

Buffalo Forum



Local Publication of the
U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization

Workers of all countries, unite!

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Need to Confront Government of Police Powers by Building the New

U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization

The following presentation was given by Kathleen Chandler, editor of Buffalo Forum and leader of the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization, at the meeting on the significance of the U.S. election results to the working class, organized by the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) in Hamilton, Ontario on December 10, 2016.

The most significant issue to address when looking at the U.S. presidential

election results is that the U.S. ruling circles have resorted to a government of police powers. This has been developing for some time, especially since the Bill Clinton administration, with Bush and Obama further developing this direction. There is clearly very serious contention within the camp of the rulers in the U.S. and the election did not serve to sort out the differences between them, as elections are supposed to do. Nonetheless, Donald

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Receivership is Still a Key Issue

The state takeover of Buffalo public schools using receivership remains an important issue. Currently 15 Buffalo schools are in receivership. These are: Bennett, East, International Prep, Lafayette and Riverside High Schools and Build, Charles Drew Science, D'Youville, Frank Sedita, Futures, Hamlin Park, Harvey Austin, Herman Badillo, Lydia Wright and West Hertel. These schools are under the control of New York State Education Commissioner Elia. She can determine to keep these schools under Superintendent Cash as the receiver, or in June hand schools over to an independent receiver. These independent receivers can be private charter schools, they can be non-profit organizations, they

Receivership Still Key Issue • 2

Practical Measures Needed to Change the Situation in Favor of the Workers

As part of the meeting in Hamilton, Ontario to discuss U.S. Elections, Rolf Gerstenberger, former President of United Steelworkers Local 1005 and President of the Marxist Leninist Party of Canada, gave an important presentation. Gerstenberger brought to the fore the experience of Hamilton steelworkers fighting to defend

Practical Measures • 8

Discussion on U.S. Elections Addresses the Way Forward

“What to do now that Trump has been elected?” is a concern being raised by many. The recent meeting in Hamilton, Ontario, on the U.S. Elections addressed this concern. The tone and orientation was given by the presentations made. As the main talk brought out, “Political discussion and analysis on the significance of the U.S. election results is the starting point to creating a political movement which

Way Forward • 9

Petition to Make University at Buffalo a Sanctuary Campus

Faculty, staff and students at the University at Buffalo (UB) have initiated a petition to UB President Tripathi calling on him to establish UB as a sanctuary for students, faculty, staff, and their families, regardless of immigration status. The petition

quickly got hundreds of signatures from faculty and staff. It has not yet been presented to Tripathi, as more signatures are being gathered. Organizing efforts are on going. Any interested can contact Jasmina

UB Petition for Sanctuary • 15

I • RECEIVERSHIP STILL KEY ISSUE

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can be other school districts or individuals the Commissioner decides merit being receiver.

From the beginning the state has provided no evidence or studies that show state takeover solves any of the problems facing the public schools, including issues of modernizing the curriculum; ending inequality and the prison-like conditions many students contend with; ensuring full funding, including the \$95 million currently owed Buffalo. The state is breaking the law by refusing to provide these funds, yet gives itself the power to takeover the schools.

The public has no ability to hold the receiver or the Commissioner accountable. She is appointed, and she in turn appoints the receiver, who is accountable to her, not the public. The elected school board also does not decide. Power is concentrated in the hands of a single appointed individual. She can literally hand over our public school buildings to outsiders who potentially can privatize the schools. This contributes to further undermining the district as a district and eliminating public control. Yet it is well known that the greater the role and input of parents, students and teachers in the schools, the better the quality of education. Receivership does just the opposite, removing parents, teachers and students — the experts when it comes to education — and imposing the dictate of an appointed individual.

It is evident from the district webpage that

all are supposed to forget about receivership. While a tab still exists in the left column of the webpage, the content has not been updated to reflect the fact that ten schools were removed from the receivership list, at least according to the Commissioner. There are also no updates alerting the public to the fact that many of our schools could be removed from public and district control.

It is also the case that in February, Superintendent Cash could announce changes to the start time and length of day for receivership schools. He also has power to remove teachers without cause, force involuntary transfers and other attacks on the rights of teachers and students.

It is important to prepare now for the possibility that some of these schools could be given to an independent receiver. Everyone should demand that the School Board regularly provide information and updates as to where things stand with the receivership schools. Important independent organizing was done to oppose receivership and now is the time to renew these efforts and strengthen them further. The watchwords remain:

*Refuse Receivership!
Equal Right to Education Needs
Public Control of Public Schools!
Our Schools, Our Rights, We Decide!*



I • BUILD THE NEW

Trump has now been selected to expand police powers, have them streamlined and unfettered — and to do so blatantly, openly and with complete impunity.

The election also shows how completely the old arrangements of government of laws, with functioning political parties and a functioning political process, are finished. A huge effort is being made by the imperialist rulers and their monopoly media to have everyone focus on and react to every tweet and comment Trump makes. This is to make it look like it is just a matter of Trump's bad policies, which is done to deprive the people of the outlook which leads them to conclude that it is they who must give birth to the new. They cannot depend on one camp or the other within the imperialist ruling class to resolve the problems they face.

The fact that now the peoples of the U.S. and the world will be saddled with a U.S. government of unfettered police powers shows that the old forms given rise to in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries no longer function to provide governments with legitimacy.

They no longer serve to get the people to submit to the elitist rule. Today this rule is perceived as an instrument of making the rich richer and the poor poorer while the so-called American dream lies in tatters. Meanwhile, wanton aggression is launched against countries which refuse to submit to the U.S. dictate. As a result, now, the police powers are put forward as if they are a government of laws. On election night, we saw the contending factions immediately call for a peaceful transition of power, hailing the U.S. democracy to the skies.

The situation gives rise to grave dangers for the peoples at home and abroad. We need to be pro-active by having our own program which gives rise to new forms and gives birth to the new. As we respond to all the attacks on the people, if we are pro-active, the resistance movement will make great headway. Political discussion and analysis on the significance

of the U.S. election results is the starting point to creating a political movement which favors the people.

The rulers have the problem of how to pursue a government of police power while keeping the people in check and the union preserved. Trump is seen by the rulers as a deal-maker who can put and keep



the U.S. in the game where everyone is threatening everyone else. He will on the one hand strike deals, likely behind closed doors and using his executive powers. On the other, brandish the full might of U.S. police powers without concern about legitimacy, abroad and at home. In their desperation this is how the faction of the ruling class championed by Trump thinks it can make headway.

The president's executive powers include powers to regulate important issues like immigration; implementation of environmental laws, or waiving them; trade and border regulations to favor U.S. annexation, as Canada is already experiencing; expanding use of drone warfare, torture, special forces, criminalization of those resisting abroad and at home; and more. This enforcing of police powers will take place internationally, where Trump will potentially strike deals directly with military forces, or individual leaders,

bypassing legitimate government channels. The relationship is to be a direct one with the president and it is one where deals are more an offer that cannot be refused, as the threat to use nuclear weapons is always on the table.

It is notable that in appointing South Carolina Governor Haley as UN Ambassador, Trump specifically said she was a "proven dealmaker." Her experience as Governor is making deals to bring monopolies, including foreign ones, into South Carolina, usually by paying them millions, deferring taxes, etc. Trump's recent deal with Carrier is an example of more of the same in the future. He made the deal in secret with the CEO, with the union having no say. The state of Indiana, where Vice-President-elect Pence can deliver funds, agreed to pay the monopoly \$7 million. Then, when the union president Chuck Jones made clear the actual facts concerning the number of jobs to remain, 800, not the 1100 Trump promoted, Trump attacked him personally. So far, just on Twitter. But one can see that far more could occur in conditions where workers

refuse a deal, or a state government, or a foreign government, does. The reason for personal attacks is to incite passions and reduce the level of political discourse to zero so that people cannot come together in a political movement for empowerment, peace and rights.

This mantra of jobs, jobs, jobs has been widely used in the U.S. to give the monopolies more than \$80 billion yearly in just state and local public funds. At least three-quarters of state and city subsidy dollars go not to local businesses, but to monopolies like Boeing, Intel, GM, Nike, and Dow Chemical. Foreign operations like Royal Dutch Shell and Nissan rake in large amounts as well. Some of these are "megadeals," like the \$5.6 billion that New York State gave Alcoa, or the nearly \$9 billion that war monopoly Boeing extracted from Washington State. These colossal packages carry with them

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an average cost-per-job of nearly \$500,000. And most of the time, while the funds are delivered, the promised jobs do not materialize. Trump now is positioned to streamline and increase such deals, putting the weight of the presidency openly behind them.

While Trump talks about jobs, the Carrier deal is one that serves the oligopolies, and likely includes promises for future contracts for government infrastructure projects for example, or defense contracts and the like. During the campaign Trump emphasized that he will treat government as a business, which is another way of saying social needs and services are not a concern. In his victory speech, he said, "I've spent my entire life in business, looking at the untapped potential in projects and in people all over the world" and "That is now what I want to do for our country."

Business is run on the basis of the "bottom line" and treating human beings as things, even products, to be disposed of. Steelworkers are very familiar with being treated as things, to permanently lose jobs, pensions, whole communities destroyed. The choice of Wilbur Ross as Secretary of Commerce brings to mind that it was Wilbur Ross who made billions in the United States buying up bankrupt steel companies and eliminating the retiree benefits of 190,000 steelworkers before repackaging and selling the plants. Responsibility to society and to meet the needs of society are not main considerations of a government of police power.

In looking at these developments, it is important to recognize that police powers by their nature are arbitrary and implemented on the basis of broad impunity. It is not just a matter of police and military forces of various kinds taking action, but rather a means of governance in a situation where the rulers have no solutions and where they are compelled to block the striving of the people to modernize and broaden democracy. From its origins the U.S. state has had two aspects making a single unitary power. One is the government of laws, including the Consti-



tution, treaties, legislation, courts, etc. The other is police powers. What we are seeing now is the elimination of a government of laws, with Trump positioned to do so even more blatantly and with greater impunity than previous presidents.

It is also the case that while a government of laws must at least have the appearance of legitimacy and concern for social needs, a government of police powers does not. Its concern is to punish all dissenters so as to preserve the state.

Legitimacy of government is also not a main concern. Police powers are to criminalize, destroy, even whole nations and the human productive powers they encompass. This is what happened with Libya, what is happening with Iraq and Syria. The election also showed that at home, the rulers are no longer concerned with maintaining even the appearance of a functioning political process, with functioning political parties, which are all part of legitimacy. Trump is the embodiment of this reality.

This issue of legitimacy is a very important one when we are considering our tactics for resistance and advancing our own program of fighting for politics of empowerment in the course of defending the rights of all. A government concerned about legitimacy appears to "listen" to the public and to uphold the constitution, with freedom of speech and assembly and the right to life and liberty. A government of police powers has no such concern. It acts to criminalize protest and to make clear

that you, as individuals and collectives, are to do as you are told or face the wrath of police powers. The current struggle at Standing Rock is an example of both this government wrath, and of building the resistance. And it is being done by the Obama administration not Trump.

Standing Rock

Despite repeated claims by the federal government and media that the water protectors of Standing Rock are on federal lands, the fact is that the U.S. maps themselves show the land is unceded Sioux land. It is also the case that the government is required to do an Environmental Impact Study, which the Army Corps of Engineers has refused to do. Numerous other laws and treaty obligations are being broken, and this is being done openly and repeatedly. It is the federal government that sent a letter to state and local police forces saying the water protectors were trespassing.

Hundreds have been arrested and serious injuries to those resisting, including women and children, have occurred. Yet in the face of National Guardsmen arming check points on public highways, repeated use of tanks, the chemical weapon tear gas, concussion grenades, a sound canon, and water canon blasting the resisters with water in freezing temperatures, Obama said he will "let things play out." We are all to get used to the exercise of police power with no regard whatever for the law and we are to keep sacrificing until Obama, or whoever is President, deems it sufficient.

And while the Army has now said they will not issue the permit until they do the Impact Study, they did not deny building of the pipeline. The monopolies involved, which include Canada's Enbridge, backed by billions in credit lines from major financiers, have said the pipeline will be completed. These monopolies can try to carry forward and simply pay the fines involved — and you can count on them not facing armed attacks by the state. Police powers are to protect and

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preserve the state, with the interests of the people having no consideration. This is why many of the water protectors have remained and said they are organizing to remain through the winter in order to protect the interests of the people.

This struggle also provides an example for resistance in the present. The indigenous peoples involved, including mainly the Sioux but also hundreds of other tribes, together with many others from across the country have all rejected the police category of protester. For the police, a protester is a thing that can be told where they can protest, where they cannot, for how long, etc. At the Democratic and Republican conventions over the summer, people were told they could not have backpacks, or gas masks, or metal poles,

lies of their ability to deprive the people of what belongs to them by right.

Most recently, thousands of veterans came to join the resistance at Standing Rock and defend the camps from threatened eviction by the state. This readiness of the vets to join in, to stand against the government, no doubt frightened the rulers. They need their soldiers, active and inactive, to be dutiful, submitting soldiers, not part of the organized resistance. It is to the credit of the indigenous peoples and their undaunted fight for their right to be and to be protectors of the land and of rights, that they have inspired such support. And the overall level of consciousness being developed against the state and its imposing of police powers is an important contribution to all those

right in the U.S. Constitution, where the oath for the president has two parts. One is, to the best of his ability, preserve and protect the Constitution. But the other is to execute the office of the presidency. Executing the office involves use of police powers, to protect the state, against the Constitution.

Now, the rulers face a situation where the fetters of the Constitution, such as Congress holding the purse strings, such as treaties being law of the land, such as the arrangements in the Bill of Rights, need to be eliminated. The way the rulers hope to do this is to demand that everyone submit to their version of the Constitution, and any emergency powers they may dictate in the name of national security. Such powers are the president executing the duties of his office. The rulers want to maintain the constitutional form, while breaking the bounds of the Constitution itself.

A recent example includes Obama's order to authorize U.S. Special Forces to carry out their assassinations, raids, torture and other Black Ops anywhere in the world against any person the government decides is a "threat." This includes inside the U.S., it includes U.S. citizens, as Obama's drone attacks already made clear. These Black Ops are known to be completely illegal and arbitrary with no due process. People are put on a kill list at the discretion of the president — again putting them in a police category of a "threat," with no regard for law. Operations of various kinds have already been conducted in at least 147 countries. This order opens the space for them to be anywhere and everywhere.

Obama basically declared that the whole world is open for attack by these Special Forces and that Black Ops are the new normal. Significantly, he also streamlined the chain of command, eliminating regional commanders and basically creating a direct tie between the president and general in charge of Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC). The order also speaks about direct relations between JSOC and police and military forces abroad, such as in

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or lengths of string, etc. That is, we were being regulated like things, not people with rights.

At Standing Rock people have taken the stand to have their humanity reflected. They are water protectors, for the water of millions. They are pro-active, organizing to demonstrate where needed, in various ways. They have organized to be self-sustaining and urged others across the country to join with them in being so. They have developed their own means of communication and organized to unite people in action across the country, all standing firm for their just demands for sovereignty, for no pipeline, and to defend their rights and Mother Earth. They have been and are acting to deprive the oligopo-

resisting.

Imposing Government of Police Powers While Maintaining Constitutional Form of Governance

The struggle at Standing Rock is also indicative of the effort of the U.S. imperialist rulers to impose and consolidate a government of police power, while maintaining the constitutional form of governance. There is an effort not to declare martial law, or have open military rule. Trump himself is a civilian with no military background. As the executive, he has responsibility to preserve the union, while breaking the bounds of the constitution. This responsibility is given

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Britain, Germany, France and Turkey, all bypassing the usual government channels and creating these direct ties among the military forces. This streamlining, which also further concentrates power in the president's hands and imposes U.S. command of foreign forces, will no doubt be expanded under Trump.

Need for Anti-War Government

Recently there has been a lot of promotion that Trump has now appointed three generals to his cabinet and that this somehow changes the long-standing practice of civilians at the head of the Pentagon, for example. It is being presented as a constitutional issue, when it is not. There have been presidents who were generals, like George Washington and Eisenhower. There have been military forces in the cabinet, like Colin Powell. The issue is not the individuals appointed but rather that there is a huge military bureaucracy that remains essentially the same from president to president. This bureaucracy, which has great conflicts and contention within its ranks, as seen during the campaign, has to be united as part of preserving the union. The appointments are connected to this effort.

As well, the two key issues to examine are not whether they are generals or civilians, but the fact that a government of unfettered police powers is being imposed and these individuals are instruments for this. All the talk of civilians vs. generals hides this reality. As well, it diverts from the fact that, as during the campaign, the issue of war and ending all aggressive U.S. actions, bringing all U.S. troops home, is not discussed at all. There is silence on this issue.

It is up to organized forces like ourselves to bring the issue of U.S. wars to the fore, raising the need to organize for the alternative of an anti-war government, something we will do at the inaugural actions. And, just as a government of police powers is not simply police actions, an anti-war government is not simply one that opposes a particular war, like the ones in Iraq and Afghanistan. Rather it is one that stands against the permanent war economy and war government that serves



it. It is one that addresses the problem of how to have the anti-war stand of the majority implemented — what are the social forms and electoral process needed for this direction? What would be the features of a new constitution where government is constituted on an anti-war basis? These are issues that our program for an anti-war government is addressing.

U.S. rulers are facing a situation where their previous overwhelming economic power is in decline and where military might alone is not sufficient to maintain and extend their world empire. They must contend with rivals and allies alike and all those who resist. They can only do so by continually threatening and upping the ante, including possible use of nuclear weapons. This brings on more violence and contention, as is already occurring at home and abroad. The U.S. is insistent on such world empire though, and prepared to risk world war and civil war, potentially dragging the world down with them. In such conditions, where they face decline, have no solutions and are not able to sustain a political process that provides legitimacy to their rule, a government of police powers is a necessity — and very dangerous to the peoples.

It is also the case that in current conditions, the rulers are not able to predict the outcome of various actions on their part. This was evident for the Iraq war, where

it was announced the job was done and today the crime of U.S. war continues. They cannot predict the outcome, for example, of impeachment of Trump, which has been mentioned. There are too many contending forces, at the federal and state levels, all with armed forces to back them up. Already, for example, California, including the head of its assembly and senate, police chiefs and mayors of Los Angeles and San Francisco, are all openly challenging Trump on immigration. The same is true in Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, Boston and elsewhere. Impeachment could actually trigger the break up of the U.S. along state and/or regional lines. The same could be said for possible elimination of the electoral college, which is a mechanism to preserve the union, as is Congressional certification of the election. Eliminating these mechanisms could also trigger a break up. And for those who find this hard to imagine, just remember the rapid breakup of the Soviet Union. And that states like California have economies large enough to easily be their own countries. There are various other examples of civil war scenarios where the outcome cannot be predicted.

Similarly, while the U.S. threatens use of nuclear weapons, the outcome of such use can also not be predicted, both in terms of the potential for world war and civil

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war. The rulers are hoping a government of police powers can help them escape their crisis and the crisis of their whole system.

But for the interests of humanity, contending with this situation and resolving it in a manner that favors humanity can only occur on the basis of the organized struggle of the people themselves for their rights, including their right to govern and decide.

Key Conflict of Interest is that of the Rulers vs. the Working Class

Another important issue being promoted is that Trump, with all his business interests, has more “conflict of interest” problems than previous presidents. Two things are hidden by all this talk. One is that the conflict of interest that needs to be addressed is that between the imperialist rulers, with their state that protects and preserves the oligopolies, and the working class. It is the interests of the rulers vs. the interests of the working class, and which will move society and all humanity forward at this time. Instead of focusing our attention on identifying these interests of the working class and how to defend and advance them, we are to continually react to everything Trump says and does and look into his many business holdings.

The problem to address is that the voice of the working class has been silenced and blocked. The problem to address is how to develop and strengthen our own independent institutions, for the press, for research, for political discussion, for developing our own thought material so that the interests of the working class are defended and our own institutions built. It is not our job to side with one faction of the rulers or another in their conflicts to sort out which is to emerge as the most powerful. The working class instead has the duty to lead the struggle for a democracy of our own making that serves the interests of the working class and people.

It is advancing the interests of the working class to eliminate wage slavery

and all slavery by refusing to be slaves, by organizing to defend the rights of all on every front, that provides a way forward. All the talk about Trump’s “conflict of interest” diverts from this most vital task. It serves to hide the actual social relations and block workers from themselves organizing in their interests, with their own program. These social relations have produced massive wealth and power, yet the people are blocked from harnessing it and utilizing it to guarantee the rights of all, at home and abroad. The U.S. economy, for example, has doubled in size since 1970. But more than half of all families have seen no increase in their wages since then, while the wealth of the oligopolies has doubled and inequality has greatly increased. Such things are not in the interests of the working class, but the debate about Trump does nothing to assist in finding solutions to these problems.

It is up to the working class to lead the struggle for the new, for modern social relations, for a modern democracy that empowers the people to govern and decide, for modern definitions that affirm rights by virtue of being human. We cannot replicate and remain stuck in the old, the old way of having elections, the old way of looking at problems. We need to strengthen our own thinking, our own discussion about our interests and how to advance them. We need to rally the people to strengthen their ability to refuse the old and begin to conceptualize modern political arrangements. Steelworkers here have the experience of the Thursday meetings as one means to activate the human factor/social consciousness and take independent political stands. This elevates the level of political discussion and unites workers behind solutions which favor them, not the rich. This is an important accomplishment, which we applaud and think should be replicated. We need more such forms to engage workers and youth in advancing their own cause for empowerment.

Across the U.S. the youth in their tens of thousands are already standing against this brutal direction, proclaiming *Trump*



is Not Our President! Democracy Not Oligarchy! They will not be silenced. There is recognition among them, as among the water protectors at Standing Rock, that the political process in place is not acceptable.

We are intervening in a pro-active manner, to advance the fight for a political process that does empower the people, which brings into being an anti-war government, an anti-slave government, a government that serves the interests of the working class and people at home and abroad. We are taking steps in that direction now, organizing to raise the political discussion, to focus it on the interests of the millions upon millions of working people, to involve more youth and workers in it, to insist that a democracy of our own making is required, not the one of the rulers. This fight is a necessity of the present and it is the working class that can lead this battle forward.

Thank you very much for having me here to explain our views.

I • PRACTICAL MEASURES NEEDED

their rights, jobs and the steel industry, and how this gives them a perspective on what is going on in the U.S. He gave the example of President-Elect Donald Trump's nominee for Secretary of Commerce, Wilbur Ross. He recalled that as steelworkers fought Stelco's bankruptcy in 2003, they necessarily had to find out what had happened in the U.S. steel industry. They had been told that the U.S. steelworkers had "helped out" their companies and now Hamilton steelworkers should do the same for Stelco. At that time, some 40 U.S. steel companies sought Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection or actually went bankrupt and this was used to shaft 250,000 pensioners who had their benefits cut by 10 to 70 per cent. It was none other than Wilbur Ross who bought up various steel plants and was responsible for some 190,000 of these pensioners being deprived of their pensions and benefits, whom he termed collateral damage.

Gerstenberger explained that Local 1005 categorically rejected any fraudulent use of bankruptcy proceedings to shaft the workers. The view of some U.S. labor leaders was that, "The house is on fire, you have four kids, but you can't save all of them — which ones do you save?" Hamilton steelworkers rejected this craven position as an unacceptable capitulation to the neo-liberal agenda of the rich. He pointed out that neither parents nor first responders approach emergency situations by making such calculations. For instance, first responders go all to save all the victims of a fire. Only by fighting on a principled basis and putting all the necessary organization in place and devising strategies and tactics to achieve success, can the result be found acceptable, Gerstenberger said. Instead, the sacrifice of pensioners in the U.S. was presented by Wilbur Ross as an economic necessity. Some labor leaders still consider Ross a friend of the workers and they "have not raised a peep about his nomination." Gerstenberger pointed out that knowing this about Trump's pick for Secretary of Commerce gives an idea of the agenda of the incoming administration, despite its claims that it will look out for the "little guy" and support the workers.

Similarly, Gerstenberger pointed out that

Trump's nominee for Labor Secretary is Andrew Puzder, who is a fast food oligarch and CEO of the monopoly that owns the Hardee's and Carl's Jr. restaurant chains. He is known for his anti-worker positions and support for the use of "undocumented" workers as "cheap labor." Gerstenberger noted that the economy of California and much of the southwest would not be able to function without exploiting these vulnerable workers. Puzder's openly anti-worker stands have given rise to objections on the part of organized labor in the U.S., he added. Puzder opposed the \$10.10 an hour minimum wage under Obama and will oppose the workers' current fight to raise this to \$15 an hour. Likewise, he will be opposing pensions, saying that no one wants them anymore and they are a drain on society.

Regarding Trump's disposition to the workers and his claim that he will "Make America Great Again" by bringing jobs back to the U.S., Gerstenberger referred to Trump's intervention with the Indiana factory — air conditioner manufacturer Carrier — that Trump claimed saved 1,100 jobs from being moved to Mexico. Trump tweeted that this is what he will do for all U.S. workers. The local union leader responsible for those workers pointed out only 800 jobs will stay and that hundreds of others will still be lost to a plant in Mexico. For presenting the real facts, the union leader was then subjected to all manner of personal attacks, first by Trump and then others unleashed by Trump's example.

Trump used Twitter to attack the union president, calling him a "union boss" to imply that he is a parasite and claiming the union is taking excessively high dues, and other anti-union, anti-worker venom. The polity is then set in motion to either support or oppose what the Trump tweets say and this becomes the agenda until the next personal attacks are tweeted against somebody else. People not only in the U.S. but worldwide are supposed to hang on Trump's every tweet and the media speculation about them. Reducing politics to personal attacks and defamation on the part of the rulers is the level to which U.S. governance has degenerated, Gerstenberger pointed out, saying that this is how police

powers operate where there is no modern political process of any kind, let alone due process of law when it comes to crime and punishment.

The main issue in this situation, said Gerstenberger, is to take practical measures to change the situation in a way that favors the workers. In Hamilton, the steelworkers face a sales process and a company that is using the Companies' Creditors Arrangement Act (CCAA) to attack the active and retired workers through a court process that is considered perfectly legal. How do the workers fight on this basis? The federal government and MPs say nothing can be done from their point of view because the matter is before the court and the federal government does not have standing there. However, once a deal has been reached, they can give money to the new owner. Once again Wilbur Ross' line that in order to "save the company" some of the pensioners and other things have to be sacrificed is shamelessly followed, Gerstenberger said. Steelworkers' own bitter experience shows that making the rich richer has nothing to do with saving companies, he pointed out, and anyone who says differently is merely indulging in self-serving argument to get what they want.

Gerstenberger then addressed the positions of some of the main unions in the U.S. Some labor leaders say they are in disagreement with Trump's values but are willing to work with him when it comes to jobs. They have written Trump to say that they can find common ground on the economy. How can the issue of values and the economy be separate, Rolf asked, adding that all of this backwardness is being presented to split the working class so that it does not defend its class interests as a united front. This is also why the election results are presented as if the working people of the U.S. do not exist as American workers, but only in terms of race, gender, religion, and so on. The people are presented as divided in every possible way with disparate interests. All of it is to deny that there is one working class with its class interests, that people have rights by virtue of their being human and that everyone must unite to open society's path to progress on this basis.

I • WAY FORWARD

favors the people.” Kathleen Chandler, *Buffalo Forum* Editor had the honor of giving the keynote, titled “The Need to Confront Government of Police Powers by Building the New” (see p.1). Rejecting the pressure to respond to every tweet and action by Trump, the presentation and discussion afterwards emphasized that providing analysis and a space for discussion and the thinking that develops *is doing a vital part* of what is needed. The presentation further emphasized, “We need to be pro-active by having our own program which gives rise to new forms and gives birth to the new. As we respond to all the attacks on the people, if we are pro-active, the resistance movement will make great headway.”

The meeting was attended by steelworkers and activists from Toronto and Windsor. Rolf Gerstenberger, President of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada, which hosted the event, and former President of United Steelworkers Local 1005 also presented. The seriousness of participants was evident in their readiness to speak to the content of the presentations and raise questions on that basis.

An organizer among injured workers spoke to workers being treated like things, to be disposed of. Injured workers contend with this every day, with their medical needs denied and their right to a livelihood trampled on as though they were not human beings. He also pointed out that what Trump and his cabinet stand for is precisely what is being put in place in Ontario under the Wynne Liberal government. For instance, the Ontario government has adopted Bill 70 that permits employers to self-regulate on matters of health and safety.

A young worker spoke out about her experience with how politics are eliminated and people are pushed to look at matters like the U.S. election as entertainment. Concerns about how to put people in motion to defend their rights gave rise to more discussion on the significance of collective discussion and decision-making so that working people sort things out and proceed with confidence.

Steelworkers spoke about the impunity of companies such as U.S. Steel to attack the livelihoods of Canadians, and the cynical claims of governments to be concerned with



the people’s well-being. Responding to the fact that more than \$80 billion in state and local public dollars are handed over to the monopolies — including the deal made by Trump to give Carrier \$7 million in public funds — another worker brought out that such use of public funds is unjust. He said for the U.S., in the fight for independence against Britain, people had put forward their call “No taxation without representation.” Now he said, we have taxation with representation and it is still unjust. It does not represent the workers.

The dysfunction of the political process in the U.S. which blocks the people from having a say, especially when it comes to stopping war funding and paying the rich, was elaborated on in response. So too was the need to organize for a democracy of our own making, where we the people decide and govern. The existing set up cannot be reformed, and instead the fight is for the new. This includes thinking about how to ensure the political process empowers the people and, given U.S. history as an aggressor, provides for an anti-war government.

Additional comments also spoke to the danger of war and the U.S. dragging Canada into war. One steelworker, also a veteran, spoke to how veterans are told they are fighting to protect our freedoms, when there are no such freedoms and they are actually fighting for rich, for the same people that exploit and oppress them everyday. Another said the people of Canada and the U.S. share in common the need for an anti-war government that stands against aggression and war. Some of the demands such an anti-war government in the U.S. would need to meet were raised, including: All U.S. Troops Home Now; Outlaw Any

and All Aggression and require the top politicians and military leaders involved in such crimes to be punished; Cancel the Debts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; Pay Reparations for Slavery and all U.S. War Crimes. Such a government must stand against the permanent war economy and provide a new direction for the economy and political affairs that favors the peoples, at home and abroad. The anti-war spirit generated in the course of discussion was such that one of the steelworkers, known for his poetry and song, was inspired to present one of his anti-war poems.

Discussion continued on the need for an anti-war government and more specifically, the need for a new U.S. constitution in order to have the anti-war stand of the majority implemented. The various proposals now being made, such as to eliminate the Electoral College, or to count the votes differently, do not address the fundamental question that the U.S. is constituted on a pro-slave basis that keeps the people out of power. A new Constitution that blocks war and aggression and ensures the people are the decision-makers is needed. Working out such issues is a pro-active task of the present so as to contribute to development of a modern democracy that empowers the people.

By the end of the meeting it was clear that having such discussions clarifies the situation by providing an outlook from which to assess developments in the U.S. and related issues. Serious, calm and informed discussion is very important and must continue at this time when the pressure is to make everything about Trump, rather than discussing and developing our own agenda.

Positions of Trade Unions on the Elections

One of the biggest problems facing the U.S. working class and people is that the voice of the working class is effectively silenced. Not only are relatively few workers unionized — the rate of unionization has slipped from 20 per cent in 1983 to 11 per cent today — but the union centrals generally toe the line of the old politics of siding with one faction of the U.S. ruling class in its battle for power. This contributes to divisions in the working class.

In this vein, the position of U.S. unions and the international unions based in the U.S. is to support the crisis-ridden U.S. democracy by saying that Trump's election represents the voice of the people. Certain unions suggest that through the presidential election the people were given a chance to decide the direction of the country. They declare that this is what U.S. democracy is all about, to arrive at a verdict of the people. Within this, most claim that their union membership was deeply divided, saying the division is a "left-right" ideological divide. They ignore the results which show that a large plurality of workers did not vote for either Clinton or Trump preferring instead not to participate in an election where the candidates of the Republicans and Democrats were generally considered "the two most unwanted."

Some unions have declared that the election results show that the economic and political system is broken, and are an indictment of the same old "politics as usual," yet they continue to yearn for "business as usual." An expression of this sentiment is the statement by AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka:

"Donald Trump has been elected president. America is a democratic nation, and the voters have spoken. The AFL-CIO accepts the outcome of this election and offers our congratulations to President-Elect Trump. More than anything, this

election is an indictment of politics as usual."

According to the AFL-CIO, the people have spoken, yet the national vote count shows Clinton ahead by more than 2 million votes. Trump's victory, it affirms, is largely due to angry workers facing the phenomena of economic growth without manufacturing, poor job creation, and U.S. jobs leaving the U.S., especially in what it calls the "rustbelt battlegrounds." It asserts the elites turned their backs on the workers, especially with the global trade agreements sending jobs overseas. This tipped the Electoral College vote in favor of Trump with victories in the heavily industrialized states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and even Michigan, all states the Democrats recently have won.

The AFL-CIO does not explain or attempt to analyze how changing one elite oligarch for another elite oligarch could possibly favor the working class. It does not analyze why "angry workers" should vote for a virulently anti-worker oligarch such as Clinton, who is a promoter of sweatshops in Haiti, or Trump who personally has a vicious record of attacking his own hotel and casino workers.

The AFL-CIO avoids any serious discussion of why working people are not prepared to defend themselves in the face of the imperialist election or how to go forward in a manner that favors the interests of the workers and does not create illusions that Trump will defend workers. What role have the organized unions played in leaving the working class without an outlook that can provide it with a solid base from which to engage imperialist democracy and its electoral system in battle — in good conscience and with actions with analysis?

Some union leaders look for continuity in their role within civil society even though Trump severely threatens them in

practice at his hotels and casinos and in his speeches, which are laced with police state rhetoric.

Most union leaders heavily favored Clinton and widely campaigned amongst their membership to vote for her. The unions recognized that many workers were divided when it came to voting — but failed to analyze that dividing the working class on a sectarian basis based on one or another of the oligarchic parties is precisely a main role of the outmoded institutions, which do not empower the people. The sectarian split along party lines leaves the working class vulnerable to siding with this or that so-called right-wing and left-wing faction of the financial oligarchy up to participating in a reactionary civil war, which is seriously brewing at this time.

Embroiling the working class in the inter-monopoly and inter-imperialist politics of the oligopolies and financial oligarchy greatly weakens the working class movement as it obscures the underlying division in the U.S. between social classes, especially the class struggle between the working class and those who own and control social wealth and property such as the representatives of the oligopolies like Trump and Clinton.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) sees only a split between its leaders and some who followed them in voting for Clinton and other members who voted for Trump.

"This was a long, and at times, divisive, election, but as brothers and sisters in the IBEW, there remains much more that unites us than divides us, and it's more important now than ever that we work together over the coming days, months and years," a statement says.

But how to accomplish such unity and for what aim is not addressed. Left unsaid is the need for independent politics of the

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working class organized of, for and by the workers themselves with their own worker politicians.

Instead, the IBEW says: “Last Tuesday revealed a deep anxiety among the electorate over a declining middle class, stagnant wages and the sense that our political system is rigged in favor of the top 1 percent.”

No Common Ground with Trump

A working class conscious of its independent politics would never leap from the difficulties it faces into the arms of the likes of Trump. Instead of arriving at warranted conclusions of the need to strengthen the organized front of the working class, the IBEW disgraces itself with words of conciliation that claim “common ground” between the workers and Trump.

“To the extent that President-Elect Trump is serious about working toward growing the middle class and providing real opportunities for working Americans, we’re willing to work with him. On issues like trade, infrastructure, jobs and outsourcing, there can be common ground between us, and I’m committed to finding it,” says IBEW President Lonnie R. Stephenson.

These issues are precisely those where Trump and his new cabinet, such as Wilbur Ross, appointed as Secretary of Commerce, have shown no common ground whatsoever with the working class. Why not conclude the obvious based on the reality that confronts the polity and deliberate on how workers will deal with that?

The effort of certain union leaders is now to find a niche where they can go back to conducting “business as usual” despite the elections and Trump’s cabinet appointments showing that the U.S. election has plunged the U.S.-dominated imperialist system of states and the entire world into a situation where “business as usual” is no more.

The world exists as it presents itself, yet certain union leaders ostensibly representing the interests of the working class appear to be looking for some “com-

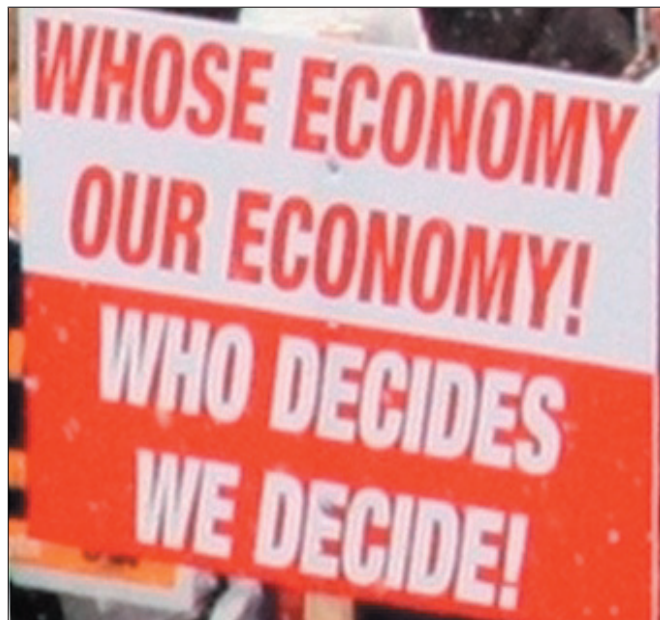
mon ground” with the Trump regime. They imagine some common ground will emerge from Trump’s pledge that he will change the situation facing the angry workers of the heavily industrialized states. The union leaders insist that Trump follow up on his promises and that the unions must show an ability to negotiate with people that they disagree with. An example is the statement of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW). The IAMAW puts on a brave face and says:

“As a labor union, we deal with those whom we disagree with every day at the bargaining table. We try to find common ground. That’s exactly what we intend to do in this new reality.”

Jobs Are Not Things, They Are Social Relations Amongst People

The common ground is said to be “jobs” and it is claimed that this is Trump’s agenda as well. The unions seek common ground with Trump over “things” such as jobs but say they differ over “core values,” which they will not compromise. Presumably jobs and core values are unrelated. Totally ignored is the fact that Trump’s aim and that of the workers are diametrically opposed to one another. For Trump, jobs are things not workers with rights and class interests in contradiction with those who own and control social property.

Here, many U.S. union leaders say they face a dilemma and must make use of their negotiating ability to find common ground between jobs and their “core values,” on which they will never compromise. In this dilemma, “jobs” and their creation are presented as things, not relations people enter into to make a living and from which the



oligarchs can seize the added-value workers produce. Because jobs are considered things and not relations amongst people, in particular between employees and employers, the union leaders present these things without concrete core values based on the rights of the working class and its wish for equilibrium in class relations. Jobs are considered “just jobs” without ideology, without politics of any kind, without even class struggle in defense of rights, without the reality that under imperialism, jobs exist within an antagonistic dialectical social relation between the working class and those who own and control social wealth such as Trump and Clinton. Within the difficult social relation, the working class fights for equilibrium that at least recognizes its rights and prepares itself for an opening towards building the new outside the social relation.

The direction Trump — or Clinton for that matter — takes the economy and who it serves, according to many union leaders, is not germane to the relations between them and the Trump presidency. As long as jobs are created, and their “core values” are respected at least generally in words if not in deeds in the hurly burly world of class struggle, that is acceptable. The core values remain disconnected from reality and without historical context within the

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We Stand Like Sitting Bull

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, December 16, 2016

LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, a Dakota historian and director of Sacred Stone Camp in Standing Rock, recounts the day Tháthąŋka Iyothąŋka (Sitting Bull) was murdered.

* * *

My name is LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, I'm an enrolled member of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and we are part of Sitting Bull's people. Sitting Bull as you know, is a legend among our people but he's also our relative, a family member, and goes down in history.

He is known by the whole world. What did Sitting Bull stand for? Resistance. What did Sitting Bull stand for? His people. Why was this important? Because Sitting Bull understood who he was, who his people were, and where he belonged in this world. Just as Sitting Bull did, we continue to stand with those same thoughts, ideas and memories. As we come up [to present day], and as I've said and have been saying, history's repeating itself. In 1890 in September, The Bismarck Tribune was writing stories about the Indians "uprising" and the Indians "riot-ing." We see the same thing today.

On December 15th, in the early morning, soldiers from Fort Yates and 47 Indian police went down to Sitting Bull's campsite at five o'clock in the morning. They walked out to his cabin, pounded on the door and demanded for him to get up. As they went into the cabin, they told him he had to come to the agency and Sitting Bull got up saying,



"Ohan, ohan." [He] started getting ready, told his wife to get his clothes, told his son to go get his horse, and as he was getting dressed, the camp was stirring. The people could hear all the motions, the horses and the people moving so they all started getting out of their tents and began gathering. As they were gathering the people stood in front of the cabin and as Sitting Bull came out, Officer Red Tomahawk was on one side, Lt. Bull Head on another side with Shaved Head in the back. They came out to the front [of the cabin] and Catch the Bear yelled, "Where are you taking our chief?" Catch the Bear then raised his gun and as he shot Bull Head, Bull Head shot Sitting Bull in the side. Sitting Bull went down, then Red Tomahawk shot him in the back of the head.

In a matter of seconds, Sitting Bull dies.

And then the whole camp is in chaos. I do not think at that time all the 47 Indian police understood what was happening. They did not understand that this man (Sitting Bull) had died. For us, it was the beginning a change in our lives.

We went through this time from 1890 to present in this kind of lull. Now in this movement and in this time, we are continuing to stand up. As we face December 15th, the day Sitting Bull was killed, we are still standing. We will continue to stand. To fight for our water. To fight for our way of life and we will be here, on this land, to stand up for our people, for the water, for the land. We will not back down. We will not stop. We will be here."

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imperialist system of states and certainly not connected with the concrete conditions of working class struggles in defense of their rights and the rights of all.

Some union leaders say they recognize the split between themselves, who campaigned and voted for Clinton along with some members, and other members who voted for Trump. Again, no heed seems to be paid to those who did not vote at all and why people vote the way they do or do not vote. The vote is presented as occurring without historical context and without consideration of the many people who participated in actions with

analysis to oppose the imperialist elections and their fraudulent electoral process as best they could and are searching for an alternative.

The results of the election show that the large majority directly voting against Trump together with those not voting number more than 170 million. What this majority holds in common is that its decision to oppose Trump or oppose the entire imperialist electoral process does not count in the U.S. political system. They are disenfranchised from the result, which is a Trump presidency with all the power that entails. The working people are disempowered

locally, regionally and nationally.

The vote does not signal a common ground between the working people and the financial oligarchy. If anything it signals a repudiation of an imperialist electoral process that produced such unwanted pro-war, racist candidates. Why not conclude that and deliberate on how workers are to organize themselves as a powerful front capable of defending their rights with actions with analysis, and which constantly builds workers' consciousness of themselves and their unity in the struggle for a new pro-social direction for the economy and society.

What Is Next for the Water Protectors at Standing Rock?

*Sacred Stone Camp, Indigenous Environmental Network, International Indigenous Youth Council,
Honor the Earth, December 8, 2016*

We are a coalition of grassroots groups living and working in the Dakota Access resistance camps along the Cannon Ball River in Oceti Sakowin treaty lands.

The following is a coalition statement on the next steps for the #NoDAPL fight:

As we reflect on the decision by the US Army (NOT the US Army Corps) to suspend the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) river crossing easement and conduct a limited Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), the resistance camps at Standing Rock are making plans for the next phase of this movement.

Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chairman Dave Archambault II has asked people to return home once the weather clears, and many will do so. Others will stay to hold the space, advance our reclamation of unceded territory affirmed in the 1851 Treaty of Ft. Laramie, and continue to build community around the protection of our sacred waters. They will also keep a close eye on the company, which has drilled right up to the last inch it can, and remains poised and ready to finish the project.

We fully understand the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's desire to transition people out of the encampments and back to their homes. The influx of people to Standing Rock as winter arrives has been an enormous strain on local resources due to the inherent challenges and dangers of travel and camping in this climate and, in many cases, a lack of necessary knowledge, skills, and experience on the part of those who have traveled to join us. Also, the closure of Highway 1806 and the twisted media portrayals of the camp have essentially acted as economic sanctions against the tribe, denying revenue to an already impoverished nation with a long list of urgent social problems. And, as the violence from law enforcement has escalated and caused serious injuries, we are all concerned for the water protectors' physical safety and want to avoid further casualties.

As such, we support the tribe's request for a transition and are working with many different groups to design and implement

that transition in a good way - one that honors our ceremonial responsibilities, the sacrifices we have made to be here, and the deep commitment we have each made to defend the land. We ask anyone that is considering traveling to join the encampments at Standing Rock to stay home for now and instead take bold action in your local communities to force investors to divest from the project.

We also support those who choose to stay, if they are able to live comfortably and self-sufficiently through a winter in the Great Plains. We support the Sacred Stone Camp, the original encampment established in opposition to the pipeline back on April 1st, 2016. This community space was opened on Ladonna Bravebull Allard's private land and will continue through the winter. Rest assured, LaDonna is not going anywhere. "I have not changed my mind. We stand until the black snake is dead," she said yesterday. But due to limited space and infrastructure, there is no longer an open call for people to come join Sacred Stone Camp unless personally invited.

We do not have sufficient words to express the gratitude and love we have for all the people who have come to Standing Rock to protect the water. We have traveled far, given up much, and taken extraordinary risks. We have endured serious hardships and physical violence, and shown courage, passion, and determination in the face of impossible odds. We have come together across the lines that divide us, and gathered in solidarity to demand an end to 500 years of oppression of Indigenous peoples



— to demand respect for Mother Earth and clean water for all our relatives and future generations. We absolutely cannot let this transition break us apart. We must stay together, we must keep building momentum. As warriors, we must be flexible and agile. We must adapt to shifting circumstances without pause.

We ask you to join us in an unprecedented divestment campaign to kill the black snake financially. We will also ask you to engage in the development of the Environmental Impact Statement to the extent that the public is invited to participate, and guide you through that process. But let us use this time to cut off funding for the project.

December is an international month of action focused on the 17 banks that are profiting off investments in the Dakota Access pipeline. Shut these banks down with direct action. Close your accounts and tell the world you're doing it. Pressure your local jurisdictions and philanthropists to divest. Every day is a day of action.

This fight is not over, not even close. In fact, this fight is escalating. The incoming Trump administration promises to be a friend to the oil industry and an enemy to Indigenous people. It is unclear what will happen with the river crossing. Now more than ever, we ask that you stand with us as we continue to demand justice.

Students Fight to Create Sanctuary Campuses

Heather Dockray, Mashable, December 13, 2016

“Gabriela” is just two semesters and one miserable biochemistry exam away from doing what she’s spent the last decade of her life trying to do: graduate from college. But even though she is closer than ever before, Gabriela, a 28-year-old undocumented student at Florida International University, is worried that the Trump administration will repeal Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), leaving her without a degree and without a home.

“I don’t want to go back into the shadows,” Gabriela said. “When we applied for DACA we gave them all our information. They know where I live, they know where I work, they know where I go to school. They’re going to start coming for us now.”

DACA temporarily spared undocumented immigrants like Gabriela, who entered this country as minors, from deportation for a two-year-period, making them eligible for work permits and in-state tuition. While GOP Senator Lindsey Graham has been quietly leading the fight for undocumented students on a national scale, Gabriela has been busy petitioning her school to declare itself a “sanctuary campus” and pledge not to turn undocumented students over to federal immigration officials.

So far, Florida International University — home to close to 54,000 students, 61 percent of whom are Latino — has rejected the label. And there are dozens of other schools who have given the exact same answer: No.

Sanctuary campuses are largely without legal precedent

Sanctuary campuses take their cue from sanctuary cities, cities that attempt to protect their undocumented residents by limiting their cooperation with federal immigration authorities unless compelled by court order and state law.

Neither sanctuary campuses nor sanctuary cities have standard legal definitions. Still, organizers hope sanctuary campuses can provide relatively safe havens for undocumented and immigrant students by



minimizing their collaboration with U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

Movimiento Cosecha, an organization helping to lead the sanctuary campus movement, wants universities and colleges to refuse, “all voluntary information sharing with ICE/U.S. Customs and Border Protection across all aspects of the college/university to the fullest extent possible under the law.” Movimiento Cosecha would have schools refuse ICE access, prohibit campus security from collaborating with ICE and continue to provide DACA students with in-state tuition, regardless of whether it is repealed.

Some activists have asked that their university chapel serve as a physical sanctuary for undocumented students. [...]

Though students at more than 100 schools all across the country — from the Ivy League to some of America’s largest public universities — have petitioned and protested on behalf of sanctuary campuses, only 28 schools so far have chosen to adopt the label. Connecticut College, Wesleyan University, Columbia University and University of Pennsylvania are part of the list of schools that now identify as sanctuary schools. [...]

Students note that campus security officials are employees of the school, not ICE officers. They are not trained to remove undocumented immigrants from campus. As Yale-Loehr explains, unlike criminal warrants, immigration

warrants “only allows an immigration enforcement officer to make an arrest in a public place.”

[Undocumented students] emphasize that they know the limits of the sanctuary campus model. A school may refuse to collaborate with ICE authorities, but the federal government was given their information when they voluntarily signed up for DACA. ICE has access to their information. They know where they eat and live, where they go to school. Universities have power, but so too (and with much greater force) does their government. [...]

More than ever, these students have asked their campuses to concretizing their solidarity. The sanctuary campus label may only end up being a symbol of dissent, but it still holds power and value — a bulwark of defense against an administration seemingly intent on destroying it. They also stress that the issue is larger and more complex than sanctuary campuses. Some leaders in Congress, most notably GOP Senator Lindsey Graham, have been actively pushing to build a bridge from DACA and protect the 740,000 undocumented immigrants who benefited from it.

The students also bring out that are also other undocumented immigrants who are more vulnerable than these students. They are adults who may not be in school but who are working and paying their taxes and threatened with deportation. [...]

I • UB PETITION FOR SANCTUARY

Tumbas (jasminatumbas@gmail.com) or Dave Alff (dalff@buffalo.edu). Efforts at UB are part of those taking place at more than 100 universities across the country to defend the rights of immigrants. This included walkouts by students November 16, demanding that students be defended and making clear that the students themselves will organize to protect each other and oppose government attacks. Actions took place in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Nevada and elsewhere. We reprint below the UB petition.

* * *

Dear UB President Tripathi,

We, the undersigned members of the SUNY-Buffalo community, call upon you to establish our campus as a sanctuary for students, faculty, staff, and their families, regardless of immigration status. UB is the largest public university in a state that is home to the nation's second-highest foreign-born population. As teachers and advisors to over six thousand international students, we feel it is imperative to support our diverse global community at a

moment when President-Elect Trump has proposed to deport or incarcerate millions of undocumented immigrants.

As a sanctuary campus, UB would redouble its commitment to providing a safe and respectful environment to students and employees of all races, religions, sexual orientations, gender identifications, abilities, health statuses, and nationalities. We are especially concerned for some of our most vulnerable members, including undocumented students, staff, and faculty, Muslims (and other religious minorities), people of color, LGBTQ people, immigrants with different statuses who need support and protection, people with disabilities, and women.

As a sanctuary campus, UB would affirm its dedication to the security of students protected by President Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) executive order. This policy, which President-Elect Trump threatens to repeal, has enabled over 660,000 undocumented children, teenagers, and young adults to work and study in the United States. UB would ensure that DACA students of New York continue to

pay in-state resident tuition.

As a sanctuary campus, UB would protect the privacy of all students, domestic and foreign-born, by calling upon campus administrators to refuse voluntary data sharing with both the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and to deny ICE and CBP access to physical property owned by the university. UB would instruct its security staff never to request the immigration status of anyone on campus, or to participate in ICE or CBP actions.

We believe these measures are necessary in order to stand with those members of our community who will be the most targeted and least protected under the Trump administration. We believe such solidarity is essential if we are to live up to UB's mission of convening a "diverse, inclusive scholarly community dedicated to bringing the benefits of its research, scholarship and creative activity, and educational excellence to global and local communities in ways that impact and positively change the world."



STUDENTS FIGHT FOR SANCTUARY CAMPUSES

