dispossessed based on racial and ethnic categories.

Fortunately, the early proponents of this revolutionary coalition in the U.S. lost out in the 1960s to the civil rights movement, which sought instead the fulfillment of the American promise of freedom and equality under the law. Americans preferred the idea of improving their country to that of overthrowing it. The vision of Martin Luther King, Jr., President Johnson's pursuit of the Great Society, and the restoration of law and order promised by President Nixon in his 1968 campaign defined the post-1960s American political consensus.

But the radical Left has proved resilient and enduring—which is where critical race theory comes in.

WHAT IT IS

Critical race theory is an academic discipline, formulated in the 1990s, built on the intellectual framework of identity-based Marxism. Relegated for many years to universities and obscure academic journals, over the past decade it has increasingly become the default ideology in our public institutions. It has been injected into government agencies, public school systems, teacher training programs, and corporate human resources departments in the form of diversity training programs, human resources modules, public policy frameworks, and school curricula.

There are a series of euphemisms deployed by its supporters to describe critical race theory, including “equity,” “social justice,” “diversity and inclusion,” and “culturally responsive teaching.” Critical race theorists, masters of language construction, realize that “neo-Marxism” would be a hard sell. *Equity*, on the other hand, sounds non-threatening and is easily confused with the American principle of *equality*. But the distinction is vast and important. Indeed, equality—the principle proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, defended in the Civil War, and codified into law with the 14th and 15th Amendments, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—is explicitly rejected by critical race theorists. To them, equality represents “mere nondiscrimination” and provides “camouflage” for white supremacy, patriarchy, and oppression.

In contrast to equality, equity as defined and promoted by critical race theorists is

little more than reformulated Marxism. In the name of equity, UCLA Law Professor and critical race theorist Cheryl Harris has proposed suspending private property rights, seizing land and wealth and redistributing them along racial lines. Critical race guru Ibram X. Kendi, who directs the Center for Antiracist Research at Boston University, has proposed the creation of a federal Department of Antiracism. This department would be independent of (i.e., unaccountable to) the elected branches of government, and would have the power to nullify, veto, or abolish any law at any level of government and curtail the speech of political leaders and others who are deemed insufficiently “antiracist.”

One practical result of the creation of such a department would be the overthrow of capitalism, since according to Kendi, “In order to truly be antiracist, you also have to truly be anti-capitalist.” In other words, identity is the means and Marxism is the end.

An equity-based form of government would mean the end not only of private property, but also of individual rights, equality under the law, federalism, and freedom of speech. These would be replaced by race-based redistribution of wealth, group-based rights, active discrimination, and omnipotent bureaucratic authority. Historically, the accusation of “anti-Americanism” has been overused. But in this case, it’s not a matter of interpretation—critical race theory prescribes a revolutionary program that would overturn the principles of the Declaration and destroy the remaining structure of the Constitution.

HOW IT WORKS

What does critical race theory look like in practice? Last year, I authored a series of reports focused on critical race theory in the federal government. The FBI was holding workshops on intersectionality theory. The Department of Homeland Security was telling white employees they were committing “microinequities” and had been “socialized into oppressor roles.” The Treasury Department held a training session telling staff members that “virtually all white people contribute to racism” and that they must convert “everyone in the federal government” to the ideology of “antiracism.” And the Sandia National Laboratories, which designs America’s nuclear arsenal, sent white male executives to a three-day reeducation camp, where they were told that “white male culture” was analogous to the “KKK,” “white supremacists,” and “mass killings.” The executives were then forced to renounce their “white male privilege” and write letters of apology to fictitious women and people of color.

This year, I produced another series of reports focused on critical race theory in education. In Cupertino, California, an elementary school forced first-graders to deconstruct their racial and sexual identities, and rank themselves according to their “power and privilege.” In Springfield, Missouri, a middle school forced teachers to locate themselves on an “oppression matrix,” based on the idea that straight, white, English-speaking, Christian males are members of the oppressor class and must atone for their privilege and “covert white supremacy.” In Philadelphia, an elementary school forced fifth-graders to celebrate “Black communism” and simulate a Black Power rally to free 1960s radical Angela Davis from prison, where she had once been held on charges of murder. And in Seattle, the school district told white teachers that they are guilty of “spirit murder” against black children and must “bankrupt [their] privilege in acknowledgement of [their] thieved inheritance.”

I’m just one investigative journalist, but I’ve developed a database of more than 1,000 of these stories. When I say that critical race theory is becoming the operating ideology of our public institutions, it is not an exaggeration—from the universities to bureaucracies to k-12 school systems, critical race theory has permeated the collective intelligence and decision-making process of American government, with

no sign of slowing down.

This is a revolutionary change. When originally established, these government institutions were presented as neutral, technocratic, and oriented towards broadly-held perceptions of the public good. Today, under the increasing sway of critical race theory and related ideologies, they are being turned against the American people. This isn't limited to the permanent bureaucracy in Washington, D.C., but is true as well of institutions in the states, even in red states, and it is spreading to county public health departments, small Midwestern school districts, and more. This ideology will not stop until it has devoured all of our institutions.

FUTILE RESISTANCE

Thus far, attempts to halt the encroachment of critical race theory have been ineffective. There are a number of reasons for this.

First, too many Americans have developed an acute fear of speaking up about social and political issues, especially those involving race. According to a recent Gallup poll, 77 percent of conservatives are afraid to share their political beliefs publicly. Worried about getting mobbed on social media, fired from their jobs, or worse, they remain quiet, largely ceding the public debate to those pushing these anti-American ideologies. Consequently, the institutions themselves become monocultures: dogmatic, suspicious, and hostile to a diversity of opinion.

Conservatives in both the federal government and public school systems have told me that their "equity and inclusion" departments serve as political offices, searching for and stamping out any dissent from the official orthodoxy.

Second, critical race theorists have constructed their argument like a mousetrap. Disagreement with their program becomes irrefutable evidence of a dissenter's "white fragility," "unconscious bias," or "internalized white supremacy." I've seen this projection of false consciousness on their opponents play out dozens of times in my reporting. Diversity trainers will make an outrageous claim—such as "all whites are intrinsically oppressors" or "white teachers are guilty of spirit murdering black children"—and then when confronted with disagreement, they adopt a patronizing tone and explain that participants who feel "defensiveness" or "anger" are reacting out of guilt and shame. Dissenters are instructed to remain silent, "lean into the discomfort," and accept their "complicity in white supremacy."

Third, Americans across the political spectrum have failed to separate the premise of critical race theory from its conclusion. Its premise—that American history includes slavery and other injustices, and that we should examine and learn from that history—is undeniable. But its revolutionary conclusion—that America was founded on and defined by racism and that our founding principles, our Constitution, and our way of life should be overthrown—does not rightly, much less necessarily, follow.

Fourth and finally, the writers and activists who have had the courage to speak out against critical race theory have tended to address it on the theoretical level, pointing out the theory's logical contradictions and dishonest account of history. These criticisms are worthy and good, but they move the debate into the academic realm, which is friendly terrain for proponents of critical race theory. They fail to force defenders of this revolutionary ideology to defend the practical consequences of their ideas in the realm of politics.

POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

No longer simply an academic matter, critical race theory has become a tool of political power. To borrow a phrase from the Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci, it is fast achieving "cultural hegemony" in America's public institutions. More and more, it is driving the vast machinery of the state and society. If we want to succeed in opposing it, we must address it politically at every level.

Critical race theorists must be confronted with and forced to speak to the facts. Do

they support public schools separating first-graders into groups of “oppressors” and “oppressed”? Do they support mandatory curricula teaching that “all white people play a part in perpetuating systemic racism”? Do they support public schools instructing white parents to become “white traitors” and advocate for “white abolition”? Do they want those who work in government to be required to undergo this kind of reeducation? How about managers and workers in corporate America? How about the men and women in our military? How about every one of us?

There are three parts to a successful strategy to defeat the forces of critical race theory: governmental action, grassroots mobilization, and an appeal to principle. We already see examples of governmental action. Last year, one of my reports led President Trump to issue an executive order banning critical race theory-based training programs in the federal government. President Biden rescinded this order on his first day in office, but it provides a model for governors and municipal leaders to follow. This year, several state legislatures have introduced bills to achieve the same goal: preventing public institutions from conducting programs that stereotype, scapegoat, or demean people on the basis of race. And I have organized a coalition of attorneys to file lawsuits against schools and government agencies that impose critical race theory-based programs on grounds of the First Amendment (which protects citizens from compelled speech), the Fourteenth Amendment (which provides equal protection under the law), and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits public institutions from discriminating on the basis of race).

On the grassroots level, a multiracial and bipartisan coalition is emerging to do battle against critical race theory. Parents are mobilizing against racially divisive curricula in public schools and employees are increasingly speaking out against Orwellian reeducation in the workplace. When they see what is happening, Americans are naturally outraged that critical race theory promotes three ideas—race essentialism, collective guilt, and neo-segregation—which violate the basic principles of equality and justice. Anecdotally, many Chinese-Americans have told me that having survived the Cultural Revolution in their former country, they refuse to let the same thing happen here.

In terms of principles, we need to employ our own moral language rather than allow ourselves to be confined by the categories of critical race theory. For example, we often find ourselves debating “diversity.” Diversity as most of us understand it is generally good, all things being equal, but it is of secondary value. We should be talking about and aiming at *excellence*, a common standard that challenges people of all backgrounds to achieve their potential. On the scale of desirable ends, excellence beats diversity every time.

Similarly, in addition to pointing out the dishonesty of the historical narrative on which critical race theory is predicated, we must promote the true story of America—a story that is honest about injustices in American history, but that places them in the context of our nation’s high ideals and the progress we have made towards realizing them. Genuine American history is rich with stories of achievements and sacrifices that will move the hearts of Americans—in stark contrast to the grim and pessimistic narrative pressed by critical race theorists.

Above all, we must have courage—the fundamental virtue required in our time. Courage to stand and speak the truth. Courage to withstand epithets. Courage to face the mob. Courage to shrug off the scorn of the elites. When enough of us overcome the fear that currently prevents so many from speaking out, the hold of critical race theory will begin to slip. And courage begets courage. It’s easy to stop a lone dissenter; it’s much harder to stop 10, 20, 100, 1,000, 1,000,000, or more who stand up together for the principles of America.

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Truth and justice are on our side. If we can muster the courage, we will win.

Michael Rose | 409 Central Ave, Summerville, SC 29483 843 871 1821

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Sent by

From: (b)(6)
To: Jones, Otis C. (b)(6)
Subject: FW: CRT
Date: Monday, July 19, 2021 4:26:08 PM
Attachments: image001.jpg
 Checkpoints State of Mind - Status of the Honor Review.docx
 Can the Academy Survive.pdf

FYSA

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, July 19, 2021 10:57 AM
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: FW: CRT

Supt, In our continuing effort to keep you informed about graduate attitudes, Bob Lowe '71, AOG Board Chair, asked me to pass these to you: The Word doc attachment is on the honor review status; the pdf atch is a think-piece by a couple 1972 grads & pasted below are two notes on DEI & critical thinking, respectively.

Glad to discuss at your convenience.

V/R, (b)(6)

On 07/18/2021 1:17 PM (b)(6) wrote:

Hi Bob, Dan Vician, '72

Offering some basic thoughts regarding the recent upheaval of sorts and teaching CRT at the Zoo. Sending this to you per Ski's latest Class update. (Which, as an aside, he is doing an outstanding job communicating to us!!)

My thoughts:

- 1. Initial comment: I feel strongly that "CRT" has merit as an educational topic, both in the look-back at our county's history, and in reality regarding working together on the AF Team. - it just has a bad name labeling/describing it*
- 2. Personal Background: As a white kid growing up on the near west side (and "white side") of Cleveland Ohio, I didn't have much interface with anyone but other white people, and unfortunately, was raised to believe that blacks (insert the N-word used all the time by my Dad, older brother, and Uncles), were bad people, dishonest, and white-haters.... I don't really think anything at the Zoo in my four years, changed that line of thinking / successfully introduced to me to the alternate reality. If there was something, I wasn't listening or buying into it.*
- 3. Here's my reality/awakening: Thank goodness for whatever the race awareness,*

mandatory attendance program was, that I had to go to at McGuire AFB, NJ (C-141 after UPT), that I, and all other MAFB newly assigned personnel - regardless of job, rank or color - had to attend. (How's that for a run-on sentence?) I can't tell you how many times in my military career I looked back to that MAFB Indoctrination Class (as I recall it was called) and appreciated the enlightened reality it gave to me; and did for me! I was not a very receptive individual at that class, actually and often injecting or otherwise communicating for all there to hear: self-thought, self-believed, and self-spoken, indignus racial and/or class beliefs. In fact, after completion of that 2 or 3 day MAFB "class" I started realizing immediately (self thought/review) how wrong I was in what I was saying (and believing)... that I thought I had ruined my career before it even really started. So much self reflection was on-going. After reaching my squadron I immediately sought an appointment with my Squadron CC! Best thing I could have ever done at that point in time.

The moral of my short story is: that it is so important for military people to see their team as one team with one objective. Easy words to say, but we, in leadership positions, can't overlook the possibility that everyone has the same view toward, and equal acceptance of: color of skin, sex, or sexual orientation. Even worse when that person is us!

Bottom line, for me anyways, is that the Zoo should teach about the roots of, and unacceptability of racial and sexual negative thinking/negative bias. Both within the core curriculum and separate leadership training, Just please (and being up front about it), keep calling it something other than CRT.

Regards,

Vitciano '72 (No, not Italian family line... just a Zoomie nickname and the nameplate on my door for 3 years!)

Dear Colonel Lowe and Professor Chandler Garcia,
As a proud member of the USAFA class of '72, I support the development of critical thinking skills, including by way of exploring critical race theory, at the Air Force Academy. Thank you for your kind attention and warm regards.

Van Shields

Mike Gould, Lt. Gen. (Ret.), USAF
CEO

(b)(6)



3116 Academy Drive • USAF Academy, CO 80840 • 719-472-0300
afacademyfoundation.org | usafa.org

.. just a Zoomie nickname and the nameplate on my door for 3 years!)

From: [Forrester, Leslie Y GS-14 USAF USAFA DS/DDS](#)
To: [Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen](#) (b)(6) [Moga, Paul D Brig Gen](#) (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: CRT Final Responses to Sen Cotton, Rep Berman, and PSM Diehl
Date: Wednesday, July 14, 2021 4:45:30 PM
Attachments: [CRFI_HASC_PSM_Follow-up_CRT_at_MSAs.docx](#)
[CRFI_Rep_Bergman_Follow-up_CRT_at_MSAs.docx](#)
[CRFI_Sen_Cotton_CRT_at_MSAs.docx](#)

Sir/Ma'am – FYI:

Attached are final products that SAF/MR, LL sent out to Senator Cotton, and to Rep Bergman and HASC PSM, Glen Diehl. The Rep Bergman and HASC PSM docs were updates from original responses sent in last June.

As Sara notes below, our input(s) were (somewhat) edited at the HAF-level before being sent to the congressional offices.

Vr,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, July 12, 2021 2:53 PM
To: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: FW: Final Responses to PSM Diehl and Rep Bergman

Hi (b)(6),

Please see the attached updated responses provided to HASC PSM Glen Diehl & Rep Bergman related to the CRT RFIs. As previously noted, since these went through SAF/MR they edited prior to sending to the Hill.

v/r,

(b)(6)

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, July 9, 2021 4:59 PM

From: Jones, Otis C Col (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
Subject: FW: CRT Opinion Piece
Date: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 8:00:00 AM
Attachments: opinion Why US military academies should teach critical race theory.pdf

OTIS C. JONES, Colonel, USAF
 Vice Superintendent
 United States Air Force Academy, CO

(b)(6)

From: Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 6:22 AM
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: Moga, Paul D Brig Gen (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: FW: CRT Opinion Piece

Sir,

BLUF: Yesterday late afternoon the Washington Post published an important opinion piece by one of our very own faculty members. I know our teams have been working together to ensure our messaging on this charged issue remains spot-on. Below is the message I conveyed to DF leadership. In it, I stressed the importance of academic freedom at our service academy, and our need as leaders to protect it. We owe our cadets a robust, broad liberal arts education that develops and challenges their abilities of *how to think*...not what to think. The profession of arms deserves nothing less.

While not much will shake me loose from enjoying sailing on a beautiful bay off Lake Ontario, an

important opinion piece published by one of our own faculty certainly rises to that occasion! Now, back to the sailing! Should you or your team need anything else on this topic, we are standing by to assist.

v/r Linell

LINELL A. LETENDRE
Brigadier General, USAF
Dean of the Faculty, U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: Letendre, Linell A Brig Gen (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, July 7, 2021 5:59 AM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: CRT Opinion Piece

Leaders –

Yesterday afternoon, the Washington Post published an important opinion piece by one of USAFA's own associate professors, Dr Lynne Chandler Garcia, articulating why military academies should teach critical race theory. (See attached.) Through her essay, Dr Chandler Garcia exemplifies the importance of academic freedom at service academies...from the critical nature of exploring subjects in our classrooms to writing and publicizing the "why" behind such examination. Academic freedom must remain a hallmark of our classrooms, our scholarship, and our Academy; we--as leaders--of this institution must remain vigilant in the protection of that freedom for our faculty.

My thanks to Dr Chandler Garcia for putting into words what many of us have expressed to each other around the water coolers about the importance of teaching our cadets *how to think*. As future leaders of the profession of arms, we owe them nothing less.

/r LAL

LINELL A. LETENDRE
Brigadier General, USAF
Dean of the Faculty, U.S. Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: [Redacted]
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: RE: DF Book Club
Date: Tuesday, August 24, 2021 10:01:32 AM

(added [Redacted] (b)(6))

Thank you for the update!

From: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2021 9:47 AM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted] (b)(6)
 [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: DF Book Club

[Redacted] (b)(6)

Hope you are having a good day!

I just had an opportunity to read the DF book club offering and it does mention Critical Race Theory and related concepts (which will likely open USAFA up to potential critique by certain groups).

As you suggest, I'm working with DF to identify potential counterpoint readings to provide a wide range of perspectives on "Teaching Race."

Thanks! Joe Don

[Redacted] (b)(6)

From: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, August 16, 2021 8:40 AM
To: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Cc: [Redacted] (b)(6)
 [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: RE: DF Book Club

Thank you for the info. [Redacted] (b)(6) do you know if there is a book club offering that would be

considered the counter point to this book offering (with the intent to provide balanced views)?

From: Maguire, Brian L (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 5:33 PM
To: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: RE: DF Book Club

Thanks Dr. L! Really appreciate the heads up.

V/R
Brian

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 12:55 PM
To: Maguire, Brian L (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Subject: DF Book Club

Maj Maguire,

Hope you are having a good day!

Just FYI, I learned that DF is hosting a book club this fall on "Teaching Race: How to Help Students Unmask and Challenge Racism," as well as a virtual discussion with the author, Dr. Stephen Brookfield. I do not know much about the book, but just learned that Dr. Brookfield has discussed Critical Race Theory (and tenants of CRT).

As I understand, these clubs/virtual discussions are completely voluntary for faculty/staff. Just wanted to make you are aware in case you receive questions/queries.

Thanks! (b)(6)

(b)(6)

From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: DF Book Club
Date: Monday, August 16, 2021 3:57:24 PM

Sir/Ma'am,

Below is more info on the DF Book Club.

If I understand what Dr. Looney briefed me (in additional to emails below), a DF team that is associated with new faculty chooses a book each year to read and discuss. This year they have chosen a book by Dr. Stephen Brookfield titled, "Teaching Race: How to Help Students Unmask and Challenge Racism." In addition to reading the book, they have scheduled a virtual discussion with the author, as well. This is a strictly voluntary book club.

Dr. Looney noted that while he does not know much about the book, he did learn that Dr. Brookfield has discussed Critical Race Theory (and tenants of CRT). He has purchased the book and plans to read it this week to better advise us on a way ahead.

Below is a description of the book from the Amazon website:

A real-world how-to manual for talking about race in the classroom

Educators and activists frequently call for the need to address the lingering presence of racism in higher education. Yet few books offer specific suggestions and advice on how to introduce race to students who believe we live in a post-racial world where racism is no longer a real issue.

In *Teaching Race* the authors offer practical tools and techniques for teaching and discussing racial issues at predominately White institutions of higher education. As current events highlight the dynamics surrounding race and racism on campus and the world beyond, this book provides teachers with essential training to facilitate productive discussion and raise racial awareness in the classroom. A variety of teaching and learning experts provide insights, tips, and guidance on running classroom discussions on race. They present effective approaches and activities to bring reluctant students into a consideration of race and explore how White teachers can model racial awareness, thereby inviting students into the process of examining their own white identity.

Racism, whether evident in overt displays or subconscious bias, has repercussions that reverberate far beyond the campus grounds. As the cultural climate increasingly calls out for more research, education, and dialogue on race and racism, this book helps teachers spotlight issues related to race in a way that leads to effective classroom and campus conversation. The book provides guidance on how to:

- Create the conditions that facilitate respectful racial dialogue by building trust and effectively negotiating conflict
- Uncover each student's own subconscious bias and the intersectionality that exists even in the most homogenous-appearing classrooms
- Help students embrace discomfort, and adapt discussion methods to accommodate issues of race and positionality
- Avoid common traps, mistakes, and misconceptions encountered in anti-racist teaching

Predominantly White institutions face a number of challenges in dealing with race issues, including a lack of precedence, an absence of modeling by campus leaders, and little clear guidance on how teachers can identify and challenge racism on campus. *Teaching Race* is packed with activities, suggestions and exercises to provide practical real-world help for teachers trying to introduce race in class

Vr,

(b)(6)

From: Maguire, Brian L (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 5:33 PM
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Subject: RE: DF Book Club

Thanks (b)(6) Really appreciate the heads up.

V/R
Brian

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, August 13, 2021 12:55 PM
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Subject: DF Book Club

Maj Maguire,

Hope you are having a good day!

Just FYI, I learned that DF is hosting a book club this fall on "Teaching Race: How to Help Students Unmask and Challenge Racism," as well as a virtual discussion with the author, Dr. Stephen Brookfield. I do not know much about the book, but just learned that Dr. Brookfield has discussed Critical Race Theory (and tenants of CRT).

As I understand, these clubs/virtual discussions are completely voluntary for faculty/staff. Just wanted to make you are aware in case you receive questions/queries.

Thanks! (b)(6)

US Air Force Academy

From: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Sent: Friday, August 27, 2021 3:59 PM

To: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Cc: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

Subject: FW: Dr. Bob Woodson

Kurt, do we want to consider this man as a speaker. Mr. Holaday is a strong supporter and having Mr. Woodson speak might be just what we need to balance things out a little. I don't want to go too far right or left in the overall balance of speaker, but I know you get that. Your thoughts?

V/R Rich Clark

From: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2021 3:30 PM

To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Cc: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Subject: Dr. Bob Woodson

Dear Gen Clark,

Cathy and I so enjoyed our time with you in your home in early August. And I hope I am not overstepping, but I wanted to let you know that I heard a wonderful man speak last night—Dr. Robert Woodson. For forty years he has been a civil rights leader and President of the Woodson Center <https://woodsoncenter.org>, a non profit, nonpartisan organization that supports neighborhood-based initiatives to revitalize low-income communities. He is a humble, warm, soft spoken African American with great wisdom. I really think that our cadets and staff could learn a lot from him. He has tried to counteract and discuss what he feels are the harmful effects of Critical Race Theory. I think having him speak to the Wing or having him at the NCLS could do a great deal to show our critics that we are presenting a broad spectrum of alternative views to our cadets. I know he would be delighted to speak if we asked him.

Please forgive me if I am being presumptuous in suggesting Dr. Woodson to you. I appreciate all you are doing and as I have said before, please let me know if there is anything I can do to be helpful to you.

Thank you and best wishes,

Bart

Bart Holaday
Chairman and CEO

719 477 0303

(b)(6)

<http://dakotafoundation.org/>



From: Tebrugge, Kimberly G (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: FW: Follow-up to Founders Day
Date: Friday, July 30, 2021 8:55:36 AM

Gen Clark,
 FYSA, I removed you from the Cc line when I replied to Rick Wright below. I appreciate Rick and all he does for North Texas grads, but don't appreciate him taking your time with emails. He has called and emailed me several times this week and I've talked with him at length, just not made any promises.
 We do propose an all alumni virtual outreach soon after our honor communications roll out. More discussion to follow during our scheduled calendar meetings. Thank you,
 v/r
 Kimberly

KIMBERLY G. TEBRUGGE
 Director, Strategic Communications
 United States Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: Tebrugge, Kimberly G (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, July 30, 2021 8:43 AM
To: (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Follow-up to Founders Day

Rick,
 Thanks for reaching out. Gen Clark has been TDY all week and we haven't had the opportunity to discuss further communications on CRT or other USAFA updates to alumni, but we certainly appreciate your insights. Our relationship with grads is very important to USAFA. We are eagerly moving into a post-pandemic schedule where we will be able to resume national outreach as well as invite grads and parents back to our Academy. We're definitely considering virtual meetings such as Zoom calls, as well.
 Thank you again for your engagement and for the calls this week.
 Warm regards,
 Kimberly

KIMBERLY G. TEBRUGGE
 Director, Strategic Communications
 United States Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

From: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Sent: Thursday, July 29, 2021 11:09 AM

To: Tebrugge, Kimberly G [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Cc: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Subject: Re: Follow-up to Founders Day

If Lt. Gen Clark isn't open to doing a Zoom call with Grads (either from North Texas or across the entire Grad community), would Brig. Gen. Letendre be willing to do so?

As I mentioned, the fundamental (and universal) question from pretty much every Grad who is concerned about Dr. Garcia's Op-Ed is "Exactly WHAT is being taught in her class?" In reading the Washington Post piece it sure sounds as if she is espousing the validity of CRT, rather than just introducing Cadets to the fact that it's out there.

Hopefully last Saturday night showed that I'm doing pretty much everything I can to build Graduate Engagement here in North Texas. As Lt. Gen. Clark stated Saturday night, Alumni support is CRITICAL to the success of EVERY institution of higher learning. In my opinion, USAFA is at a crossroads again, just as it was last summer. I worked tirelessly for six months last year to try to keep the football "BLM" video from going viral by petitioning over and over and over that it be taken down. And I give Lt. Gen. Clark tremendous credit for doing so, and for producing the replacement video. However, the Op-Ed has already gone viral, and I'm sure you're hearing from even more Grads than I am about the divisiveness it is causing. I think the only pathway to solution is a path of dialogue.

Blessings,

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

On Wed, Jul 28, 2021 at 4:30 PM [REDACTED] (b)(6) wrote:

Kimberly,

To follow up on our call this morning, I will be sending a summary of Founders Day to all of the North Texas Grads in my database, to give the ones who weren't there a sense of the evening:

In my email, I'd like to mention the Four Objectives Lt. Gen. Clark referenced - I think they were the following, but please correct as necessary:

- Building Leaders of Character
- Preparing Cadets for Future Conflicts
- Dealing with COVID
- Diversity and Inclusion (or is it "Respect?")

As I mentioned, there are a LOT of questions / concerns regarding Dr. Garcia's Op-Ed and CRT. While Lt. Gen. Clark addressed it in a general nature Saturday evening, there are some very specific questions I'm hearing Grads ask, the answers to which will impact their

engagement with the Academy moving forward. Saturday evening was not the ideal situation to ask such direct questions (which could have very well been perceived as confrontational), given that there were spouses / significant others / Parents in the room. Hence my suggestion for a follow-up Zoom call, with Lt. Gen. Clark and ONLY Grads, either from here in North Texas or from across the country.

To help me write my email to our local Grads ("A Summary of Founders Day"), please clarify the Four Objectives above, and I would welcome a short narrative of Lt. Gen. Clark's comments. If you want me to just refer people to the letter that was released Friday, I can certainly do that, just need a link to where it is posted, as I can't attach a document to my emails when I use MailChimp.

I'll be happy to share a draft of my "Summary of Founders Day" email to you for your review - we're on the same team here in trying to bring Grads together rather than dividing them.

Blessings,

(b)(6)

From: Tebrugge, Kimberly G (b)(6)
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)
Subject: GEN Milley on CRT
Date: Wednesday, June 23, 2021 1:30:21 PM

General Clark and Senior Leaders,
 For your awareness, sharing an article that came out today quoting Gen Milley on Critical Race Theory. It is very timely for some inquiries we're currently answering.

https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/06/23/the-militarys-top-officer-schools-congressmen-on-critical-race-theory-white-rage-and-communism/?utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=Socialflow+AIR



[The military's top officer schools congressmen on critical race theory, 'white rage' and communism](https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/06/23/the-militarys-top-officer-schools-congressmen-on-critical-race-theory-white-rage-and-communism/?utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=Socialflow+AIR)

Army Gen. Mark Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has had enough.

www.militarytimes.com

“A lot of us have to get much smarter on whatever the theory is, but I do think it’s important, actually, for those of us in uniform to be open-minded and be widely read.

The United States Military Academy is a university. And it is important that we train, and we understand — and I want to understand white rage. And I’m white, and I want to understand it....

I’ve read Mao Zedong. I’ve read — I’ve read Karl Marx. I’ve read Lenin — that doesn’t make me a communist.

So what is wrong with understanding, having some situational understanding about the country for which we are here to defend? And I personally find it offensive that we are accusing the United States military, general officers, commissioned and noncommissioned officers of being quote ‘woke,’ or something else because we’re studying some theories that are out there.”

Thank you,
 v/r
 Kimberly

KIMBERLY G. TEBRUGGE

From: Maquire, Brian L. Maj (b)(6)
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted] (b)(6)
Subject: INFO: Fox News request - Critical Race Theory
Date: Saturday, July 10, 2021 8:50:54 PM

Sir,

FYSA, this afternoon Fox News queried us, as they are planning to air a story tomorrow morning on Fox and Friends Sunday regarding how Rep. Doug Lamborn criticized the Air Force Academy for teaching critical race theory. They asked for a statement from us, and we provided the same statement we've given all other outlets. Fox is basing the story off of Rep. Lamborn's statement that he released last week, as well as the Gazette's coverage of the statement on Friday. We'll monitor the piece. There's not been any new coverage of Dr. Chandler Green's Op-Ed today.

https://gazette.com/news/colorado-congressman-rips-air-force-academys-teaching-of-critical-race-theory/article_905ad1f6-df7a-11eb-8ff1-9ba23fd3d436.html

V/R
Brian

BRIAN L. MAGUIRE, Maj, USAF
Director, Public Affairs
U.S. Air Force Academy

[Redacted] (b)(6)

From: Tebrugge, Kimberly G Civ USAF USAFA USAFA/CM

To:

Cc:

(b)(6)

Subject: INFO// Rep. Green Introduces Bill to Block Critical Race Theory Training in US Military Service Academies

Date: Friday, May 7, 2021 9:30:58 AM

General Clark and Senior Leaders,

For your situational awareness, sharing a 5 May press release from Rep Mark Green (R-Tennessee), "introducing a bill to fight back against Critical Race Theory (CRT) training in US Military Service Academies." <https://markgreen.house.gov/2021/5/rep-green-introduces-bill-to-block-critical-race-theory-training-in-us-military-service-academies>.

From the release: Rep. Green, a graduate of West Point said, "Critical Race Theory is based on a massive and purposeful misunderstanding of the American founding, American history, and America as it exists today. This is a Marxist ideology created to tear American institutions down. It teaches Americans and members of the Armed Services to judge one another by the color of their skin instead of by the "content of their character." America should never go back to this kind of thinking. A curriculum based on Critical Race Theory seeks to divide Americans instead of unite them."

V/r

Kimberly

KIMBERLY G. TEBRUGGE
Director, Strategic Communications
United States Air Force Academy

(b)(6)

USAFA '92 – True Blue!

From: [REDACTED]
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Cc: [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Subject: Re: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent
Date: Wednesday, April 14, 2021 8:24:41 PM
Attachments: image001.jpg
 image002.jpg

Hi Rich--I sincerely hope your expressed support for "balance", doesn't make you persona non grata with your peers. This email below is between a USMA member of STARRS and a Naval Academy graduate with a daily following of over 320 Naval Academy grads. USMA and the USNA are taking some heat...we are glad USAFA isn't!

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED] (b)(6)
To: [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Cc: [REDACTED] (h)(6)
Sent: Tue, Apr 13, 2021 1:44 pm
Subject: Military Service Academies Go Woke - Washington Free Beacon

David, you'll see that both of our service academies are referenced in the article, but oddly the USAFA is not. Interesting since it is STARRS, started by USAFA grads, that got the ball rolling to stand against this "anti-racist" CRT claptrap. Sam
[Military Service Academies Go Woke - Washington Free Beacon](#)

-----Original Message-----

From: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)
To: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

Sent: Mon, Apr 12, 2021 10:21 pm
Subject: RE: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent

Sir, thanks for this note. I think we are approaching these issues in a balanced way, and we continue to encourage our cadets, staff and faculty to focus on our oath, which binds us, and not the politics which can divide us. We appreciate your continued support in that effort!
 V/R Rich

From: [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 2021 9:06 AM
To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Cc: [REDACTED] (h)(6)

Subject: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent
 Dear Rich, You have probably seen the letter from Cong Waltz to your West Point colleague already, but sending along to you and the "building bridges" (BB) group in case you/they haven't yet seen. It was sent to our group by one of our West Point graduate members on Saturday. Good summary for you and our BB group of the concerns many of us have been articulating for over 9 months now--also an honest expression of concern from a VMI grad, former Green Beret, and now member of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman Waltz.

Congressman Waltz has not been part of our Congressional outreach program to date. That said, I know I speak for the 60 of us in STARRS as of today (it is amazing how quickly we have grown from just 4 folks without an organized recruiting campaign), when I offer a sincere "thank you" for trying to keep this level of "wokeness" out of USAFA! These are certainly challenging times for an Academy Superintendent!

We Air Force members of STARRS have taken some ribbing from our Army and Navy brothers and sisters that USAFA (and the Air Force) are "lucky" to not be "as far gone" as their respective Services and Academies seem to be (ref stories Congressman Waltz tells about West Point, (many of which we had already heard) or the new Navy Oath regarding "intersectionality" or Midshipman Standage's battle with the USNA as examples.) Of course, we have used those ribbings to say we have a Superintendent at USAFA who has told us he believes in "balance!"

That said, we know the Air Force still has some challenges in this area--just this week an Air Force Captain who I know well expressed to me in an email unsolicited (somewhat complaining of this new "woke" culture):

"respect is only amplified in our Air Force (DoD) family. So I find myself often in these 'seminars' thinking where's the target audience and how are they being reached in these conversations? I come up empty handed when I try to think of someone in our Sq/Gp/Wg that doesn't share that common respect for a fellow Airman...."

"These topics are ones we can't dance around yet still be effective unit - the world's greatest Air Force, it is troubling when it isn't considered enough to share equal respect and esteem for all Airmen - no matter their background at an individual level--Some of these mandatory training modules' objectives just seem to be a far swing from that standard."

Similarly, a black female airman recently went to her Lt Col Sq CC claiming she was a victim of racism. During the conversation, she said she had come to realize that she was an outsider not just in her own country but also in the Air Force; something she hadn't been raised to believe, but something she had been taught in the past year in the USAF.

That Lt Col Sq CC, by the way filed an IG complaint with his Service as his base commander still required "critical race theory" be taught even after the President of the United States had issued an executive order prohibiting such training. (Happy to share how that all turned out if anyone is interested.)

Even at USAFA, despite our combined efforts, during the extremist stand down day of a week and a half ago--a cadet in one squadron told us they "only discussed 6 Jan extremism", while in another squadron "it would have been better if they had used more than just white supremacist examples of extremism" was the feedback.

How someone (AOC? Sq CC?) who is hosting a training session on "extremism" could ignore the hundreds of leftist ANTIFA or BLM-inspired riots in 2020 and 2021 which has cost America \$2B in damages, hundreds of policeman injured, 29 deaths, hundreds of minority-owned businesses and homes destroyed, etc and not understand that "unbalance" would, as Congressman Waltz points out, breed "insult and resentment" among many is disappointing to say the least. I guess those that planned the sessions haven't been to Seattle, Minneapolis, New York City or Portland lately.

The link below at the 4:30 point offers a possible explanation of why that happened and certainly an explanation of why, for example, politicians would have written the SECEF guidance they way they did for him to sign for the Extremist Down Day and offered only "white supremacist" case studies. The entire video is worth watching--a great summary of all the things Dr Scott has taught me over the last 10 years out on the links--so this isn't just a Fox thing--he has read all the books mentioned!

https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2021/04/05/steve_hilton_wokeism_is_the_biggest_threat_to_america.html?mc_cid=16af04a8ba

Extremism, unfortunately lies on both sides of our political spectrum--to say or suggest it doesn't is hypocritical--and divisive.

These are indeed challenging times to be an Academy Superintendent!!

--so glad we have you in that seat at USAFA!

VR, Rod
 ROD BISHOP Lt Gen USAF (Ret)

From:
To:
Cc:

(b)(6)

Subject: RE: Question about Appointee
Date: Sunday, April 18, 2021 8:45:39 AM

Amen, Ron. And it seems there's plenty to go around. [Virginia Public School Teacher Describes Critical Race Theory Training: 'Trickle-Down Indoctrination' | The Daily Wire](#)

Sam

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Sunday, April 18, 2021 8:15 AM

To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Tell-tale signs have been with us, hiding in the open.

George Lakoff, a UC-Berkeley professor (trained at MIT with Noam Chomsky), has been one of the intellectual advocates. Two books in particular provide clear evidence: *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, and *Thinking Points: Communicating Our American Values and Vision (A Progressive Handbook)*.

Nobel Prize winner, Joseph Schumpeter really drives this home in this quote:

“In one important sense, Marxism is a religion. To the believer it presents, first, a system of ultimate ends that embody the meaning of life and are absolute standards by which to judge events and actions; and, secondly, a guide to those ends which implies a plan of salvation and the indication of the evil from which mankind, or a chosen section of mankind, is to be saved. We may specify still further: Marxist socialism also belongs to that subgroup which promises paradise on this side of the grave. The religious quality of Marxism also explains a characteristic attitude of the orthodox Marxist toward opponents. To him, as to any believer in a Faith, the opponent is not merely in error but in sin. Dissent is disapproved of not only intellectually but morally.

There cannot be any excuse for it once the Message has been revealed”
(Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 1950, p. 5).

Best,
Ron

On Sun, Apr 18, 2021 at 6:25 AM [redacted] wrote:

Rod,

There is a bigger challenge than just the following stated at the end of your email below: “A goal of STARRS is to keep this language and particularly the ideology behind it from being *imposed* on our military--it is not unifying language. Keeping our military out of politics is a worthy goal one would think.”

That challenge is to affirmatively teach/educate that the CRT, “1619” models are incorrect/destructive/divisive/undesirable and that the Martin Luther King/“1776” models are correct/constructive/unifying/desirable.

Mike

From: [redacted]

Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2021 11:05 PM

To: [redacted];

[redacted]

Cc: [redacted]

[redacted]

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Gen Speedy--I look forward to speaking with you later in the week! I spent a few hours this afternoon lining up folks for "discussion". I have a West Point Cadet, a lawyer at the USNA who tells me he would love to speak with you and has "more than "lots" of examples", and an active duty AF Squadron Commander who is also very excited to speak with you and who is about ready to release a book "Irresistible Revolution" on this subject matter this week. STARRS will make sure you get a signed copy. :).

I am sure we can provide numerous USAFA cadets/parents as you desire--easy to do--just need to confirm with you later this week the extent of your intent and how many folks you would like to speak with.

Thankfully, as I have told Rich a number of times over the last month or two--we at USAFA are blessed to have him in the seat. We are not "as far gone" (we USAF folks have been told by our members from other services).

That said, I wonder why USAFA cadets would tell us "I feel the culture changing underneath my feet" or "the last place in the world you want to be as a white male Christian is the USAF Academy." I really hope our BOV asks those "why is this so?" questions once they get up and operating.

This is why I said below-- "we are trying to understand better everyday. " My gut--CRT is not actively being "taught at USAFA" but it's constructs are informally being communicated through other means. Just my gut. Is that comment from a cadet a one off comment? I asked a recent grad that question--he "confirmed" its validity asking 8 other recent grads--including two black grad friends.

The challenge in your request is "the most important why?" question you asked. Given your experience at the joint/DOD level as a mentor you might be able to provide us your thoughts on why SECDEF would put out Extremist Stand Down Day Guidance with only "white supremacist" case studies. We have our suspicions--would love to hear yours. We may be missing something there, but hard to imagine a more full frontal example of hypocrisy given events of the last year. Is there real intel that

backs those case studies over ANTIFA and BLM-inspired riots and sympathizers? Of course, we already know the IG finding about BLM NOT being "political" citing an OSC readout of BLM in the workplace. I won't say anything further on that one :). except, "Yeah, right!"

I think you have a good idea of a potential answer here--given our discussions back in Sep. But I think we would need to talk with LTG Darryl Williams or VADM Sean Buck to help us answer the "why"? Until we, our BOVs, or Congress can have those conversations, I think Shelby Steele gives a vary plausible rationale here in this link. The entire 4+ minutes is worth the watch (as is the follow on 4+ minute discussion found on the net)--but what is very applicable to your question comes at the 3:20 min mark here and beyond.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Wei7Ale2KY>

Notice his words about how this language has been "imposed" on every institution in American life ("we (the left) created a vocabulary")--imposed on education long ago, corporations today, etc. A goal of STARRS is to keep this language and particularly the ideology behind it from being **imposed** on our military--it is not unifying language. Keeping our military out of politics is a worthy goal one would think.
VR, Rod

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Sent: Sat, Apr 17, 2021 3:54 pm
Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Sounds good.
Speedy

From: (b)(6)
Reply-To: (b)(6)
Date: Saturday, April 17, 2021 at 1:53 PM
To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: Rich Clark (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

You bet, sir. Prepping for a Board Meeting this Wed, so if OK, will call towards the end of the week if that is OK. VR, Rod

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Sent: Sat, Apr 17, 2021 1:18 pm
Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Rod
Thanks. I don't discount the adage "where there's smoke, there's fire," so I'll take you up on the offer. When all is said and done, it would be good to know how the information articulated in your examples was presented to the cadets...and most important, why?
Let's discuss.
Speedy

From: (b)(6)
Reply-
Date: Saturday, April 17, 2021 at 1:08 PM
To: Gregory Martin (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Sir, let me jump in here if I can--you make good points and always have a sound analysis--ref your last sentence/paragraph--I think that highlights a bit of a difference between your thinking and the experience/feedback from STARRS members. We have parents of cadets who are members, active duty members, members who interact with cadets on a frequent basis, etc. We are "fed" honest, unfiltered feedback from cadets and other active duty folks. Do I believe it all? No. Do I think some of the discontent can be tied to "covid-related" restrictions? You bet. Is it anecdotal evidence? Yes--but it is anecdotal across all Academies and all services. I don't remember anything like that before in my 50+ years of association with our Academy/Air Force/other Services.

I know you are extremely busy, but if you ever want to get that "little more understanding", you said you needed, I feel pretty confident we could facilitate some discussions for you that might assist. That said--we are trying to understand better everyday. VR, Rod

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Sent: Sat, Apr 17, 2021 12:34 pm
Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Mike

Thanks for the feedback on Katie. Sounds like she has the opportunity for great learning and success in future. I certainly hope a person of that caliber will choose the serve her nation and join the Long Blue Line. And I am confident you will make sure she knows what that path demands.

Regarding the screenshots you attached, and after watching the Laura Ingraham piece, I'll need to invoke my "critical thinking" lesson I mentioned in a return email to you (I don't think it went to everyone) yesterday:

1. I try not to accept everything I read, hear or see at face value
2. I have great respect for the US Military Academy and the officers it commissions
3. Do I have different opinions about some of the things they instruct about the US Army's role vis-à-vis the other Services? Yes
4. Do I question patriotism of their graduates? No.
5. Would they actually subscribe to the thought that "White Police Officers Are Murderers? No way!
6. Would they, in their anti-racism (or extremist down day) instruction, use phrases that are being used by Critical Race Theorists such as "White Police Officers Are Murderers"; "F... the Police";

“All Cops are Bastards”; “All Whites are White Supremacists” in an attempt to ensure each cadet understands the seriousness and the divisive nature of ongoing movements in our nation? I hope so.

- 7. Do I believe that either the majority of Main Stream Media or social media posts present a balanced or accurate representation of events they deem news- or discussion-worthy. Not for a long time! Although I used to respect broadcasters such as Huntley-Brinkley, Walter Cronkite and Howard K Smith

I guess I need a little more understanding on the context of Ingraham’s report and a lot more knowledge about what is really happening at West Point, before leaping off the cliff.
Speedy

From: (b)(6)
Date: Saturday, April 17, 2021 at 11:07 AM
To: (b)(6)
 (b)(6)
Cc: Rich Clark (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: RE: Question about Appointee Speedy a/k/a General Martin,
 To counter any doubt that concerns about divisive and misleading “critical race theory” teachings at the service academies might not be justified, I invite you to see in the five attachments above five photos I made last night of the Laura Ingram show starting at about minute 50, and to see the video of that segment if it can be found on the internet.
 As indicated, West Point cadets allegedly have been required to attend seminars calling the police murderers, complaining about “white power” and “racist dog whistles” at West Point, etc. I have seen evidence of similar and worse public statements by midshipmen and officers on social media at the Naval Academy (“F... the police”, “All cops are bastards,” etc.). I do not know the extent to which such statements/teachings are made at the Air Force Academy. STARRS wants to keep that from the AFA completely – to emphasize unity, dignity and respect, not division, blame and guilt.
 Regarding the AFA appointee named “Katie” referenced below, rest assured that she and her parents will think more favorably about the AFA after talking with me than before. I had a good and lengthy conversation with her father today, and will

Speak with Katie and her parents later today or tomorrow. I am arranging for an AFA second class cadet (grand daughter of a retired AF BG who graduated from the AFA in 1969) on the AFA varsity female volleyball team to speak with Katie. Katie's father said Katie has received scholarship offers from nine college honors engineering programs, and apparently is a track star.

Sometimes I ask questions even when I think I know answers to those questions, to learn what others think in hopes of expanding my thinking.

Thanks.

Mike

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, April 16, 2021 2:51 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Mike

As always, your comments are most thought provoking. Just a couple of thoughts regarding your initial question:

1. From Personal Knowledge the Academy curriculum has been changed in the past several years to put much more emphasis on "Critical Thinking". In our days at the Academy, I am not sure how many courses really invited a critical assessment of the material being taught, but I do know that during my 2nd and 1st Class years with my room and squadron mates (e.g. George Keys, Doug Norton, Dick Rauschkolb, Greg Woodhead, CJ Bonner and several others) would not let me get by with unsubstantiated positions on Vietnam, Racial Tensions, Women's Lib movements, Resurrection City, Kent State, etc., no matter what was taught in the classroom. So if it wasn't in the classroom, I certainly learned about critical thinking, and still am, from those who taught/teach me to not accept all arguments at face value.
2. I have not attended current USAFA classes where discussions about human relations, CRT or the ongoing societal turbulence have been discussed, but if the critical thinking efforts have taken root, I can't imagine silence prevailing, either in the class or outside of the classroom.
3. As many of the responses to your basic question have indicated, USAFA is a great institution... but different from non-military institutions of higher learning, it does have the tools and authorities to ensure the cadets have a safe and secure environment with the standards and accountability to offer each cadet the opportunity to be successful.
4. So, are there things being taught that some may object to? Probably. But one thing I have seen, as we are moving forward in standing up the Institute for Future Conflict at the Academy, is that they have very disciplined process for dealing with educational and developmental courses and training activities that are found to be divergent from what the Academy and the Air and Space Force demands of its cadets in order to be commissioned in the profession of arms.
5. I think parents and prospective cadets should know these things wrt the subjects you addressed in your question and also know that a Service Academy is more than an institution of higher learning.

Thanks for your thoughts.
Speedy

From: (b)(6)
Date: Friday, April 16, 2021 at 12:09 PM
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
Cc: Rich Clark (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: RE: Question about Appointee
Speedy,
Please see my responses in **red** below.
Mike Rose

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, April 16, 2021 12:48 PM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee
Mike

For years, but especially over the last eight months, I have been enriched by many of your messages...and I have become a bit more reflective as a result. Regarding your most basic question: "Should she and her parents know—should I tell them--....?" I would ask this question: "if you could put yourself in the same situation in 1948 when advising a young person about attending West Point or Annapolis, should you tell them that "on July 26, 1948, by President Harry S. **Truman's** executive order abolished discrimination "on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin" in the **United States** Armed Forces, and led to the end of segregation in the services," and as result, they may be on the same track team or even room with an individual of another race?" **That is a very good analogy. Thank you for sending it. My question was not so much whether an appointee should be told about the new racial culture at the AFA and in the military but about specifically WHAT an appointee should be told. Yes, of course, a young person considering attending West Point or Annapolis should have been told about President Truman's Executive Order. And, I suppose, anyone who cannot accept the new policy in the current EO mandating CRT should self-select to not attend any of the academies. However, President Truman's EO was very clear, understandable and specific. In contrast, President Biden's EO is vague and unclear, and**

leaves much subjective interpretation about what will be taught and required about race in federal agencies including the academies.

Moreover, there remains the issue/problem of whether the cadets at the AFA and officers of the military wind up becoming only those who adhere to the new, Leftist CRT beliefs that all whites are to be considered negatively (as guilty oppressors) because of the color of their skin and that the content of their character is superseded in importance by what happens to be their skin color. By definition, that could wind up with a military populated with racist extremists on the Left, in the name of purging racist extremists on the Right.

Regardless of that problem, your analogy clarifies that the appointee and her parents need to know something about President Biden's new CRT EO and those policies being implemented at the academies, in the military and in all federal agencies. I will just have to use my own judgment about what is fair, balanced and candid. I do not look forward to that conversation.

As an aside, during or about 1971 I interviewed General (ret) Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. at his office in Wash., DC. He confirmed that, as I had read (e.g., his WP '36 yearbook congratulates him for having withstood pressures far greater than his classmates), he was silenced his entire four years at West Point solely for being black. That meant he had no roommate and ate three meals a day sitting by himself at a table in the cadet dining hall, and no other cadet spoke with him. He told me that the silence of him was "99% effective" and started his second day at West Point. I was struck by what appeared to be his complete absence of bitterness over the way he had been treated and his continued dedication/loyalty to the United States despite ongoing violent protests. I asked him why he did not appear to be angry/ bitter while others were rioting due to racial issues. He replied that the silence he experienced at West Point was the expected norm at that time, and that he just accepted it and endured, whereas those who were rioting had increased awareness/expectations fueled by media/TV showing racial disparities and contrasts between the "haves" and the "have nots" that angered the "have-nots" and people of color. (The silence at West Point (called "Coventry" at the Naval Academy) migrated to being applied only to honor code violators who had not been expelled from West Point. The silence at West Point was abolished in 1974.)

After having listened in to the Lt Gen Clark's comments during the USAFA down day to address extremism, **I wish I had heard them.** I took away several important points of which these two are most applicable to the question and environment you have described: 1. We are all bound together by the Oath we took to Support and Defend the Constitution of the United States, which would include carrying the lawful orders of the Commander-in-Chief?; 2. We must always endeavor to treat all others with dignity and respect. And I know you live by those principles. **Yes, I do. All of us receiving this email chain do. However, that does not solve the problem of whether an AFA appointee should accept her appointment given what she might have to endure or what might be expected of her. What is different now is that the political leadership of the US no longer complies with the United States Constitution or with what is moral, in the opinion of many, and an appointee has to consider whether she wants to swear to follow the orders of that political leadership that she might consider unconstitutional or immoral. I know the accuracy and meaning of this last sentence is debatable, but given the political extremes today of the Left and Right, the issue nevertheless is real.**

So, to your question: Yes, the parents and candidates should be told in all honesty about the environment an appointee will enter at USAFA and what the senior leaders at USAFA and in the Air and Space Forces expect of those who serve. **Agreed. However, again the issue is what to say. While I get a comforting sense of what AFA Superintendent Clark believes and expects, I do not have that comfort regarding his superiors who are pushing CRT propaganda throughout the military. As just one example, thirteen pages of DoD "guidance" about how to identify and purge extremists in the military identify as examples of extremists only "white supremacist" involved in incidents in 2019 and omit any reference to the BLM/ANTIFA extremists who have rioted/looted/burned/killed in 2020-2021 and are seeking to destroy our Constitutional system. That DoD guidance clearly is unbalanced political propaganda that should concern anyone in the military who disagrees with CRT/BLM/ANTIFA.** But those parents and candidates shouldn't be left holding the bag. Thus in my opinion, they should understand they can try to hide from what's going on in our society, or they can deal with it. **That is true. However, "have of winning the battle is picking the right battle." Everyone has to decide for herself/himself what battles they want to deal with.** I, for one, think the Air Force and Space Force want people who will deal with it and in doing

so, if the pendulum is off center, then they can help recenter it over time. **That is exactly what STARRS is trying to help do. In the end, we have to deal with the realities/politics of our day because the US, although imperfect, is the only country with the ideals, institutions, culture and strengths capable of maintaining/increasing our prosperity and freedoms, preserving and increasing justice, etc. Whether spending part or all of her career helping and hoping to "recenter [the pendulum] over time" appeals to a high school senior with multiple college opportunities to cause her to accept her appointment to the Air Force Academy remains to be seen. I just want to give her information that is fair, balanced and helpful. Your President Truman EO analogy is helpful. That was very radical at that time. Thank you, again.**

For what it's worth. **Worth a lot, as always.**

Speedy

From: (b)(6)

Date: Friday, April 16, 2021 at 9:50 AM

To: (b)(6)

Cc: Rich Clark (b)(6), (b)(6)

(b)(6)

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(b)(6)

Subject: RE: Question about Appointee

Bill, et al.,

Thank you for your feedback.

I will respond first by emphasizing that I have been very supportive of the AFA, am very aware of its strengths, and am deeply grateful for the life benefiting opportunities it has given me and others. I try to give back/pay it forward by serving where I can.

As an example, in the early 1990's I noticed a high school junior I did not recognize cutting grass at my home. My wife, Vivian, explained she had hired him and that he was the back-up quarterback and made all A's at his high school; his mother had died of cancer a year earlier; he would have no money for college; and he was cutting grass to make rent money. I caused about twenty leading citizens in our community, including his head football coach (whose air fare I paid), to take him to an Air Force-Notre Dame football game at the AFA to interest this young man in the AFA. He went to the prep school, graduated from the AFA in 1997, and retired this year as an AF Colonel. He has asked me to help him start an AOG Chapter in Columbia, SC, where he is retiring. I will do so.

Secondly, I am struggling with the realization that the AFA, like our society, has changed. We would not fail to tell AFA prospects about the 4th Class System, the

Honor Code and the five year commitment to serve as an officer after graduating from the AFA. What should we tell them about this new direction of the AFA, like at the other academies, of being “woke?”

For example, the high school senior referenced by the words I highlighted in yellow below evidently is a track star and lives in or near Greenville, SC, known in SC as part of the “Bible Belt.” Should she and her parents know – should I tell them – that as a result of an Executive Order by the President or a decision by some kind of new diversity and inclusion official at some level in the chain-of-command a male transformed into a self-declared female might join her AFA track team and compete with her? Should she consider that possibility when weighing other options where that might not be allowed, such as at a private Christian university a few miles from where I live (its President is an AFA grad and former Chief of Chaplains of the Air Force). She might not mind a male turned female competing against her on her track team. On the other hand, she and her parents might not like that at all and in fact have deep religious convictions against it. Should her and her parents be told about this issue before she enters the AFA? What should I tell her and her parents, given that they are seeking my input?

There is a broader issue. I reflect on how I was felt ostracized by my fellow cadets at Marion Institute as I defended black people marching in 1964 thirty miles away in Selma, Alabama, and denounced the segregationist racism of George Wallace. I think about how as a SC State Senator I worked closely with the “Black Caucus,” ensured people of color got appointments to judicial and other positions equal to and greater than their proportion of the population, and personally introduced and got passed repeals of the state statutes still existing in SC prohibiting the integration of public schools by race and prohibiting blacks riding on the same school bus as whites. I realize now that under this new “woke” culture people, including cadets at the AFA, will not be judged by the content of their character as espoused by Martin Luther King, but instead will be judged and categorized by the color of their skin and considered racists merely because their skin happens to be white. I realize that if I were to indicate my disagreement with this new orthodoxy about race, I might be labeled a “racist” and/or an “extremist” and even purged from the military. I realize that my presence or advancement as a cadet at the AFA might not be tolerated today because I, like many others, consider these “critical race theory” policies, mandated for all federal agencies by Pres. Biden’s Executive Order, to be racist, divisive, political and destructive.

What should the high school senior referenced in yellow highlighted below and her parents be told about CRT and wokism in the military and at the AFA? What should I tell them? What should they be told, for example, about the possibility this high school senior might be labeled at the AFA as an extremist if she says or is suspected of thinking, for example, that BLM and ANTIFA are racist?

I think these are serious questions/issue, which is why I am raising them.

I conclude by emphasizing that I know nothing about this high school senior accepted at the AFA except what is in the unsolicited words I received highlighted in yellow below. Therefore, please do not attribute anything I have said to be endorsed by or indicative of the views of her or her parents. What I say are my thoughts only.

Mike Rose

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, April 16, 2021 7:32 AM
To: (b)(6)
Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

Subject: Re: Question about Appointee

Mike

This is a simple answer - the Academy is still an amazing education that offers great opportunities. The current environment is much like the SDS, anti military, anti ROTC days when I went to the Univ of Buffalo. There were radical school administrations, instructors, and students. Each of us adapted to the situation with The value system taught prior to college. At the same time, each of us grew to become part of the fabric of our country.

We are seeing a different generation than ours and it makes us uneasy as we have all discussed. For most of us it is the fear that good order, discipline, and war fighting are taking a woke backseat. But I still feel the issue is more strategic than a video or differences of opinions. We must find a balance in our country for it to remain great. Which college a person attends will have little to do in the overall big picture. An Academy, ROTC, or OTS route to officership still depends on good mentoring, opportunities, and war fighting focused leadership.

I sat 8 years in Congressman Posey's Academy nomination committee - I did then and would now recommend the USAFA! Stay Safe, Bill

Sent from my iPhone

On Apr 15, 2021, at 23:14, (b)(6) wrote:

Wow, Mike somewhat of a tough question today. I am not sure. I appreciate you recognizing my "outstanding son"--2400 in his SATs;Ramstein AB HS class valedictorian (largest graduation class in DODD's history, one of three award winners for the biggest contributors to the success of the school (he "mentored over 30 classmates through their AP Chem and Math exams--first time in school history that everyone who took the tests passed!) And yet he couldn't get into Stanford.

What I really love about the kid--even though he told me he wanted to go there, is he never once complained about one of the last bastions of "systemic racism" in our country of which he clearly was a victim--college admissions.

I shared with him what I went through and what I used to say in working USAFA admissions back in the early 80s, my talking to parents of "majority kids" with higher board scores and higher class rank who weren't getting in vs a minority kid who had gotten an appointment. Gave him solid rationale, He got it instantly. Never complained.

One (you) needs to factor in potential "hate mail" (a bit of an overstatement--but not much) you may receive from parents of cadet candidates who get into USAFA that may blame you (as the two "hate mail" letters I have received did) for not warning them about "wokeism" in the military if you haven't done so. We are blessed to have a Supt who believes in balance--but yet we have USAFA cadets (plural) who tell us "being a white male Christian at the USAFA is a "sin". Why is this so?

I guess my best advice is to have the discussion (I showed the two candidates I am working with the working with (a Hispanic and an Asian) the BLM video back in Sept (one just got his 1500 SAT scores

back), have told them these are different times than when I was admitted and if I were applying today-- it would be a more difficult decision. Hope this helps..I hope USAFA is somehow alerting all ALOs to the issue you are facing.
Hope this helps! Rod

(b)(6)

Rod,

See below a surprise email exchange this evening between a parent of an AFA appointee and me. It is hard to know what to tell this appointee and her parents about the AFA, in good conscience. Would you recommend that your outstanding son attend the AFA?

Mike

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Thursday, April 15, 2021 9:51 PM
To: (b)(6)
Subject: Re: Class of 2025

(b)(6) is a senior. She has an appointment for the class of 2025. A no brain-er in my opinion... but she has so many options that has her confused a bit, and when Tuesday night's track results get posted, her phone will blow up. Just want her to keep her eye on the long ball.

(b)(6) is a great, smart, beautiful kid. She doesn't need to be recruited, just assured of the opportunity from alumni. Maybe she will call you?

Ken

864-884-3738

Sent from my iPhone

-----Original Message-----

From: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)
To: (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)
(b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)
(b)(6)

(b)(6)
Sent: Thu, Apr 15, 2021 9:22 am

Subject: RE: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent

Sir, we will take a balanced approach to the things we do here. But, as you know, we will always embrace diversity and inclusion at our Academy, and we will foster a culture of dignity and respect for everyone. Diversity is one of America's greatest strengths, and we will capitalize on that strength to make our Academy even better. I'm glad that we all agree on those principals, and I appreciate the support from you and this group!

V/R Rich Clark

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, April 14, 2021 8:24 PM
To: (b)(6)
(b)(6)
(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Re: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent

Hi Rich--I sincerely hope your expressed support for "balance". doesn't make you persona non grata with your peers. This email below is between a USMA member of STARRS and a Naval Academy graduate with a daily following of over 320 Naval Academy grads. USMA and the USNA are taking some heat...we are glad USAFA isn't!

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6)

To: (b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

Sent: Tue, Apr 13, 2021 1:44 pm

Subject: Military Service Academies Go Woke - Washington Free Beacon

David, you'll see that both of our service academies are referenced in the article, but oddly the USAFA is not. Interesting since it is STARRS, started by USAFA grads, that got the ball rolling to stand against this "anti-racist" CRT claptrap. Sam

[Military Service Academies Go Woke - Washington Free Beacon](#)

-----Original Message-----

From: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Sent: Mon, Apr 12, 2021 10:21 pm

Subject: RE: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent

Sir, thanks for this note. I think we are approaching these issues in a balanced way, and we continue to encourage our cadets, staff and faculty to focus on our oath, which binds us, and not the politics which can divide us. We appreciate your continued support in that effort!

V/R Rich

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Monday, April 12, 2021 9:06 AM

To: Clark, Richard M Lt Gen (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Subject: Letter from Congressman Waltz to the USMA Superintendent

Dear Rich, You have probably seen the letter from Cong Waltz to your West Point colleague already, but sending along to you and the "building bridges" (BB) group in case you/they haven't yet seen. It was sent to our group by one of our West Point graduate members on Saturday. Good summary for you and our BB group of the concerns many of us have been articulating for over 9 months now--also an honest expression of concern from a VMI grad, former Green Beret, and now member of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman Waltz.

Congressman Waltz has not been part of our Congressional outreach program to date. That said, I know I speak for the 60 of us in STARRS as of today (it is amazing how quickly we have grown from just 4 folks without an organized recruiting campaign), when I offer a sincere "thank you" for trying to keep this level of "wokeness" out of USAFA! These are certainly challenging times for an Academy Superintendent!

We Air Force members of STARRS have taken some ribbing from our Army and Navy brothers and sisters that USAFA (and the Air Force) are "lucky" to not be "as far gone" as their respective Services and Academies seem to be (ref stories Congressman Waltz tells about West Point, (many of which we had already heard) or the new Navy Oath regarding "intersectionality" or Midshipman Standage's battle with the USNA as examples.) Of course, we have used those ribbings to say we have a Superintendent at USAFA who has told us he believes in "balance!"

That said, we know the Air Force still has some challenges in this area—just this week an Air Force Captain who I know well expressed to me in an email unsolicited (somewhat complaining of this new "woke" culture):

"respect is only amplified in our Air Force (DoD) family. So I find myself often in these 'seminars' thinking where's the target audience and how are they being reached in these conversations? I come up empty handed when I try to think of someone in our Sq/Gp/Wg that doesn't share that common respect for a fellow Airman...."

"These topics are ones we can't dance around yet still be effective unit - the world's greatest Air Force, It is troubling when it isn't considered enough to share equal respect and esteem for all Airmen - no matter their background at an individual level--Some of these mandatory training modules' objectives just seem to be a far swing from that standard."

Similarly, a black female airman recently went to her Lt Col Sq CC claiming she was a victim of racism. During the conversation, she said she had come to realize that she was an outsider not just in her own country but also in the Air Force; something she hadn't been raised to believe, but something she had been taught in the past year in the USAF.

That Lt Col Sq CC, by the way filed an IG complaint with his Service as his base commander still required "critical race theory" be taught even after the President of the United States had issued an executive order prohibiting such training. (Happy to share how that all turned out if anyone is interested.)

Even at USAFA, despite our combined efforts, during the extremist stand down day of a week and a half ago--a cadet in one squadron told us they "only discussed 6 Jan extremism", while in another squadron "it would have been better if they had used more than just white supremacist examples of extremism" was the feedback.

How someone (AOC? Sq CC?) who is hosting a training session on "extremism" could ignore the hundreds of leftist ANTIFA or BLM-inspired riots in 2020 and 2021 which has cost America \$2B in damages, hundreds of policeman injured, 29 deaths, hundreds of minority-owned businesses and homes destroyed, etc and not understand that "unbalance" would, as Congressman Waltz points out, breed "insult and resentment" among many is disappointing to say the least. I guess those that planned the sessions haven't been to Seattle, Minneapolis, New York City or Portland lately.

The link below at the 4:30 point offers a possible explanation of why that happened and certainly an explanation of why, for example, politicians would have written the SECEF guidance they way they did for him to sign for the Extremist Down Day and offered only "white supremacist" case studies. The entire video is worth watching--a great summary of all the things Dr Scott has taught me over the last 10 years out on the links--so this isn't just a Fox thing--he has read all the books mentioned!

https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2021/04/05/steve_hilton_wokeism_is_the_biggest_threat_to_a_merica.html?mc_cid=16af04a8ba

Extremism, unfortunately lies on both sides of our political spectrum--to say or suggest it doesn't is hypocritical--and divisive.

These are indeed challenging times to be an Academy Superintendent!!

—so glad we have you in that seat at USAFA!

VR, Rod

ROD BISHOP Lt Gen USAF (Ret)

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