CRT2: War On Drugs
Transcript

00:06
Welcome to CRT2, Columbia Race Talks, Critical Race Theory. I'm Flores Forbes. And I'm Kendall Thomas. In this episode of CRT2, our Columbia Law School student team collaborates with their formerly incarcerated podcast consultant to bring you a story about race, capitalism, and the legalization of marijuana in New York State.

00:34
the business of racial inequity. Join us for this deep dive into what critical race theory is and why it matters.

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New York City's heavy winter air always has a distinct scent to it. And this year, that scent is laced with a little weed. The holiday markets also have a new addition. Marijuana and cannabis products are for sale, out in the open, everywhere. On March 31, 2021, in one of his final actions as governor, Andrew Cuomo signed into law the Marijuana Regulation and Taxation Act.

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immediately legalizing the consumption of marijuana in New York state. The next day, the mayor of New York City, Bill de Blasio, invoked a new law's historic implications at a press conference. Last night, the state legislature made history and acted to right a wrong and legalize marijuana the right way. What did de Blasio mean when he said the right way?

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Is there actually a wrong way to legalize marijuana?

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In this podcast, we, your hosts, Shahar, Archie, and Tatiana, are going to talk about how marijuana legalization in New York has unfolded this year. It's December of 2022 now. And in January, Cuomo's replacement, Kathy Hochul, announced in her State of the State executive report that New York would commit $200 million to a social equity fund, money that would be used to support cannabis businesses run by people who were victimized by the old marijuana laws.

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While New York has committed to making its cannabis industry more equitable, this action will put that commitment into practice. New York will lead where many other states have fallen short. The governor is focused on providing more than basic business supports and training for our future cannabis entrepreneurs and this fund will provide direct capital and startup financing to social equity applicants as the state takes meaningful steps to ensure that New York cannabis's industry is the most diverse and inclusive in the nation.

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This fund will help New York achieve its goal toward 50% of all licenses to equity applicants, including individuals from impacted communities, minority and women-owned businesses, distressed farmers, justice-involved individuals, and service-disabled veterans. Additionally, New York will create a state-run business incubator to further support equity applicants." End quote.

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join me here. Won't you be seated please ladies and gentlemen. Come on Dr. Jaffe. Mr. Krogh. All right. Ladies and gentlemen I would like to summarize for you the meeting that I have just had with the bipartisan leaders which began at 8 o'clock and was completed two hours later. I began the meeting by making this statement which I think needs to be made to the nation. America's public enemy number one in the United States.

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is drug abuse. In order to fight and defeat this enemy, it is necessary to wage a new, all-out offensive. You have probably heard of the war on drugs. Yeah, the war on drugs is how white America was able to incarcerate large numbers of black Americans. But what really was the relationship between drug use, race and crime in America?

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For centuries, white people enslaved, tortured, lynched black people. But the narrative about crime in America always starts in the 1970s. Absolutely. And there's that famous quote from Richard Nixon's crony and former White House counselor, John Ehrlichman, when Ehrlichman says, and I quote, you want to know what the war on drugs was really all about. The Nixon campaign in 1968 and the Nixon White House after that had two enemies. The anti-war left.

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black people. You understand what I'm saying? We knew we couldn't make it illegal to be either against the war or black. But by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings and filth by them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did. End quote.

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The right wing blamed the civil rights movement. But there really was an increase in street crime, most likely due to a combination of the post-war baby boom, the increase in drug possession, lead emissions from cars, and of course, the heroin epidemic. Drug use wasn't really understood back then, huh? It was not. Back in the 1970s, people didn't see heroin as a public health issue. Not that heroin users never committed crimes.

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The truth is that crime and drug addiction have some of the same root causes. Poverty, discrimination, a lack of opportunity, and a lack of treatment opportunities.

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This is the US government's idea of a war on drugs. Tough cops invading crack houses, rooting out deals. Shut up! God damn it! Out of your mouth! He swallowed the bottle! Out of your mouth! Do you hear what I said? Open your mouth! Open your mouth then! Don't shoot yourself! Open your mouth! He had nine pieces of cocaine rock which he succeeded in putting it in his mouth. But aggressive law enforcement, the basic strategy of the war on drugs, is now being widely condemned as a flop.

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I see. Back then, people assumed that the heroin users were the one doing all the crimes. And it wasn't just white people who felt that way. Black people felt that their neighborhoods were unlivable. They wanted more police. They wanted longer sentences for drug dealers. Now that's true, but it's important not to understate the way that white politicians used the specter of black criminality to justify a rapid militarization of the police as well.

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Totally. We essentially get a bidding war between Democrats and Republicans to raise sentences for drug crimes. Exactly. And then once crack comes along, things really ramp up. We're fully in on the war on drugs at that point. Drugs are menacing our society. They're threatening our values and undercutting our institutions. They're killing our children. From the beginning of our administration, we've taken strong steps to do something about this horror.

07:11
Tonight I can report to you that we've made much progress. Thirty-seven federal agencies are working together in a vigorous national effort, and by next year our spending for drug law enforcement will have more than tripled from its 1981 levels. We have increased seizures of illegal drugs. Shortages of marijuana are now being reported. Last year alone over 10,000 drug criminals were convicted, and nearly 250 million dollars of their assets

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were seized by the DEA, the Drug Enforcement Administration. Even black politicians embrace the war metaphor. During the 1988 presidential campaign, Reverend Jesse Jackson said, and I quote, and I welcome Mr. Bush and Mr. Dukakis as lieutenants, but I am the only general in this war to fight drugs, end quote. Geez. And I guess in this metaphor, the cops get to be the army.

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and the cops get militarized equipment. They start doing operations. One officer in DC said during this time, we rewrite the Constitution every day down here. There's tons of police misconduct, violence everywhere, a culture of fear, living under occupation. In charge of stopping the violence, Darrell Gates, LA's hardest nails top cop. We have a war, a shooting war.

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Not in the Middle East right now. We have it on the streets of every major city in this country. And you know who's feeding and supporting the enemy?

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the casual drug user. We talked to Bronx defenders, Eli Northrup, about the criminalization of marijuana and racialized policing in his work at the Bronx Defenders. When I started as a public defender, marijuana charges were one of the top cases that I would see in criminal court as a new public defender. It was and it was one of the top charges that we saw as an office for.

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like the decade leading up to legalization. And it was exclusively people of color that I was representing in the Bronx. And this is, you know, a behavior that everybody across the city was engaging in across races equally. Not that everybody was engaging it, but it was the studies show that white people used marijuana just as much as black people, brown people, but only people of color were being arrested.

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And so it was very pronounced. You could see that. And even in 2015, 2016, it's not like people were going to jail at that point, but those arrests could trigger serious consequences. So even an arrest for cannabis could lead somebody to lose their job, lose access to housing or loans. ACS, we operate in family court too. ACS would take children away from parents if they tested positive for cannabis.

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People who did have convictions, even for a single joint, were deported. I mean, we have clients that were left and taken out of the country because of cannabis. So it was clear that, you know, there was this disproportionate enforcement of this law and it wasn't harmless at all. It was having serious consequences. But I think that there was this attitude in the city and especially among white people and people in power, that, oh, it's decriminalized. It's not really harming anybody because they never felt those impacts.

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We also talked to Alex Anderson, a business owner and native of Jamaica, Queens, about how his community was affected by the criminalization of marijuana. My community was heavily impacted by it because my community was involved in marijuana. You know, there

was marijuana being smoked in my community regularly. You know, it was a part of our culture. It was a part of our upbringing. It was a part of our society.

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I don't know anybody that was doing any crimes when they smoked marijuana. If anything, they would get real hungry and wanna go eat everything. But other than that, you know, it was a party drug. We used it to party, we used it to hang out, stuff like that. So it's hard to describe it, but in the 80s and the 90s, down in Washington Square Park, for example.

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But there were a lot of raids being done in Washington Square Park picking people up for smoking marijuana in the park. Washington Square Park is down there at New York University. I don't know if y'all ever been down there. But I mean, people were smoking marijuana everywhere, like in Century Park, everywhere. So there was a lot of raids. And oftentimes, you see people being picked up and putting what they call these station wagons, these NYPD.

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unmarked station wagons by detectives who were just out to pick people up if you got caught smoking marijuana in the park. So yeah, I used to see it all the time. People getting picked up, but you would go to court, you would get fined, and you would pay your fine, and then that would be it. And I thought that would be my case, but it turns around because I was involved in, and it wasn't because I was involved in gangs when I was 16 years old.

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It was because I came from a certain neighborhood. You know what I mean? When I got picked up, I was coming from South Jamaica, Queens. That was a neighborhood that was highly surveilled by NYPD. Oftentimes, officers would come and arrest people for quotas. A lot of those arrests were done just to fill quotas for the day. And a lot of my friends.

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would just get, you know, they would get pulled over, thrown up against the wall, searched. You find a nickel bag of marijuana on them and they'll lock them up and take them in. And then that, you know, later on in the day they'll give them a ticket, you know, to pay a penalty or a fine and let them go. So that was happening pretty regular back then. So much so I didn't think that I would wind up going to prison for a marijuana possession. You know, it was like normal.

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Alex never thought he would go to prison for marijuana possession. In 1997, I was convicted of possession of marijuana. However, and I got five to 15 years for that. I don't think anybody has ever gotten five to 15 years for possession of marijuana and just to give you an idea of it.

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Once I got convicted, they would sent me up to upstate New York to do time in prison. I was in Attica prison. I don't know if you know about Attica prison, but it's a maximum security prison, right? And you know, you put me in a cell. So the guy on the cell in the cell next to me on my right and the guy on the cell next to me on my left, one of them had 50 to life for a double homicide. The one on my left had 75 to life.

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for a triple homicide and I was between them and I had five to 15 for possession of marijuana. That's to show you how ridiculous this whole thing is. Yeah, so I don't think no one has ever had gotten that kind of experience. So the impact that it has on my community and not just me but other individuals is the sentencing courts in certain neighborhoods like in Queens and Jamaica, Queens is where I come from.

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because the courts in Queens tend to give sentences higher for individuals that came from certain neighborhoods. So at the time that I was going to court for possession of marijuana, first degree, which is a penalty for people who have been caught with more than 10 pounds of marijuana in their possession, is called first degree marijuana possession. There was another individual

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in the cell with me, a white individual in the cell with me that came from another community, he got five years probation. For the same charge, he got five years probation, I got five to 15 incarcerations.

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My lawyer told me the reason why they wanted me to do time is because I have a prior history of being involved in gangs and stuff like that. That history was when I was 16 years old. At the time I was going to court for marijuana possession, I was like 38 years old. So he said the reason I got time is because at 16, you was involved in gangs. So we want to punish you because...

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You know, you have a history of involving, I don't know. I even asked like, what do marijuana possession have to do with me being involved in gangs at 16? Like, you know, I understand I had marijuana on me. I understand that, you know, marijuana was taken. And so what's the harm? I didn't hurt nobody. It was, you know, he said, well, it was obvious you had intent to sell the marijuana.

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Well, you know, that's not what they were charging me for. They weren't charging me for selling marijuana because there was no evidence that I had charged with selling marijuana. I was selling marijuana, like, on a large scale. So, yeah, that's my experience. That's the

only experience I have. I did time, I came home, you know, resumed my life. I was a social worker. You know, got back into the field of doing social work.

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Really though, the criminalization of black people goes back much further than the 1960s. In fact, after emancipation, experts used data about arrests to argue that recently freed black people were essentially a criminal class in America. At the turn of the century, Irish and Italian immigrant communities were also dealing with a lot of crime, but that was considered indicative of poverty, something they could work their way out of. What happened between then?

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the early 20th century in the 1970s? Well, one thing that happened was the New Deal. As it's proudly remembered in progressive circles, the largest program that put money into working class pockets and made possible the creation of an American middle class. There was social security, the GI Bill, and the Federal Housing Act making generous home ownership loans. Suddenly, massive suburbanization is possible. Home ownership becomes this emblem of American citizenship.

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It created a white middle class for the most part. What's wrong with that? That sounds great. Well, black people were mostly shut out. For example, the Social Security Act excluded farm workers and domestic workers. And these were two industries where labor was predominantly black. Another example is how the GI Bill was supposedly colorblind, but it depended on banks being willing to grant mortgages, which basically didn't happen for black people. Oh, shit. This is redlining.

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Exactly. Basically, the Federal Housing Administration ensures private mortgages, but only the ones that are in demand. Neighborhoods where Black people lived were rated poorly and would not get FHA backing. This was the practice of redlining. It shut Black families out of the largest wealth accumulation opportunities for families in American history. And as you can imagine, there were also predatory businesses out there taking advantage of Black families trying to make it into the middle class.

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And in some cases, these policies had the effect of concentrating disadvantage. Properties deteriorated and lost value. You ended up with really high poverty neighborhoods with high unemployment rates that are at heightened risk for violence, both within the community and from the police. I see. And the narrative around black criminality.

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has to do with making that violence seem like it's the result of personal failings, rather than government policy. Exactly. So there's this question that some people who are listening to

this podcast right now probably have. If these neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage were created by racist policies, and there's a lot of crime there, does that mean Black people commit more crime? It does not mean that. Many more white people commit violent crimes.

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White male violence is a much bigger problem nationwide. Most people commit crimes against people of their own race and people they know in particular. Gender is a much stronger predictor than race. But that's not what we see in the media. News programs over-represent black men as criminals and white people as victims. True crime and copaganda display exactly the same tendencies.

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I prefer expired tag, just left from a known drug location.

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A lot of movement in the car. You want a 10-18.

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How are you doing? Put your hands up on here for me. How are y'all doing? Can you roll the window down for me? That's right. And you see this influence play out in courtrooms. Black boys are perceived to be older than they are. The darker your skin, the more time you're likely to get. And black police and DAs are not immune to this discriminatory behavior. They consume all the same biased media that the rest of us do.

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If you went to a criminal court in DC, you would think that white people who make up half the city don't commit any crimes. The police are more likely to pursue a car if it's driven by a black person. Most of the crimes that black men get arrested for, like marijuana possession, are the results of police hunting them down, and not because someone called 911 about some real public safety emergency.

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It's a way to enroll black men in the criminal justice system. And arrest, even if the charges are dismissed, is a huge deal and has profound effect on one's life. That's right. Black communities are more policed, not more guilty. Criminalizing blackness makes punitive approaches to black male issues seem natural. I would take it a bit further. The war on drugs not only portrayed black people as criminals.

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But it created blackness as criminality in the United States. Blackness becomes not about skin color, but about being someone who is more likely to be hounded by the police for supposed drug use. Being someone who is more likely to be incarcerated. A person who is most likely to have their life disrupted and to lose access to tangible resources. We spoke

with Professor Mikhail Deveau, chair of the Cannabis Social Equity Coalition, about why they are protesting outside of

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the Office of Cannabis Management. My name is Mikhail Devoe, and I'm the chairman of the Cannabis Social Equity Coalition of New York State. And we are here primarily because we believe that as the state, we can right some of the wrongs in terms of implementation related to the legalization of marijuana in New York that has not been done in any other state.

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And that's why we're here because we believe that we at least have to say something and bring a lot of these issues related to inequity, you know, that are happening in terms of the implementation and also the opportunities that the people that the original legislation was designed to benefit can actually benefit. So that's why we're here primarily because we have to try. We've seen this story scenario before as in other states, no other state.

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in the country thus far has implemented a truly social equitable program as relates to those that have been most harmed by the draconian drug laws of the past. We asked Eli Nothrup what the process of legalization has looked like. What was the application process like? In 2019, there was a legalization bill that almost passed that Governor Cuomo essentially

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put forth and as advocates, you know, and this is a group of 200 organizations statewide, there was a lot of discussion about are people going to compromise for this or not? And the decision was made not to compromise, not to take any half measures. And in 2021, when the bill eventually did pass, the language in the bill was essentially the bill that had been written by the advocates and by the organizers and almost unedited. And that happened for two reasons, really.

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New Jersey had legalized marijuana, so New York was feeling pressure, and Governor Cuomo was involved in a political scandal, and it seemed like he really felt like he needed a win. So we actually have a bill that's very strong, and the language in the bill is strong. And it prioritizes social equity across the board in every single round, licenses and in where the tax revenue goes after sales occur, and in automatic expungement of convictions.

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no marijuana laws on the books. Essentially you have to have over five pounds before you can be charged. So I think maybe we have one marijuana case right now in our office, which is such a huge departure. The other thing that we accomplished through this legalization bill is, it used to be the number one basis to stop and search somebody, was

that cops smelled marijuana. And that's something that's impossible to disprove on a body cam.

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Right? So they would just say, I smelled marijuana, I stopped and searched this person. And we wrote into the bill that got passed, the odor of marijuana can no longer be a basis for a search. And so that's been enormous as well, because we used to see so many bad searches, protectual searches based on the odor of marijuana. Even if no marijuana was recovered, that was like a default rationalization. So it's pronounced, the difference is pronounced in the criminal legal system.

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Also in family court, not to say that it's, I think family court is moving a little bit slower, but the legalization has changed things there as well, because it's explicitly written into the law that you can't remove a child from a parent based solely on marijuana usage. So because of the strength of the bill surrounding collateral consequences, it has been a real difference. Because of the federal illegality,

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it's still a basis for deportation and removal proceedings. So it has not changed immigration proceedings in the same way, except for the fact that if you have a marijuana conviction in New York state and you are a non-citizen, not only is it expunged, because expungement doesn't actually fix the problem for immigration, you can move to have it vacated. And there is a presumption that it will be vacated under the new law.

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That bill made an enormous difference in your work as a public defender. So we know the bill has been helpful in criminal court, but how about the equity provisions that were meant to alleviate the long-term economic effects of the war on drugs? So then, you know, it took a while for, then Cuomo ends up getting pushed out and Governor Hoco comes, and it took a while for them to appoint people to the Office of Cannabis Management.

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But the person they appointed to lead it, Chris Alexander, he was one of the advocates that was actually leading the effort to legalize and is somebody who cares about equity. I think the people at OCM want equity to succeed. I think they're very invested in having equity succeed. But they're building a plane while it flies essentially. And they're trying to do something that's never been done. Because equity programs have not worked in any other state in the country. I mean, they've failed in states like California and Colorado and...

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So like, it's not like we have some example to look to in New York that's like, that's successful equity. And to be honest, a lot rides on ensuring that equity is accomplished in New York. Because if we can't do it in New York with a bill that's strong and with people

that in at the office of cannabis management that wanted to succeed it's not gonna work anywhere else. Like, and if we are able to do it it can be a model for other States.

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and it can be a model for the federal government when it's inevitably legalized at the federal level. That's not to say that it's perfect. And I think I really value the coalition because they are pointing out and pushing OCM to really focus on equity in all these different areas. And so the bill can say, the bill gives broad guidance.

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and certain requirements in terms of equity. Like if you have been arrested for a cannabis related offense or a close family member has, and you live in a community that was disproportionately policed for cannabis, you are given priority. That's in the law. That's in the law, not part of like what the regulations that OCM creates. There's also other priority equity licenses in the law. That's like a woman-owned business, minority-owned business, service disabled veteran.

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Those are all priority categories in the law. And there's a goal in the law that 50% of all licenses will go to social equity applicants. So that's in the law. The rest is really in terms of how to like implement that is up to the agency, right? And so there needs to be pressure on the agency. There is definitely a big role to put pressure on the agency to ensure that those provisions play out as intended. And we're in this space right now where

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So the first round of deep dispensary licenses, retail dispensary licenses, the card licenses, you weren't even eligible to get one unless you or a close family member had a marijuana-related arrest that resulted in a conviction. So those are the first people to get dispensary licenses in the state, and no state has done it like that. It's taken a long time. There's a lot of questions with the program, but I think it's better to...

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move slowly and prioritize equity because if we move fast, it's going to prioritize the big actors and the people already that have capital and who are set up to start. So I would say that I'm optimistic about it. I'm hopeful. At the Cannabis Hub, we worked with 40 people to submit applications, 30 ended up submitting it. And all of those individuals, these are social equity applicants.

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These are people from the Bronx, from Queens, from the city, some outside the city, who have been affected by the war on drugs. And I believe should be the ones prioritized to get the licenses. And already three of them got licenses. And so that's a beautiful thing. And you see it on a personal level. In another state, that wouldn't have happened. How do you feel about your application? I experienced some troubles with the online process early on.

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but eventually got some assistance and was able to complete the application and submit it.

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Um, I, I, because of the process, I felt it put me at a disadvantage. In other words, the process was so complicated. The application process, the online application process was very complicated. And what I saw was that, and what I heard was that people were using lawyers.

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to fill out the applications for them. Organization had their lawyers do it. So I was automatically at a disadvantage. I had to pay $2,000 for the application fee and you don't get that back, right? So, you know, I want my $2,000 back because, you know, first of all, I was told you don't need a lawyer to fill out the application. And once I start filling out, I realized you do need a lawyer, you know?

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So that's that. That's the answer to your question. It's been difficult. It's been very difficult and very disappointing. And I don't think that they're going to approve it, because I haven't heard anything yet. We asked Eli whether he thought applicants needed a lawyer's help to fill out the application. There weren't many other organizations doing the work to help people. There was huge demand for our services.

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And we were doing it for free. And we even paid people's application fees to ensure that they had access to this. So I do think that is a concern. I wish there had been more support for organizations and to help this out, because we had to essentially go out, start this project, raise money, find pro bono lawyers to do the work to make sure that this equity could be implemented correctly. So I very much agree that there needs to be support for people and there needs to be...

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Bronx cannabis hub type places all over the state. You know, I mean, we ended up helping people from all over the city and some people just outside the city, but there should have been one in Rochester. There should have been one in Buffalo. I'm kind of prepared for a denial of my application because, you know, I don't represent some LLC that's doing business with New York City. For an example, I'm a...

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Program called Housing Works was one of the organizations that was approved for the license. And I consult with Housing Works on a regular basis. And Housing Works is a big

organization, probably have money, lots of money and lots of lawyers. And I don't see how like they were impacted by the cannabis law prohibition laws in the past.

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I don't know what to say. After December and January, the application becomes available for any and everybody, anybody that wants to apply and have the money. I think it's going to cost about $200,000 to $300,000 for the license. One of the crimes to be a sole proprietor is that not only you have to be justice involved, in other words, you have to have done time or convicted of marijuana possession.

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But you also have to have a business. You also have to have run a business for the last two years and have had, it also has to have been very profitable in the last two years. In other words, you have been operating a business that has been running in the black for the last two years. Or you could run a non-for-profit. I have both. I have a non-for-profit

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that works with people coming out of prison, a theater program, but I also have a business, a real estate business that has actually existed for the last two years. And whoever's been running in the black, you know, I don't know because, you know, I get to sell a couple of houses, but you know, nothing major. So I've had both. I have a non-for-profit and a business.

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Um, and I haven't heard nothing back from them. So, um, I think probably because I, I, I apply it as a sole proprietor. That's one of the things and you have to have, anyway, you have to have some money, money talk. I will tell you something in this game, money is what's running things. If you have money, I heard Pete Diddy put down a million

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Money is what's there. It's not about because you did time. Because if it was about, if you did time, you was convicted and you did time, then I'll probably be at the top of the list because I'm probably the only person in New York state ever did five to 15 for marijuana possession. New York has issued the first 36 licenses for the sale of recreational cannabis last month. We looked through the list to see.

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who really got the licenses. Out of the 36, 28 have been issued to justice-involved individuals who have been previously convicted for cannabis-related offences. The remaining eight have been given to non-profit organisations like Housing Works and the Doe Fund. The exact parameters used for the selection are not clear.

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of incarceration or the extent of impact that such incarceration might have had do not seem to be the pivotal factors. It's definitely clear that given the central role that race and the war on drugs have played in shaping allocation of societal resources, addressing racial injustice is not merely a matter of clearing up misconceptions through dialogue or adopting modest reforms. Yes. This MRTA can be that.

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where America does not forget its violent and oppressive history and take some right steps towards redistribution of resources and opportunities in favor of the most harmed communities and individuals. If New York and other states don't figure this out, they'll have followed the example of California. California is a state that promised to help small-scale farmers thrive, but instead watched as they've been squeezed out of the market. In California, it's a

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as the 10 biggest companies have 22% of the state licenses for cultivation. And I can guarantee that's not money going back to the communities that were most harmed by marijuana criminalization. Well, a proper implementation of the equity provision through simplifying the application process, clearly laying out the criteria and basis for selection and greater involvement of community-based groups in the process.

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And greater efforts at creating literacy about the reality of the war on drugs could all be starting points. That's why it's so important that our leaders come on board. It's time that America now starts a new war. A war on the war on drugs.

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We want to thank our podcast consultant, Dr. Michael DeVoe, for his assistance with this podcast, as well as his relentless advocacy for the most harmed communities. We also want to thank Professors Kendall Thomas and Flores Forbes, as well as Michelle Wilson, Stuti Shah, Elaine Northrup, Alex Anderson, and Holizna Music for their tracks.

39:31
Thank you for joining us. Until next time, I'm Kendall Thomas. I am Flores Forbes. And this is CRT2, Columbia Race Talks, Critical Race Theory.