

THE GREAT WHITE HOAX

Featuring Tim Wise

[Transcript]

INTRODUCTION

Text on screen

Charlottesville, Virginia
August 11, 2017

Protesters *[chanting]*

You will not replace us!

News reporter

A major American college campus transformed into a battlefield. Hundreds of white nationalists storming the University of Virginia.

Protesters *[chanting]*

Whose streets? Our streets!

News reporter

White nationalists protesting the removal of a Confederate statue. The setting a powder keg ready to blow.

Protesters *[chanting]*

White lives matter!

Counter-protesters *[chanting]*

Black lives matter!

Protesters *[chanting]*

White lives matter!

News reporter

The march spiraling out of control. So-called Alt-Right demonstrators clashing with counter-protesters some swinging torches.

Text on screen

August 12, 2017

News reporter (continued)

The overnight violence spilling into this morning when march-goers and counter-protesters clash again.

David Duke

This represents a turning point for the people of this country. We are determined to take our country back. We're going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump. That's what we believed in. That's why we voted for Donald Trump. Because he said he's going to take our country back. And that's what we gotta do.

News reporter

A horrifying scene in Charlottesville, as this car plowed into a crowd of people. The driver then backing up and, witnesses say, dragging at least one person.

Donald Trump

We're closely following the terrible events unfolding in Charlottesville, Virginia. We condemn, in the strongest possible terms, this egregious display of hatred, bigotry, and violence on many sides. On many sides. So, we want to get the situation straightened out in Charlottesville. And we want to study it. And we want to see what we're doing wrong as a country where things like this can happen.

Text on screen

A Media Education Foundation Production

Text on screen

November 9, 2016

Mike Pence

It is my high honor and distinct privilege to introduce to you the President-Elect of the United States of America Donald Trump.

News reporter

What started off as unlikely, impossible, is now reality.

News host

This was an earthquake unlike any earthquake I've really seen since Ronald Reagan in 1980. It just came out of nowhere.

News reporter

A tide of discontented white Americans swept Donald Trump into the White House.

Crowd [chanting]

USA! USA!

News reporter

The numbers are startling. Nearly 60% of all whites voted for the President-elect.

News reporter

Donald Trump is about to win the White House. What does that mean to you?

White man
Vindication.

White man
It means everything's different now.

White man
It's a big deal. A lot of changes coming.

White man
I'm gonna cry, I'm a grown man, I'm gonna cry. I think god saved our country.

Political commentator
People have talked about a miracle. I'm hearing about a nightmare. This was a whitelash. This was a whitelash against a changing country. It was a whitelash against a black president, in part. And that's the part where the pain comes. We don't want to feel that someone has been elected by throwing away some of us to appeal more deeply to others.

Trump
We will make America proud again! We will make America safe again! We will make America great again!

Text on screen
The Great White Hoax

Text on screen
Featuring Tim Wise

RACIAL SCAPEGOATING

Tim Wise
In the wake of Donald Trump's election, it seemed as though the most dominant narrative was how shocking it was that an American politician could rise to the most prominent office in the land by scapegoating people of color. Donald Trump looked at working-class white folks and said, "Yes, you're frustrated. Yes, you're in pain. And we're gonna tell you the source of your pain. The source of your pain is not us. It's not the rich folks who tanked Wall Street. It's not the rich folks who own all the property. It's not the 1/10th of 1% of Americans that own as much wealth as the bottom 90%. It's not the 38 Americans who have the same net worth as the bottom half of Americans. It's not us. It's those poor folks. It's those working-class folks. It's those brown people coming across the border."

Trump
We will build a wall. We will build a wall.

Tim Wise

Trump looked at working-class white folks and said, "It's immigrants, brown ones in particular, who are to blame for your joblessness."

News host

If we secure the border, that would prevent competition for the 95 million out of work.

Trump

One-hundred percent.

News host

And it's also driving down wages.

Trump

When he says "secure," I mean, this is a real border. We're not playing games. This is a real border.

Tim Wise

He said Mexico was sending rapists and criminals and all types of horrible people.

Trump

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists.

Trump

Are you from Mexico? Are you from Mexico? Huh? Are you from Mexico? Get him out of here, please. Get him out.

Tim Wise

Trump looked at working-class white folks and said, "The source of your pain is those black people that you're afraid of in the cities."

Trump

I'll tell you what. Our inner cities are so, so bad right now. The danger, the crime. You walk to the store for a loaf of bread, you get shot.

Tim Wise

All the law and order rhetoric is very much about that.

Trump

Law and order must be restored.

Trump

How great are our police? Right? Law and order! We need law and order. And we will have law and order.

Tim Wise

All of that forms a piece of the same thing – darkness equals danger.

News host

Black Lives Matter. What do you think Black Lives Matter is after?

Trump

I think they're trouble. I think they're looking for trouble. I saw them with hate coming down the street.

Tim Wise

And we see it continuing with Muslims.

Debate host

Last night you told CNN, quote, "Islam hates us." Did you mean all 1.6 billion Muslims?

Trump

I mean a lot of 'em.

Trump

I am going to keep radical Islamic terrorism the hell out of our country!

Tim Wise

Obviously, not all Muslims are people of color, but in a post-9/11 environment, when we hear a candidate who's talking about Islam as the enemy...

News host

Is there a Muslim problem in the world?

Trump

Absolutely. Absolutely. I mean, I don't notice Swedish people knocking down the World Trade Center. There is a Muslim problem. Absolutely. You just have to turn on your television set.

Tim Wise

And when you have a candidate who's saying that we need to stop Muslim immigration until we can, quote, "figure out what the hell is going on"...

Trump

Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on!

Tim Wise

It's impossible to separate that from the larger project of racism.

Trump

Okay. This man. I like this guy.

Trump supporter

I'm from White Plains. Amen. We have a problem in this country. It's called Muslims. We know our current president is one.

Trump

Right.

Trump supporter

You know he's not even an American. We have training camps growing where they want to kill us. That's my question. When can we get rid of 'em?

Trump

We're going to be looking at a lot of different things.

Tim Wise

In fact, Donald Trump came to political prominence, not, you know, cultural prominence, but political prominence by way of attacking President Obama as potentially not being a real American.

News host

Donald Trump's birther views are making him a Tea Party rock star. Could he really give the president a run for his money? *(to Trump)* Recently, you've spent a lot of time talking about President Obama's birth certificate, or lack thereof. You don't seem convinced that he has one.

Trump

No, I'm not convinced that he has one. You are not allowed to be a president if you're not born in this country. He may not have been born in this country. And I'll tell you what. Three weeks ago, I thought he was born in this country. Right now, I have some real doubts.

Trump

You saw this audience. Probably the biggest hand I got was when I mentioned place of birth, which was just very quick.

News reporter

Trump told the room anyone who thinks his birther agenda is racist obviously doesn't watch his show, adding, quote, "How can I be racist? I hired Arsenio Hall."

Interviewer

You've said a lot of things over the years that people say just make you not serious. And one of the big things is on the birth certificate.

Trump

Why does that make me not serious? I mean, I think that resonated with a lot of people.

Interviewer

But you don't still question that he was born in the United States, do you?

Trump

I have no idea.

Interviewer

Even at this point?

Trump

Well, I don't know. Was there a birth certificate? You tell me. You know, some people say that was not his birth certificate. I'm saying I don't know. Nobody knows. And you don't know either, Jonathan. You're a smart guy. You don't know either.

Interviewer

I'm pretty convinced he was...

Trump

Pretty!

Tim Wise

It's all part of creating the notion that on this side are white people. We're the real Americans, and we're the good Americans. And over here are these various dark-skinned people from whom we need to be protected.

Trump

We don't want them in our country! I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people!

TRUMP IS NOTHING NEW

Tim Wise

And so, during the presidential campaign, we have a lot of people, including fellow Republicans, who seem to be outraged, incensed, clutching their pearls at the idea that someone like Donald Trump would rise to power by using this racial scapegoating and imagery.

Mitt Romney

I understand the anger Americans feel today. Mr. Trump is directing our anger for less than noble purposes. He creates scapegoats of Muslims and Mexican immigrants.

Political commentator

He is a flat out racist, and it's what he's played on for 16 months. He is a bigot. He is a racist. He is a misogynist. He has said horrible things about women. He has said horrible things about immigrants. About Hispanics. He has yet to say one good thing about immigrants.

News host

Establishment Republicans are saying he's not a true conservative. And here's Speaker of the House Paul Ryan talking about Trump's plan to ban Muslims from entering the country.

Rep. Paul Ryan

This is not conservatism. What was proposed yesterday is not what this party stands for.

Sen. Lindsey Graham

You may not think it's un-American. I do. You may not think it's racist. I do.

Sen. Mitch McConnell

It's time to quit attacking various people that you competed with or various minority groups in the country.

Tim Wise

There's been this constant tendency for people to suggest that his election is a break with business as usual. That it's some unique deviation from the American political norm.

Political commentator

Donald J. Trump is not just a normal candidate.

Political commentator

Trump is not your normal conservative. He is not your normal Republican.

Political commentator

Donald Trump is not a normal Republican.

Political commentator

Donald Trump is not a normal president-elect. Donald Trump is a racist, sexist, misogynist, narcissistic, xenophobic bigot.

Tim Wise

But the reality is, there's really nothing at all new about Trump's use of those kinds of arguments. Those are the kinds of arguments that conservative politicians have used for generations. If you go back to the 1960s, and you see Richard Nixon's so-called Southern Strategy where he uses the same terminology of law and order as a way to appeal to white voters.

Richard Nixon

When the nation with the greatest tradition of the rule of law is plagued by unprecedented lawlessness. When a nation has been known for a century for equality of opportunity is torn by unprecedented racial violence, then it's time for new leadership for the United States of America.

Nixon

We're going to enforce the law, and Americans should remember that if we're going to have law and order.

Tim Wise

He uses law and order as a justification for cracking down on who? On black folks in the cities whom white folks were being encouraged to fear in the post-civil rights environment.

Text on screen

Nixon campaign ad (1968)

Political ad narrator

Crimes of violence in the United States have almost doubled in recent years. Today, a violent crime is committed every 60 seconds. And it will get worse unless we take the offensive. Freedom from fear is a basic right of every American. We must restore it.

Tim Wise

In the 1950s, and even in the early 60s, before civil rights, it was possible for conservatives, whether they were Republicans or frankly southern Democrats, to use overtly racist language as a way to appeal to white voters.

Strom Thurmond

There's not enough troops in the army to force the Southern people to break down segregation and admit the nigger race into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes, and into our churches.

Bull Connor

You can never whip these birds if you don't keep you and them separate. I found that out in Birmingham. You've got to keep your white and the black separate!

Gov. George Wallace

It is very appropriate that from this cradle of the Confederacy, this very heart of the great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom in the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth. I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever.

Tim Wise

By the late 60s, they couldn't do that anymore because it would get them in trouble. It would be too obvious. So, they used different language. States' rights.

Wallace

It was Thomas Jefferson from this state, who said himself, that this Republic would dissolved by an irresponsible federal judiciary who, like a thief in the night, would steal a little bit of the rights of the states and lodge it into the central government until one day we woke up and found that all individual liberties and freedoms had flown.

Tim Wise

Forced busing.

Nixon

I am opposed to busing for the purpose of achieving racial balance in our schools.

Tim Wise

Welfare.

Nixon

Let's never forget that the reason we're a great country, and we are a great country, is not because of what government did for people but because of what people did for themselves.

Tim Wise

Law and order.

Nixon

Tonight, it's time for some honest talk about the problem of order in the United States. And to those who say that law and order is a code word for racism, there and here is a reply: Our goal is justice, justice for every American.

Tim Wise

All of which were intended to prime the pump of white racial resentment.

Text on screen

Lee Atwater performing at 1989 Republican Inauguration

Tim Wise

Lee Atwater, who was one of the nation's most prominent conservative and Republican consultants, actually is caught on tape in 1981 acknowledging that he himself, and others like him, had deliberately used coded language, beginning in the 1960s, knowing that it would result in public policy that disproportionately hurt black folks.

Lee Atwater (tape recording)

You start out in 1954 by saying, "nigger, nigger, nigger." By 1968, you can't say "nigger." That hurts you. Backfires. So, you say stuff like "forced busing," "states' rights," and all that stuff. And you're getting so abstract now, you're talking about cutting taxes. And all of these things you're talking about are totally economic things. And the byproduct of them is blacks get hurt worse whites. And subconsciously maybe that is part of it.

Tim Wise

And by Atwater's own admission, they were only doing that as a way to appeal to white racial resentment. To really get into white folks' heads and make us believe that once again our enemies, even if only in fiscal terms, were black folks or brown folks.

Text on screen

Nixon Tapes

April 21, 1971

President Nixon talks with aide Charles Colson

Nixon

Yeah.

Secretary

I have Mr. Colson.

Nixon

Yeah.

Secretary

Here you are.

Nixon

Hello.

Colson

Yes, sir, Mr. President.

Nixon

Bob (H.R. Haldeman, White House Chief of Staff) tells me the hardhats were pleased with my welfare stand, eh?

Colson

When I went up there last night, and went from room to room, it was really one of the first things that people mentioned. Of course, they'd had a few drinks, and it was an after-dinner kind of thing, and they were letting off a little steam. And all of them, almost without exception, people would say, "by god, you tell him we agree with that," "those loafers," and "I've worked all my life," and "by god, nobody gives me anything for nothing," and "I believe in hard work."

Nixon

People really are sick of this welfare. They really are. This is an issue that really strikes home right now.

Colson

That's exactly right.

Nixon

And the dirty streets. It hits a lot of things.

Colson

The high taxes and the welfare rolls, people associate together.

Nixon

Right, right, right.

Colson

You go into city areas where this problem is particularly severe.

Nixon

I think that ought to get to all the Republican members of Congress and all Southern Democrats. You see my point?

Colson

Yes, sir.

Text on screen

Nixon campaign ad (1972)

Political ad narrator

Senator George McGovern recently submitted a welfare bill to the Congress. According to an analysis by the Senate Finance Committee, the McGovern bill would make 47 percent of the people in the United States eligible for welfare. Forty-seven percent. Almost every other person in the country would be on welfare. And who's going to pay for this? Well, if you're not the one out of two people on welfare, you do.

Tim Wise

It's been effective at taking a lot of blue collar white voters who traditionally did vote for Democrats and instead of saying that the enemy is, you know, big business, instead of saying the enemy is the boss, and that's why you need a union to protect your interests, now the enemy is big government. Why? Because big government has come to be seen as in the service of those people, where those people are black or those people are brown immigrants or those people are anybody but you.

Text on screen

U.S. Housing Authority film (1939)

Film narrator

Public housing, like public schools, improves the quality of large numbers of our citizens and so serves the general welfare.

Tim Wise

Let's remember what we call welfare programs were pretty popular in the 30s and the 40s. Big government was hugely popular because most of the benefits were going to white folks.

Film narrator

Every dedication in the United States of a public low-rent housing project is a rededication of our democracy to the principle that all men are created equal.

Tim Wise

You had Federal Housing Administration loans, the GI bill, the VA loans.

Text on screen

Army informational film (1944)

Film narrator

The GI Bill of Rights is not a reward or a handout or a gravy train but rather an American way to make it easier for each man to take his place once again in the community and get some of those things for which he went to war: a job, a business, an education, a home.

Tim Wise

And the same thing happens with the jobs that were created by government during the New Deal disproportionately enjoyed by white men.

Text on screen

Works Progress Administration film (1937)

Film narrator

In this picture, we have seen a few of the 120,000 projects that are embraced by the Works Program. Each of these projects has been planned to meet a real need in the community which it serves. Under this program, Work Pays America!

Tim Wise

During the New Deal, they had no problem with it. But once big government came to be seen as being connected to black folks, seen to be connected to taking from white people, in terms of tax dollars, and turning over that money to people who were black or brown, all of a sudden, the very people who used to be on the side of government intervention in the economy find themselves opposed to it even though much of that intervention would be of help to them.

Nixon

The new voice that is being heard across America today, it is not the voice of a single person. It's the voice of a majority of Americans who have not been the protestors, who have not been the shouters. The great majority finally have become angry. Not angry with hate but angry, my friends, because they love America, and they don't like what has been happening to America for the last four years.

News reporter

You just heard Richard Nixon refer to you among all these other people as the “forgotten Americans.” What do you think he's referring to?

Nixon supporter

Well, I sort of think he's talking about the people that are paying the taxes, that are supporting the schools, the churches. The people, they are sort of forgotten because everything's aimed at welfare and things like that.

Tim Wise

Many of those same people need the government to intervene in health care markets because they don't provide affordable health care. They need the government to intervene in housing markets

because those are not affordable in many parts of this country. They need government loans for college because private tuition costs are out of control. And yet, if they view those benefits as disproportionately going to the black and brown, which the right has done a very masterful job of making them think, then they end up voting against those programs because they seem to them to be a net loss. They seem to be taking from them, those white folks, and giving to those other black and brown folks.

Ronald Reagan

Whenever Washington has tried to do things the people should be doing, it has failed and failed miserably. Welfare is a classic example.

Tim Wise

Fast forward to 1976, and you have Ronald Reagan who's telling a story about a welfare queen and a Cadillac and strapping young bucks, which, of course, was code for black men, buying T-Bone steaks with food stamps.

Reagan

You see, no one in Washington knows how many people there are on welfare. They only know how many checks they're sending out.

Announcer

I present to you, Governor Reagan.

Tim Wise

Years later, Reagan starts his campaign for president in 1980 in Philadelphia, Mississippi, which was only famous for one thing: the murder of three civil rights workers 16 years previously in 1964.

Text on screen

CBS News (1964)

News reporter

Tonight, Andrew Goodman and two companions, Mickey Schwerner and James Chaney, are the focus of a whole country's concern. They have been missing since Sunday in Mississippi where they had gone as part of the Mississippi Freedom Summer project.

White man

I believe them jokers planned it, sitting off up there in New York laughing at us Mississippi folk.

White woman

Well, I believe it's a big publicity hoax, but if they're dead I feel like they asked for it.

News reporter

The FBI announced Tuesday night the finding of three bodies in graves at the site of a dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi where three civil rights workers disappeared six weeks ago.

Reagan

For those who've abandoned hope, we'll restore hope and we'll welcome them into a great national crusade to make America great again.

Tim Wise

Let's also remember that Ronald Reagan's slogan in 1980 was “make America great again.”

Reagan

Let us pledge to each other, with this great lady looking on, that we can, and so help us god, we will make America great again. Thank you very much.

Tim Wise

And so Trumpism, in the end, isn't really new. It is a retread. It is a borrowing of a politic that has always appealed directly to white racial anxiety and resentment.

A WAY TO DIVIDE**Trump**

We will make America great again.

Trump

Families are going to be safe and secure. Crime will go down. And law and order will be restored to the United States of America.

Trump

We're going to build the wall. We have no choice. We have no choice.

Tim Wise

Donald Trump may not be as subtle as some of his predecessors. He may not be as committed to the dog whistle. Maybe more of a bull horn in that process.

Trump *[chanting]*

Build that wall!

Tim Wise

But he's still using a type of politic that has been totally normative in America for the last four decades. In fact, the history of America is actually the history of rich white men, very much like Trump, blaming people of color for the problems of white working folks. This is a process that well pre-dates Donald Trump. In fact, it pre-dates the country. It goes back to the colonial period itself when so-called white people and so-called black people, who didn't even necessarily know that those were the terms to describe them, realized that they had a common interest in fighting the economic elite in places like the Virginia colony.

So, Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 sees European indentured servants and peasants coming together with African enslaved folks to overthrow the aristocracy because they realized how much they had in common. In the wake of that rebellion, and several others in the late 17th century, you all of a sudden have this thing called “the white race” coming into terminology, begins to be used in the legal terminology, begins to be used in literature. There'd been no such thing as the white race historically. Most Europeans had hated one another and had been killing each other for generations. But in the colonies, it became necessary to create this new umbrella term, so as to take all of these disaffected indentured servants and peasants and make them believe they had more in common with the rich than they did with the black person who they worked next to every day.

So, all of a sudden, what happens is the elite begin to give those poor Europeans a little bit of rights. Not many, but the right to own land, the right to vote, at least if they were men, the right to testify in court. And then, in the early 1700s, they get rid of indentured servitude. They say no more of that. In fact, they tell these poor white folks, we're gonna put you on the slave patrol, so that you can help us keep those black folks in line. So that gives these poor European men a sense of power. They still don't really have power. They still don't own any real land. They don't have any actual ability to control their daily lives, but they're given a stake in the system of white supremacy – what W.E.B. DuBois would ultimately come to call “the psychological wage of whiteness.” You may not be getting real wages worth much, but at least you have the ability to consider yourself superior to those people you're controlling.

Text on screen

12 Years a Slave (2013)

White man

And for all of you raw niggers that don't know, my name is John Tibbeats, William Ford's chief carpenter. You will refer to me as Master. Now, Mister Chapin is the overseer on this plantation. You, too, will refer to him as Master.

Tim Wise

So, it was used as a way to divide. It was a way to say to say, “These are your enemy.” It was a way to take these piss poor Europeans, who didn't have anything, and make them identify with the rich. And what ultimately happened is, once the elite do that, the poor Europeans stop rebelling in concert with the black folks. They stop fighting the system because they've come to believe that their enemies are black and brown rather than rich and white.

It continued during the Civil War era where you had Confederate elites breaking away from the United States government and announcing that the reason they were doing it was to maintain their interest in slave property, their interest in white supremacy. And yet, the rich had no interest in fighting that war. They sent poor white folks to do it. The only way that they could trick poor white people into doing their bidding was to convince them that if slaves were free they were going to take the jobs, take the jobs, take the opportunities from white working men. The irony being that those slaves already had the jobs. They were being able to be used on the farm for nothing whereas a white person would have to have been paid a dollar a day, a dollar a week, two dollars a month. So ultimately, if you can get free labor versus labor you have to pay, who's gonna get the gig? Obviously, the free labor. So, in a lot of ways, working class white folks were harmed by the

system of enslavement. Their wages were bid downward, but they were told that “those are your enemy.” So again, it was divide and conquer, just as it has been in the colonial period.

Years later, same thing happens with the labor union movement. You have labor unions that refuse to integrate on the basis of this idea, which they've come to believe, which is somehow “if we work side-by-side with those people, be they Chinese labor, be they black, be they Mexican, that it's somehow going to reduce the professionalism of the craft,” when in fact, it would have doubled the size of the union. It would have made the union more militant. It would have put them in a better bargaining position vis-a-vis the elite. But they were so embedded in this idea of whiteness, the idea that, “well, I might not have much, but at least I'm not black. I might not have much, but at least I'm not brown.” That they cleaved to their racial identity even at the expense of their economic interest. Because, why? They had been told that their enemies were black and brown. And we see it continuing with Trumpism.

Trump

With immigration, you better be smart, and you better be tough, and they're taking your jobs, and you better be careful. You better be careful.

Tim Wise

When Donald Trump looks at white working people and says, “The reason you don't have a job is that some Mexican took your job” or “The reason your taxes are too high is because welfare programs, for either undocumented persons or black folks are robbing you and taking all your money,” it becomes another way to divide and conquer working people from one another.

Working class white folks aren't going to be helped by a wall on the southern border because ultimately capital will still transgress those borders, goods will still transgress those borders, but labor, if you keep labor chained to its country of origin, then labor can't get together and fight for better working conditions, fight for better wages. And so, ultimately, it's a way to divide and continue to conquer working class people.

Crowd *[chanting]*

Build that wall.

Tim Wise

Part of the reason that politicians use racial scapegoats to harvest votes from disaffected white people is because it's sort of like saying to them, “I know where your pain comes from and I can not only diagnose your pain, I can give you a solution to your pain.” So, we can build a wall on the southern border, or we can crack down on undocumented migrants and send them out of the country, or we can end affirmative action, or we can end so-called welfare programs. But just like, you know, trying to solve your pain with an opioid that is promised to solve the problem that you're having, it doesn't really solve the problem.

News anchor

Tonight, we continue our investigation of the opioid epidemic, which is taking more than 80 lives a day.

Tim Wise

Right now, we see and we talk about in the media, the so-called opioid crisis. The way that small-town, white, rural Americans are getting hooked on heroin or getting hooked on Oxy because they have some type of diagnosed pain and now they're becoming addicts and we have a lot of sympathy around that as well we should. The irony of this is that the very communities with the highest rate of opioid addiction according to research shortly after the 2016 election, were the same communities with the highest percentage of support for Donald Trump.

News reporter

According to Penn State University rural sociologist and demographer, Shannon Monnat, that strong correlation is rooted in the broad economic distresses and job losses in these counties.

Shannon Monnat

These sorts of places are really primed to be vulnerable to prescription painkillers and heroin. And they're also primed to be vulnerable to messages of a quick fix or a quick change from somebody like Donald Trump.

Trump

Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it.

Tim Wise

If you think of what an opioid is, it's pharmacologically a drug intended to do one thing – block pain receptors – then you can understand how a community that's in the grips of a pharmacological opioid crisis because of long-term unemployment, because of disability in heavy industry-type jobs, or because of whatever else might be going on in their community. Why that same community would be so susceptible to turning to a politician who functions like a walking, talking human opioid, looks at them and says, "I can take away your pain. I can solve your problem."

Trump

Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities. Rusted out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape. And the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now!

Tim Wise

If I'm told, whether it's by Dr. Trump or doctor whomever it is on the right, that the source of my pain is this group over here or that group over there, the fact that I'm having my pain misdiagnosed, doesn't necessarily mean that I don't have a pain. It doesn't mean that there isn't something going on. But just like an actual opioid, whether it's street heroin or whether it's Oxy that you get from a pharmacist or a doctor, just like that, it doesn't really solve your problem.

WHITE CULTURAL ANXIETY**Political correspondent**

We all know it's the economy, stupid. Economy 101.

Political correspondent

The Democrats moved away from their traditional base in the working class.

Tim Wise

In the wake of Donald Trump's election, we have a lot of people saying, "well, it wasn't really about race, let alone racism. It wasn't really about bias or prejudice. It was about old-school economic anxiety." The real fear that millions of white folks have about long-term unemployment, or perhaps wage stagnation, or inadequate healthcare availability, or the high cost of college.

Rep. Tim Ryan

We have not focused on the economic issues that are so important to people in working class places like Youngstown, Ohio.

Tim Wise

And while all of that's true, it's very hard to disentangle the concept of economic anxiety from race because those two things have been intricately intertwined. So, for instance, if Trump's victory was just about economic insecurity, we would have expected black and brown folks to flock to Donald Trump because using any measure of economic well-being, people of color are far worse off than whites. So, if economic anxiety were all that mattered, if wage stagnation were all that mattered, if the loss of manufacturing jobs, which hit first and foremost in urban cities populated by people of color in this country beginning in the 70s, if that's all it took to create support for Donald Trump, Donald Trump would have won the overwhelming majority of black and brown votes. And he didn't.

News anchor

Clinton won 89% of the black vote, same with Hispanics. Clinton out-performed Trump among Latinos by 38 points.

Tim Wise

In fact, just in the last several months since the election, there have been a number of surveys that have come out and they show pretty conclusively that the real key to Trump's support wasn't economic struggle or economic anxiety so much as it was cultural anxiety. This idea that the country was fundamentally changing and changing for the worst.

Political correspondent

We try to find these voters, who are economic anxiety voters, but that is not what it is, Wolf. What it is is, it's cultural anxiety. We're seeing individuals who are voting and issues that are coming about whether or not it's gay marriage, whether or not it's transgender rights, whether or not it's the browning of the country, who are voting against that. Who are voting against that image, that picture.

Political correspondent

It's not exclusive to poor white people. It also exists very much in the suburbs and was tapped into by Donald Trump.

Tim Wise

There's a sense of cultural loss. It's a symbolic loss. It's not necessarily an economic loss because they're not necessarily the ones in the most pain. Those surveys have found that actually the whites who were the most struggling, except in a few communities, actually broke towards Hillary Clinton in the campaign. They didn't vote for Trump. In fact, what one of those surveys also found was that when you asked folks whether or not they believed that the country had gotten worse since the 1950s or whether it had gotten better since the 1950s, they overwhelmingly and disproportionately said they felt the country had declined. That it had gotten worse since then. Now, if we think about that, objectively speaking, for whom has America gotten worse since the 1950s? Obviously, it's gotten better for people of color. It's gotten better for women, as women. Women as women often couldn't even get loans in their own names from banks until the early 1970s. It's certainly gotten better for LGBTQ folks. It's certainly gotten better for anyone who isn't Christian. For all these other groups, pluralism has been a benefit, but for the one group who never had to share, there's a sense of cultural loss.

Trump supporter

I do feel like Donald Trump says, that we have been overlooked. With all of these special interest groups getting their way and their voices being heard, we've kind of been brushed to the wayside, I think. And we're the mainstream here. I was born and raised in this country.

Tim Wise

Keep in mind, the slogan "make America great again" is very specific. The slogan was not "make coal country great again," "make assembly line jobs great again," or "I want my job back." That wasn't the Tea Party slogan a few years ago. Their slogan was "I want my country back."

Sarah Palin

Get it together, Tea Party America. Let's take back our country.

Tea Party protester

We must take our country back.

News reporter

What's the message? What do you want the politicians in Washington and President Obama to know?

Tea Party protester

Let the American people do what they do best and make this country great.

Tea Party protester

The idea is that we want to get our country back.

Tim Wise

All of that presumes that something has happened in America that isn't strictly economic, but is cultural, is symbolic, is this sense that the America we knew, the America of the 50s, the America of small-town innocence, the America frankly of white normativity where white Americans, and Christian Americans and straight Americans, and men, by god were considered the sort of standard

model of what an American was. The dictionary definition of what an American was that that has changed.

Tea Party protester

I'm very afraid that we're going to lose our country. I think that we are on the precipice of going to a place that we may never come back. And I'm afraid that people are not going to understand how dire it is until it's too late.

Tim Wise

Even though people of color were hit harder economically by the recession, it was white folks who formed the Tea Party because, by god, they're losing their country.

Tea Party protester

Our country is going down the toilet really fast.

Tea Party protester

When people get to the point where they've had enough, they grab their farm tools and they storm the castle.

Tea Party protester

We are losing our country. We think the Muslims are moving in and taking over. We do not believe our president is a Christian and he led us to believe that. Our president is a liar.

Tim Wise

And so, when you say that those folks are suffering economic anxiety, you can't really abstract that from the sense of cultural loss or de-centering that they're also experiencing.

Tea Party protester

Well, I think we have to stand up and say no more. No more I'm not gonna pay for you. I'm not gonna carry everyone else on my back anymore. I'm gonna stand up on my own.

Tim Wise

If I believe, for instance, that my taxes are going to be too high because the money is going to support people of color who don't want to work, is that economic anxiety or is that racial anxiety? Well, it's both. Right? It's economic because I'm worried about my financial picture and my taxes, but it's also racial and cultural because I believe that I'm being ripped off to take care of other people.

Tea Party protester

How long do we have to pay for slavery? How long we have to keep bailing 'em out before they find a job and take care of their family? All right? When's the point gonna end?

Reporter

So, you don't like the fact that a black man is in the White House?

Tea Party protester

Has nothing to do with a black man. I'm talking about the people on welfare trying to suck out the economy of this country. Get a free house, get a free car, free gasoline. They want it all because they think they deserve it. Well in this country you gotta get a job you know and work.

Reporter

Did you get a tax cut this year from Barack Obama?

Tea Party protester

I don't pay taxes.

Reporter

You don't pay taxes.

Tea Party protester

I'm disabled from a truck accident.

Tim Wise

If I believe that people are coming over the border and taking my jobs, is that economic anxiety? Well, of course, because I'm worried about maybe not having a job.

Minutemen protester

This really isn't funny. It's our country and our sovereignty. This has nothing to do with you. It has something to do with losing our country, and we don't want to do that.

Tim Wise

But is that different from racial, and cultural and ethnic anxiety? Or is it connected?

Minutemen protester

Where the fuck you from, dude?

Reporter

I'm from Jalisco, Mexico. That's where I'm from.

Minutemen protester

Then go back to Mexico, you fucking coward.

Reporter

I'm the coward?

Minutemen protester

You're the fucking coward.

Reporter

How am a coward? I'm here by myself!

Minutemen protester

You're the fucking coward.

Reporter

I'm surrounded by Minutemen, and I'm the coward?

Minutemen protester

What would happen if we went into your group?

Minutemen protester

You're the fucking coward. You come here to mooch off of this country. Why don't you go fix your own country?

Reporter

I'm indigenous to the continent. I'm indigenous to the continent.

Minutemen protester

Go back to Mexico, you cockroach.

Reporter

Go back to Europe.

Minutemen protester

Huh?

Reporter

Go back to Europe, you racist.

Minutemen protester

I was born here, you prick.

Tim Wise

Having to engage in a more pluralistic way has set on edge a lot folks and opened up the opportunity for politicians, particularly in this case on the right, to take advantage of that sense of loss, that sense of the de-centering of what we always assumed to be the core of Americanism.

Trump

You know what, folks? We're going to take our country back from these people. We're gonna take it back. These are bad, bad people. And we're gonna take our country back from these people. We are going to take our country back from those people, those people. They do nothing. They do nothing.

Tim Wise

So, are those white working-class voters and middle-class voters who voted for him experiencing economic anxiety? Probably. At least in some cases. But is that economic anxiety independent of

their racial position, their cultural anxiety, the fear that they're quote unquote losing their country? Well, I would say not.

Trump supporter

We love freedom, we love prosperity, we love to work, we love to share our prosperity with the people that we choose to share it with, not people the government tells us we have to give it to. It's my freedom, my money, my hard work, my labor. I can do what I want with it.

Tim Wise

So, it's not racism in the old-school sense. It's not necessarily people who are budding white supremacist, or Klansmen, or Neo-Nazis. But it's a group of people who for years have been able to take for granted that they were the norm. That they were the ones who set the standards. That their tastes, their preferences, their desires, their lives were the central narrative lives and preferences of America. And now that those white folks are having to share this space with people who look different, pray different, have different cultural traditions, it's very hard for them to get their head around and to accept. Because, ultimately, as has been said many times in the last several years since Trump burst on the scene or since white resentment and anxiety burst on the scene in such a clear way with the Tea Party, when you've been used to domination and hegemony, equality feels like oppression. When you've been used to privilege, equality feels like loss.

White woman

I believe that Barack Obama's religious beliefs do govern his foreign policy.

Frank Luntz

And what are his religious beliefs?

White woman

I believe that he is a Muslim.

Luntz

You do?

White woman

Yes.

Luntz

How many of you believe that here? Wow!

Tim Wise

Let's remember that one of the biggest correlated factors with early support for Donald Trump, and, by that, I mean support during the primaries, was the extent to which you thought Obama might be a Muslim and might not have been born in America.

News reporter

What do you think Barack Obama is?

White man

Well, I think he's a Muslim, but you know, and of course that reflects in my decision of whether to vote for him or not.

White woman

Obama is a Muslim. He's a terrorist. Nobody will ever tell me different.

White man

We don't even know if he's a citizen.

White man

He must support terrorists. You know, if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it must be duck. And that to me is Obama.

White man

He acts like a Muslim. He talks like a Muslim. He also does the Muslim principles as far as jewelry is concerned.

Reporter

Jewelry?

White man

Yeah, jewelry. Certain months of the year not wearing his wedding ring.

Tim Wise

And so, it's sort of like building a house, right? The house might have several floors, might have many different layers and levels, but the foundation, unless the foundation is laid, there is no house. So, if the foundation of Trumpism is birtherism, if the foundation of Trumpism is attacking Mexicans in that first press conference when he announced he was running where he said, "Mexico is not sending their best, you know, they're sending rapists and they're sending drug dealers." And if your foundation is laid in that, then the fact that you've got three other stories, one of which might be economic loss of jobs, one of which might be trade policy, doesn't change the fact the foundation of the house is laid in racism and racial resentment. And that's going to affect everything else that we see in that house.

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

Crowd [*chanting*]

Put our flags back!

Tim Wise

I think it's no coincidence that at the very time that we see Donald Trump gaining the allegiance of so many people who are concerned about the changing of America and losing their country, that

we also have people out in the streets who are demanding that we preserve Confederate memorials that are coming down in cities like New Orleans and all around the country.

News anchor

A hundred and fifty-two years and one month after Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered his army to Ulysses S. Grant, a statue of Lee is falling in New Orleans tonight.

News reporter

The statue of Lee is the first one to come down in broad daylight. Protests erupted in New Orleans when the city decided to remove the monuments.

Mayor of New Orleans

These monuments celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy ignoring the deaths, ignoring the enslavement.

Black woman

I would point up there and I would say, "You devil, you coming down one day." I thought of the oppression and what my grandmother and their sweat and blood.

News anchor

This debate comes after the race-driven murders of nine African-Americans in a historic black church in Charleston. The suspect, Dylann Roof, he's seen in photos holding the Confederate flag.

Black man

I just come from fishing. Having a good morning. And I'm coming from the river and I see this. A display like this after, after something tragic like that happened we ain't even got to bring it up. To see these people do this, this is a wicked people, man.

Crowd *[singing]*

Oh, I wish I was in the land of cotton. Old times there are not forgotten. Look away. Look away. Look away, Dixieland.

Tim Wise

We have a cadre of people virtually all of them, admittedly, Trump supporters, and oftentimes supporters of even further right figures than that, coming out to demand the restoration of these statues and saying that as we change and diminish their importance and their centrality to the American story, that, somehow, it's an attack on whiteness itself.

David Duke

Donald Trump is right. We've got to make America great again. And we can't make America great again unless we also preserve the principles and the people who made America great in the first place. We do have a racism problem in this country. It is a racism problem against white people.

Tim Wise

This idea that somehow by taking down those symbols we're losing something special about America is all part and parcel of this white identity crisis. This white anxiety.

News reporter

There's an effort to ethnically cleanse white people?

White man

Oh yeah, certainly there is.

Reporter

Well, give me examples.

White man

Well, there are two bills now in the legislature to demolish or remove every Confederate monument on the State House grounds.

Reporter

So, that's a threat to you being alive?

White man

That's a threat to the whole culture.

White man

Hitler took the history away from the Jews, did he not? Slowly, a little bit at a time that's happening to southerners by doing this.

Tim Wise

It's this nostalgic, fictive notion of how we have to make America great again, like it was before civil rights, like it was before religious pluralism, like it was before feminism. That's what that flag and many of those symbols represent is an older quote unquote "simpler," and for white people, a much more dominant and hegemonic time.

White woman

Say, "make America great again."

White girl

Make America great again.

News reporter

That slogan is part of the forlorn sense among Trump backers that America is losing something. We met Ariel Robb in West Bend, Wisconsin. She's been selling Trump products for months.

Ariel Robb

They see a person that actually stands for, you know, what they've been thinking in their head, but were too afraid to say all the years.

News reporter

Like defending the Confederate flag, Robb sells it with “Trump 2016” right in the middle.

Robb

And it kind of just works together because there's a lot of controversy about Trump, and there's a lot of controversy about the flag.

Tim Wise

And so, the fact that these Confederate symbols are being defended by the very same people who support Donald Trump, right, isn't seen as suggestive of what it ought to be suggestive of, which is the sense that this resistance that the Confederacy represented, which was a resistance against the end of slavery, a resistance against abolitionism. It was a movement to preserve white supremacy. There's a straight line between that and the flying of that flag at a Donald Trump rally where he's going to stand up and talk about building a wall with Mexico, or he's gonna talk about cracking down on so-called black criminals in the cities, or he's gonna talk about cracking down on Muslims. The rhetoric is almost identical and the mentality is almost identical.

Trump supporter

Make America great! Make it white!

TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY**News anchor**

How did Donald Trump win? So many of you are wondering this. You're asking us about this. Well, a big part of your answer is white men.

Tim Wise

It's also worth pointing out that even though white women by a majority vote for Donald Trump, the rate was far higher for white men. And I think the reason for that is that whiteness intersects with gender in a lot of ways. And so, to be white has always come with certain expectations. To be a white man has especially come with certain expectations.

You think about white men in those rust belt towns that voted for Trump, right? Even if they were working class. Historically, they always had the ability to say to themselves if I work hard, you know if I do everything right and I play by the rules, my kids are gonna be better off than me, and their kids are gonna be better off. There was always a sense of upper mobility.

Film narrator

Frank came here from Italy 45 years ago. He's got his own place up on the hill. Come Christmas, it's full up with his children and grandchildren.

Tim Wise

Didn't always happen, but there was an expectation of it.

Film narrator

Look down any street in town, and you'll see the mills at the end of it. There are twenty-five miles of them along the Mahoning River. And today they're busy day and night. Every eight hours a shift change. 15,000 men to the shift.

Tim Wise

On the other hand, people of color never had that expectation. People of color always knew the system was rigged, but if I didn't know that, because for the most part mobility was the way it worked for my family or people in my community, if I don't understand the way the game is rigged then all of the sudden I find myself struggling, when that system changes, when the economy goes global and all of the sudden the jobs do start to leave America and the plants start to move overseas because the boss can make more money putting the plant in Mexico or Sri Lanka or wherever the case might be, and my expectations are not being met, then I'm the one who has the harder time coping. I'm going to be the one who's going to turn to that politician as the way to give me an answer for the pain and the insecurity and the anxiety and the stress that I'm experiencing.

News reporter

Who you voting for?

White man

Donald Trump

News reporter

Who you voting for?

White man

Donald Trump.

White man

Donald Trump.

News reporter

No question?

White men

No question.

News reporter

And you're gonna base your decision on what?

White man

I think we're on the brink. The working man, the working-class man, is gonna be in extinction.

Tim Wise

This idea that you might be a blue-collar guy, but by god, if you're willing to work hard, or as the old saying goes, if you're strong, or have a strong back and can lift stuff, there'll always be jobs for you. Well, historically that was true. Throughout most of human history, the economy has been centered around modes of production that generally played to men because they put a premium on physical strength. So, whether it was agriculture and farming, or whether it was heavy industry. But now we're in an era where the economy is mostly about, you know, analysis and it's about service. It's an economy that isn't based on physicality, per se. It's based on analytical skills, communication skills. Well, those are skills that are distributed much more diffuse. They're much more broadly distributed. Men don't have the bulk of those skills. Whereas from a physical strength perspective certain things advantage men. And so now, they're only gonna get maybe 50% of those jobs. Whereas when it was heavy industry, they might have been able to count on 80% of those jobs. So, the notion of traditional masculinity is being challenged by an economy that now is increasingly one that relies on the labor of both men and women. And that's happening at the same time that America has been increasingly multicultural and racially diverse. Religious minorities and even totally non-religious folks gaining access. Young people increasingly saying they don't have any religious attachments or faith at all. LGBTQ folks gaining opportunity, access, and visibility. And that combination of cultural change along with global economic shifts and patterns in the economy, along with the election of the first black president in 2008, along with a popular culture that is thoroughly multicultural, all of those things have combined to create a sort of perfect storm of white male anxiety.

News host

All the polls say the same thing. Donald Trump's rise is being fueled largely by white men, who are both angry and furiously angry!

Luntz

What are you so angry at?

White man

Right now, we are looking at a situation where we're paying as much for refugees and immigrants in this country as we paying for our VA veteran's care right now.

Tim Wise

And so, you have politicians who appeal not just to whiteness, but also to that traditional masculinity. I mean Donald Trump is a perfect textbook example of this. Someone who essentially, for all intent and purpose, was signaling to white men in particular, the need to recapture this dominant masculinity. Look at his rhetoric on the campaign trail.

Trump

Did you see where Biden wants to take me to the back of the barn? Me. He wants it. I'd love that. I'd love that! Mr. Tough Guy. You know when he's Mr. Tough Guy? When he's standing behind a microphone by himself. That's when he's ... He wants to bring me to the back of the barn. Oooh.

Jeb Bush

This is a tough business.

Trump

Oh, I know. You're a tough guy, Jeb. I know.

Bush

And we need to have a leader that is ...

Trump

Real tough. You're real tough.

Bush

You're never going to be President of the United States by insulting your way to the presidency ...

Trump

Well, let's see I'm at 42 and you're at 3. So, so far, I'm doing better. So far, I'm doing better.

Bush

Doesn't matter, doesn't matter.

Tim Wise

He would make fun of his opponents in a very sort of emasculating way.

Trump

This little guy has lied so much ...

Marco Rubio

Here we go.

Trump

...about my record.

Rubio

Here we go.

Trump

And then I have to listen to a little guy like Rubio say, "oh, he's a con man, he's a con man."

Trump

Now, I've met much tougher people than Ted Cruz. He's like a baby, compared to some of the people I have to do... He is like a little baby! Soft, weak, little baby.

Trump

He's a pussy. That's terrible. Terrible.

Trump

Let me, let me tell you about Mitt Romney. That was an election that he should have won, and he lost. And he should just go away and let the big boys do it now.

Trump

And then he apologized like a little baby. Like a disgusting, little, weak, pathetic baby. And that's the problem with our country.

Tim Wise

There were discussions openly in the Republican primary about the size of Donald Trump's penis as opposed to those of his opponents.

Trump

Look at those hands. Are they small hands? And he referred to my hands, if they're small, something else must be small. I guarantee you there's no problem. I guarantee.

Tim Wise

I mean, it's politically essentially the equivalent of grabbing your balls. Right? This is essentially a way of flipping off all the people you don't like. It's right-wing virtue signaling.

Trump

Oh, we have a protester. We have a protester.

Tim Wise

He would make fun of a protester by saying, "Go back to mommy, go back to mommy."

Trump

Looks like a nice little guy actually. Go home to mommy. Bye. Go home to mommy. Go home to mommy. Tell her to tuck you in bed.

Trump

Oh, here's another one. Go home to mom. Go home to mommy.

Tim Wise

There were times in rallies when Donald Trump would tell his crowd, "Go beat the hell out of that person. And if you do, I'll pay your legal bills."

Trump

Knock the crap out of him, would you? Seriously, okay? Just knock the hell... I promise you I will pay for the legal fees. I promise.

Tim Wise

Or there used to be a time back in the day when someone like that protester "would be taken outta here on a stretcher."

Trump

I love the old days. You know what they used to do to guys like that when they were in a place like this? They'd be carried out on a stretcher, folks. I'd like to punch him in the face. I'll tell ya.

Show host

It's a shocking moment as a Trump supporter cold cocks a protester. Boom! An elbow right to the face. The guy who smacked him goes right back to his seat.

Reporter

Did you like the event?

Trump supporter

You bet I liked it.

Reporter

What did you like about it?

Trump supporter

Knocking the hell outta that big mouth. We don't know who he is, but we know he's not acting like an American.

Reporter

So, he deserved it?

Trump supporter

Yes, he deserved it! The next time we see him we might have to kill him.

Tim Wise

It's this old-school masculinity that's based on physicality, right? That's based on this mentality of domination and control.

Trump

Look at all these strong people out here in the audience. See, years ago, I would have said, "look at all these strong men." But today, if you say that, they say, "You're sexist. That's horrible." Hillary Clinton would say, "That was a horrible statement. He said look at the strong men. He should say, look at the strong people." It has gotten so outta control, I have to tell you. It is so outta control.

Tim Wise

One of the others ways that Donald Trump played into white masculine anxiety was by talking about the way in which political correctness had become this stifling blanket on free speech. That somehow men just couldn't say the things they used to say anymore.

Trump

Political correctness is hurting us. It's taking too long. It takes too long. It's like everything has to be worded a certain way.

Tim Wise

We can't make the sexist joke. We can't grab the woman at the office on the ass anymore. We can't make jokes about grabbing women by the genitals without being thought of, surprise, surprise, as a sexual predator.

Megyn Kelly

You've called women you don't like fat pigs, dogs, slobs, and disgusting animals. You once told a contestant on *Celebrity Apprentice*, it would be a pretty picture to see her on her knees. Does that sound to you like the temperament of a man we should elect as president? And how will you answer the charge from Hillary Clinton, who is likely to be the Democratic nominee, that you are part of the war on women?

Trump

I think the big problem this country has is being politically correct. And frankly, what I say, and oftentimes, it's fun, it's kidding, we have a good time. What I say is what I say.

News reporter

It may not be a full endorsement, by we certainly know who Clint Eastwood wants in the White House. In an interview with *Esquire* magazine, Hollywood's tough guy says Trump is “onto something, because secretly everybody's getting tired of political correctness, kissing up. That's the kiss-ass generation we're in right now. Everybody's walking on eggshells.”

Pence

He's a doer in a game usually reserved for talkers. And when he does his talking, he doesn't go tiptoeing around all those thousands of rules of political correctness that the media puts in the way.

Tim Wise

And for a lot of white men, there's certainly an appeal to that that I think is often misunderstood when we talk only about race without connecting it to gender, without relating it to sexuality, because he's also sort of a traditional alpha-heterosexual male. I mean, this is a guy who brags really about really committing sexual assault on tape.

Trump

I did try and fuck her. She was married.

News reporter

A new video sending shock waves through the presidential race tonight. Taping an interview in 2005 with the TV show *Access Hollywood*, Donald Trump speaking in vulgar terms about his pursuit of women.

Trump

Grab them by the pussy. I can do anything.

News reporter

In the clip obtained by the *Washington Post*, Trump tells host Billy Bush that he's not always successful in those efforts.

Trump

I moved on her like a bitch, but I couldn't get there, and she was married.

Tim Wise

And guys sort of give him a pass on that.

Male Trump supporter

I think it's just locker room talk. Guys in a bar talk that way when they see a pretty girl, what are you gonna say?

Scott Baio

Ladies out there. This is what guys talk about when you're not around. So, if you're offended by it, grow up.

Tim Wise

And sadly, some women do as well.

Reporter

I've been paying attention to the mainstream media, and they keep saying that Trump is a misogynist and that women shouldn't be voting for Trump. How did you beat the brainwashing?

Female Trump supporter

Okay, I've been married for 62 years. My husband talks just like him.

Female Trump supporter

Yeah, he talks stupid, but all men do it. I've worked with men my whole life. And yeah, they do talk like that. You know, you gotta beat 'em off with a stick sometimes. *[laughs]*

Tim Wise

This is someone who's commitment to that alpha-imagery, right, in terms of his three marriages, the women that he's that dated, the women that he's been connected to. This is sort of a very traditional masculine fantasy image, right, that Donald Trump has created that guys gravitate to. As opposed to someone like Barack Obama who was seen as cerebral. And cerebral means beta, right? Cerebral means you're not an alpha-male, you're not strong enough, you wear mom jeans or something, you know, something they accused Obama of doing.

Palin

The perception of him and his potency across the world is one of such weakness. And you know, look it, people are looking at Putin as one who wrestles bears and drills for oil. They look at our president as one who wears mom jeans and equivocates and bloviates.

Tim Wise

You're not tough enough. You're too articulate, you know. You speak like a professor. And Donald Trump certainly doesn't do that.

Trump

Somebody criticized me the other day because they asked me what I'd do and I said, "I'm gonna bomb the shit out of them." It's true. I don't care. I don't care. They've gotta be stopped.

Tim Wise

So, we've sort of gone from the, you know, "I want a president that I can sit and have a beer with," to, you know, "I want a president who I could count on to beat the hell out of somebody at the bar if things got out of control."

Trump

We gotta go and we gotta knock the shit outta these people. We gotta do it. We gotta do it.

Tim Wise

And there are actually folks on the right who have articulated that kind of notion that this is a real man. This is the kind of guy that we want in place because he can kick ass and take names.

Sebastian Gorka

Our foreign policy has been a disaster. We've neglected and abandoned our allies. We've emboldened our enemies. You know the message I have, it's a very simple one. It's a bumper sticker, Sean. The era of the pajama boy is over January 20th and the alpha-males are back.

Trump

You know the movies, shoot first, talk later, right? Right? Right? Shoot first, you talk about it later!

Tim Wise

And so, there's a whiteness piece. There's a toxic masculinity piece. There's a heteronormative, sort of, straight-dominance piece. All of which is very much part of the Trump phenomenon.

MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES**Tim Wise**

While it might seem like there's not a lot of good news to be had at a moment like this, and obviously quite a bit of concern about the direction of the country, the fact is at every single other point in American history where rich white men did the very same thing, told not-rich white folks that their enemies were black and brown, there've always been people who have pushed back.

Crowd *[singing]*

Freedom!

Tim Wise

In fact, many of the things that we take for granted today, and that are under attack today by the right, are things that were fought for by previous generations of committed progressive activists

both white and of color. There's no fundamental reason why we can't do that again. There's no fundamental reason why we can't learn from the past.

Crowd [*chanting*]
Black Lives Matter!

Tim Wise

And right now, you've got groups from Black Lives Matter to Black Youth Project 100 leading that fight.

Activist

BYP 100 demands a divestment from these systems that continue to dehumanize, shackle, and kill black people and an immediate investment in black futures.

Crowd [*chanting*]
We coming! We ready!

Tim Wise

For those of us who are white, what we need to take away from the last 400 years of struggle, is that ultimately there won't be any progress toward a truly socially just society, unless we're involved in that struggle. People of color obviously have tried for generations to speak to us, and sometimes they get through. But, ultimately, it isn't people of colors' job to fix us. It isn't people of colors' job to convince us of the need for solidarity; that's our work. We have to struggle with our people, we have to be the ones who sit down with other whites just like men have to sit down with other men and challenge them around sexism and misogyny and rape culture. Women can't be asked to do all of that work. Women can't take on the burden of fixing the toxic masculinity that is behind sexism or misogyny. Just as people of color can't be given the task and all the responsibility for challenging white supremacy, this was our creation, it was our monster, and, ultimately, we have to be involved in helping to slay it.

News anchor

President Donald Trump's first full day in office met by one of the largest inauguration-related demonstrations in U.S. history. A sea of protesters...

Tim Wise

The good news is that ever since the election of Donald Trump there has been a groundswell of support for radical and progressive activism.

News anchor

And not just here in the nation's capital, millions marched in cities around the country, from Los Angeles to St. Louis, Chicago to Boston.

Tim Wise

Hundreds of thousands of people, not just in the traditional suspect communities where you might expect it on the coasts of this country, but even in the middle of this country. 15,000 people in Nashville, Tennessee, thousands of people in Des Moines, Iowa, people all around the country in

communities not known for their progressive or radical activism, showing up and saying that we need a different kind of politic than that which Trumpism offers us.

Angela Davis

Those who still defend the supremacy of white, male, hetero-patriarchy, had better watch out. The next fourteen hundred and fifty-nine days, of the Trump administration will be fourteen hundred and fifty-nine days of resistance. This is just the beginning. And in the words of the inimitable Ella Baker, "We who believe in freedom, cannot rest until it comes."

Tim Wise

You have groups from SURJ – Showing Up for Racial Justice – which is a white, anti-racist group with 125 chapters all around this country, where you have white folks going into white communities and having conversations about police brutality aimed at black folks.

White woman

We're going to have to go through a period of struggle in this community, and that is uncomfortable, especially for those of us who are white, but it is necessary.

Tim Wise

That takes a certain degree of courage to do that. That takes a certain degree of commitment that we haven't really seen in white communities for a long time.

Black man

I've been to other events. First time I've been to one that was specifically sponsored by white allies. And so, that was main reason why I wanted to come out today, to support our white brothers and sisters, who are out here showing up for black lives. I think that's very important work and we need more of that.

Tim Wise

So, at the one hand, we know that Trumpism has given rise to a new overt white nationalism. It's obviously a concern. But the question is, why is it that when 300 white supremacists, white nationalists, show up in places like Virginia, for instance, that's front-page news? And when you have thousands of white folks in hundreds of chapters involved with SURJ in going into white communities and challenging white supremacy, we don't hear about that at all. Well, the reason is, it's hard for us to get our head around what white ally-ship looks like. But it's happening, just as male ally-ship is happening. Is it enough? No. Is it sufficient? No. Is it the job of white folks to lead this struggle? Of course not. It's the job of people of color to do that. But we have to be there, we have to be involved, and we have to turn back this 400-year tendency to identify with our skin at the sacrifice of our humanity.

When you look at something like the African-American History and Culture Museum that just opened in Washington, DC recently, and you see the trajectory of resistance. And you see the way that against far worse odds than we face now, black folks, often with very little in the way of white allies and white solidarity, were able to push back the forces of enslavement, were able to push back the forces of lynching, were able to push back the forces of segregation and win major victories, not enough, but nonetheless major victories. I find it absurd that anyone would think we

needed to give up hope now. We can learn from those examples the kind of work that we need to continue to do. We can take strength from the examples of people who fought far bigger monsters, far badder monsters than Donald Trump, or the movement of which he's a part.

Martin Luther King, Jr. *[voiceover]*

Let us march on segregated schools until every vestige of segregated and inferior education becomes a thing of the past. Let us march on poverty until no American parent has to skip a meal so that their children may eat. Let us march on ballot boxes, march on ballot boxes until race-baiters disappear from the political arena. Let us march on ballot boxes until the misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs will be transformed into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens. Let us march on ballot boxes until the Wallaces of our nation tremble away in silence. Let us march on ballot boxes until we send to our city councils, state legislatures, and the United States Congress, men who will not fear to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy god. Let us march on ballot boxes.

[END]