MULTIPLY & MOBILIZE: A WEBINAR SERIES
Narratives and Strategies for Resisting Divide & Conquer Tactics
March 30; April 27; May 25

AORTA
anti-oppression resource and training alliance
www.aorta.coop
UNDERSTANDING THIS POLITICAL MOMENT

Welcome! Please mute your mic. Type into the Chat Box:
★ Your name +
★ Where you are calling from +
★ Shoutout to what’s giving you life in this political moment
UNDERSTANDING THIS POLITICAL MOMENT

Overview
• Introduction + Context
• The System’s Strategies
• Building Power: We Are Winning
• 8 Stages of Movement Building
• Movement Action Planning
WELCOME FROM AORTA

AORTA Anti Oppression Resource and Training Alliance

• WHO: worker-owned cooperative devoted to strengthening movements for social justice and solidarity economy.

• WHAT WE DO: expand the capacity of cooperative, collective, and community based projects through education, training, and planning.
WELCOME FROM AORTA

We base our work on an intersectional approach to liberation because we believe that true change requires uprooting all systems of oppression.
INTRODUCTION: WHAT ARE WE SEEING?

What are we seeing?
• Systems of social organization re-organize to stay relevant and powerful. We are witnessing white supremacy re-organize in response to destabilizations in capitalism, and to progressive social movement wins.
• Right-wing populism is a counter-progressive political movement that emerges when systems are under stress.
• This is not OK, but also not new.
THE SYSTEM’S STRATEGIES

• **Strategy**: Prioritizing (white) nationalism

• **Narrative**: America first

• **Tactics**: Muslim countries travel ban; punishing sanctuary cities; uptick in deportations; threats to go to war with North Korea
THE SYSTEM’S STRATEGIES

• **Strategy**: Privatization of public entities

• **Narrative**: Rebuilding America

• **Tactics**: Erosion of the EPA, and of business regulations; further privatization of schools and health care; corporate tax cuts
THE SYSTEM’S STRATEGIES

• **Strategy**: Equating Right-wing Christianity with Americanism

• **Narratives**: Religious freedom; Islam is the enemy of freedom

• **Tactics**: Reversal of trans bathroom laws; defunding of Planned Parenthood; refugee ban
THE SYSTEM’S STRATEGIES

• **Strategy**: Bolstering power of state agents

• **Narrative**: Law & Order

• **Tactics**: Legalization of the harm/killing of protesters; expansion of ICE and border control; policing communities
SUSTAIN AND EVOLVE THE RESISTANCE

Systems of oppression that target our communities are constantly changing shape, strategy and tactic. ➔
Our collective capacity for understanding this systemic harm is also always changing. ➔
We’ve got to challenge and build our political analysis and approach in an ongoing spirit of emergence and responsiveness.
# Building Power: We Are Winning

*Created by Project SOUTH*

## How Do We Understand This Moment?

This chart describes historic patterns. Each moment is unique, but broadstrokes help us to understand social movement impact as well as to prepare for counter-movement forces.

Shared patterns arise during social movement turning points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historic moments of collective action</th>
<th>Realities Exposed</th>
<th>Forces Emboldened</th>
<th>Victories Lead to Strategic Opportunities Beyond Initial Tactics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SNCC 1960-65</strong></td>
<td>More than just a hamburger: The occupation of lunch counters by Black Southern students exposes blatant, violent, and irrational nature of racism and Jim Crow. Integrity of students is juxtaposed against the hatred and violence of racist whites.</td>
<td>The sit-in movement spreads like wildfire across the South and other forms of nonviolent direct action against Jim Crow become emboldened. Congress On Racial Equality (CORE) launches Freedom Rides to challenge the legality of segregation across state lines. SNCC workers and Nashville students organize effectively to complete the Freedom Rides in the face of violence and under the threat of death.</td>
<td>Ella Baker plays her position as a Southern movement anchor and convenes student sit-in leaders and supporters to coordinate strategy and tactics. This meeting facilitates the creation of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. In visits to the Deep South, SNCC workers listen to existing leadership on the ground and develop a voting rights strategy to break the back of Jim Crow.</td>
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**Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee**

WIN: Legal Segregation Defeated
**IN ORDER TO PLAN WHAT COMES NEXT, WHAT FACTORS CAN WE ANTICIPATE?**

Institutions adapt and respond in order to counter social movement gains

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<th>Historic moments of collective action</th>
<th>POLICE STATE RE-ORGANIZES Violence used as counter-force</th>
<th>ECONOMY RECONFIGURES On local, regional, global levels</th>
<th>INTERNAL CONFLICT Lack of attention to race &amp; other power dynamics allows for external attacks</th>
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<td><strong>SNCC 1960-65</strong></td>
<td>In 1968, Nixon runs and wins on a “Law &amp; Order” campaign platform to expand prisons and police controls. Conditions are set to increase and normalize constant police presence in Black communities. Drug trade introduced and guns appear in poor and working class communities.</td>
<td>Movement forces ensure the victories of a Voting Rights Act and desegregation of public spaces breaks the back of legalized Jim Crow across the South. The economy shifted to allow a small segment of Black people to be integrated into the middle class economy while using the same victories to dismantle Black economic and political power that existed during segregation. Education system reconfigured and Black teachers are fired en masse from Black schools while white teachers remain in place.</td>
<td>In a volatile movement moment and against a backdrop of FBI aggression SNCC workers developed a clear race analysis and practice to drive their work across the South. Although a radical call was made for almost all white SNCC workers to separate and organize among white Southern communities the larger realities of white supremacy limited that potential. Multi-racial SNCC women veterans correct a narrative that discounted the reality of gender liberation within SNCC.</td>
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**BUILDING POWER: WE ARE WINNING**

*Created by Project SOUTH*

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<th>REALITIES EXPOSED Public Dialogue shifts</th>
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<td><strong>Mass Immigrant Marches 2006</strong></td>
<td>The numbers represented by millions marching on Mayday and throughout 2006, expose the population growth and potential power of Latino immigrants and migrants in all major US cities, including the South.</td>
<td>Day labor organizing is visibilized and increases force. Connections between communities affected by criminalization and displacement spark framing of shared imperative, “the right to remain.”</td>
<td>Populist masses step ahead of existing movement infrastructure. Only a few organizations are prepared to connect to the momentum. Next steps are unclear as forces argue multiple strategies varying from universal citizenship to mild reforms. WIN: Federal Law Defeated. State-based legislation represent new battles</td>
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### The 2006 Mass Immigrant Marches

**POLICE STATE RE-ORGANIZES**

- **Violence used as counter-force**

**ECONOMY RECONFIGURES**

- On local, regional, global levels

**INTERNAL CONFLICT**

- Lack of attention to race & other power dynamics allows for external attacks

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<td>Mass Immigrant Marches 2006</td>
<td>ICE raids increase and terrorize communities. Deportations increase.</td>
<td>Agriculture owners and state programs look to prisons, probation programs, and Black high schools to replace immigrant labor.</td>
<td>Media and right-wing forces drive and exacerbate historic divisions between Latino immigrant/migrant communities and Black communities.</td>
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<td>Explicit anti-immigrant legislation passed in Arizona four years later and sweeps the South in 2011.</td>
<td>Guest worker programs legitimized and considered “solution.”</td>
<td>Muslims &amp; immigrants from Caribbean, Africa, and parts of Asia often overlooked within many immig. rights conversations.</td>
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8 STAGES OF MOVEMENT BUILDING
*Described in the book ‘Doing Democracy’

- Stage 1: Normal Times
- Stage 2: Prove the Failure of Official Institutions
- Stage 3: Ripening Conditions
- Stage 4: Take Off / Trigger Event
- Stage 5: Perception of Activist Failure
- Stage 6: Majority Public Opinion
- Stage 7: Success
- Stage 8: Continuing the Struggle
8 STAGES OF MOVEMENT BUILDING

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- 10% to 90%:
  - Steady state:
  - Build-up of stress in system:
    - 2 Normal channels fall
    - 3 Conditions ripen
    - 4 Take Off
  - Seen as a general problem:
    - 5 Activist Failure
    - 6 Win majority of public
  - Resolution:
    - 7 Success
    - 8 Moving on

- Key Milestones:
  - Public Awareness of Problem
  - Public Opposition to Power Holders’ Policies
  - Public Support for Movement Alternatives
  - Re-Trigger Event

Graphical representation showing the progression from 10% to 90% in various stages.
# 8 Stages of Movement Building

Police Violence & Black Lives Matter

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- **Trigger Event:** Trayvon Martin’s murder
- **Trigger Event:** Mike Brown’s murder
- **Trigger Event:** ELECTION

- **Movement for Black Lives Policy Platform**
- **Public Awareness of Problem**
- **Public Opposition to Power Holders’ Policies**
- **Public Support for Movement Alternatives**
What Americans thought of the Civil Rights movement in 1964...

63%
said they “push too fast.”

58%
said most were violent.

58%
said they hurt their own cause.

SOURCE: ELECTIONSTUDIES.ORG
8 STAGES OF MOVEMENT BUILDING
Indigenous Land Sovereignty & Climate Change

- Trump Approval of the Dakota Access & Keystone XL Pipelines
- ELECTION;
- Water is Life Dakota Access Pipeline Resistance
- Years of land theft, deregulation and “climate skeptic” narratives

Steady state | Build-up of stress in system | Seen as a general problem | Resolution
--- | --- | --- | ---
1 Business as usual | 2 Normal channels fail | 5 Activist Failure | 7 Success
90% | 3 Conditions ripen | 6 Win majority of public | 8 Moving on
80% | 4 Take Off | | |
70% | | | |
60% | | | |
50% | | | |
40% | | | |
30% | | | |
20% | | | |
10% | | | |
8 STAGES OF MOVEMENT BUILDING
Immigrant Rights and Sanctuary Movements

- Record Deportations under Obama Admin.
- Syrian Refugee crisis.
- ELECTION
- Executive Orders & Muslim Ban, National Airport Shut Down

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LESSONS FOR MOVEMENT ACTION

PLANNING

There is a time ahead where we will think we’ve lost, but only because forces we are fighting are trying to stop our imminent victory.

Photo Credit: Brooke Anderson
LESSONS FOR MOVEMENT ACTION

PLANNING

Use every opportunity to frame our vision, our strategy, and demands.

Photo Credit: Brooke Anderson
Keep our strategies agile, our structures connected to the grassroots, and our values solid -- this helps when the State inevitably reorganizes itself.

Photo Credit: Brooke Anderson
LESSONS FOR MOVEMENT ACTION PLANNING

“every round of activism is an experiment whose results can be applied to other situations”

– Rebecca Solnit

Photo Credit: Brooke Anderson
WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR US?

Reflection:

• How does the evolution of white supremacy and capitalism impact our current work?
WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR US?

• What are the messages we are hearing about what our collective priorities should be right now, internal and external to the movement?
• How do we react to those conditions, while sustaining a strategy that is maximally effective?
UNDERSTANDING DIVIDE AND CONQUER

SEE YOU IN THE STREETS: MAY 1st STRIKE!

Photo Credit: Brooke Anderson
UNDERSTANDING DIVIDE AND CONQUER

THANK YOU!

Join us May 25th for
When we Fight we Win:
Building the Rebel Alliance!