

Immigrant Rights, Capitalist Globalization, and the Domestic Low Wage Economy

**A Discussion Guide Produced by the
Young Democratic Socialists**

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Introduction: Why Read This Guide?

The topic of immigration in America can be difficult to discuss. People come at the issue from a wide variety of viewpoints and conversation can get heated. However, we believe that a topic being controversial is in and of itself a good reason to discuss it! As democratic socialists, we believe in economic democracy in addition to a thriving political democracy; where communities come together to discuss important issues and problems and find solutions that improve all of our lives.

We believe that the best activists combine action and theory, and that by taking the time to explore the issues around immigration, YDSers will become more effective advocates for immigrant rights and democratic socialism. This is an opportunity to explore the political terrain in which we fight and the root problems caused by capitalism, white supremacy, and other systems of oppression.

This discussion guide contains ten sets of articles and questions. It's best to go through the guide in order as listed in the table of contents, and we encourage you to try to go through the entire guide to get a well-rounded view of the "immigration issue" (which is really an issue of American foreign policy, capitalist globalization, and institutionalized racism).

As this guide is designed for group discussion, we recommend that you rotate facilitators (if possible) so that multiple people learn to moderate. There is a facilitator's guide and suggestions to help conversation along for each set of readings and questions.

A successful study group has a core of people who participate on a regular basis, meeting at the same day, time and location. This guide can be used by a small group of YDSers, but we encourage you to reach out to other progressive groups in your community or campus, and/or to publicize the discussion group widely to attract new folks.

We have included a feedback form at the end of the guide and welcome new article ideas, constructive criticism, kudos, or other thoughts.

In solidarity,

The Young Democratic Socialists

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Facilitator's Guide

Facilitators play a key role in creating a positive and respectful learning environment. You may want to rotate facilitators after each meeting, as long as new folks understand the responsibilities it entails. For each set of discussion questions there is a facilitator's cheat sheet with ideas to keep discussion moving. It may be helpful to write a list of people as they raise their hands and silently indicate to them that you've added them to the list, rather than letting people interrupt each other, etc. We highly recommend that you try to discuss each and every question for each set of readings, so it's important that you keep track of time.

Tips for effective facilitating:

-Develop ground rules as a group and review them at each meeting. This can be an effective way to develop an atmosphere of trust and respect, and you can refer to them later in the meeting when needed.

-Listen to your group, and flow with how they are feeling. Good listening includes checking for non-verbal cues, such as body language.

-Encourage people to speak for themselves, rather than for a whole group.

-Equalize participation throughout the group. Remind participants each time you meet about the "Step Up, Step Back" ground rule, which states that people that tend to talk a lot should remind themselves to make space for more quiet people by talking less, and that people that tend to be quiet should remind themselves to speak up more often.

-Watch for power imbalances between individuals and groups of participants, and point them out (for example, if men are overshadowing women in the discussion or one person consistently talks for five minutes at a time).

-Challenge discrimination when it happens, without attacking the person.

-Give everyone the benefit of the doubt, and avoid making assumptions about what people will say.

-Summarize key points and highlight points of agreement. You can repeat a statement back to a participant to clarify what they have said (aka "active listening").

-Don't fish for the "right answers;" if there are important points that you want to make through a discussion (such as things you find in the facilitator's notes for each section of this guide), be sure to state it, instead of trying to lead participants into giving you the right answer.

-Even though we follow the rule of "Step Up, Step Back," allow participants to "pass" on an activity or question if they're uncomfortable.

-Be forgiving of yourself when you make a mistake. Think of it as a learning opportunity!

Facilitator "Cheat Sheet"

1 Immigration History and Myths and Facts

- 1) How has the number of immigrants and sources of migration to the US changed over time?
- 2) When did you, your family or your ancestors come to the US, from where, and why?
- 3) What discrimination, if any, did they (or you) face? What government programs, if any, were they able to use to establish themselves in the US? How did those factors impact what they thought of the US and their experiences here?
- 4) Do you notice any trends in immigration that may be related to economics? What about ways that the history of immigration to the US relates to the history of labor, civil rights and other social justice organizing in the US? To government repression of immigrant communities?

Union organizing and pressure for government support for poor people increased around the Great Depression.

During WWI Sedition laws were used to arrest and deport immigrants who advocated for popular challenges to power, such as unionization, anarchy, socialism, etc.

- 5) Which of the "immigration myths" have you heard the most from other people or the media? Why do you think people believe them? Why do you think people use them? Who benefits?

Capitalists and the right-wing benefits when people are afraid of, misunderstand, or hate each other, because it's easier to divide them.

The media legitimizes right-wing myths by repeating them and allowing far-right wingers to speak without identifying their real political agenda.

2 International "Push" Factors

- 1) What are the three main reasons that people immigrate to the US and other developed countries? Are they related, and if so, how?

War and violence at home, economic factors, keeping family and community together.

- 2) What are some examples of past or current state or societal violence that push people to leave their home countries?

- Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS) that increase poverty.
- Homophobia and patriarchal oppression from family, community, or the state (arrest and execution of LGBT people in Iran and Saudi Arabia, long prison sentences for any woman that gets an abortion in Nicaragua).
- Political repression (ex, Argentina's Dirty War where 30,000 people "disappeared" and were tortured and murdered by the government)
- War (exs, US' supporting coup d'etats and civil wars in various countries, such as El Salvador and Guatemala, and funding right-wing paramilitaries in Columbia and elsewhere, etc.)

- 3) What are some examples of structural adjustment programs (SAPs), on of the main tools of capitalist globalization? Who creates these policies, and who implements them?

- "Welfare Reform" in the U.S.
- Privatizing water in Bolivia.
- Denying union organizing rights.
- Cuts to social programs like schools and health care.
- Opening up of markets to allow investment by foreign banks and import by foreign products.

- 4) What are the effects of capitalist globalization? Do SAPs qualify as structural violence if no guns are used?

Rising poverty, misery, chronic ill health and death, in both the US and other countries.

If we define violence as deliberately taking away people's ability to survive, even in the face of clear evidence that one's policies are doing so, yes, SAPs are structural violence,

- 5) What kind of choices do immigrants from developing countries have in the context of capitalist globalization?

Obviously, very few real choices.

- 6) Right wing arguments that undocumented immigrants should be punished mainly because they're breaking the law are popular to a lot of people. How would you argue that this is not the main issue? How would you explain the slogan "no human being is illegal"?

-Unjust laws should be challenged and changed.

-Our government's policies force people here, but then we punish them once they arrive (they're between a rock and a hard place).

-Why call the immigrants illegal when the corporations are violating human rights?

3 Border Militarization and Invasion Rhetoric

- 1) Has the US government's funding of increased border militarization cut the number of people crossing the border? What has been the impact on taxpayers? On people crossing the border? Who benefits from this increased funding?

No, increased militarization has not decreased border crossings.

More people come now than before increased militarization, and they stay longer because it's more dangerous to cross the border.

The arms and security industry directly benefits, as do fearmongers who want to equate immigrants with terrorists.

- 2) Why does it take so long for visa and green card applications to be processed? Who benefits from this delay?

There are not enough people to process visa and green card applications because the federal government doesn't want to pay for more workers.

The people who benefit are employers who want scared workers, arms manufacturers and capitalists who want a divided working class.

- 3) What would be some of the effects of enforcing current immigration law at workplaces rather than the border? What would such enforcement need to look like to truly improve the rights of immigrant workers?

Increased danger for immigrant workers because of increased inspections of work sites.

You would need strong employer sanctions so that they truly stopped employing undocumented workers, but protections for workers caught in the crossfire.

- 4) Many other countries allow dual citizenship and voting. Who benefits here in the US when many immigrant workers can't vote? How does this impact the political climate in our communities? How might that climate change if immigrants could vote on local issues?

More community members would have a voice, which is always good.

- 5) Anti-immigrant pundits use rhetoric that invokes an invasion of immigrants from Mexico. Who benefits when this language becomes mainstream?

Why does it appeal to many Americans? Are the problems these pundits list off (crowded schools, job loss, etc.) the fault of immigrants?

The people that benefit are those that want to get rid of immigrants.

This message makes sense to many Americans because, yes, our public services ARE overcrowded and sometimes low quality.

However, these problems are because the right-wing deliberately underfunds social programs (this is one example of a Structural Adjustment Program that international monetary institutions force countries to adopt, not just in developing countries but in the U.S. as well). We spend a huge portion of the federal budget on war and very little on social programs.

- 6) Some anti-immigrant activists have an anti-corporate message (even if they personally profit from corporate malfeasance). Why might that be?

An anti-corporate message makes sense in an age of economic insecurity.

Therefore, some capitalists use that anger at economic realities and direct it towards immigrants, as a convenient scapegoat, when it's the capitalist economic policies that are in fact to blame. Many grassroots activists then pick up the message without questioning it.

4 Scapegoating of Immigrant Women

- 1) What do the authors mean by the “feminization of labor” and the “feminization of migration”?

Increasingly, women are feeling and often become most impacted by the negative effects of transnational migration and increasingly bad wages and working conditions for workers.

- 2) What are the “3D” jobs and why do women workers of color tend to do them? How does this relate to the concept of “intersecting oppressions”?

Dirty, Dangerous, Dull.

Women of color, especially immigrants, face a combination of racism, sexism and oppression based on nationality. They therefore have quite different experiences of oppression from white women, American citizens, men of color, etc.

Women of color are generally relegated to the bottom rungs of the economic system, like non-unionized service work and unregulated jobs in the informal economy like child care or house cleaning, unfortunately facing oppression from government, employers and even other workers who are men or white women.

- 3) What is the “*triple jomada* / triple shift”? How is the triple shift dynamic similar or different for white middle class women as it is for working class immigrant women? Who benefits from the triple shift dynamic?

Labor in the workplace, family and community.

Women of color and immigrant women are often seen as workhorses for dirty and dangerous jobs, overly sexual beings, or overly fertile mothers. They are not often seen as legitimate mothers nor potential career women.

Men as a group and capitalists as a group benefit, since women often take on unpaid labor: child rearing, care of the elderly or disabled, cooking and cleaning and other family tasks that maintain the workforce.

- 4) How does the “economic race to the bottom” operate within ethnic groups? States? Globally? How is this exacerbated by capitalist globalization?

Working standards and wages are constantly pushed down because they produce the cheapest product, which is the inherent goal of capitalism.

Within ethnic groups, upper classes often abandon their ethnic community by taking economic advantage of them, either on purpose or by rationalizing it as necessary to stay competitive (ex, domestic sweatshops, small businesses like stores, etc.)

Within states, good jobs move from unionized areas to non-unionized areas where they may be more racial divisions (ex, manufacturing jobs moving from Michigan to Mississippi).

Globally, good jobs go overseas where states repress unions and working standards and wages are low (ex, manufacturing jobs moving to Mexico, then moving from Mexico to China), in a global race to the bottom.

- 5) How are immigrant women abused and scapegoated for their socially prescribed roles as mothers, caregivers, and sexual beings?

Undocumented women are more vulnerable to sexual assault because they fear job loss if their boss abuses them, fear deportation if they report work or family abuse to police, etc.

Immigrant women and women of color are blamed for social ills that stem from underfunded social programs, not immigrant women and their families.

States use immigrant women's unpaid labor in the home and community to maintain a productive workforce.

- 6) What kind of government policies would empower immigrant women around economic, racial, and gender justice?

State and international enforcement of workers and women's rights, including regulation of currently unregulated industries like childcare.

Support for family reunification measures in immigration law.

Laws which punish employers but not workers.

Affirmative action and other laws which work to end racial discrimination.

Laws which prohibit law enforcement or medical workers from reporting women they suspect of being undocumented, so that they feel less fear in reporting abuse.

5 Domestic Job Loss and Union Busting

- 1) In the 1970s the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act called for the federal government to provide jobs to eradicate unemployment. How would this act, if passed into law today, impact workers? Their communities? The whole country? Who would benefit? Why is this kind of idea never talked about seriously, the way it once was?

All workers would benefit from jobs, everyone in society would benefit from more public services and public infrastructure like libraries, hospitals, etc.

- 2) Some people argue that immigrants make the low wage labor pool larger, and thus by their very presence take jobs from other low wage workers. Others say that it's not a problem of too many workers, but rather one of not enough employers willing to pay a decent wage. Which argument makes more sense? Do they inherently contradict each other?

Yes, more workers tend to depress wages – both of these arguments have a grain of truth and they don't inherently contradict each other.

It's important to look at this from a worker's rights perspective – if there is any group of workers that can be more exploited than others, everyone suffers because capitalists can play people off each other and drag down working conditions.

- 3) What are some examples of individual employer racism? Of structural racism? Who benefits?

Employers that don't hire people with "black sounding" names on resumes. Employers never hiring felons, since the prison system in this country has such profoundly racist outcomes (people of color are disproportionately sent to jail compared to white people, for the same or more minor offenses).

- 4) Why might employers, black and white, want to keep some jobs "latino only"?

The better to divide and conquer. Also, since latinos may be more likely to be undocumented, they are more exploitable.

- 5) What are structural solutions that the government could implement to the problem of the economic underdevelopment of inner city black America? What about the economic destruction of rural America? Of communities that were once thriving industrial centers with strong unions and a decent standard of living?

- Full jobs program to have unemployed people do the work that needs to get done, such as improving schools and access to health care.
- Affirmative action and investment in job training.
- Change farm subsidies to favor small farmers, not huge factory farms.
- Improve labor law.
- Keep investment and business profits local by providing incentives for local control over the Wal-Martization of America.

6 Realities of Guest Worker Programs

- 1) The US already has some guest worker like programs, such as the H1-B program for high tech workers. How does the program impact those workers? How does it impact American workers in those industries?

Workers in these programs lack full rights, and fear complaining to employers or authorities.

American workers are undermined because there is another class of workers that can be exploited, and therefore standards go down.

- 2) Why would a guest worker program make immigrants a permanent “sub-class” in our society? Who would benefit from this kind of “earned legalization” policy and how?

They would have less political and workplace rights.

Capitalists benefit because they could exploit workers wanting to “earn legalization” for extended periods of time.

- 3) How is 9/11 and the global “war on terror” exploited to make Americans fear immigrants? How has this impacted the guest worker debate?

It strengthens the argument for a guest worker program because capitalists can say that we need to track all immigrants in case terrorists sneak in the country.

- 4) What are the contradictions between a human rights vs labor supply oriented approach to immigration policy? How are developed countries increasingly moving to the left, and how are the elite classes in developing countries helping them?

Immigrants are humans before they are exploitable workers.

Developed countries are importing workers they can control into guest worker programs and forcing the sending countries to bear the social costs of supporting the workers through education, etc., while at the same time making it harder for refugees to enter their countries, and once there, find work.

- 5) How are the issues that undocumented immigrants face when they are victims of sexual abuse at home or at work similar or different from those of undocumented men?

There is a similar fear to involve law enforcement, but there are also social stigmas that are less likely to effect men in a job situation as women in a sexual situation, even if it is forced.

- 6) Immigrant rights activists share similar concerns as many American workers about corporate power. How do we unite with each other against our common enemy? What are some concrete first steps?

- Education about the effects of a guest worker program.
- Education about the meaning of solidarity and how to implement it.
- Education around the root of problems.

7 Inter-Ethnic Tensions

- 1) Why might black communities fear competition from immigrants for jobs or political clout, given the realities of American history? Who benefits by division in workplaces, communities, or cities?

Blacks have had to fight hard for what little political power they have. Ever since slavery racist laws or practices have deliberately suppressed black political power. In addition, the Democratic Party takes advantage of black votes but is unable as an institution to elevate black leaders to truly agenda setting positions.

The white capitalist ruling elite benefits when black and latino or other ethnic communities fight each other instead of uniting to demand political power.

- 2) How does the empty rhetoric of "the American Dream," often employed by immigrant rights activists, exacerbate these tensions in communities? How does the presence of Asian (or other immigrant) small businesses in different ethnic communities impact these tensions?

3)

The American Dream is a mirage for most working people, but even more so for people of color. Black people are often the "last hired, first fired," and it's very difficult to succeed in an institutionally racist system, with bad schools for black communities, a racist police force and racial redlining making it virtually impossible for black small businesses or would-be homeowners to take out bank loans at reasonable interest rates.

At the same time, the rhetoric of the American Dream enables the power elite to slash social programs and blame working people and people of color for their joblessness. When immigrants rights activists talk about wanting to access the American Dream, many black people are simply reminded that it is out of reach.

Immigrant small businesses within black communities are a site of much of this kind of tension. Black entrepreneurs often lack access to loans to start up businesses, immigrant business owners often employ family members at low wages to start up and there is often a cultural and language barrier as well. Black community frustration with the underdevelopment of the cities, combined with immigrant distrust of blacks enforced by popular media, make cross-cultural understanding difficult.

- 4) Some African Americans are concerned that the language of the civil rights movement is being appropriated by the immigrants rights movement, when the black liberation movement is so clearly unfinished. What are some ways to address this legitimate worry?

The most important way that the immigrants rights movement, and the wider progressive movement, can build an alliance with the black community is by acknowledging that the civil rights movement is unfinished, and by taking concrete steps to keep the black civil rights agenda in the spotlight. This means always supporting affirmative action, talking about jobs creation programs in addition to fairness for undocumented workers and arguing for increased rights for all workers, especially the right to form unions.

- 5) There is dispute over how much immigrants contribute to black job loss, but what are some other factors that are clearly to blame? What are some concrete government programs that would improve jobs, equalize employment across races, and help all workers improve their standard of living?

-Deindustrialization as unionized manufacturing jobs were moved to Mexico and then China due to NAFTA and CAFTA.

-Cuts to federal training and job creation programs.

-Structural racism in industry and attacks on affirmative action in higher education and the workplace.

-A school funding program based on local property taxes, which ensures that poor black communities have under funded and inferior schools, rather than a state level pool of taxes that are then redistributed fairly to all communities.

-Attacks on union organizing rights.

- 6) Why would an employer resist a contractual agreement with their workers' primarily immigrant union to hire more black workers?

Bosses always want to keep people divided. Racism is used to divide workers in the vast majority of union organizing campaigns, and if workers unite across racial lines in this manner, it threatens employers.

- 7) How do global class and race divisions contribute to inter-ethnic tensions in the US? What role does internalized racism play in those tensions? Is the desire to assimilate a desire for "whiteness" or a political strategy, or both?

In most cultures of the world, the upper class wants to be lighter skinned to be able to gain the benefits of whiteness. Past waves of immigrants to the US struggled to be white over time (Italians, for example), and in many countries, such as Mexico, the darker skinned a person is, whether because of indigenous or African slave roots, the lower class one is viewed by others. There is a certain level of internalized racism that individuals absorb from popular culture, and some immigrants to the US would rather bypass affiliation with communities of color and gain the social standing that comes with being viewed as "white" aka

as normal, upstanding, law-abiding citizens, a construction created by a racist culture.

8 Anti-Immigrant Organizations

- 1) How have working class people responded to economic hard times in the past? How is their response different now, since 9/11?

They have often blamed immigrants, as “outsiders”. Now they call immigrants a threat to national security, not just an economic threat.

- 2) Today, people immigrate to rural areas just as often as urban areas. How has this shift from the past, when the bulk of immigration was to urban areas, changed the debate about immigration?

There seems to be more fear of “cultural change” from small town whites than from in the city. The impact of immigration is more immediately felt.

Some residents are happy that immigrants revitalize the local economy.

- 3) Given the fact that the United States was founded on the genocide of indigenous people and enslavement of Africans, and racism continues today, it’s not surprising that white Americans tend to see the world from a different perspective than people of color, with less of an understanding of the structural racism that exists today. How might this reality of racism and lack of clarity of how foreign policy and immigration laws impact immigrants, explain some of the ways that people respond to immigrants? For example, how might it impact the way that Theresa Harmon reacts the way she does in “White Heat” paragraph #3.

Many people believe in negative stereotypes about immigrants and different cultures, for example that Mexican immigrants are dirty or lazy.

In this example, there is a lack of understanding of the economic forces pushing immigrants – they are here to earn money and feed their families.

- 4) What are some examples of anti-immigrant rhetoric or stereotypes that have white-supremacist roots?

-Overpopulation as the chief environmental problem of our times.

-Phrases like “invasion” or “wave” of immigrants.

-Immigrants as terrorists or more likely to commit crimes than citizens.

-“Cultural change” as a problem sounds similar to Southern segregationists in the 60’s who were against changing their “way of life.”

- 5) Some environmentalists blame women, immigrants, or third world citizens for environmental problems. Why would the redistribution of wealth and women's empowerment actually be better solutions?

Women, because they are often agricultural workers or have the responsibility to care for children, often notice the degradation of resources sooner than men. They often recognize the impact of too many people, but have little power over their own fertility and reproduction.

If resources were redistributed, women would have less of an incentive to bear many children to take care of them in their old age. This would not take care of the patriarchal desire of men in many cultures to have many children, of course.

- 6) Do you think the immigration debate is all about race? Economic fears? Something else? How can we move people beyond fear and towards a movement for justice?

In America all politics are about race, because we have such a history of racism. The Republican party, and centrists in the Democratic party, appeal to the worst in white people instead of the best.

However, working people and the middle class are facing increasing hardship in our times, and they are legitimately looking for someone to blame.

We need to encourage education, dialog, cross-cultural sharing and joint struggle around issues of both race and economics. A message that is about working people and ALSO about fairness and equality is key, because economic messages alone have failed time and time again to build a progressive majority.

9 Post 9/11 Crackdown on Immigrant Communities

- 1) What are the class and race based aspects of the characterizations of “good” vs “bad” immigrants? If we think of the “model minority” stereotype of many Asian immigrants, how does that complicate our understanding?

Good = God fearing, law-abiding, “patriotic”.

Bad = in gangs, terrorists, drain on public resources, criminals and law-breakers (inherent in being undocumented).

Being poor can be good, but it is usually bad.

Asian people are often characterized as “model minorities” that study hard, start their own businesses and attain the American dream. This example is then held up against other immigrants (and other people of color) to prove that racism doesn’t exist in America and that it IS possible to pull yourself up by your bootstraps, even if you’re not white.

- 2) What does the author mean by “the Other”? What are the differences between “the Other” at home and abroad today? How has it changed throughout US history and why? How do age, race and gender impact characterizations of “the Other”?

The “other” is a foil for the “good” Americans, a way to instill fear. Others are always constructed as something foreign, whether literally from another place, or outside of the mainstream in terms of racial or gender norms (LGBT people and people of color, in addition to immigrants, are often put in this position). The “war on terror” makes Arabs, and any dark skinned person from outside the US, into this “other”.

- 3) What are examples of language and rhetoric that conflates immigrants with terrorists?

Language like “invasion”, “secure borders”, citizen militia and “protecting our borders”.

- 4) What are some examples of changes in federal immigration and “homeland security” policy since 9/11? How are they similar or different from policies earlier in US history?

-“Special registration,” detention and questioning of immigrants based on their country of origin.

-Deportations of immigrants from certain countries based on minor immigration charges.

- 5) What has been the impact on various communities of immigrants of new immigration policies? On Arab communities? On Latino communities? On white communities?

Arab communities are under siege and fear the government, Americans, and even each other due to government spies.

Latino communities feel the impact of increasingly virulent language coming from the right, which emboldens vigilantes.

White communities and many non-white American citizens are told to be fearful and give up their civil liberties.

The overall impact is that people are divided, rather than united through bonds of trust and solidarity.

- 6) How can we build a united movement for the rights of all people, no matter their country of origin or immigration status? How do we connect communities?

We need to encourage education, dialog and cross-cultural sharing, coupled with joint action for social justice.

10 Building Alliances for Justice

- 1) Democratic socialists believe it is not only moral but strategic to support each others' struggles, because ultimately they're all related. Why is it important that we as youth, students, workers, and people of all colors and ethnic backgrounds support the immigrants rights movement?

United we stand, divided we fall, as simple as that. More specifically, the immigrants rights movement can expose the evils of capitalist globalization and racism and help us build a movement for social justice for all. The rights of all workers, of racial and ethnic minorities and of all of us to struggle for a decent life are on the line.

- 2) All movements have tensions about who sets the agenda, those most directly effected or their supporters. Why might undocumented immigrants be concerned about other people representing them, like established organizations from their own ethnicity (such as professional national policy organizations), or grassroots organizations that are not of their ethnicity or life experiences (such as left wing student groups)?

Oppressed people must have agency, or the ability set the agenda of the movement, be cause they are the most intimately effected and have the most at stake in the outcome.

- 3) An ally is a person or organization that offers support to those most directly affected by a problem. What do each of these types of groups listed in question #2 have to offer to the immigrant's rights struggle?

Professional organizations can supply monetary and other resources, and tactical training to help understand the enemy and fight back.

Students and radical organizations can offer a deep critique of the roots of the problems and the increased power that comes from being a relatively privileged member of society, due to having access to formal higher education. This often means an ability to challenge the police or other forms of authority with the expectation of a less violent backlash.

- 4) How do we build a majoritarian movement for justice? What's the balance between offering unqualified support and adding constructive criticism or new ideas to the movement?

-Always look at problems through multiple lenses: race, gender, class, sexual orientation, citizenship status, able-ness, etc.

-Always look for the MOST marginalized and ask them if your actions would help them specifically.

-Be willing to point out inequalities that exist, but always use a language of unity rather than of division. In other words, oppression hurts, but organizing for understanding rather than polarization is key.

- 5) The article says that some pro-immigrant political elites are worried that the immigrant rights movement will make 'demands that go beyond what [the elites] have defined as politically possible.' Is it the role of progressive organization in the movement to be optimistic and visionary or pragmatic and cautious? Are they mutually exclusive? Why or why not?

Vision and pragmatism are not mutually exclusive. You're more likely to last if you're a long distance runner than if you sprint towards a goal that may not even be within reach. However, if we allow ourselves to be too cautious, it is easy to miss opportunities to be creative and proactive.

Visionary gradualism is an important tenant of democratic socialism. It says that grassroots democracy is important in and of itself, and that rather than fighting for a "vanguard"-led revolution, we should be building a majoritarian movement with broad public support for social change and winning small victories that constantly build towards democratic socialism.

- 6) Democratic socialists are committed to building an anti-capitalist, anti-racist, feminist and anti-heterosexist future. How can we support LGBT immigrants? Immigrant youth? Immigrant workers? Women immigrants? Immigrants from "high risk/high security" countries targeted by the US government in the "war on terror"?

Look at everything through multiple lenses. Never abandon the most oppressed. For example, make sure women's struggle against domestic violence incorporates the concerns of immigrant women.

-Make sure that the immigrants rights movement supports the rights of LGBT immigrants.

-Make sure that immigrants from "high risk" countries are not scapegoated in the "war on terror."

-Make sure that immigrant families are not torn apart, and that immigrant students have access to higher education.

Ideas for Local Action!

In addition to national legislation that attacks immigrants in a variety of ways, that promotes a foreign policy and economic agenda that contributes to the desperate migration of people and the economic disintegration of domestic communities, and that scapegoats communities of color, there are state and local initiatives that are crucial sites of education and action.

Some anti-immigrant campaigns to fight:

- **Employer sanctions for hiring undocumented immigrants (which have negative consequences for undocumented workers)**
- **Requiring employers to cross-check social security numbers to employ people**
- **Empowering or forcing local authorities to enforce Federal immigration law**
- **Curbing civil liberties**
- **Detaining, registering or questioning immigrants based on a group criteria**
- **Banning day laborer meeting sites and worker centers**
- **Preventing immigrants from accessing public services (public schools, hospitals, welfare, etc.)**

Some pro-immigrant campaigns to fight:

- **Creating "sanctuary cities" where there are legal prohibitions on public employees (at schools, hospitals, welfare offices, police stations, etc.) asking people about their immigration status or reporting it to the Federal government.**
- **Freedom to assemble at day-laborer meeting sites or worker centers**
- **Voting in local elections (city council, school board, etc.)**
- **Obtaining drivers licenses without Social Security numbers**
- **Union organizing rights**
- **Changes to anti-LGBTQ immigration or refugee regulations.**
- **Decreasing the costs and paperwork associated with filing for citizenship.**

Feedback Form

Who was in your discussion group?

- YDSers only YDSers + other progressive leaders
 YDSer + random folks YDSers + political opponents

How often did you hold discussion meetings?

- Weekly Bi-weekly Monthly Randomly Once or twice

How many people typically showed up?

- 5 or less 5-8 9-15 15 or more

Were people:

- All regulars Mostly regulars Mostly random

How did you advertise the meetings (if at all)?

- Emails to YDS list Emails to other progressive lists Posters before first meeting
 Regular postering Other: _____

When did people read the articles?

- Before arriving At the start of the meeting

Did you feel that the articles offered a wide range of topics related to immigration? Please explain:

Were there topics that you wish had been covered more extensively? Please explain:

Did you feel that the discussion questions were helpful? Please explain:

How would you change the discussion guide, if at all?

Do you feel like this was a useful tool for learning more about the issue of American foreign policy, capitalist globalization, immigration, and racism in America?

Please mail this form to the YDS national office: Democratic Socialists of America, 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, New York City, NY 10038.