

Building One America



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5th National Summit

for Inclusive Communities and Sustainable Regions

Friday, July 21, 2017

Center for Urban Research and Education (CURE) at Rutgers University

Dr. Diane Campbell, Vice President, Mercer County Community College & Chair of Building One New Jersey

Rev. Rohan Hepkins, Mayor of Yeadon & Chair of Building One Pennsylvania

Dr. Robert Kleidman, Coordinator, Building One Ohio & Professor of Sociology at Cleveland State University

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Opening Prayer – Rev. Cheryl Pynch, Summit Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia

Welcome to Rutgers - Michael Palis, Provost, Rutgers University

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Remembering Joe McNamara - Governor James Florio



Tribute to Joseph A. McNamara, director of New Jersey Laborers-Employers Cooperation and Education Trust (LECET).

Building One New Jersey's 2010 Strategic Ally of the Year,

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Why we are here and agenda overview - Mayor Rohan Hepkins

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Why we are here and agenda overview - Mayor Rohan Hepkins

Met every other year sine 2009 the year after the election of Barack Obama

This is our first outside of Washington DC.

Purpose to bring together leaders around the country to learn from each other and forge and press a national agenda for inclusion and sustainability and economic opportunity

Today we want to reflect on where we've been, what we've learned and what we've accomplished.

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Strategic plan drafted last year declared we would:

“Narrow our focus” and make “civil-rights and the “historic and moral cause of fighting racial segregation and economic inequality” the “tip of our spear”.

Work “to strengthen the historic ties between labor and civil rights” for the “power and moral clarity that these two movements still represent”.

Seek to “formalize and strengthen our ties with universities, civil-rights organizations and labor unions at the local, state and national level”

Get back in the business of “training and developing grassroots and rank and file leaders” to “build power, and take action”.

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Why we are here and agenda overview - Mayor Rohan Hepkins

Today we are going we are going to look back, look at where we are and where we are going.

We'll ask how do we take advantage of the opportunity before us and look at what we learned about the powerful politics of race, place and economic opportunity?

And reclaim these themes that were once ours and were once the language of justice, inclusion and unity....not division and polarization.

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Why we are here and agenda overview - Mayor Rohan Hepkins

Start with a panel that's going to look at the past 8 years and the recent election as it relates to our issues and constituencies and the politics of our cities suburbs and our country.

Next we are going to hear from two experts on racial segregation and what this means for people and for places.. and for politics.

Then we are going to hear how these themes all tie together around the broader issues of opportunity and power.

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Why we are here and agenda overview - Mayor Rohan Hepkins

We will get some feedback, take a break for lunch and come back and discuss what we are going to do.

We will hear from experts and practitioners in the labor movement and racial justice organizing talk about how this what we are trying to do in our states and regions.

Before we go we will hear some action plans from people in this room

Then a screening of a new movie called Waking the Sleeping Giant. A new documentary film about people in American fighting to build a multiracial movement for justice and opportunity.

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The State of Metro America - The Obama years, the recent election, and the days ahead

- *Introduction of first panel - Dr. Robert Kleidman*
- *Algernon Austin - Economist at Dēmos focusing on the racial wealth divide*
- *Lisa Rice - Executive Vice President of the National Fair Housing Alliance*
- *Christopher Niedt - National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra University*
- *Mike Kruglik, Board President of Building One America*
- *Ana Garcia Ashley, Director of the Gamaliel Foundation (Moderator)*

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Inclusion and Segregation

- *Introduction of second panel - Dr. Robert Kleidman*
- *Paul Jargowsky - Director, Center for Urban Research and Urban Education at Rutgers University*
- *Bruce D. Haynes - University of California, Davis, Professor of Sociology and a Senior Fellow in the Urban Ethnography Project at Yale University*
- *Lorraine Minnite - Rutgers University, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Director of Ph.D. Program, and Department Chair (Moderator)*

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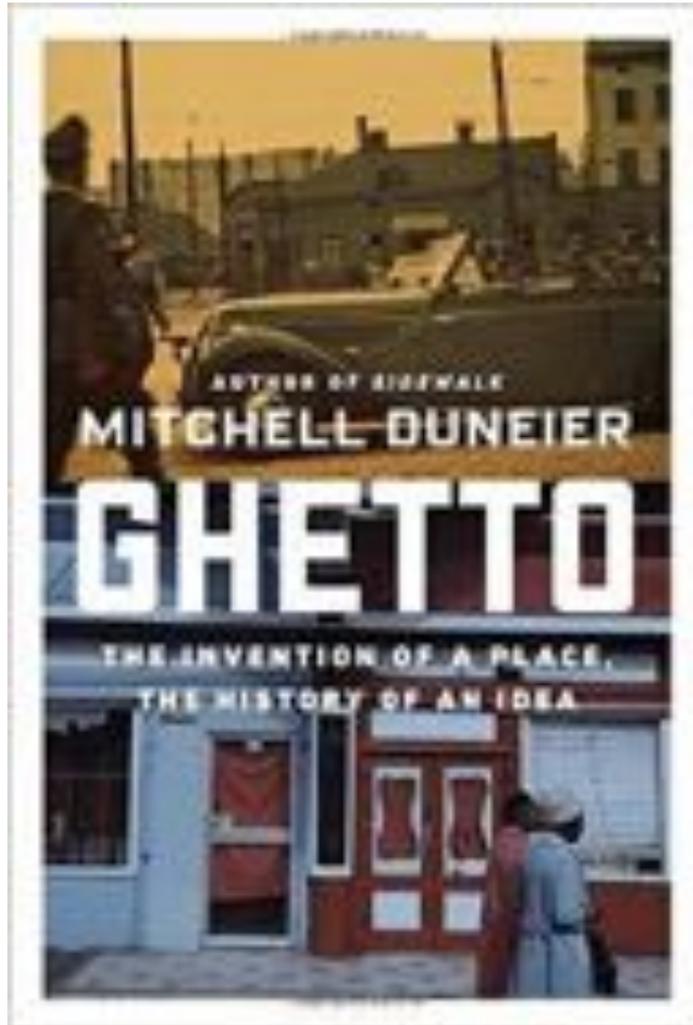
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Understanding, Analyzing and Building Power, Vision of BOA

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- Cayton and Drake defined the ghetto as a place of “*external containment*”
- But Clark goes further identifying both *power and profit* as driving forces that perpetuate and preserve the ghetto “*politically, economically and psychologically*”.
- calling it “the institutionalization of powerlessness”.

Powerlessness always invites abuse and exploitation.

Concentrated and isolated powerlessness leads to catastrophe

The “flourishing” always ends with the “destruction of life” - Duneier

- Dr. King wrote that the real purpose of segregation:
 - is not to keep people separate but *to oppress and to exploit the segregated*”.
- Randolph prophetically warned, if segregation is not ended in jobs and communities, black workers will become:
 - “*the forgotten slum proletariat in the black ghettos of the great metropolitan centers of the country,*
 - *existing within the grey shadows of a hopeless hope.*”

How is segregation creating
oppression and exploitation today?

How is segregation creating oppression and exploitation today?

Story of
Johnny Walker
and
David Duke

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This is Johnny Walker. He's in jail, charged with killing 6 kids while driving a bus in Chattanooga for the Hamilton County School district.

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Mr. David A. Duke served as the Chief Executive Officer and President at Stock Transportation Limited and Durham School Services...

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...until he was promoted to Chief Executive Officer of National Express Corporation

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A global for-profit transportation corporation based in London

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Where CEO Dean Finch got paid £3.3million in 2015.

National Express Corporation and Durham School Services seek out and create opportunities by promoting “outsourcing” and privatization of public transportation all over the world

But where do they tend to find these opportunities in the U.S.?

Philadelphia for one – where Durham just got a \$69 million contract

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This is only one example of how
segregation drives privatization

Naomi Klein calls it *Disaster Capitalism*
In New Orleans she called it *Disaster Apartheid*

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Other examples:

Billions made in privatization of public sector & government services & supplies, including: prisons, for-profit colleges, the charter school industry

Hundreds of millions of made in the ghetto's poverty housing market...

...and more than a trillion dollars in middle-class wealth lost to the subprime mortgage industry; disproportionately impacting black borrowers and families steered to resegregating low capacity suburbs

And the workers – a very large and exploitable black working-class. The children and grandchildren of unionized public sector and manufacturing workers. Descendants of the great migration now working in non-union, low-wage, often, part-time service and retail jobs throughout their metropolitan areas.

Randolph's "forgotten slum proletariat"

Who benefits?

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Who loses?

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the segregated

tax payers

workers

public sector unions

retail unions

building trade unions

public schools

middle-class suburbs

And it destroys our political power

Alexander Polikoff wrote:

..the existence of the black ghetto and the shameless fear monger aimed at suburban blue collar whites “has done nothing less than breakup up the coalition that birthed the New Deal and the Civil Rights movement”.

..it has been used to “lacerate our civic fabric” and destroy the consensus that was being built from “the onset of New Deal through the cresting of the Civil Rights movement in 1965”.

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How is this lacerating done?

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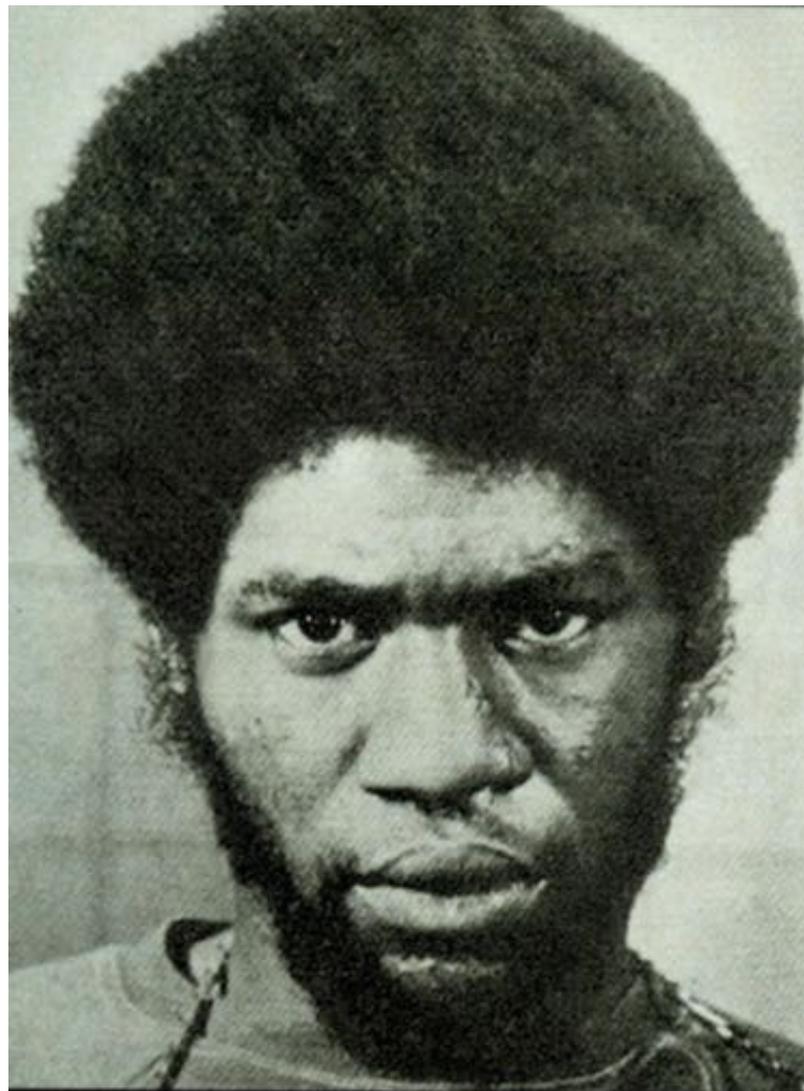
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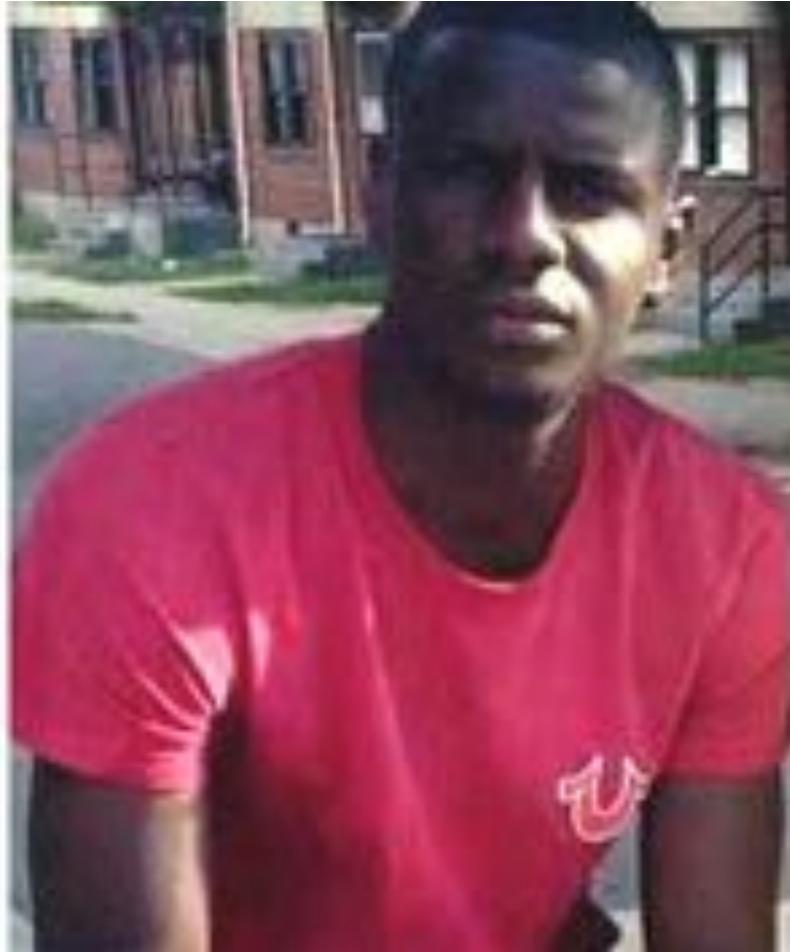
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So what's the answer?

How do we go about restoring the historic multiracial coalition of working people and an agenda to advance social justice.

Some say to do this we must be race-neutral - stick to class and avoid the explosive, messy and divisive issues of race.

We say: **how's that been working?**

It's not, and our history tells us that this is wrong.

The most powerful force in our nation for justice and progress, *and even peace*, has always been a multiracial coalition.

Especially when there are powerful black leaders of a multi racial coalition in which racial justice is front and center and not hidden.

- *Douglas*
- *Randolph*
- *King*
- *Obama*

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The civil rights and abolitionist movement were unifying and galvanizing and they destroyed their opposition.

The civil war could not be won until it became a war for racial justice fought by a multiracial army.

Black people were liberated but so were white people who were corrupted by a violent system of slavery and later Jim Crow and segregation.

We are re-corrupted by it today.

Today, the themes of both race and class have been ceded to the far right because we are afraid of alienating people who are already alienated.

Donald Trump rails against the ghettos in Detroit and Chicago but liberals pretend it isn't there. *What's worse?*

We must give people the truth about race and poverty but one with a clear analysis and historical context.

We have to reclaim this narrative.

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- We have to offer people a narrative that is factual, honest, compelling but unifying and motivating not polarizing and paralyzing.
- One that is about racial justice and economic opportunity but also aimed explicitly at building multi-racial power, not splitting it.

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- We have to get back to the business of organizing. *Training leaders to be effective in the public arena, to identify, recruit and develop leaders, to understand power, and move people into effective action.*
- Our unions, churches, civic and civil rights organizations desperately need to build the relationship infrastructure of their organizations. *They are all under attack and they cannot defend themselves through social media, public relations and political contributions.*

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- If we are clear about power will we look more strategically at the politics of metropolitan regions and organize in the middle and working class suburbs especially those becoming diverse and politically competitive.
- You might be surprised to find these are the places to organize around racial justice and multiracial solidarity.
- You shouldn't be surprised to find that these are places with tremendous political power.
- And these are the places that are key to any real solution to the dismantling of segregation

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- We are organizing in New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania.
- We are going to double down on the key principles that we need to build an independent power base capable of fighting for racial justice and economic opportunity
- We will continue to work with and help bring together local labor and civil rights organizations across these states.
- We will offer our training program - one of the best in the country
- One of the things that makes our program stand out from others is we include the important historical and political narrative about race, class and place.

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- We will look for opportunities to take up arms together like in New Jersey where we are preparing a serious challenge to our hyper segregated schools.
- And in Pennsylvania where we are being called upon to help build a strong civil-rights, faith based, city/suburbs and labor coalition.
- Or in Ohio where we are being called upon to provide training to the hundreds of leaders still shell shocked by the 2016 election.

**BUILDING
MULTI-RACIAL
CITY / SUBURBAN
GRASSROOTS POWER
TO DEFEAT JIM CROW
SEGREGATION AND ADVANCE
RACIAL INCLUSION AND
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY**

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