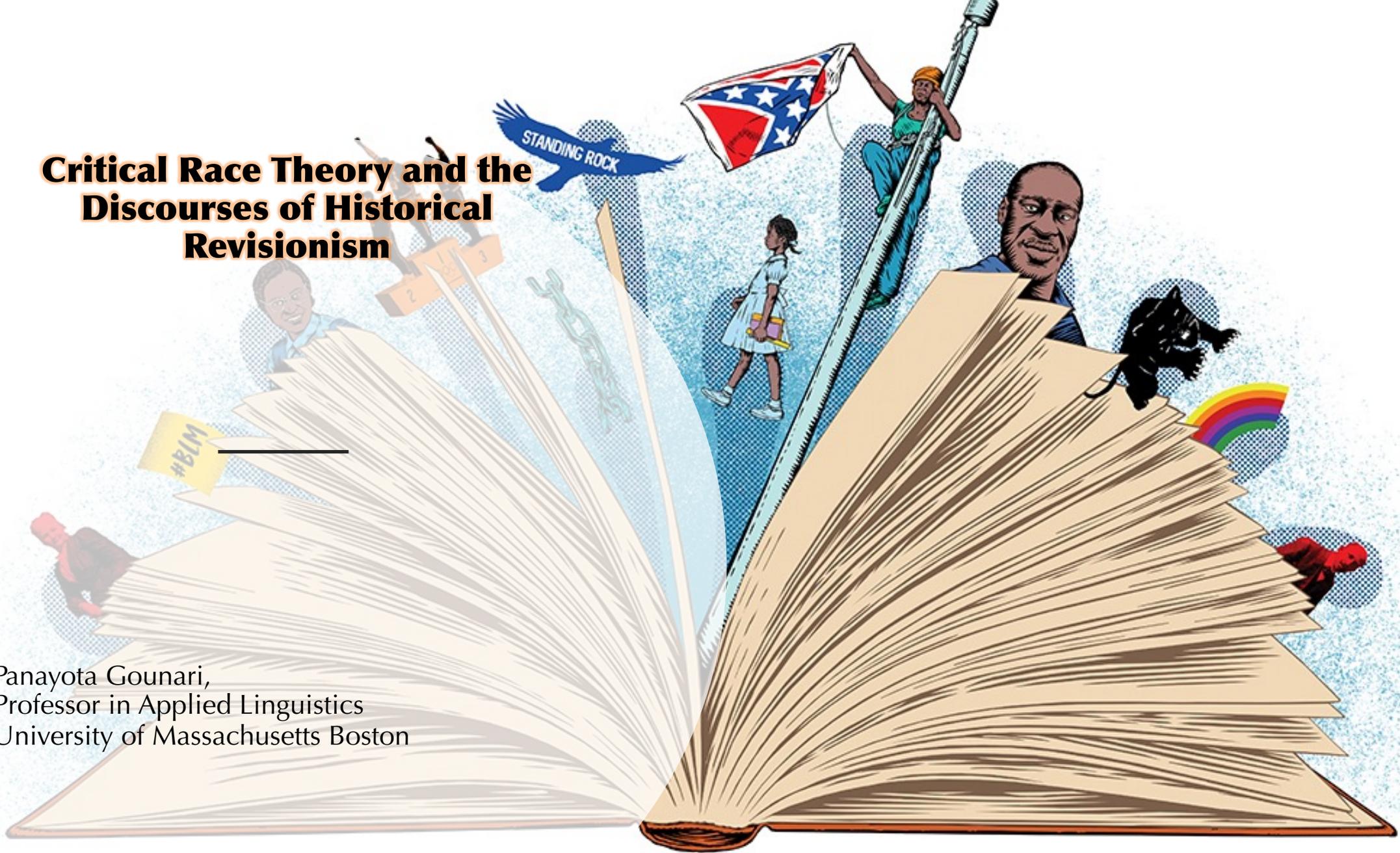
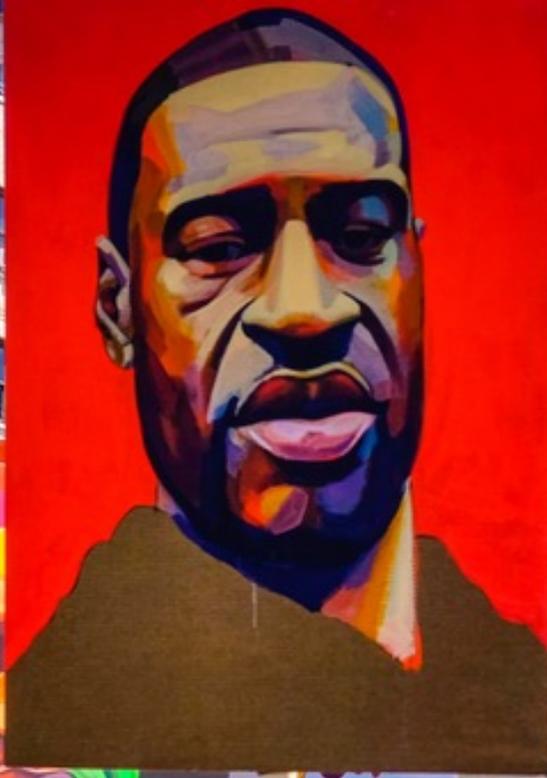


# Critical Race Theory and the Discourses of Historical Revisionism



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**JUSTICE**

**FUND  
ICE**

**WINE**

**LINE**

**LINE**

The far-right is  
unapologetically  
re-writing  
history.





Christopher F. Rufo ✕

@realchrisrufo

I learned about racism, slavery, segregation, Jim Crow, and the Trail of Tears in my K-12 education. I never learned about the Holodomor, Cultural Revolution, and 100 million dead from global communism.

American schools haven't "whitewashed" history; they've "redwashed" it.

12:45 PM · 2014 Nov 21 · Twitter Web Client

# History of (in)humanity

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There is no historical reality which is not human. There is no history without humankind, and no history for human beings; there is only **history of humanity**

(Freire, 1970, p. 169)

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# Critical Race Theory (CRT)

- Critical Legal Studies (1970s)
- “Interest-convergence” (Bell 1980)
- Race at the core of analysis
- Role of law in establishing maintaining and perpetuating racial discrimination
- Racist practices in housing, bank loans, labor practices and education
- Racism ordinary not aberrational
- Race and races products of social thought and relation

(Bell 1980; Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic 2001; Solórzano, 1997; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).



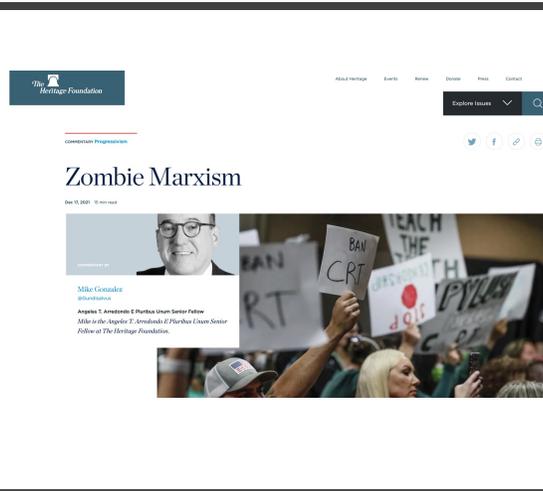


← BACK TO PRIORITIES

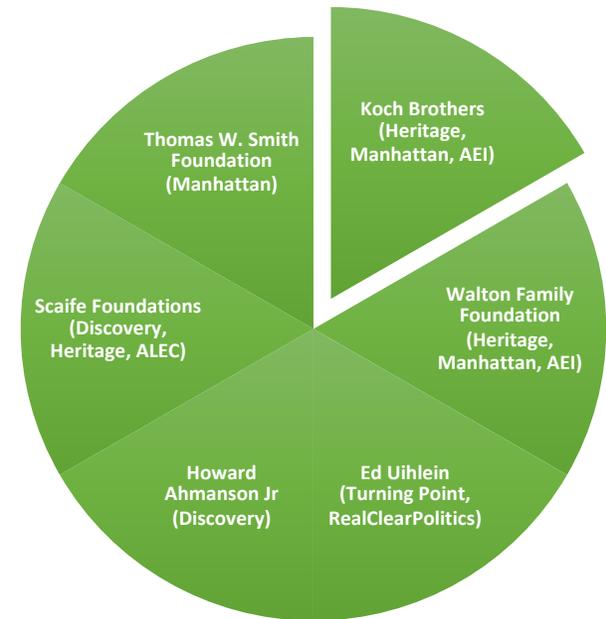
## News

### AFPI DEMANDS IOWA SCHOOL DISTRICT STOP INDOCTRINATING STUDENTS WITH CRITICAL RACE THEORY

CRAIG TRINOR



# Who is behind the backlash?



## WELCOME TO THE PARENT REVOLUTION

JOIN OUR FIGHT FOR SCHOOLS



**NO  
LEFT TURN**

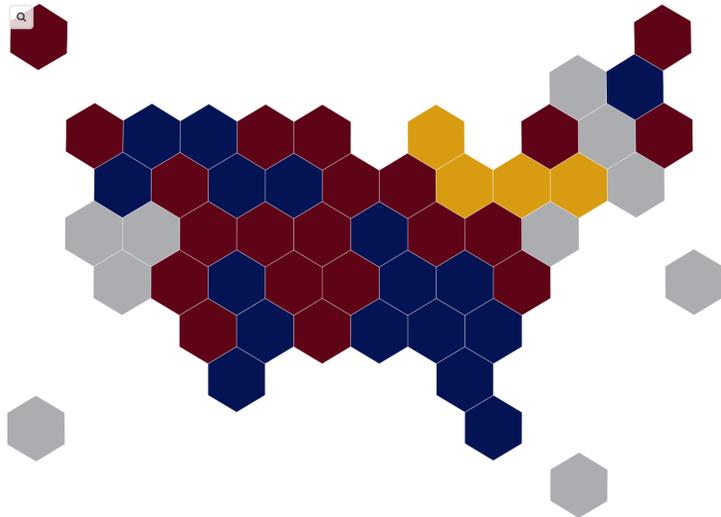
in Education

**PACT** 

Parents Against Critical Theory

- Anti-CRT Bills across the United States

- Bill was signed into law or a similar state level action was approved
- Bill has been vetoed, overturned or stalled indefinitely
- No state-level action or bill introduced
- Bill has been proposed or is moving through state legislature



Data Visualization by Emma Patti Harris and Eesha Pendharkar

15 ARTICLE 10. TRAINING AND INSTRUCTION  
 16 41-1494. Training, orientation and therapy; blame and  
 17 judgment; prohibition; political subdivisions;  
 18 annual report; definition  
 19 A. THIS STATE, A STATE AGENCY OR A CITY, TOWN, COUNTY OR POLITICAL  
 20 SUBDIVISION OF THIS STATE MAY NOT REQUIRE AN EMPLOYEE TO ENGAGE IN  
 21 TRAINING, ORIENTATION OR THERAPY THAT PRESENTS ANY FORM OF BLAME OR  
 22 JUDGMENT ON THE BASIS OF RACE, ETHNICITY OR SEX. THIS SUBSECTION DOES NOT  
 23 PRECLUDE ANY TRAINING ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT.  
 24 B. THIS STATE, A STATE AGENCY OR A CITY, TOWN, COUNTY OR POLITICAL  
 25 SUBDIVISION OF THIS STATE MAY NOT USE PUBLIC MONIES FOR TRAINING,  
 26 ORIENTATION OR THERAPY THAT PRESENTS ANY FORM OF BLAME OR JUDGMENT ON THE  
 27 BASIS OF RACE, ETHNICITY OR SEX. THIS SUBSECTION DOES NOT PRECLUDE ANY  
 28 TRAINING ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT.  
 29 C. ON OR BEFORE DECEMBER 1 OF EACH YEAR THE DEPARTMENT OF  
 30 ADMINISTRATION SHALL SUBMIT A REPORT THAT INCLUDES STATE AGENCIES IN  
 31 COMPLIANCE WITH THIS SECTION TO THE GOVERNOR, THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE  
 32 AND THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SUBMIT A COPY OF THIS  
 33 REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.  
 34 D. "BLAME OR JUDGMENT ON THE BASIS OF RACE, ETHNICITY OR SEX" MEANS  
 35 THE FOLLOWING CONCEPTS:  
 36 1. ONE RACE, ETHNIC GROUP OR SEX IS INHERENTLY MORALLY OR  
 37 INTELLECTUALLY SUPERIOR TO ANOTHER RACE, ETHNIC GROUP OR SEX.

d. Prohibit the use of curriculum that teaches the topics of sexism, slavery, racial oppression, racial segregation,

House File 802, p. 3

or racial discrimination, including topics relating to the enactment and enforcement of laws resulting in sexism, racial oppression, segregation, and discrimination.

22           (2) The Idaho legislature finds that tenets outlined in subsection  
23       (3) (a) of this section, often found in "critical race theory," undermine the  
24 objectives outlined in subsection (1) of this section and exacerbate and  
25 inflame divisions on the basis of sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, na-  
26 tional origin, or other criteria in ways contrary to the unity of the nation  
27 and the well-being of the state of Idaho and its citizens.

28           (3) In accordance with section 6, article IX of the constitution of the  
29 state of Idaho and section 67-5909, Idaho Code:

30           (a) No public institution of higher education, school district, or pub-  
31 lic school, including a public charter school, shall direct or other-  
32 wise compel students to personally affirm, adopt, or adhere to any of  
33 the following tenets:

34           (i) That any sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national  
35 origin is inherently superior or inferior;

36           (ii) That individuals should be adversely treated on the basis of  
37 their sex, race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin;  
38 or

39           (iii) That individuals, by virtue of sex, race, ethnicity, reli-  
40 gion, color, or national origin, are inherently responsible for  
41 actions committed in the past by other members of the same sex,  
42 race, ethnicity, religion, color, or national origin.

84        5. An individual, by virtue of his or her race, color,  
85        sex, or national origin, bears responsibility for, or should be  
86        discriminated against or receive adverse treatment because of,  
87        actions committed in the past by other members of the same race,  
88        color, sex, or national origin.

**Section 1. That chapter 13-1 be amended with a NEW SECTION:**

For the purposes of this Act, the term, divisive concepts, means:

- (1) That any race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin is inherently superior or inferior;
- (2) That individuals should be discriminated against or adversely treated because of their race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin;
- (3) That an individual's moral character is inherently determined by their race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin;
- (4) That an individual, by virtue of their race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or subconsciously;
- (5) That individuals, by virtue of race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin, are inherently responsible for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race, color, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin;
- (6) An individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress on account of the individual's race, color, religion, ethnicity, or national origin; or
- (7) Meritocracy or traits such as a strong work ethic are racist or sexist or were created by members of a particular race or sex to oppress members of another race or sex.



## Think Tanks

These ideas of oppression and systemic racism come from a Marxist doctrine called “critical theory.” Over the past 40 years, college professors and activists expanded critical theory into what is now called “[critical race theory](#),” a worldview that “questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law.”

- The Heritage Foundation (“[Keep Racist Critical Race Theory Ideology out of our Classrooms](#)”)
- Citizens for Renewing America (“[Combatting Critical Race Theory in your Community](#)”)

# Proposed anti-CRT legislation

- **“Divisive” or “racist or sexist” concepts**
- **Other rules related to discussing identity**
- **Banning “action civics”**
- **Curriculum transparency**
- **Prohibitions against teachers showing bias**

(Source: EdWeek, 2021)



NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

# The New Jim Crow

Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness

MICHELLE ALEXANDER

WITH A NEW FOREWORD BY CORNEL WEST

- “The deeply flawed nature of colorblindness, as a governing principle, is evidenced by the fact that the **public consensus supporting mass incarceration is officially colorblind**. It purports to see black and brown men not as black and brown, but simply as men—raceless men—who have failed miserably to play by the rules the rest of us follow quite naturally. The fact that so many black and brown men are rounded up for drug crimes that go largely ignored when committed by whites is unseen. Our collective colorblindness prevents us from seeing this basic fact. Our blindness also prevents us from seeing the racial and structural divisions that persist in society: the segregated, unequal schools, the segregated, jobless ghettos, and the segregated public discourse—a public conversation that excludes the current pariah caste. Our commitment to colorblindness extends beyond individuals to institutions and social arrangements. **We have become blind, not so much to race, but to the existence of racial caste in America**”

# Anti-CRT Arguments



- CRT is racist and divisive because it teaches people to hate each other. CRT teaches that “America is an inherently racist country and white Americans are stained with the original sin of racism for which they can never be cleansed. [CRT’s] solution is to remake the U.S., abandoning our founding documents and the capitalist system.”
- Discussions around race and slavery create discomfort, guilt and anguish and other forms of psychological distress to white students
- An individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, cannot bear responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex.
- CRT advocates the violent overthrow of the United States government
- CRT is authoritarian because it imposes a certain view
- Meritocracy is the process through which people can succeed. Individuals have the ability to succeed when they are given sufficient opportunity and are committed to seizing that opportunity through hard work, pursuit of education, and good citizenship
- Slavery and racism are nothing more than **deviations** from, **betrayals of**, or **failures** to live up to the authentic founding principles of the United States, which include liberty and equality—they are not in line with the “American values”
- Slavery and racism belong to the past. We are looking into the future, progress, prosperity, and unity.

CRT is a politicized academic 'fad' that reflects what's really ideology, not actual facts



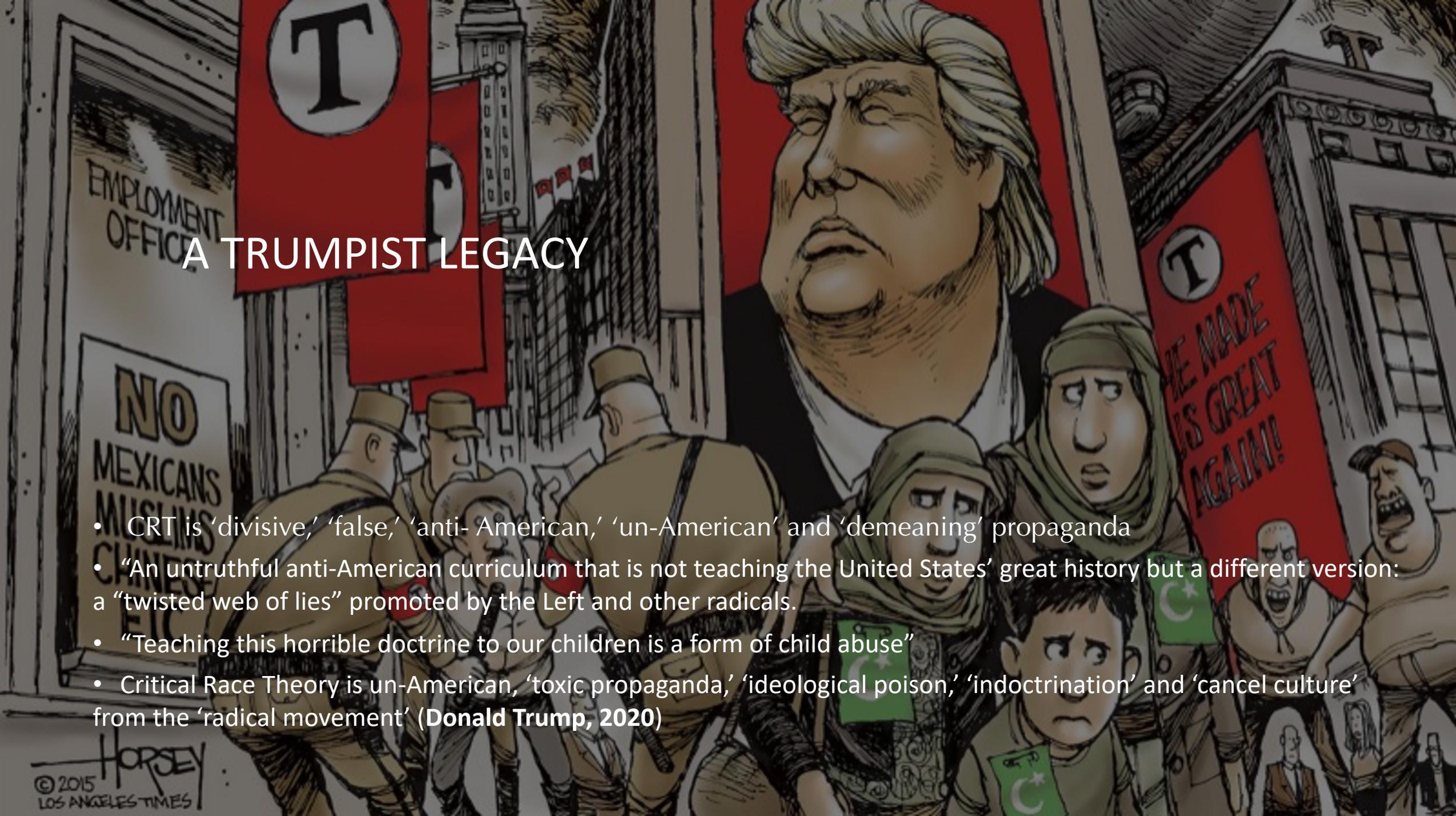
What you see now with the rise of this woke ideology is an attempt to really delegitimize our history and to delegitimize our institutions and I view the wokeness as a form of cultural Marxism

They really want to tear at the fabric of our society

**FREEDOM FROM  
INDOCTRINATION**

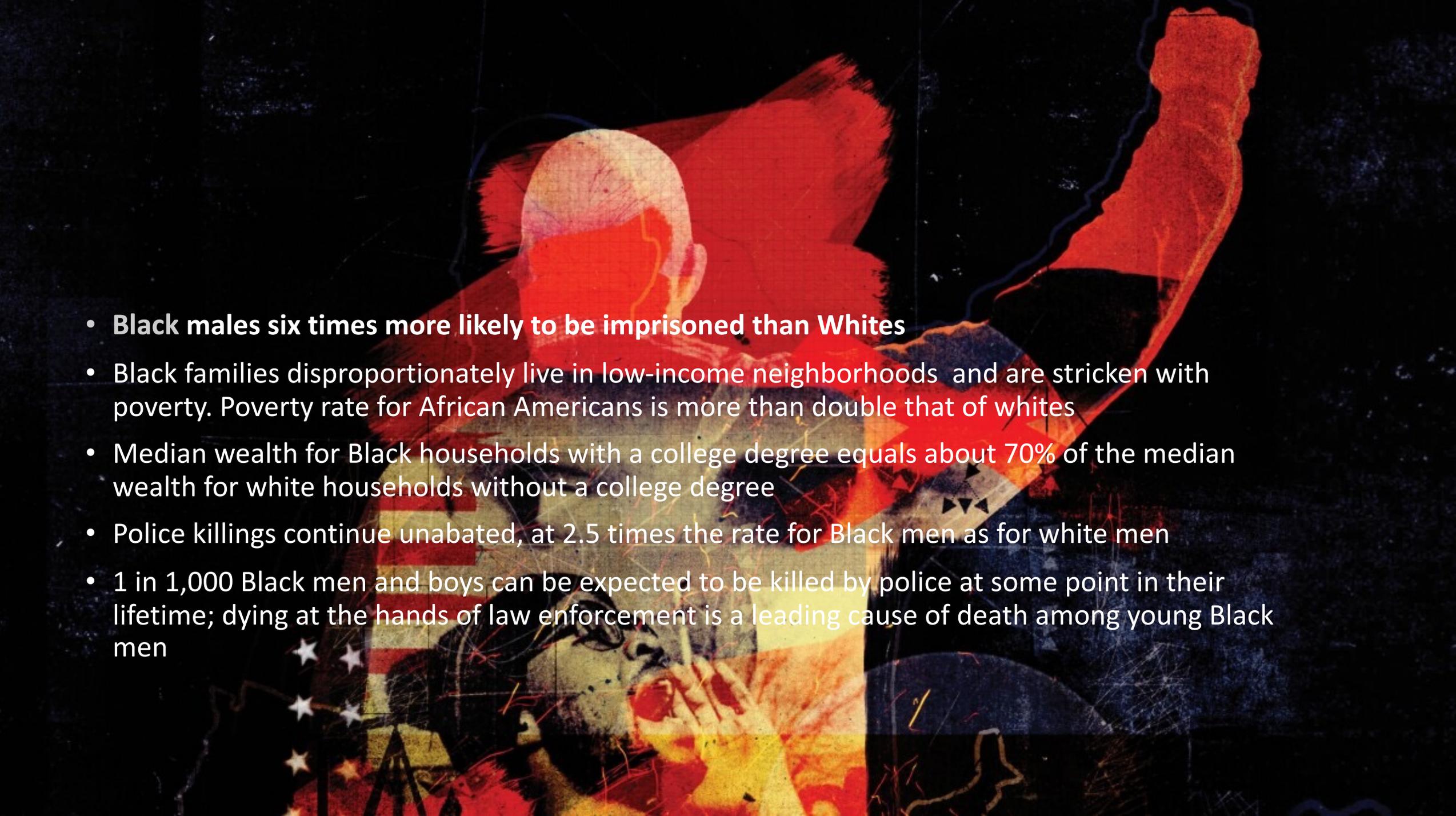
DeSantis (R,  
Florida  
Governor)





## A TRUMPIST LEGACY

- CRT is 'divisive,' 'false,' 'anti- American,' 'un-American' and 'demeaning' propaganda
- "An untruthful anti-American curriculum that is not teaching the United States' great history but a different version: a "twisted web of lies" promoted by the Left and other radicals.
- "Teaching this horrible doctrine to our children is a form of child abuse"
- Critical Race Theory is un-American, 'toxic propaganda,' 'ideological poison,' 'indoctrination' and 'cancel culture' from the 'radical movement' (Donald Trump, 2020)

- 
- **Black males six times more likely to be imprisoned than Whites**
  - Black families disproportionately live in low-income neighborhoods and are stricken with poverty. Poverty rate for African Americans is more than double that of whites
  - Median wealth for Black households with a college degree equals about 70% of the median wealth for white households without a college degree
  - Police killings continue unabated, at 2.5 times the rate for Black men as for white men
  - 1 in 1,000 Black men and boys can be expected to be killed by police at some point in their lifetime; dying at the hands of law enforcement is a leading cause of death among young Black men



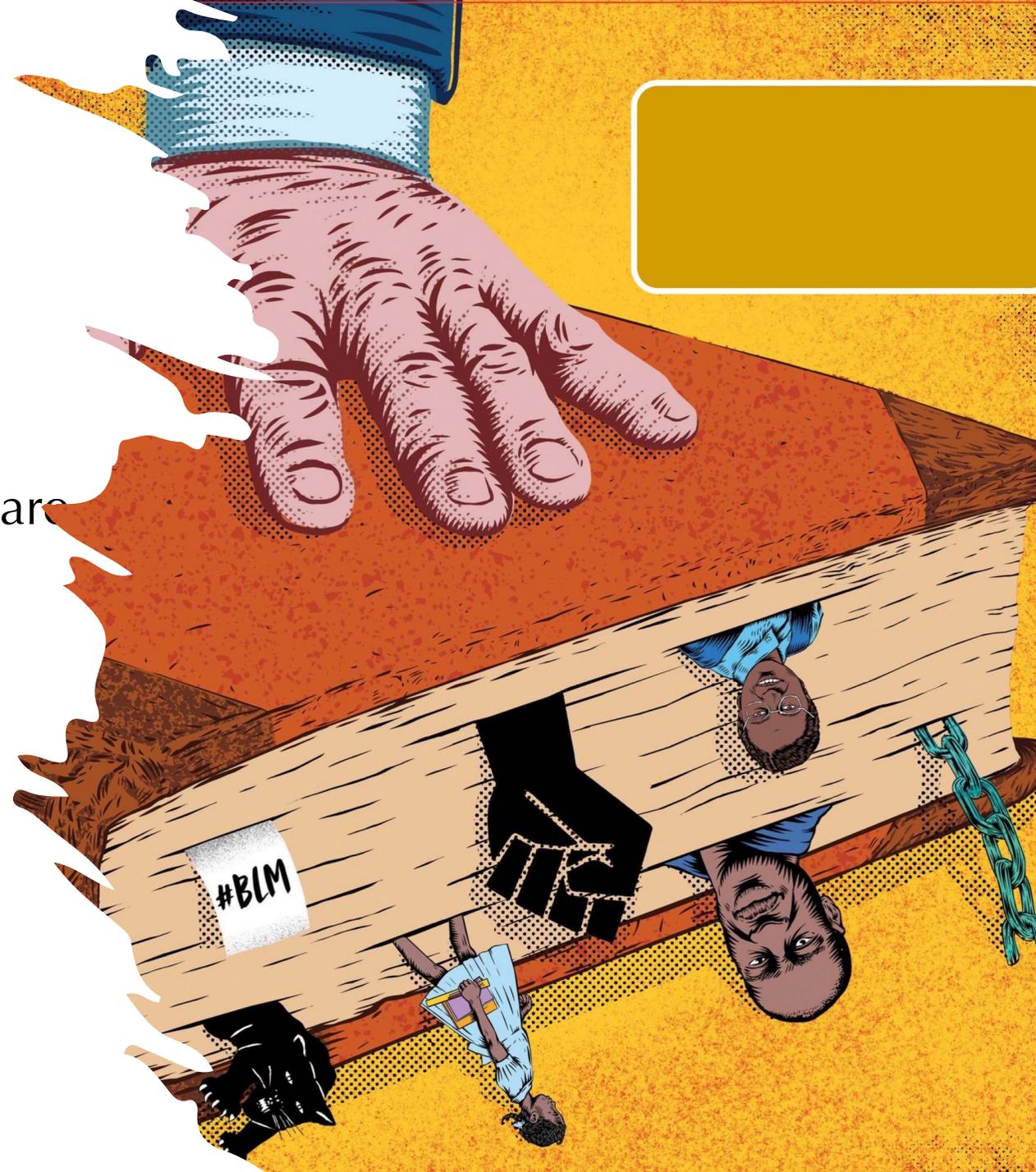
## Walter Benjamin's 'Emergency Time' and Progress

- -In positivistic history the past is a predictable continuum towards progress
- HOWEVER
- -Progress is the platform for the emergence of human atrocities
- -Fascism is a violent expression of the permanent state of emergency

# History as Discourse

History as a **retrospectively-composed** and **meaning-endowed narrative** is always construction and fictionalization. Historical phenomena as the result of social processes are borne out of contradiction, conflict, and the struggle over meaning. In this struggle, some events “will become carriers of consensual values and ideals” and will “therefore have value as objects in collective memory.”

(Heer et al. 2008, p.1)



## Historical revisionism

Revisionism is really about “**the political and ideological goals of revisions**” because “many historical revisions usually accused of ‘revisionism’ imply an ethical and political turn in our vision of the past” (Traverso, 2019, p. 124).



# Instrumentalism

- “As good as it never happened” Devil on Goethe’s *Faust* (Adorno 2005)
- Destruction of memory: “actions committed in the past”
- “The murdered are to be cheated out of the single remaining thing that our powerlessness can offer them: remembrance” (Adorno 2005, p. 91).
- Revisionism generates historical relativism

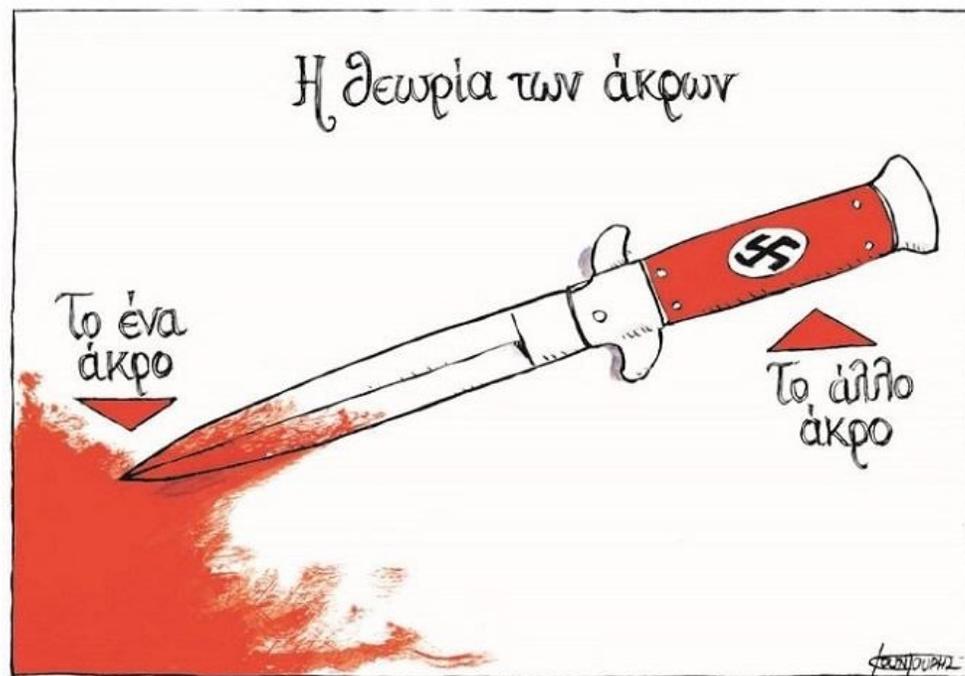


# Highly Individualized Versions of History

- Historical relativism
- The individual is at the core



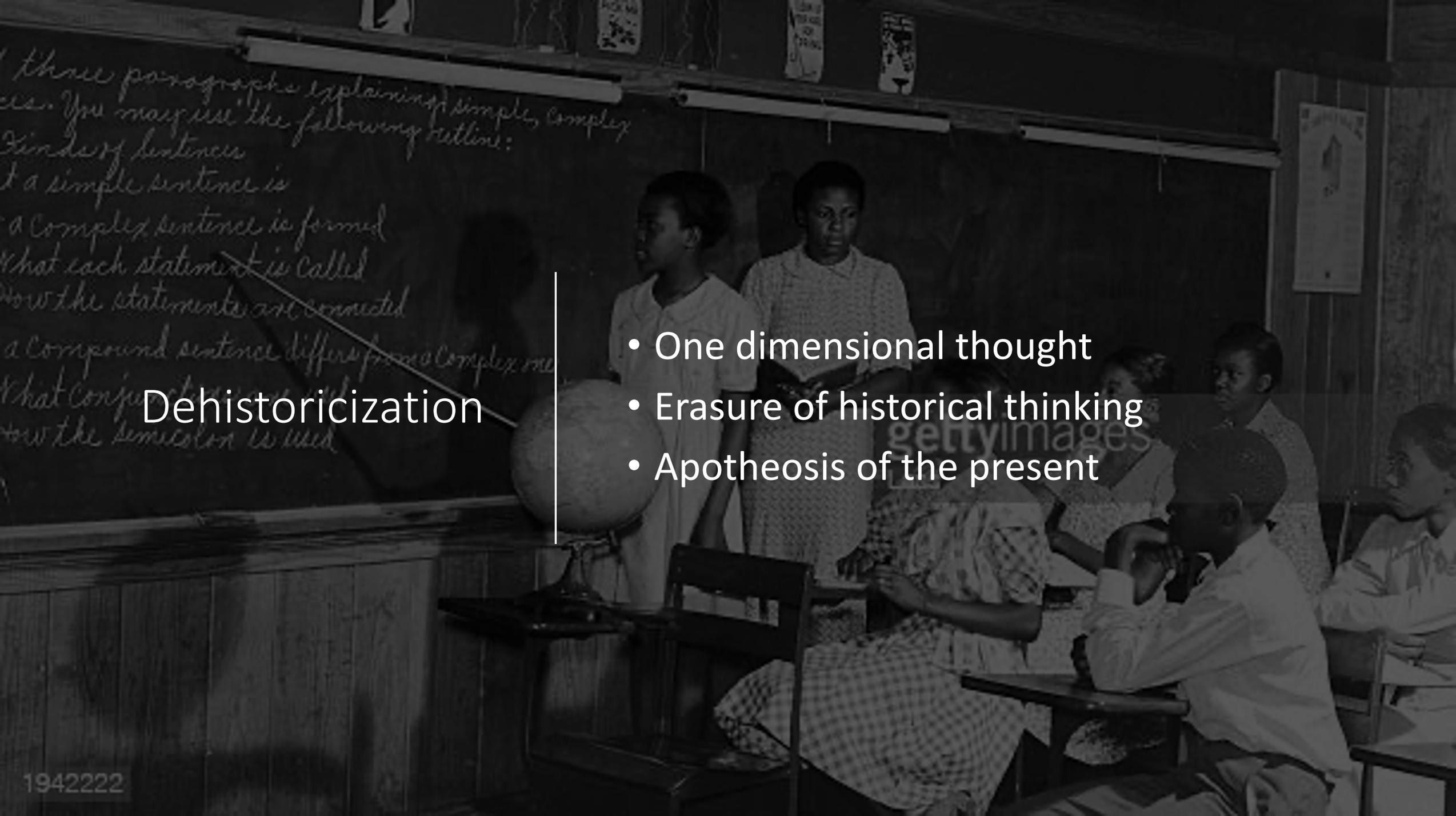
Polarization  
or the Myth  
of the two  
Extremes



# Purposeful Ideological Confusion

Panayota Gounari  
University of Massachusetts Boston





## Dehistoricization

- One dimensional thought
- Erasure of historical thinking
- Apotheosis of the present

## Trauma and Healing





# Historical/pedagogical

---

- “The past will have been worked through only when the causes of what happened then, have been eliminated. Only because the causes continue to exist does the captivating spell of the past remain to this day unbroken” (Adorno, 2005, p. 34).
  - Develop an honest, consistent, humble radicalism that, according to Freire (2005) is committed to human liberation, and “does not become the prisoner of a 'circle of certainty'” where reality is also imprisoned. (p. 39). On the contrary, it is our grounding in reality, in real material conditions, that prompts us to understand it and transform it.
- 





## Thesis VI

“To articulate what is past does not mean to recognize ‘how it really was.’ It means to take control of a memory, as it flashes in a moment of danger [...] The only writer of history with the gift of setting alight the sparks of hope in the past, is the one who is convinced of this: that **not even the dead will be safe from the enemy, if he is victorious.** And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.”

Walter Benjamin (1940)