

# **MADE MEN**

© 2020

By D'Weston Haywood

## **Introduction**

On January 20, 2017, Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. He ran a successful campaign that was adept at marshaling a particular brand of political rhetoric that would also characterize his presidency and leadership style. This political rhetoric is gangsta rap. "Made Men," a masculine meditation on power, conveys this compelling story.

Gangsta rap, commonly understood to be a genre of hip-hop that emerged from marginalized black youth, living in post-industrial inner cities in the 1980s, became popular and infamous for its vulgar, violent, and nihilistic rhetoric, as many critics charged. By the mid-1990s, a number of politicians from both sides of the aisle, not only took very public stands against the music, its consumers, and the pathological cultures it was thought to produce among fans, but they also worked to produce legislation reflecting their condemnations of the music. But "Made Men" argues something different about gangsta rap, and its utility and place in American life.

Politicians condemned gangsta rap expressed by inner city Black youth in order to embrace it by members of their own ilk, privileging its influential power and popular resonance only in certain political and racialized forms. Over time, this embrace and privileging of a gangsta rap with state and policy implications, ranging from charged rhetoric revolving around the War on Drugs to calls for "law and order" and "fiscal responsibility" alongside the rise of "tough on crime" political leaders, has culminated in the ascendancy of the greatest gangsta rapper of our present day: President Donald J. Trump.

Positioning rap as rhetoric, and pivoting between the historical and satirical while straddling New York City and Washington DC to stage a political theater of the mind that is articulated and performed in the ribald language of the street and political that illuminates the trenchant gangsta rap of our contemporary politics, this sonic study examines Trump's presidency as an intellectual, political, and cultural history that wades through themes, issues, and questions central to his consciousness. The foremost of these include white masculinity, real and imagined spaces, truth, leadership, governmentality, Nationalism, white supremacy, white resistance, power, and, juxtaposed to the communities in which Hip Hop emerged, justice.

Trump has built quite the reputation for his tweets, among other things, considering it his special method of communicating directly with the American public. But the 140-character limit of Twitter does not lend itself to

sharing his full body of thought at a given time. Here, the listener-reader will find that “Made Men” does, interrogating Trump’s public persona to imagine the subjectivity, thoughts, ideologies, consciousness, and intellectual processes that precede and precipitate his tweets, among other public utterances. Relying on government documents, news reports, and gangsta rap as a theoretical framework, this sonic study foregrounds an American story that too often goes unnamed—a story about white criminality.

Many critical writers and journalists have worked to analyze, if not outright expose Trump’s criminal machinations during his presidency, as well as over the course of his public career. Yet, many of these important works proceed without using the lens of race as an analytical frame, in addition to other critical categories of identity like gender, sexuality, and class. Indeed, political discourses on black criminality, which remain tied to a great extent in the popular imagination to hip-hop, have proliferated with incredible traction for decades. In many ways, these discourses have achieved axiomatic status without much of a corresponding racial equivalent, often serving as the backdrop against which many politicians have defined their political identities and carved out electoral space and power in the American body politic. Ironically, gangsta rap has borrowed much of its rhetoric, signifiers, masculinities, aspirations, and imagination from real or fictional white criminals, especially those who seemed to successfully straddle both the worlds of business and politics, like Trump. In fact, many rappers have cited Trump by name, admiring him in years past for these reasons, though the music they created was broadly condemned as pathological, nihilistic, and criminal.

Surging anti-black violence and vigilantism, growing white militia movements that appoint themselves state authorities with policing and executing powers, stolen seats on the Supreme Court, concerted attacks on the voting rights of people of color, calculated assaults on information and truth, and routine constitutional abuses, remain compartmentalized and isolated under certain nomenclature, and therefore disconnected from the naming power that catch-all terms like “black criminality” have exerted elsewhere. “Made Men” departs from this, marking a decisive discursive, political, and epistemological break that puts on full display what white criminality sounds like—as it has been skillfully conveyed by our most recent leading exemplar: the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States.

## Outline & Abstract

1. Inauguration: Trump shares his vision for America.
2. Take Ova: Trump crafts his blueprint for the country.
3. Covfefe: Trump gifts to America a new word.
4. [White House] State of Mind: Trump meditates on his new home.
5. Hit Man: Trump initiates his first act of office.
6. Good Man: Trump repeats his daily affirmations.
7. A Stormi Night (Interlude)
8. The Séance (or Dead El Presidentes): Trump communes with his ancestors.
9. Caesar: Trump prepares himself for a rally.
10. Redacted: Trump speaks with his therapist.
11. Year of the Rat: Trump decides to pray.
12. Shook 1s Part 3: Trump faces an invisible enemy.
13. Whitekanda: Trump thinks himself the leader of a slave revolt.
14. Moonlight Sonata: Trump enjoys the sounds of nightfall over DC.
15. A (Self-Made) Man's World (Interlude)
16. [Ratchet] of the Earth: Trump contemplates his reelection strategy over drinks.
17. Trump Out (Exit Stage Left): Trump delivers his farewell address, and even considers the unthinkable.
18. One Luv (Bonus): Trump writes his incarcerated friend, his last letter to him as president.

## 1. Inauguration

To all of the Made Men, who died for me,  
May the angles bang you an ill symphony,<sup>1</sup>  
Made Men from the Rockefellers to my locked up killers up at Riker's Isle,  
Look at your baby boy! How you like me now?  
Somebody wipe me down—Got power to call in military tanks,<sup>2</sup>  
Oh now they looking at me scary faced,  
Shit, I could do this everyday:  
A Made Man plans to stand and fight 'til streets cherry red,  
And by the time all the blood has dried up,<sup>3</sup>  
At exactly the moment the four horsemen ride up,  
You'll see a new breed of man of rise up,  
As blessings from the King overrunneth my cup<sup>4</sup>—  
Let's go!

## 2. Take Ova

Verse I:

So I go to my cauldron,  
Start boiling,  
Shit that would hit the world and destroy it,  
Put the world on its ass,  
With witchcraft,<sup>5</sup>  
Designed to prime your mind for whiplash.  
Puritans would have me burned at the stake,  
For what I'm determined to make,  
But I'm a "wizard" with it,<sup>6</sup>  
So cook it up, hook it up, I'm bout to get it, get it;  
And Ima get it 'til the getting is gone.  
There's nobody whose blueprints are this large!  
Rest of yall up in La La Land,  
Talking that blah, blah, yada-ya, nada man;  
I'm here to let y'all niggas know one thing:  
Three-branch government but there can only be "one king."<sup>7</sup>  
My come-up's coming,  
Make a name, "difficult takes a day," impossible's one week.<sup>8</sup>

Chorus:

Take over,  
Breaks over,  
Coup d'etat today y'all,  
Change over,  
Blueprint is in full effect,

Hit the deck,  
Reset,  
Game Over

Repeat

Verse II:

We involved,  
In intense wars,  
To see who can invent more,  
And I'm an inventor,  
Studied my mentor's memoirs,  
How they started piss poor—  
Good men forced low down, so foul I lost my temper,<sup>9</sup>  
So now, I'm mad as hell, hellraising,  
Trailblazing past cats running tracks at snail's paces.  
My mind's my vehicle,  
Deep mentals,<sup>10</sup>  
Speed sequentials—speed into—  
Your speed limit travel bans;<sup>11</sup>  
My master plan—  
So solid its obvious you looking at a man,  
With a mastermind,  
Mad precise—  
I make my plans with an exacto knife—  
Imhotep intellect,  
Building pyramids through gameplans too tight to intercept.  
Worldclass architecture,<sup>12</sup>  
Wall of China designer,  
Surviving market pressures,  
A-type scarlet letter,  
Alpha-male, Rockefeller,  
Don Cartagena,<sup>13</sup>  
Plus sharpest dresser,  
Tryna' decide if I wanna be my competitor's predator, or his Schwarzenegger<sup>14</sup>—  
Think about that—too late.

Chorus (Repeat X2)

Egyptians scrawled,  
Hieroglyphics cross,  
Temple walls—  
I see the same thing for me in this crystal ball,  
Tarot cards,  
Give me some concrete, tattoo ink: I'll leave my signature.

They had hieroglyphs;  
Ima come up with my own shit though—the mad scientist,  
No Igor,  
But I do be hard in the lab trying shit—  
Plan A don't work?—plan B—  
Plan B don't work?—plan C—  
Plan C don't work?—I'm alphabetizing, right down to the line of Plan Z;  
So y'all niggas aint fucking with me,  
Nobody gone stop me in this 500 Indie;  
Come and get me,  
Aint nothing pretty,  
'Cept the way I planned my hand: Trump the city.

Chorus (Repeat X2)

### 3. Covfefe

Verse I:

Keeping them secrets like them UFOs at Roswell,<sup>15</sup>  
Or might write a tell-all, blow it up to high hell;  
Might buy/sell,  
Sell water in a dry spell,  
Or “water to a whale”—“a hustler baby” with balls big as a kettle bell.<sup>16</sup>  
Got enemies on bended knee,  
Praying to snuff me out;  
But God is, made me a diamond in the ruff and plucked me out—  
Sent me through a stargate,  
To a little larvae:  
Realest nigga caterpillar butterflied into a Scarface man—<sup>17</sup>

Bridge:

Getting real sick of you niggas,  
Everyday with this shit B?  
Alright—Bet

Verse I Contd:

I'ma flood the market with a flood of ideas, y'all go build an ark,<sup>18</sup>  
We'll sell somewhere between Mar-a-Lago and Plymouth Rock,  
I'm just on my G, doing the will of God;<sup>19</sup>  
Tell the croupier we play no matter how they deal the cards.  
Been working on my revenge body—  
Since Benghazi,<sup>20</sup>  
Now we bout to hit the Republican Party;

I'm Big Papi,  
Mixed with a little bit of Kid Rocky,<sup>21</sup>  
Don't think I'm the shit?—watch me—  
Shout out to Mitt Romney,<sup>22</sup>  
Just thank me for making the White House a white castle—  
Try and stop me, I'll flash this knife at you—covfefe!<sup>23</sup>

Chorus

And then we (cruise)...And then we, and then we (cruise)

Verse II:

Am I the hottest or the coldest?—climate change—  
Just watch me rise alongside the tidal waves,  
Cruisin' this swampland in a small 500-foot yacht man,<sup>24</sup>  
Til the last polar caps slide away,  
But not before—  
We tee-off on this green course,  
And get it in at this Michelin three-star;  
My long range long game's strong, mane;  
I'm the Supreme Court, and guess what—judgement day's about to swing forth, dog,  
Feeling like King George y'all.

Bridge:

Had to take it back on you niggas;  
I'm the most patriotic muh-fucka out here, nah mean?<sup>25</sup>

Verse II Contd:

It's a "G" thing whenever we swing—you stuck in the sand trap;<sup>26</sup>  
How you swing is where you land at,  
Understand that, dog;  
I'm wonderful,  
3 under par, gallery jam packed,  
But tell 'em stand back,  
Before you get yo man slapped.  
Cameras pan back;  
I need quiet;  
I am the one lion the hunter's been trying but cant catch.  
Smooth criminal on his moonwalk,<sup>27</sup>  
Getting gugobs of guap,  
Clocking them dollars on Ukraine;<sup>28</sup>  
We at the top of the food chain,  
Top that Barack with the Hussein; <sup>29</sup>

But no quid pro quo—  
Bitch go low—  
Covfefe!

Top that Barry O! (X2)<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. [White House] State of Mind

Verse I:

I'm the new Biggie,  
So aint nothing ya'll can do with me;  
Impressive, benchpressing like 250;  
Sometimes I'm too pretty,  
Too gritty,  
Tale of two cities—  
Challenge me like who really—  
Now who wit' me?  
Me and my dogs, we an aggressive breed—  
What's yo pedigree?  
Doberman, Rock, Pit?  
Bye bitch—  
I'm mixed with US Treasury.  
I'm a go-getter;  
You a come-to-er;  
"I'm a hustler;" You a consumer;<sup>31</sup>  
A "monster"—Got Ivanka, Trump Junior,<sup>32</sup>  
Jeff Sess, Steve Ban—we gone run through ya Chuck Schumer.<sup>33</sup>  
They saying its unprecedented,  
When I just saw a hole in history and stepped up in it;  
Already the best that did it—  
Better than Obama,  
In the Rose Garden,  
Even Goldwater.  
None before me, none after, empty space.  
What's stronger than a constitution?—NDAs!<sup>34</sup>  
What's a constitution anyway,  
When you a muh-fucking "Renegade"?<sup>35</sup>

Chorus:

[White House] state of mind—I'm in a [White House] state of mind.<sup>36</sup>

Verse II:

No such thing as a free election—

How much it cost?—easy question.  
How much you got?  
What you running as: Republican, Democrat, or a fucking juggernaut,  
Above the law?<sup>37</sup>  
Fuck the journalists—Facts alternative—fake news or fake thugs, what's worse?  
Either way may this gun burst.  
Walk in the UN—everybody tucking chains—  
Why, cuz they know its not a fucking game;  
We aint a small people;  
We a wall people:  
We all ego—  
Bald eagles!  
Believe Obeze was wire tapping,<sup>38</sup>  
Trying to catch me,  
With Russian cyber hackers,  
But I'm hypermasculine,  
Shitting on niggas, no diaper rashes,  
Lying asses—  
I rep the White House of flying daggers—  
Sayonara,  
You probly' a doubting Thomas,  
Probly' don't believe my bank account routing numbers;  
I'm in the Oval O' making counter offers,<sup>39</sup>  
All praise due to the founding fathers.

Chorus:

[White House] State of mind—I'm in a [White House] state of mind, y'all.

Verse III:

Bridge-builder, nobody been realer, national unity—  
Its only built for Cuban Links!<sup>40</sup>  
This is real life—aint no story line;  
Aint no studios; aint no audience;  
Bitch I'm 45—  
Took an oath to slay the beast—  
I wish you would try and take a knee;<sup>41</sup>  
Star Spangled Banners;  
Mind your table manners;  
Fuck these anchorman-ers,  
Pay the table dancers.  
King of New York, Queen Melania;  
We be notorious;  
Senior Mafia!<sup>42</sup>  
Presidential hopes to presidential pardons—circle of life, running rings;

This is the apprentice, all you niggas is under me—  
Rude boy running 'tings!

## 5. Hit Man

Verse I:

Heard a lot of y'all is jobless<sup>43</sup>—  
Cool, I need a mob hit:  
Somebody who can make the drop quick,  
Then go and find me a boss bitch.  
If you move in silence,<sup>44</sup>  
Never say nothing to nobody,  
Send your resume, your repertoire,  
All of your rec letters cuz—  
I think I got a job for you,  
But you can't be soft-boiled.  
Need this cat to take a dirt nap in these streets—  
But this conversation never happened, capeesh?  
If you game, the name of the mark: Constitution—<sup>45</sup>  
Constant nuisance;  
Hope you got the balls to do it.  
When the body drops,  
Dump 'em in the 'maserat,  
Hand it to the mechanic at the body shop,  
For the choppy-chop;  
I'll be doing body shots.  
6 in the morn before the party stops,  
Like La-di-da,  
Call Giuliani up,<sup>46</sup>  
Now let the body rot.

Chorus

A lot of y'all is talking shit man—  
Have to call in the hitman;  
So keep talking shit man,  
And I'ma call in the hitman.  
Call in the hitman  
Call in the hitman.  
Keep talking shit man,  
I'ma call in the hitman.

Verse II:

Uh, she feeling on my halo,

Unaware I got killers on the pay roll,<sup>47</sup>  
And they follow me, orders to a 'T,' so believe they will kill you if I say so,  
Like fuck free will,  
Plea deals,  
Sounds evil,  
But we destroy, rebuild,  
So peace be still—  
Yea, we read the righteous word,  
Every line and verse—  
As the world of these indictments turn.  
They want to make this proud eagle a flightless bird,  
Strap on they silencers,  
Shoot me down from the highest perch,  
But "Still I Rise" like the firebird,  
Why? Cuz I gotta higher purp'—  
Look, Constitution's on my summer reading—<sup>48</sup>  
Take some time—rediscover freedom—  
Time to let the sunshine in;  
Never read the constitution—but I read the fucking fine print!

### Chorus

The first POTUS to combine the First and Second Amendment;  
Try and step to my henchmen,  
Is like electrical fences;  
Welcome you bitches to the winner's circle, long ways away from unemployment,  
Bill collectors coming for you—  
Class struggles,  
Where cats punk you,  
Fighting to the top with brass knuckles,  
Me too—scrapped with badge numbers,  
"F the Police;" they shot Rickey in the calf muscle.<sup>49</sup>  
That's why you'll find inside this black duffle bag:  
Hustle—  
The answers to your problems in a cash bundle.

## 6. Good Man

### Verse I:

Feds, they racking they heads to mob tie me,<sup>50</sup>  
They don't know that I'm god-body though;  
They don't know I got the gods watching my back—  
Straight truth;  
If you want proof, got the hard copy,  
Already sent it to Hard Copy,

Signed, sealed, delivered to you niggas with yo subpoena ass,  
Trying to sneak attack.  
What? You think I ain't thinking fast,  
You asshole,  
When I gotta bunch of Fat Joes ready to lean you back—  
But that's a dated reference—they call it the Filibuster;  
I call it the quicker picker upper,  
Re-arrange the game like a fixer upper,  
Raise the rent on these never-Trumpers,<sup>51</sup>  
Liberal fuckers,  
Nipple-sucking nigger lovers.  
Tell Pelosi we gone need a bigger budget,<sup>52</sup>  
Like I need sweet and sour sauce on my chicken nuggets—nigga;<sup>53</sup>  
Sit back with a Big Mac, special sauce, lettuce cheese,  
With what's between these buns, I build my legacy—  
So, its Me Too bitch, I'm calling you out,  
Hoping y'all legislative proposals stall in the House;  
Fuck whatever it is ya'll was talking about—  
Try saying it with deez nuts all in your—man, just leave me alone;<sup>54</sup>  
I need time to be in my zone—I'm a good man.

I'm a good man<sup>55</sup> (Repeat 2X)

Verse II:

They tried, nearly died to get me on the 'grabbing pussies,'<sup>56</sup>  
Like they caught me red-handed with the magic cookie,  
But word to Scaramucci,  
If you examine,  
And understand and—  
Really have a looksee,  
You'd know it was a metaphor: the pussy's democracy,  
Grabbing it means: take the country back,  
From these hungry rats,  
So we cunning linguists,  
Hustling this policy up out the laundry 'mat,  
Policies as sweet as Honey Smacks—  
Executive order: bring Playboy Bunnies back,  
So we can get they undies wet, yea—  
'Miss' America: stop slut shaming,  
Stop complaining—  
All up on the front pages.  
Got my business spread eagle on the *Washington Post*;  
But its cool, I'm about to box up and post—  
And just rise in them polls.  
Cant help I'm a lady killer;

My legacy made me a sex machine since my baby pictures.  
You just gotta be hot enough with an amazing figure—  
To make me hit ya.  
Patriarchy's patriotic!  
Like pancakes and Aunt Jemima,<sup>57</sup>  
So strip, submit your lady privates—  
To the white rageaholics,<sup>58</sup>  
But no restraining orders;  
Stand, right hand on your breast, and pledge allegiance to me and Reaganomics,  
And never break the promise,  
Never break the promise—I'm a good man.

Chorus

### **7. A Stormy Night (Interlude)**

### **8. The Séance (or Dead El Presidentes)**

Right here's the last heir to a dynasty,  
Inside of me's the genes of a dying breed—  
Since I'm the last one left,  
I gasp for air,  
Catch my breath,  
Then last accept the—  
Responsibility:  
Stay pure, make sure self made men will survive,  
My DNA was being made for this exact moment,  
So luckily,  
Its up to me, myself, and I.  
Do my best work under pressure,  
Let it force me down deep enough into this red dirt—  
To resurrect this dead earth,  
Like, I mean, bring back these dead el presidentes<sup>59</sup>—  
In a séance; I've trained hard with corporate senseis,  
To keep Zen states in the midst of chaos, trade wars,  
Cuz since '9-7 its been all about the Benji's;<sup>60</sup>  
For real, every dollar bill's a Ouija board,  
Contacting Jackson, Grant, Benjie, gimme the keys to cross,  
I can open any freaking door,  
Access anything I'm dreaming of,  
Just let me grease some palms;  
Yea, please believe these are my niggas,  
Franklin, Jackson, down to every dime, nickel—  
Daddy threw at me itty-bitty loans,<sup>61</sup>  
Ran with it on my tippy toes,  
Took fifty cent to fifty fold,

Business wiz kid worthy of a score by Quincy Jones,  
Leather-bound books, chimney smoke,  
Princely robes—  
Old money—I'm talking centuries old.  
Only salesmen, who never sold out—  
The kid is still committed to them visions of the Old South<sup>62</sup>—  
Art of the transaction,<sup>63</sup>  
Walking in 725 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue Manhattan,  
Pants sagging,  
The Grand Dragon,  
ARs tucked, you looking like it cant happen,  
Matter fact, don't even glance at him,  
Cuz you aint got enough bands for the bandwagon.  
Cuz the greatest real estate is silence<sup>64</sup>—  
And guess what, I stepped up with enough money to buy it.

## 9. Caesar

Verse I:

Any mic I step to gets murdered,  
Even my lip service—  
Is pitch perfect.  
The whole scene: disturbing,  
Graphic; Get Sean Spice' to clean it up, Clorox, detergent,<sup>65</sup>  
Splendid forensics;  
I wrestle with mics,  
Battle and fighting chords like a matter of life or death;  
Young bucks run up—ask if I'm nice:  
Shit, I been slaving from day into the shadows at night—  
To be a master craftsmen, precise with it.  
Even back when I was demo-taping,  
I understood the importance of innovation;  
Lot of y'all couldn't evolve, too busy imitating,  
Couldn't survive the fittest with us, so ya'll didn't make it—  
Extinct; let me take the reins;  
Mumble rap it out or say it plain;  
I could make a man or make a slave—  
So we Mad Men with this advertising,  
Mastering the mysteries of ballot boxing,<sup>66</sup>  
Know we bout to blow—you can see the magma rising—  
Volcanic;  
Can y'all stand it?  
Nah, cram it!  
I already did the math long-handed:  
Calculated changing traditions y'all considered longstanding,<sup>67</sup>

But just decided to crush this small planet—  
I'm gargantuan!

Chorus:

See sartin,' say sartin,'  
Stop snitchin,' I don't say nothing,'  
Your second coming aint coming;  
The Lord giveth and take frometh!  
Don't front—you know I got you open.  
Don't front—you know I got you open.  
Don't front—you know I got you open.  
Don't front—you know I got you open.

Verse II:

6' 3," 243 with a slight build<sup>68</sup>—  
Giant with the heart of a lion, minus the white guilt;  
Right wing, doing the Right thing with Alt-Right skills,  
For this cold world and ice age, ICE raids, I got this ice grill.  
Blood type G, pigeon toed,  
But never been pigeon-holed,  
I rock steady,  
Top heavy,  
With a potbelly,  
Sipping the five deadly venoms,  
With a cocked dessie,  
God said He got me;  
You are not ready!  
Beauty pageants I win by landslides,  
Though I'm also the ghost scouts talk about by the campfire.  
Orange-skinned, golden child—got the "glow,"<sup>69</sup>  
Truly blessed with bioluminescence—lets rock and roll—  
Locked and loaded. I'm a one-man killer army,  
Coming to kill you softly,  
'Til you all rigimorty,  
Like the dealers taught me;<sup>70</sup>  
Its infinity wars with criminal charges,<sup>71</sup>  
But I walk in the Senate with enough strength in my arms<sup>72</sup>—  
Pull the pillars on me!

Chorus:

See sartin,' say sartin,'  
Stop snitchin,' I don't say nothing,'  
Your second coming aint coming;

The Lord giveth and take frometh!  
They got Black excellence—we got (white) supremacy!  
They got Black excellence—we got (white) supremacy!  
They got Black excellence—we got (white) supremacy!  
And we can do both 'til like infinity.

## 10. Redacted

Man, there's so much drama up in DC—  
Its kinda hard being the P-R-E-Z,<sup>73</sup>  
But I [REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED], a certified genius—  
Alexa: how do you assume true leadership? [REDACTED]—  
It's a cold world, should I run it or save it?  
Good question, Doc—I'm nothing play with, cuz<sup>74</sup> [REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
Oh, it started with Kev McCallister, self-defense—I was like don't play me;  
I think we was watching Departed, Goodfellas, Scorsese;  
My slim thug, Kim Jong, was mixing Kool-Aid<sup>75</sup>—  
My favorite flavors: red and blue states,  
Then some spilled into inkblots—I saw a new race<sup>76</sup> [REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED], yea, he's the only who knows the truth; he left his rosary beads,  
Before he vanished among the coastal elites—I miss em,'  
But the code of the streets dictate [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
The tweets—they just my firesides—  
For these dire times—  
Warp speed: we got vaccines with cyanide, you, know,  
I think [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]—I don't even worry about it,  
Just say what I'm gonna say anyway and then I scurry up out it.  
[REDACTED]; I laughed, Rome wasn't built in a day, I said,  
Young buck—know your passion;  
If you see it go down, you don't know what happened—  
Flow with traffic—  
These cabals and cartels,<sup>77</sup>  
Part and parcel of all of this shit—  
The art of hard sales,  
Pushed to the edge, off the guardrails, but [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], think about Merrick Garland,<sup>78</sup>  
No Eric Garner,<sup>79</sup>  
Or Reverend Barber,<sup>80</sup>  
Just Farrah Fawcett,  
Never Trumpers,  
And the discipline of terracotta soldiers,

Who followed they leaders no matter the [REDACTED].  
[REDACTED], [REDACTED], couldn't believe this mothafucka resigned,<sup>81</sup>  
Right as I was working on my freestyle—  
For Eminem; it go like this: check it<sup>82</sup>—  
[REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED];  
[REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED]—“Keep us safe from those who would prey on innocent lives—  
To fulfill some distorted inner need,”<sup>83</sup>  
Is Karma bittersweet,  
If freedom isn't free?  
[REDACTED]—  
[REDACTED]!

## 11. Year of the Rat

Dear Big Poppa,<sup>84</sup>  
Know I been a shit talker,  
Shit starter—  
Chris Wallace—forgive me, but bless with the stigmata,<sup>85</sup>  
Clean me in your holy dishwater,  
Give me the clarity to know my friends from the imposters—  
I'm surrounded by “rats”!<sup>86</sup>  
They wanna know how low I'll go—  
Never so low I'm eye level with where the rats crawl,  
Out of they rats nest,  
A place where traitors get cast off,  
Before a black death—a death well deserved!  
They everywhere: up in your crib rent-free.  
Ghettos to gated spots with association fees;  
You in deep,  
Political intrigue—  
No way to escape the rat instinct—  
Caesar, Brutus, Jesus, Judas,<sup>87</sup>  
Disloyal,<sup>88</sup>  
Coming to destroy you,  
Backstabbing,  
Smile in your face, back peddling,  
Trespassing,  
Half-steppers,<sup>89</sup>  
Looking to write your last chapter—let me know when I see 'em.  
I know snakes, cockroaches with more decency,  
But not this demon seed—  
Forever back-talking,  
But draft-dodging when its time for war;  
No back problems, no back bone—commitment levels spasmodic;

You see stream of rat droppings,  
Leading right to where yo stash hiding,  
Pathfinders—  
No respect for higher-ups,  
On some liar-liar stuff,  
Wired up,  
Pressures on,  
Turn Decepticons:  
Bumble Bee to Megatron.  
Biting the hand that feeds,  
Infecting your family tree—  
With every damn disease;  
Shit hits the fan they flee—  
To the sewers they rose from,  
Donnie Brascos, Benedict Arnolds—let me know when I see ‘em.  
I’m on my knees, please protect me from the rat packs;  
Please let me succeed with these rat traps;  
All I got is the Beast painted in matte black,  
And a few dec’ Secret Service on the clap back;  
But I need more—got mountains to move,  
Please B-I-G, I’m counting on you—  
I’ll go to the top of Trump Tower, scour the roof,  
And promise for every minute they lie, I’ll bring an hour of truth—  
Amen.

## 12. Shook 1s Part 3

Verse I:

“To all the killers and the hundred dollar billers;  
For real niggas who aint got no feelins’—check it out now.

“I got you stuck off the [illness]—we be the infamous; you heard of us—  
Official [DC]murderers;  
The mob comes equipped for warfare,  
Beware,  
Of my crime [fam who ain’t got enough] shots to share for all those,  
Who wanna profile and pose,  
[Sneeze in your sleeve, blow out] your nose bone;  
You all alone in these streets cousin:  
Every man for they self in this land we be gunnin,  
[Got your whole nose] running,  
Like [its] supposed to—  
[6-foot nigga, cant] come close to;  
[I can see the mask on] your face;  
You in the wrong place,

Cowards like you just get they whole body laced up,  
With bullet holes and such..."<sup>90</sup>

Verse II:

Go 'head run a fact check,  
Wile I run them jewels on yo fat neck!—  
Fuck a pandemic<sup>91</sup>—  
Aint nothing for me to shut shit down—too much ambition.  
My Klan elected me Grand Wizard;  
Stand with us or against us,  
Cuz if you want it; you can get it—  
Transmitted.  
Preachers praying,  
People saying, these the last days,  
Like we facing revelations on the last page,  
To survive we gotta hide inside a bat cave,  
Close up all the pathways—  
Shit—COVID-19 aint nothing but my old rap name,  
Back when I was getting in the rap game—  
But decided to go with Teflon Don,  
Truest to do it from DC to Wuhan.  
Mind on my money—money on my mind since I was bout it-bout it—  
Now we got the White House bouncing, bouncing.  
Teflon's been on that social distance,  
Separated haters tryna to get closer with us,  
Talking that socialism;  
I'll stop the globe from spinning—  
In the solar system,  
And go postal nigga,  
Relapse dog,  
Throw the ski mask on,  
And ahhhh—tell you to strip!  
But everybody's masked up, screaming apocalypse now,  
Like it's the end when all of y'all are just jocking my style—  
Its cool—desperate measures, desperate times;  
I let it slide long as we agree the credit's mine—  
Living legends,  
Popping vintage bottles: disinfectant<sup>92</sup>—  
For all my sychophantics,  
My kiss the ringers,  
Pistol Peters:  
Stick up kids with sticky fingers,  
Fiscal leaders with they pork barrels,  
My niggas waving that tiki torch at you<sup>93</sup>—  
They know the truth about corona virus:

All of this shit was started by Joseph Biden,  
Polarizing,  
A Chinese disease he brought from Okinawa,  
On an ocean liner,  
Laughing, with donors smiling,  
Forcing us to reconcile our souls to science,<sup>94</sup>  
Or forever hold our silence;  
Gotta pray to Jehova Jireh,  
“Getting closer to God in a tight situation,  
Now, take these words home and think it through,  
Or the next [Covid case] might be about you!”<sup>95</sup>

Chorus:

“Son, they shook  
‘Cause aint no such things as halfway crooks  
Scared to death, scared to look, they shook  
‘Cause aint no such things as halfway crooks  
Scared to death, scared to look, they shook”<sup>96</sup>

“I guarantee you it’ll be your very last time breathing.”  
“Your simple words don’t move me; you minor, we major.”<sup>97</sup>  
I mean, “It is what it is.”<sup>98</sup>

### 13. Whitekanda

The only direction northward—  
Laser-focused on the North Star;  
Old folks say, wade in the water;<sup>99</sup>  
Blood of a king pulsing through my forearms;  
Containing it is torture!  
You can’t lock down a free man—  
Can’t shackle these hands—  
The gods made me a he-man,  
Mastered the universe so fuck “emoluments clause”<sup>100</sup>—  
You never seen my body of work on top of this free land?—  
Fingers that built something from nothing,<sup>101</sup>  
Worked down to the bone, cracked, calloused .  
There’s an elephant in the room of this great Republic,  
And Ima call it out: what? We gone be on Zoom in the day of judgement,  
Saints are coming,  
What y’all talking bout?  
Pharaoh’s forcing my people to be slaves to pyramid schemes,  
But its funny how the pendulum swings,  
So I’m gone have to be the one<sup>102</sup>—  
To place in these hands, deep in these palms—

Our bloody liberation in the name of freedom<sup>103</sup>—  
That makes me the most essential essential worker,<sup>104</sup>  
Using that tool at the top of my central nervous—  
To free everybody from the young thugs to the baby boomer silver surfers!<sup>105</sup>  
First, let me meditate at the peak of Pride Rock.  
Some men ask why—I ask why not.  
“Clouds” cut up a dark sky; raise my arms high, and these hands lift them<sup>106</sup>—  
Loose the serpent—a sign its time to let them sparks fly!<sup>107</sup>  
Are you a real man or a field hand?  
Are you the type to ignite the revolution but,  
When the executioner comes, do you still stand?  
Do you do what they trained you for?  
Got you waiting on Emancipation Proclamations, huh?  
And you waiting long,  
'Til now—here it is, the kid's leading the slave revolt,  
And I just pray today that my aim aint off—  
I recruited a Rasputin—  
I asked Putin,  
Zab Judah,  
A jazz flutist, math tutor, mass shooter,  
And we gone be screaming: give to me liberty or give me death!  
Fuck these slave masters,  
Slave catchers'  
We chain snatchers;  
Blow your legislative brain backwards.<sup>108</sup>  
Slave to self-made, the clips jam packed—  
The one runaway, who got North,  
Stole a Bible and a shot gun and ran back!  
Free my niggas in—  
Virginia and—  
Minnesota,  
Michigan.<sup>109</sup>  
I'll accept death so we can be free,  
Just place my statue next to Robert E. Lee's.<sup>110</sup>

#### **14. Moonlight Sonata**

“But soft, what light through yonder window breaks”<sup>111</sup>—  
Shattered glass—  
To match this shattered man,  
Scattered past—  
A 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue windowpane—  
Bitch, you know I love you!  
Why you wanna go and do that for,  
Swing at my glass jaw?  
You know I organized a task force—

To give you a platform,  
 Anything you ask for,  
 Waiting for you at the backdoor,  
 But you'd rather douse my house in gasoline, throw the match on?—damn;  
 I thought we'd sit for a cocktail—you threw a Molotov.  
 What happened to the days when we'd go into a rage then walk it off,  
 Like false alarm,  
 But things fall apart—  
 Okonkwo; God knows you gone fucking make me<sup>112</sup>—  
 Do something crazy—  
 Like push the button maybe—  
 Start a nuclear holocaust—  
 UN begging me to call it off.  
 If Black Lives Matter, then mine does too—I'm a Black man—  
 Just look at these crackers asking me to tap dance;  
 I'm from Queens, know what it means to wait at the cash advance;<sup>113</sup>  
 I know jive, can slap five on the backhand—  
 In other words, you'd see Black skin behind this white mask if you'd do a cat  
 scan<sup>114</sup>—  
 Black pride's inside, though daddy Montague said pride goeth before the fall—  
 Look at us both, crying through this tear gas, pepper spray<sup>115</sup>—  
 Almost impossible for us to see a clear path, a better way—  
 Just the mere fact of serenades—  
 From sirens: "O blessed, blessed night!"  
 "Being in night, all this is but a dream."<sup>116</sup>  
 Don't the sirens sound like the sweetest moonlight sonata—  
 "The softest music to attending ears"<sup>117</sup>—  
 Let's close our eyes and wonder,  
 If we can ask the almighty fathers—  
 To hold off the sunrise tomorrow—  
 So we can enjoy this night for longer,  
 Just gaze at the moon;  
 Its amazing but true:  
 If this is the end I hope my last days are with you—handcuff to you to keep you!  
 Whispers of sweet nothings like nationalist, Neo-fascist doctrines,  
 Reactive politics,  
 Confederate monuments,<sup>118</sup>  
 Or plain smack your momma shit—  
 On some classic mafia films:<sup>119</sup>  
 Cuz when the "looting starts the shooting starts"<sup>120</sup>—  
 Don't misunderstand me—I'm talking about shooting stars—  
 Under this beautiful universe,  
 Just the two of us—  
 And the rule of law.<sup>121</sup>  
 You want a revolution—so do I—  
 "Deny thy father," "refuse thy name,"

And join me like fuck they system with these voter rights!<sup>122</sup>  
We'll sink into a well of deep anger<sup>123</sup>—  
We'll build on the ashes of police stations—  
A free nation so thorough the whole world wont know how to restrain us—  
Wont be a jail cell strong enough to detain us—  
We'll take the world and remake it—  
Broken glass everywhere!  
Broken glass everywhere!

### **15. A (Self Made) Man's World (Interlude)**

### **16. [Ratchet] of the Earth**

Chorus:

Like a moth to the flame—  
They should've never shown me the game—  
Winning's on the brain,  
And I'm about to go insane—  
Come along for the ride, y'all;  
Come along for the ride;  
Come along for the ride;  
Come along for the ride y'all;  
Come along for the ride;  
Come along for the ride.

Verse I:

We examining straw polls;  
We stand at the crossroads,  
A planet of lost souls;  
We slamming them car doors;  
Damn Mar-a-Lago:  
Salmon, escargot,  
Vodka-cran 'til the bar close;  
Top shelf—  
Cocktails,  
Soldiers rolling in lockstep<sup>124</sup>—  
Drink champagne,  
Tequila pourin,'  
Mis hermanas, mis hermanos, call Tenochtitlan—  
The older gods of war,  
Russian oligarchs<sup>125</sup>,  
Robo-calls,  
Voter fraud—  
I'm "the chose one."<sup>126</sup>

A man for all seasons, even elections, do what I do—  
Find my niche, move in the groove.  
Beast mode with cheat codes,<sup>127</sup>  
No freestyle, just Neoliberal free flows—  
Gimme the loot before I reload.  
Stock market mob bosses,  
Hard targets—  
We got that la sparking.

### Chorus

I understand why God hid His face from the earth:  
Put distance with him, the haters and jerks;  
But we still out on Rodeo—  
With the Alpha Romeos,  
Campaigning, the Alpha-Omega—  
Back to the bar, tiger's blood mixed with hydroxy—whatever—chloroquine—  
Fuck a quarantine,<sup>128</sup>  
Shrimp Florentine;  
Country flipping like gymnasts on the floor routine,  
Making quantum leaps—  
What's my core beliefs?  
I crack a smile—  
Answer's already in this strawberry Black and Mild.  
Vaccines or vixens,<sup>129</sup>  
That king is pimping,  
Basking in liquid courage;  
I deserve it—  
Yea, you heard it.  
That's why you'll find me grinding in the partisan beefs,  
Going hard on these tweets,  
Heart on my sleeve—  
Don't get it twisted—we'll rock you to sleep—  
Supreme court,  
Marine Corps,  
D-boys:  
Destroy.<sup>130</sup>

### Chorus

White Mamba,  
Sipping White Russians,  
White Panther, repping Whitekanda,  
Iconic,  
White collar—  
Dice tumbler.

Be Best<sup>131</sup>—  
Reflex deep breaths in parabolic speakers—  
Scream we need proper leaders,  
Promise keepers—  
No Obamas, Hillary Rodhams either—  
Real men, who cock the heater,  
Like Kenosha, at these non-believers.<sup>132</sup>  
How bout a round for the border agents,  
Locking kids with they foreign language<sup>133</sup>—  
“Shit hole” hoods—drinks on me, a force of nature,<sup>134</sup>  
The new Noriega—  
Meets Donald Draper,  
Coordinating,  
Watergating the new voter suppression<sup>135</sup>—  
One blink we stole the election—  
Stay woke nigga.

Chorus 2:

Like a moth to the flame—  
They should’ve never shown me the game—  
Winning’s on the brain,  
And I’m about to go insane—  
Come along for the ride, y’all;  
Come along for the ride;  
Come along for the ride;  
Come along for the ride y’all;  
Come along for the ride;  
“Stand back, stand by.”<sup>136</sup>

### **17. Trump Out (Exit Stage Left)**

Ladies and gentlemen,  
Babies and little kids—  
I fucked up!  
Punch drunk on power—  
With a bunch of—  
Young thugs—  
Desperate for the come up—  
I’m a deal maker;  
They were deal breakers;  
Didn’t feel safe so I had to keep the gun tucked—  
Realest times—  
I really tried—  
Hater commentators haggled over my words,  
Gods wrestled over the earth—

The embattled POTUS observed—  
Thought this persona—  
Would solve world problems,  
Achieve Nirvana;  
I mean I did swim with piranhas—  
Made it out alive,  
Survived;  
I even thrived, so you know I aint a first-timer.  
Cuz before a lot of y'all could even pee straight,  
Back when I had the thick wig and clean slate,  
Before Florida was a swing state,  
Or before there was even a deep state—  
Had dreams of being the GOAT,  
Like Mike, but better—king on his throne,  
In a league of his own.  
But slipped into a drunken state,  
Sunken place,  
And just didn't know what the fuck to say.

Chorus:

Why would I apologize!  
One or two terms—we all on borrowed time!  
Why would I apologize!  
One or two terms—we all on borrowed time!

Political pawns,  
Spiritual wars,  
Moral dilemmas—  
I'm just a man—a mere mortal, a sinner,<sup>137</sup>  
Caught in the middle—  
Of audience members—  
And exec orders I don't even really sort of remember.  
Made Space Force in case y'all force me to go where time doesn't exist<sup>138</sup>—  
Take off—I'm done with shit.  
Or claim squatters rights—  
I mean I can't knock the hustler—I can't knock the life.  
Or go to Russia, a refugee, asylum seeker,<sup>139</sup>  
Tight advice I got from the psychic reader;  
Land then examine the man in the mirror through all of these diamond pieces.  
Reflect a second on Freudian slips,  
Going off of the script—  
Could've put more Kavanaughs on the bench<sup>140</sup>—  
What could've been should've been—  
Will y'all say, here stood a man?  
For real y'all,

Real talk,  
Wish Biden the best,  
Long as y'all give my name the highest respect—  
Nah, fuck it—gotta go in a blaze of glory:<sup>141</sup>  
Teflon Don—history's waiting on me.

Chorus

### **18. One Luv (Bonus)**

Verse I:

“Word up kid,  
Know shit is rough doing your bid;”<sup>142</sup>  
You wouldn't believe the streets since you went in:  
Classy bitches—  
Turned to “nasty women,”<sup>143</sup>  
State actors is paid actors—  
A world you can't trust—  
Kids caged up,  
Everybody's brainwashed;  
I taste blood on my taste buds—  
Aint the same bruh.  
'84,  
Crazy dog;  
I was Crazy Horse,<sup>144</sup>  
Waging war,  
Drop by drop,  
Real estate block by block,<sup>145</sup>  
With crazy wars on drugs—  
Now the war's on us—  
Fast forward:  
Last poets—endangered species,  
I'm exposing the weak links,  
The strong from the weak-kneed.  
Lesser men bowed out,  
Kowtowed,  
Fractured and caved,  
Cracked from the weight;  
I adapted and changed,  
Since before the White House,  
When we was in the trap house trapping them things—  
Shit—you know, back in them days—  
Hit 5<sup>th</sup> Ave and ride thu,'  
Switches hitting,  
Chickens grinning—

From the passenger side view,  
Genius IQ spitting,  
Cerebellum, another level—you know how I do.  
How or when the world lost its mind—I think it was '08.<sup>146</sup>  
Shit was so strange,  
Switched the cornrows to a low fade;  
Watched the dope game—  
Turn profane,  
Needed an Enlightenment,  
To know the mice from men:  
Michael Flynns,  
Bill Barbies, Michael Pence<sup>147</sup>—  
Formed a cabinet,  
Fitted MAGA Hats,  
Rocked low to take this block over from these Kaepernicks—  
Its deep—Sigmund Freud;  
We were like the new Wu, the Beastie Boys,  
Cuz when I think about it deep inside, I realize we dem boyz!  
“Left a half a hundred in your commissary.”<sup>148</sup>

Verse II:

You wrote, ‘I should them with hating,  
Stopping a nigga’s shine should be a crime’—  
True—  
High crimes depend on the skyline—  
What’s your view?  
Garden apartment or high rise?  
In style—  
In a penthouse?  
Are you Po Pimp or pimped out?<sup>149</sup>  
Your brother’s undercover pointing out these whistleblowers,<sup>150</sup>  
Misinforming.  
“If we start the revolution,” they tattle tell—  
I be kamikaze on these battlegrounds!  
Guess who came through: Kanye<sup>151</sup>—  
You should’ve seen Kelly Conway;  
Its high stakes though, bro—they shot Harambe.  
Big picture: bitch niggas taking over;<sup>152</sup>  
I’m a faithful soldier,  
Just gray and older—  
Goldenest child,  
Still holding it down,  
Defending,  
These trenches,  
Tribal wars—

With rival hoods,  
The only thing to save us: a Bible verse—  
Luke 6:22<sup>153</sup>—  
Maybe, seems that I'm screaming in an empty room—  
Overworked, underpaid,  
Wishing there's another way.  
More money, more problems<sup>154</sup>—  
Go before Congress?  
"Kinda makes me wanna murder for reala—even got a mask and gloves"<sup>155</sup>—  
Picture me—a mask and gloves.

Verse III:

Sometimes I sit back, reflect with a winner's mind,  
Focused like the Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter's mine,  
A young Odysseus—  
In this Iliad<sup>156</sup>,  
Headed home: land of the free enterprise;  
Idiot savant, thinking through sovereignty,  
Bureaucracies,  
Policies,  
Ponzi schemes—  
And it hit me, we killing each other, infighting,  
Divisive,  
Crab in the barrel battles,  
Scapegoating,  
Chainsmoking lungs—  
Done brung them flamethrowers,  
When we could all be stakeholders—  
And take over.  
So next meeting of the [Knights of the Round] Table Talk—  
First agenda item: Cain's fatal shot—  
Through Abel's heart,  
Unless we unite in all ways, we always gone take the loss.  
Lets wipe clean—  
Right wing—  
Pysches—  
Mental health!<sup>157</sup>  
Enter my inner presidential self.  
Cuz 'til we mentally free—we all prisoners,  
Between prison walls,  
Prison guards;  
Lets kneel at the altar of a new religion,  
Crucial mixtures—  
Of crucifixes,  
My own influences,

Confess your sins to the president—I commute your sentence<sup>158</sup>—  
Its futuristic;  
Now every man can go from the belly of the beast—  
To the valley of the kings—  
Tally up the C. R. E. A. M<sup>159</sup>—  
“Rise up above;” no more jake, shorty wop—  
I’m 45,  
“One love.”<sup>160</sup>

- 
1. Trump's conception of a proper white masculinity rests on and circulates through a universe of crucial and pliable masculine models through which he presents himself and performs in different ways before different publics. While the models he deploys depend heavily on the publics and politics of his moment, revealing the constructed nature of gendered ideologies and identities, the foremost of these models, however, is the self-made man. The self-made man was a nineteenth century gendered ideology and model that remains just as popular and powerful today. In this model, with its emphasis on independence, control, and power, Trump finds his symbolic ancestral lineage, reaching back through time and space to the storied magnates and 'captains of industry' of the Gilded Age, as well as the strong men of governments past and present. Unlike fallen American soldiers, these are the dead that Trump does actually honor. See for instance, Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York: Basic Books, 1994). On the pronunciation of "symphony," see for example, Marina Pitofsky, "Trump goes viral after mispronouncing Yosemite," *The Hill*, August 4, 2020, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/510501-trump-struggles-with-pronouncing-yosemites-at-bill-signing>, accessed October 2, 2020.
  2. See the transcript of Trump's Inaugural Address, which he delivered on January 20, 2017. Trump's address argued that his presidency marked the transferal of power from elites to ordinary citizens, and elevated military power while turning on motifs of loss and decline, ruling classes, and apocalyptic scenes of "American carnage" that helped him to instantiate himself as a strong man, white savior figure particularly opposed to the emasculating and enervating effects of a period of "Negro domination" represented by the Obama presidency. Drawing on longstanding but popular tropes of whiteness and white masculinity especially present in American film and literature to strengthen and personalize this framework, Trump put forward his body to suggest that he was willing to make a crucial manly sacrifice. "I will fight for you with every breath in my body," he declared, elevating himself as the herald "a new vision," one that centers in large part on him restoring proper white masculinity. See for instance, Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Thomas DiPiero, *White Men Aren't*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Ashley Jardina, *White Identity Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Carol Anderson, *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*, (Middleton, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1987).

- 
3. In his Inaugural Address, Trump stated that, "It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag."
  4. As Trump stated in his inaugural address, "the Bible tells us, 'how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity,'" and that "we will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God."
  5. Trump's constant refrain about "witch hunts" to rebut and/or trivialize critique, the Mueller investigation, and his impeachment trial, for instance, was in fact a rhetorical strategy to signal a concerted attack on white men and manhood by constructing a new way to frame white male victimhood, even through the historically gendered female frame of the witch.
  6. See, David Barstow, Susanne Craig, and Russ Buettner, "Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as he Reaped Riches from His Father," *New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Russ Buettner, Susanne Craig, and Mike McIntire, "Long-Concealed Records Show Trump's Chronic Losses and Years of Tax Avoidance," *The New York Times*, September 27, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/27/us/donald-trump-taxes.html>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  7. See, Jones, Nas. *The Message*. Columbia Records. 1996. Accessed October 20, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qh9TIYXKSFk>.
  8. See, West, Kanye. *Diamonds from Sierra Leone (Remix) featuring Jay-Z. Roc-A-Fella records*. 2005. Accessed October 21, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4q7OpvfvjWs>.
  9. Another masculine model important to Trump's universe of proper masculinity and gendered ideologies is the "Good Man," an appellation he reserves exclusively for white men, who are aggrieved, or, in his mind, have just cause to be because some aspect of their identity, social and economic status, and/or real or perceived authority has been ostensibly challenged. Consider, for instance, his framing of Brett Kavanaugh during his confirmation hearings. See for example, Jordan Phelps, "'Trying to destroy a great man': Trump doubles down on defense of Kavanaugh," ABC News, October 1, 2018, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/destroy-great-man-trump-doubles-defense-kavanaugh/story?id=58205160>, accessed October 2, 2020. See also, DiPiero, *White Men Aren't*; Jardina, *White Identity Politics*.
  10. See, *The Daily Beast*, "Trump: 'I'm 'Like, Really Smart,' A 'Very Stable Genius,'" January 6, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/trump-im-like-really-smart-a-very-stable-genius>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Philip Rucker and Carol Leonnig, *A Very Stable Genius: Donald J. Trump's Testing of America*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2020).

- 
11. See, for example, Stef W. Kight, "The Evolution of Trump's Muslim Ban," February 10, 2020, [axios.com](https://www.axios.com/trump-muslim-travel-ban-immigration-6ce8554f-05bd-467b-b3c2-ea4876f7773a.html), <https://www.axios.com/trump-muslim-travel-ban-immigration-6ce8554f-05bd-467b-b3c2-ea4876f7773a.html>, accessed October 28, 2020.
  12. See Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*. Consider the ways in which Trump draws on rugged and frontier masculinities to present himself as a 'builder' of sorts, re-purposing and updating these bygone masculine models to instantiate contemporary iterations of them by emphasizing his reputation as a real estate mogul. In this frame, he is able to conquer and control physical space, creating and/or promising to create landscapes of pleasure, play, and power through physical structures and built environments that range from hotels to proposed border walls.
  13. Cartagena, Joseph Antonio (Fat Joe). Don Cartagena. Big Beat Records.1998. Accessed October 18, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1D\\_qrArMYrE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1D_qrArMYrE).
  14. Jackson, O'Shea (Ice Cube). Predator. Priority Records. 1992. Accessed October 4, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Osm1p09MUpE>. See also, Jackson, O'Shea (Ice Cube). Arrest the President. Lench Mob. 2018. Accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y9oUnC8JtXY>. See also, Lee Morgan, "Arnold Schwarzenegger Breaks Down His Beef with Donald Trump, And Its Actually About Love," September 11, 2019, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/arnold-schwarzenegger-donald-trump-ego\\_n\\_5d78ab80e4b09342507bdda4#:~:text=ENTERTAINMENT-,Arnold%20Schwarzenegger%20Breaks%20Down%20His%20Beef%20With%20Donald%20Trump%2C%20And,feud%20in%20a%20new%20interview.&text=Schwarzenegger%20said%20Trump%20used%20to,relationship%20with%20the%20then%20Dbusinessman](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/arnold-schwarzenegger-donald-trump-ego_n_5d78ab80e4b09342507bdda4#:~:text=ENTERTAINMENT-,Arnold%20Schwarzenegger%20Breaks%20Down%20His%20Beef%20With%20Donald%20Trump%2C%20And,feud%20in%20a%20new%20interview.&text=Schwarzenegger%20said%20Trump%20used%20to,relationship%20with%20the%20then%20Dbusinessman), accessed October 2, 2020. See also, Leah Asmelash, "From N. W. A. to MAGA: Ice Cube takes some heat for working with the trump administration," CNN.com, October 16, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/15/us/ice-cube-trump-controversy-trnd/index.html>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  15. "Trump says he's heard very interesting things about 'Roswell,' site of an alleged UFO event," NBC News, June 19, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-says-he-s-heard-very-interesting-things-about-roswell-n1231521>, accessed October 2, 2020.
  16. See, Carter, Sean (Jay-Z). U Don't Know. Roc-A-Fella Records. 2001. Accessed October 15, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsXrOqyBa4U>.
  17. Josh Rottenberg, "President Trump Isn't Happy About the Oscar for 'Parasite.' What Movies Does he Like?," *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/movies/story/2020-02-21/president-trump-favorite-movies-parasite-oscar>, accessed October 2, 2020. According to the article, Trump enjoys several "tough guy" movies, such as "Rambo," "Death Wish," "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," "Gone

- 
- with the Wind,” “Goodfellas,” and “Godfather.” It is worth considering how these films helped serve as important sources of Trump’s subjectivity and ideas on masculinity, governance, resistance, power, and justice.
18. See, for example, “The Daily Trump: Filling a Time Capsule,” *The Atlantic*, <https://www.theatlantic.com/notes/2016/10/trump-time-capsule-145-ill-look-at-it/504764/>, accessed October 25, 2020. It is worth construing Trump as a font of ideas in a contemporary intellectual history in which his tweets help produce and stoke problematic discourses. A prolific writer of dangerous ideas, he has helped produce and facilitate what many writers have called the ‘post-truth era,’ which centers on his “alternative facts” and condemnation of a free press. But Trump’s anti-intellectualism, disinformation, and rejection of science also draws on a longstanding culture, if not a white tradition of resistance, of rejecting ideas and information that work to counter and resist white control and supremacy. See, for instance, Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*; Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racial Ideas in America*, (New York: Nation Books, 2016); Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*, (New York: Random House, 2020). Consider especially the false logics of racial ideologies and pseudoscience that underpinned the slavery and Jim Crow regimes, as well as racist policies today.
  19. See, for example, Tom McCarthy, “‘I am the Chosen One’: with boasts and insults, Trump sets new benchmark for incoherence,” *The Guardian*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/21/trump-press-conference-greenland-jewish-democrats>, accessed October 17, 2020.
  20. See, “Donald Trump on Benghazi attack: ‘Clinton was sleeping’-as it happened,” *The Guardian*, May 25, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/may/25/clinton-trump-sanders-california-2016-campaign-live>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  21. Megan McCluskey, “Kid Rock and Kanye West Have Both Mused about Running for Office. Now They’re at the White House,” *Time*, <https://time.com/5422100/kid-rock-kanye-west-trump-white-house/>, accessed October 2, 2020.
  22. See, for example, McKay Coppins, “How Mitt Romney Decided Trump is Guilty,” *The Atlantic*, February 5, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/02/romney-impeach-trump/606127/>, accessed October 2, 2020. See also, McKay Coppins, “The Liberation of Mitt Romney,” October 20, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/10/mitt-romney-middle-impeachment-fight/600373/>, accessed October 4, 2020.
  23. See, for example, Chris Cilliza, “Covfefe Tells You All You Need to Know About Donald Trump,” June 1, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/31/politics/donald-trump-covfefe/index.html>, accessed October 3, 2020. After ostensibly misspelling the word, coverage, in his Tweet and instead tweeting “covfefe,” Trump mused, while also posing an intellectual challenge to the public, “Who can

- 
- figure out the true meaning of ‘covfefe’ ??? Enjoy!,” This song defines what Trump probably meant, in line with his typical bluster and braggadocio, though it is also worth considering how Trump seizes on the confusion his statements and actions tend to cause in order to mobilize distraction as a deliberate political strategy.
24. “The Swamp that Trump Built,” *The New York Times*, October 10, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/10/10/us/trump-properties-swamp.html>, accessed October 18, 2020. Consider Trump’s metaphorical “swamp” in the context of his varied conceptions of space. Trump markets the “swamp” to represent the failed state and its failed government, but in the context of actual climate change and environmental protection, and his questionable real estate dealings and imagined apocalyptic landscapes, the swamp is more a space for play, pleasure, and power, imagined and built environments that are oftentimes provide the bedrock for white criminality. See also, “How Trump abandoned his pledge to ‘drain the swamp,’” *The Washington Post*, October 24, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-drain-the-swamp/2020/10/24/52c7682c-0a5a-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-drain-the-swamp/2020/10/24/52c7682c-0a5a-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a_story.html), accessed October 25, 2020.
  25. Jeffrey Goldberg, “Trump: Americans who died in War are ‘Losers’ and ‘Suckers,’” *The Atlantic*, September 3, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/09/trump-americans-who-died-at-war-are-losers-and-suckers/615997/>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Cory Turner, “Trump Announces ‘Patriotic Education’ Commission,” *NPR.org*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/18/914281543/trump-announces-patriotic-education-commission>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  26. See, Young, Andre (Dr. Dre). Nuthin’ But a “G” Thang. Death Row Records. 1992. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6xjRdBjmePQ>.
  27. See, Jackson, Michael. Smooth Criminal. Epic Records. 1988. Accessed October 30, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h\\_D3VFfhs4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h_D3VFfhs4).
  28. See, for example, Amber Phillips, “What We Know and Don’t Know About Trump and Ukraine,” *The Washington Post*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/27/what-we-know-don-t-know-about-trump-ukraine/>, accessed October 3, 2020.
  29. For Trump and many of his supporters, President Obama represents his chief foil, symbolizing the leading presidency, ideological frame, rhetorical style, masculine model, and racial identity against which Trump not only defines and presents himself, but also positions himself as the last ‘wall’ between white civilization and “Negro domination.” As identity construction is deeply relational, Trump’s many references to Obama point to how much Obama occupies a significant degree of intellectual space in Trump’s consciousness, and has since 2008 when Trump ignited the ‘birther movement.’ Trump considered the White House an inviolate white male space and the

- 
- presidency as the last bastion of white (male) power, owing, on one hand, to his constant aspersions against Obama, and on the other hand, revealing the parts of his consciousness occupied by Obama as an influential model of leadership that he desires to have also. Still, Obama's presidency ignited a crisis in white masculinity and a crisis in governmentality for Trump and many of his supporters. His campaign and presidency promised in part to counter these perceived crises and redeem white manhood, as well as white (male) control. Performing a white savior figure and a Great White Hope especially before QAnon supporters and the like, Trump has elevated himself among supporters as the one leader capable of rescuing the country, the West, and whiteness from what could have been, he and supporters believe, the "resurgence" of "Negro domination." See, for example, Michael Barbaro, "Donald Trump Clung to 'Birther' Lie for Years, and Still Isn't Apologetic," *New York Times*, September 16, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/17/us/politics/donald-trump-obama-birther.html>, accessed October 19, 2020.
30. See, for example, Blake Montgomery, "Obama Says Fox Would Have Called Him 'Beijing Barry' if He Had Chinese Bank Account," *The Daily Beast*, October 21, 2020, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/obama-says-fox-news-would-have-called-him-beijing-barry-if-he-had-chinese-bank-account-like-trump>, accessed October 24, 2020. As illustrated by many of his public statements as president and as early as 2008, Obama occupies significant space in Trump's mind, a space in which Trump engages in an eternal competition with Obama at the same time that Obama also represents for him a gold standard of leadership and masculinity.
31. See, Zachary Cohen, "Ousted State Department inspector general was investigating if Pompeo made staffer walk his dog and run other personal errands," *cnn.com*, May 18, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/05/17/politics/state-department-inspector-general-pompeo-errands/index.html>, accessed October 13, 2020.; "Bill Barr is acting like Trump's attack dog, not his attorney general," *The Guardian*, September 5, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/sep/05/william-barr-donald-trump-attack-dog-attorney-general>, accessed October 1, 2020. See, Carter, Sean (Jay-Z). *Dirt Off Your Shoulder*. Roc-A-Fella Records. 2004. Accessed October 29, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oz\\_-VaTHpc8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oz_-VaTHpc8).
32. See, "Trump's children brought Secret Service money to the family business with their visits, records show," *The Washington Post*, October 12, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-service-spending-trump-kids/2020/10/12/ffc1c330-ff31-11ea-9ceb-061d646d9c67\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-service-spending-trump-kids/2020/10/12/ffc1c330-ff31-11ea-9ceb-061d646d9c67_story.html), accessed October 20, 2020. See also, Amber Jamieson, "In His Latest Example of Racist Misogyny, Trump Called Kamala Harris a 'Monster' Twice," *Buzzfeednews.com*, October 8, 2020, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/amberjamieson/trump-calls->

- 
- kamala-harris-monster, accessed October 18, 2020. For Black women, Trump does not apply his typical pejorative “nasty women.” He goes further to reach for more derisive and bestial terms that are not only deeply gendered and racialized, but also do critical ideological and political work in the American popular imagination concerning Black people in general, and here Black women in particular. Trump’s “monster” serves as an important buzzword in the racial lexicon for delegitimizing Black people’s ambition, vertical and spatial mobility, and/or resistance by dislocating them from humanity and citizenship. The word therefore identifies a Black threat, which is then intended to alert the appropriate political, social, and cultural policing powers. For Black women, Trump’s rhetorical move here demonizes them in gender and racially specific ways. See also, Melissa V. Harris Perry, *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).; Daina Ramey Berry and Kali Nicole Gross, *A Black Women’s History of the United States*, (New York: Beacon Press, 2020).
33. See also, Michael Edison Hayden, “Stephen Miller’s Affinity for White Nationalism Revealed in Leaked Emails,” Southern Poverty Law Center, November 12, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/11/12/stephen-millers-affinity-white-nationalism-revealed-leaked-emails>, accessed October 18, 2020.; Tina Nguyen, “Donald Trump Picks White-Nationalist Hero as Top White House Adviser: Stephen Bannon, who turned Breitbart News into a haven for racists and anti-Semites, will be Trump’s chief strategist and senior counselor,” *Vanity Fair*, November 14, 2016, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/11/steve-bannon-donald-trump-white-house-advisor>, accessed October 30, 2020.
34. See, for example, Scott Horsely, “Sworn to Secrecy: Trump’s History of Using Nondisclosure Agreements,” NPR.org, March 19, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/03/19/595025070/sworn-to-secrecy-trumps-history-of-using-nondisclosure-agreements>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Michael Kranish, “Trump long has relied on nondisclosure deals to prevent criticism. That strategy may be unraveling,” *The Washington Post*, August 7, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-nda-jessica-denson-lawsuit/2020/08/06/202fed1c-d5ad-11ea-b9b2-1ea733b97910\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-nda-jessica-denson-lawsuit/2020/08/06/202fed1c-d5ad-11ea-b9b2-1ea733b97910_story.html), accessed October 18, 2020.
35. See, Carter, Sean. (Jay-Z). Renegade Roc-A-Fella Records. 2001. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4jkg07rtf1M>.
36. See, Jones, Nas. NY State of Mind. Columbia Records, 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h18A14Qcv68>. Consider the ways in which the White House, like the storied New York, serves as a physical and structural mimetic space, though an elite one, that facilitates and sometimes disciplines a certain consciousness and sense of self for its occupants. For Trump, however, the White House ratcheted the consciousness he brought with him to the presidency, one already deeply rooted in class and racial privilege, power, masculinity, and criminality.

- 
- Within and from the White House, Trump constructs and projects his particular leadership model, a model rarely considered by leadership studies as a model in and of itself: Incompetency. The Incompetent leadership model dovetails with his self-made man and strong man personas, all of them working to mask and compensate for his ineptitude as a leader. Here, Trump offers Incompetence as a pliable and democratically accessible model of leadership for white men and women. Indeed, this is part of what gives Trumpism such widespread appeal, that Trump's particular brand of masculinity and leadership make raw power more democratically accessible to white men and women, while crucially negating it for those deemed 'other.'
37. See, for example, Phillip Bump, "If Trump shot someone dead on Fifth Avenue, many supporters would call his murder trial biased," *The Washington Post*, March 14, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/14/if-trump-shot-someone-dead-fifth-avenue-many-supporters-would-call-his-murder-trial-biased/>, accessed October 4, 2020. It is worth considering how Trump often mobilizes another masculine model, that of the outlaw figure, a rather underanalyzed but wildly popular model canonized especially in western and mobster films. Statements that he could murder someone and get away with it not only speak to this, helping instantiate his anti-establishment public image, that he is beyond the reach of state authorities, and even the cultural and rhetorical policing thought to be societally enforced through terms like "political correctness." See also, Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election (Mueller Report), Vol. II, pg. 8., March 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/storage/report.pdf>, accessed October 10, 2020.
38. Matthew Nussbaum, "Justice Department: No evidence Obama wiretapped Trump Tower," *Politico*, <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/09/02/obama-trump-tower-wiretap-no-evidence-242284>, September 2, 2017, accessed October 4, 2020.
39. See, Russ Buettner and Susanne Craig, "\$421 Million in Debt: Trump Calls it, 'a Peanut,' but Challenges Lie Ahead," October 16, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/us/trump-taxes.html>, accessed October 18, 2020.
40. See, Woods, Corey (Raekwon). Only Built 4 Cuban Linx. Loud Records. 1995. Accessed October 25, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbzurXVx-x0&list=PLB7B802978D1C1305>.
41. See, for example, "Donald Trump blasts NFL anthem protesters: 'Get that son of a bitch off the field,'" *The Guardian*, September 22, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/sep/22/donald-trump-nfl-national-anthem-protests>, accessed October 4, 2020. See also, Aric Jenkins, "Read President Trump's NFL Speech on National Anthem Protests," *Time*, September 23, 2017, <https://time.com/4954684/donald-trump-nfl-speech-anthem-protests/>, accessed October 4, 2020.

- 
42. See, Junior M. A. F. I. A. Conspiracy. 1995. Accessed October 18, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cGcKGGK6qXM&list=PLxs2jjSwI-sK3N6Xm0HzOyRnUow5tBbip>.
  43. See, for example, Jason DeParle, "8 Million Have Slipped Into Poverty Since May as Federal Aid Has Dried Up," *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/us/politics/federal-aid-poverty-levels.html>, accessed October 17, 2020.
  44. See, Wallace, Chris (Notorious B. I. G.). Ten Crack Commandments. Bad Boy Records. 1997. Accessed October 22, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYb\\_8MM1tGQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYb_8MM1tGQ).
  45. See, for example, Megan Flynn and Allyson Chiu, "Trump says his authority is 'total.' Constitutional experts have 'no idea' where he got that," *The Washington Post*, April 14, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/04/14/trump-power-constitution-coronavirus/>, accessed October 12, 2020. Because Trump's primary governmentality revolves around monarchies, autocracies, imperialism, and strong men, it puts him ideologically at odds with constitutional and democratic government. Indeed, Trump has worked to map on to constitutional government the dictatorial and unilateral corporate culture from which he comes, though white supremacy, which has long undergirded American governmentality, provides him a ready framework in which he is able to apply his notions of government and leadership.
  46. See, "White House was warned Giuliani was target of Russian intelligence operation to feed misinformation to Trump," *The Washington Post*, October 15, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/giuliani-biden-ukraine-russian-disinformation/2020/10/15/43158900-0ef5-11eb-b1e8-16b59b92b36d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/giuliani-biden-ukraine-russian-disinformation/2020/10/15/43158900-0ef5-11eb-b1e8-16b59b92b36d_story.html), accessed October 18, 2020.
  47. See for example, "How Michael Cohen, Trump's Fixer, Built a Shadowy Business Empire," *The New York Times*, May 5, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/05/business/michael-cohen-lawyer-trump.html>, accessed October 20, 2020.
  48. See for example, Steph W. Knight, "Report: Trump doesn't read his written intelligence briefs," *Axios.com*, February 9, 2018, <https://www.axios.com/trump-doesnt-read-his-presidential-briefings-report-1518192747-64a340a0-83dc-43ab-a749-391b48af475e.html>, accessed October 18, 2020. Consider also Khizr Khan's challenge to Trump to read the Constitution. See, for example, Paulina Firozi, "Khizr Khan: Offer for Trump to read the Constitution still stands," May 16, 2017, <https://thehill.com/homenews/news/333697-khizr-khan-my-offer-to-donald-trump-to-read-the-constitution-remains-standing>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  49. See, Singleton, John, Director. *Boys in the Hood*. 1991. Columbia Pictures.
  50. Report on the Investigation Into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election, <https://www.justice.gov/storage/report.pdf>, March 2019, accessed October 10, 2020. Articles of Impeachment Against Donald

- 
- John Trump, <https://www.congress.gov/116/bills/hres755/BILLS-116hres755enr.pdf>, accessed October 18, 2020.; See also, for example, Zachary B. Wolf, "Here's What we've learned from Trump's impeachment trial," CNN.com, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/02/01/politics/impeachment-watch-january-31/index.html>, February 1, 2020, accessed October 18, 2020.
51. See for example, Jonathan Mahler and Steve Eder, "No Vacancies' for Blacks: How Donald Trump Got His Start, and Was First Accused of Bias," *The New York Times*, August 27, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/28/us/politics/donald-trump-housing-race.html>, accessed October 20, 2020.
52. See, for example, Cristina Marcos, "Pelosi and Trump go a full year without speaking," *The Hill*, October 16, 2020, <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/521306-pelosi-and-trump-go-a-full-year-without-speaking>, accessed October 20, 2020. In addition to Obama, Nancy Pelosi is one of the leadership styles against which he defines himself and his leadership. Revealing other sides of his gendered ideologies, Trump constantly frames Pelosi as, what he calls, a "Nasty Woman," his typical pejorative term for women, particularly white women, who challenge male authority in real and perceived ways. His (hyper)masculinity makes space for critical and resistant women like Pelosi only in this capacity, as an aberration in need of correction through rhetorical violence, violent silencing, or even violence itself. Here, Trump thrives on one of the crucial features of proper masculinity, which must eliminate real or perceived rivals whether they are men or women.
53. "Donald Trump orders McDonalds for football champions as shutdown cuts staff," *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jan/14/donald-trump-orders-fast-food-white-house-clemson-football>, accessed October 18, 2020.
54. William Keith & Robert Danisch, *Beyond Civility: The Competing Obligations of Citizenship*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2020).
55. See for example, the Mueller Report, Vol. II, pg. 40. The report states that, "according to Comey's account of the meeting, once they were alone, the President began the conversation by saying, 'I want to talk about Mike Flynn.' The President stated that Flynn had not done anything wrong in speaking with the Russians, but had to be terminated because he had misled the Vice President. The conversation turned to the topic of leaks of classified information, but the President returned to Flynn, saying 'he is a good guy and has been through a lot.' The President stated, 'I hope you can see your way clear to letting this go, to letting Flynn go. He is a good guy. I hope you can let this go.'"
56. See for example, Jill Filipovic, "Our President Has Always Degraded Women, and We've Always Let Him," *Time*, December 5, 2017, <https://time.com/5047771/donald-trump-comments-billy-bush/>, accessed October 18, 2020. As problematic as the statement was, a confession of Trump's fondness for sexually assaulting women, it should also be construed

- 
- as one of the ways he intended to govern, that is, by force and predatory power, hence his gendering the country as female in the lyrics that follow.
57. Tiffany Hsu, "Aunt Jemima Brand to Change Name and Image Over 'Racial Stereotype,'" *The New York Times*, June 17, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/business/media/aunt-jemima-racial-stereotype.html>, accessed October 20, 2020.
  58. See, for example, Anderson, *White Rage*; Jardina, *White Identity Politics*; Woodward, *Rage*.
  59. See, Carter, Sean (Jay-Z). Dead Presidents. Roc-A-fella Records. 1996. Accessed October 13, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p3grvCbdONk>. Again, juxtaposed against fallen American soldiers, these representative white men featured on American currency are the dead that Trump does actually honor, illuminating his particular necropolitics. See also, Jeffrey Goldberg, "Trump: Americans who died in War are 'Losers' and 'Suckers,'" *The Atlantic*, September 3, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/09/trump-americans-who-died-at-war-are-losers-and-suckers/615997/>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Cory Turner, "Trump Announces 'Patriotic Education' Commission," NPR.org, September 18, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/18/914281543/trump-announces-patriotic-education-commission>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  60. See, Puff Daddy & The Family. Its all About the Benjamins. Bad Boy Records. 1997. Accessed October 19, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChNBMA-soXA>.
  61. See, David Barstow, Susanne Craig and Russ Buettner, "Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as he Reaped Riches from His Father," *The New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html>, accessed October 1, 2020.
  62. See, for example, Ashley Parker, "How Trump has attempted to recast his response to Charlottesville," *The Washington Post*, May 7, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-trump-has-attempted-to-recast-his-response-to-charlottesville/2019/05/06/8c4b7fc2-6b80-11e9-a66d-a82d3f3d96d5\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-trump-has-attempted-to-recast-his-response-to-charlottesville/2019/05/06/8c4b7fc2-6b80-11e9-a66d-a82d3f3d96d5_story.html), accessed October 18, 2020.
  63. See, Donald J. Trump with Tony Schwartz, *The Art of the Deal*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 2015). Trump states that "I don't do it for the money...I do it to do it. Deals are my art form." See also, Jeffrey Goldberg, "Trump: Americans who died in War are 'Losers' and 'Suckers,'" *The Atlantic*, September 3, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/09/trump-americans-who-died-at-war-are-losers-and-suckers/615997/>, accessed October 18, 2020.
  64. See, for example, Jeanne Whalen, "Court orders Trump to pay Stormy Daniels \$44, 100 to cover her legal fees," *The Washington Post*, August 22, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/08/22/trump-must-pay->

- 
- stormy-daniels-legal-fees/, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, "Donald Trump Played Central Role in Hush Payoffs to Stormy Daniels and Karen McDougal," *The Wall Street Journal*, November 9, 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/donald-trump-played-central-role-in-hush-payoffs-to-stormy-daniels-and-karen-mcdougal-1541786601>, accessed October 21, 2020.
65. See, for example, Glenn Thrush and Maggie Haberman, "Sean Spicer Resigns as Press Secretary," *The New York Times*, July 21, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/21/us/politics/sean-spicer-resigns-as-white-house-press-secretary.html>, accessed October 19, 2020.
66. See, for example, "Block the Vote: Voter Suppression in 2020," <https://www.aclu.org/news/civil-liberties/block-the-vote-voter-suppression-in-2020/>, accessed October 15, 2020. See also, Wu-Tang. *Da Mystery of Chessboxin.'* Loud Records. 1993. Accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YsiAsTa0oEI>.
67. See, for example, Amy Siskind, "This is Not Normal," *The Washington Post*, October 16, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/outlook/siskind-list-trump-norms/>, accessed October 19, 2020. But much of his anti-establishment rhetoric and politics grow out of his effort to project himself as an outlaw figure, on one hand, and on the other hand, project a leadership that actually hinges on a model rooted in incompetence. This model does not strive for efficacy so much as it strives for an absolute power and white resistance that works to mask the ineptitude at its very center.
68. See for example, David Jackson and John Fritze, "Donald Trump's weight up, cholesterol down, president's doctor discloses after physical exam," *usatoday.com*, February 14, 2019, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/02/14/donald-trump-weighs-243-pounds-doctor-says-after-physical/2846158002/>, accessed October 22, 2020. See also, Emily Shapiro, "The History Behind the Donald Trump Small Hands' Insult," March 4, 2016, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/history-donald-trump-small-hands-insult/story?id=37395515>, accessed October 22, 2020. Compare Trump's subjectivity here in terms of his impressions of his own body and public image with his aversion to wounded American soldiers.
69. See, "Nolan D. McCaskill, "Having really a protective glow means something: Trump claims Covid immunity," *Politico*, October 11, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/10/11/trump-covid-immunity-protective-glow-428661>, accessed October 12, 2020.
70. Peter Baker and Nicholas Fandos, "Bolton Objected to Ukraine Pressure Campaign, calling Giuliani 'a Hand Grenade,'" *The New York Times*, October 14, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/us/politics/bolton-giuliani-fiona-hill-testimony.html>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, John Bolton, *The Room Where it Happened: A White House Memoir*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020).

- 
71. See, for example, Andrew Weissmann, *Where Law Ends: Inside the Mueller Investigation*, (New York: Random House, 2020).
72. True to the deeply performative and theatrical nature of Trump's leadership model and masculinity, he has in part performed a minstrel version of Shakespeare's *Julius Cesar* that is also partly influenced by the biblical story of Samson.
73. See, Broadus, Calvin (Snoop Dogg). Gin and Juice. Death Row Records.1994. Accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKGJOtRaqMg>.
74. Daniel Politi, "Trump Reportedly Wanted to Wear Superman Shirt to Surprise People When Left Hospital," *Slate.com*, October 10, 2020, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2020/10/trump-superman-shirt-surprise-hospital-coronavirus.html>, accessed October 20, 2020. Trump wanted to display the Superman emblem on his chest following his release from Walter Reed Hospital. Many dismissed the aborted stunt as ill-planned, but it is worth considering the ways in which Trump's fraught idea reveals his understanding of the deeply performative and theatrical work of American politics, leadership, and masculinity.
75. See, Woodward, *Rage* for a discussion of letters sent between Trump and Kim.
76. See, for example, Sean Collins, "Trump once flirted with white nationalism. Now it's a centerpiece of his White House," *Vox.com*, July 21, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/21313021/trump-white-nationalism-supremacy-miller-bannon-immigration>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Emma Green, "Why Can't He Just Say It?," *The Atlantic*, September 30, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/09/trump-white-nationalism-proud-boys-debate/616546/>, accessed October 18, 2020. See also, Danielle Campoamor, "'Mass Hysterectomies' at ICE happened on Trump's watch. But they're America's problem," September 16, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/mass-hysterectomies-ice-happened-trump-s-watch-they-re-america-ncna1240238>, accessed October 18, 2020.
77. See, for example, Greg Sargent, "7 ways Trump and his cabal are using government to corrupt the election," *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/09/14/7-ways-trump-his-cabal-are-using-government-corrupt-election/>, accessed October 27, 2020.
78. See, for example, Adam Liptak and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Shadow of Merrick Garland Hangs Over the Next Supreme Court Fight," *The New York Times*, September 29, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/19/us/ginsburg-vacancy-garland.html>, accessed October 21, 2020.
79. See, for example, Erin Durkin, "DOJ will not bring charges against officer in death of Eric Garner," *Politico*, July 7, 2019, <https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2019/07/16/doj->

- 
- will-not-bring-charges-against-officer-in-death-of-eric-garner-1103711, accessed October 20, 2020.
80. See, Joe Heim, "Rev. William J. Barber II: The Trump Administration has violated what Jesus says should be our top priorities," *The Washington Post*, June 11, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/rev-william-j-barber-ii-the-trump-administration-has-violated-what-jesus-said-should-be-our-top-priorities/2019/06/07/ecbb32be-7597-11e9-bd25-c989555e7766\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/rev-william-j-barber-ii-the-trump-administration-has-violated-what-jesus-said-should-be-our-top-priorities/2019/06/07/ecbb32be-7597-11e9-bd25-c989555e7766_story.html), accessed October 17, 2020.
81. See, for example, "Who has left Trump's administration and orbit," [cnn.com](https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2017/08/politics/trump-admin-departures-trnd/), October 21, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2017/08/politics/trump-admin-departures-trnd/>, accessed October 16, 2020.
82. See, for example, "The full lyrics to Eminem's Trump-bashing freestyle 'The Storm,'" [cnn.com](https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/11/entertainment/eminem-storm-full-lyrics/index.html), October 11, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/11/entertainment/eminem-storm-full-lyrics/index.html>, accessed October 23, 2020. It is significant and telling that Eminem presented perhaps the only critique to which Trump struggled to respond, given the bombastic and derisive rhetoric, or gangsta rap, that he routinely marshals against critics and rivals. Here, Trump failed to "battle" Eminem, the quintessential wordsmith, illustrating the limits of Trump's rhetoric. Eschewing a doomed war of words, Trump seems to have ultimately responded to Eminem, using instead the crux of politicians' gangsta rap: the state. See, for example, Jon Blistein, "Secret Service Interviewed Eminem Over 'Threatening' Trump Lyrics" *RollingStone*, October 24, 2019, <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/eminem-secret-service-donald-trump-ivanka-trump-903351/>, accessed October 23, 2020. Consider also, that generally, Trump is not a good freestyler, as the Mueller Report points out. See, Mueller Report, Vol. II, pg. 13.
83. See, Jan Ransom, "Trump Will Not Apologize for Death Penalty Over Central Park Five," *The New York Times*, June 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/18/nyregion/central-park-five-trump.html?auth=login-email&login=email>, accessed October 4, 2020. Here is perhaps the most glaring example of Trump's conception of justice, which is that justice does not and should not extend to Black people. For Trump, justice, in its full sense of fairness, rights, and equality, should only manifest for white men and especially privileged white men. Here, like many other politicians have over time, Trump was convinced of the axiomatic status of "black criminality" in American life, and promoted the death penalty for the Central Park Five, though he himself confessed on tape to sexually assaulting women.
84. See, for example, Luke O'Neil, "What do we know about Trump's love for the Bible," *The Guardian*, June 2, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/02/what-do-we-know-about-trumps-love-for-the-bible>, accessed October 30, 2020.

- 
85. See, for example, Chris Cillizza, “The 55 most shocking lines from Chris Wallace’s interview with Donald Trump,” *cnn.com*, July 20, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/20/politics/donald-trump-chris-wallace-coronavirus/index.html>, accessed October 18, 2020.
86. See, Mueller Report, Vol. II, pg. 6. The Report states that, “after the FBI searched Cohen’s home and office in April 2018, the President publicly asserted that Cohen would not ‘flip,’ contacted him directly to tell him to ‘stay strong,’ and privately passed messages of support to him. Cohen also discussed pardons with the President’s personal counsel and believed that if he stayed on message he would be taken care of. But after Cohen began cooperating with the government in the summer of 2018, the President publicly criticized him, called him a ‘rat,’ and suggested that his family members had committed crimes.
87. See, Hill, Lauren. *Forgive Them Father*. Ruffhouse Records. 1998. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9YnmXHGeg4>.
88. See, for example, Mueller Report, Vol. II, pg. 35. The report states that, “after Comey’s account of the dinner became public, the President and his advisors disputed that he had asked for Comey’s loyalty. The President also indicated that he had not invited Comey to dinner, telling a reporter that he thought Comey had ‘asked for the dinner’ because ‘he wanted to stay on.’ But substantial evidence corroborates Comey’s account of the dinner invitation and the request for loyalty. The President’s Daily Diary confirms that the President ‘extend[ed] a dinner invitation’ to Comey on January 27. With respect to the substance of the dinner conversation, Comey documented the President’s request for loyalty in a memorandum he began drafting the night of the dinner; senior FBI officials recall that Comey told them about the loyalty request shortly after the dinner occurred.”
89. See, Hardy, Antonio (Big Daddy Kane). *Ain’t No Half-Steppin.’ Cold Chillin’* Records. 1988. Accessed October 12, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqPIF5Mn32M>.
90. See, Mobb Deep. *Shook Ones (Part II)*. Loud Records. 1994. Accessed October 18, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoYZf-lBF\\_U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoYZf-lBF_U).
91. See, for example, Jauna Summers, “Timeline: How Trump Has Downplayed the Coronavirus Pandemic,” *npr.org*, October 2, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/sections/latest-updates-trump-covid-19-results/2020/10/02/919432383/how-trump-has-downplayed-the-coronavirus-pandemic>, accessed October 20, 2020. See also, Christian Paz, “All the President’s Lies About the Coronavirus,” *The Atlantic*, October 1, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/10/trumps-lies-about-coronavirus/608647/>, accessed October 15, 2020.
92. See, Broadus, Calvin (Snoop Dogg). *Gin and Juice*. Death Row Records. 1994. Accessed October 20, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWCZse1iwE0>.; See, Miller, Percy (Master P). *Bout it Bout it*. No Limit Records. 1997. Accessed, October 20, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ZEjKf4gBJw>. See, for example,

- 
- Dartunorro Clark, "Trump suggests 'injection' of disinfectant to beat coronavirus and 'clean' the lungs," *nbcnews.com*, April 13, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-suggests-injection-disinfectant-beat-coronavirus-clean-lungs-n1191216>, accessed October 16, 2020.
93. See, for example, Ashley Parker, "How Trump has attempted to recast his response to Charlottesville," *The Washington Post*, May 7, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-trump-has-attempted-to-recast-his-response-to-charlottesville/2019/05/06/8c4b7fc2-6b80-11e9-a66d-a82d3f3d96d5\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-trump-has-attempted-to-recast-his-response-to-charlottesville/2019/05/06/8c4b7fc2-6b80-11e9-a66d-a82d3f3d96d5_story.html), accessed October 18, 2020.
94. See, for example, Rebecca Falconer, "Trump says if Biden's elected, 'he'll listen to the scientists,'" *axios.com*, October 19, 2020, <https://www.axios.com/trump-warns-lockdowns-if-biden-elected-scientists-c1263b65-15c9-47a1-9d6b-63161f6c5170.html>, accessed October 24, 2020. It should be noted that anti-intellectualism is a critical feature of the Incompetent leadership model.
95. See, Mobb Deep. Shook Ones (Part II). 1994. Loud Records. Accessed October 18, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoYZf-lBF\\_U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoYZf-lBF_U).
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. See, for example, Justine Coleman, "Trump on coronavirus death toll: 'it is what it is,'" *The Hill*, August 4, 2020, <https://thehill.com/policy/healthcare/510393-trump-on-coronavirus-death-toll-it-is-what-it-is>, accessed October 22, 2020.
99. For more on white slave narratives, see for example, Stephen Middleton, David Roediger, and Donald M. Shaffer, *The Construction of Whiteness: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Race Formation and the Meaning of a White Identity*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2016). See also, Cory Turner, "Trump Announces 'Patriotic Education' Commission," *NPR.org*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/18/914281543/trump-announces-patriotic-education-commission>, accessed October 18, 2020. Trump called for a "patriotic education" that does not emphasize slavery, though he elevates ideas and images of white slavery. See also, Jenna Johnson, "'All in' for Trump: These White men, the strongest Trump supporters, say they cant be swayed," *The Washington Post*, September 27, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/10/08/senior-citizens-trump-biden-2020-voters-428131>, accessed October 24, 2020.
100. See, for example, Harper Neidig, "Appeals court rejects Trump effort to throw out emoluments clause," *The Hill*, May 14, 2020, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/497721-appeals-court-rules-against-trump-on-emoluments-clause>, accessed October 24, 2020.; "Ballrooms, candles, and luxury cottages: During Trump's term, millions of government and GOP dollars have flowed to his properties," *The Washington Post*, October 27, 2020,

- 
- [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/ballrooms-candles-and-luxury-cottages-during-trumps-term-millions-of-government-and-gop-dollars-have-flowed-to-his-properties-mar-a-lago-charged-the-government-3-apiece-for-glasses-of-water-for-trump-and-the-japanese-leader/2020/10/27/186f20a2-1469-11eb-bc10-40b25382f1be\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/ballrooms-candles-and-luxury-cottages-during-trumps-term-millions-of-government-and-gop-dollars-have-flowed-to-his-properties-mar-a-lago-charged-the-government-3-apiece-for-glasses-of-water-for-trump-and-the-japanese-leader/2020/10/27/186f20a2-1469-11eb-bc10-40b25382f1be_story.html), accessed October 27, 2020.
101. See, David Barstow, Susanne Craig and Russ Buettner, “Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as he Reaped Riches from His Father,” *The New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html>, accessed October 1, 2020.
102. See, for example, Tom McCarthy, “‘I am the Chose One’: with boasts and insults, Trump sets new benchmark for incoherence,” *The Guardian*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/21/trump-press-conference-greenland-jewish-democrats>, accessed October 17, 2020.
103. Mary McCord, “Trump’s ‘Liberate Michigan!’ tweets incite insurrection. That’s illegal,” *The Washington Post*, April 17, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/04/17/liberate-michigan-trump-constitution/>, accessed October 24, 2020.
104. Adam Serwer, “The Coronavirus Was an Emergency Until Trump Found Out Who Was Dying,” *The Atlantic*, May 8, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/05/americas-racial-contract-showing/611389/>, accessed October 24, 2020. Cite stuff on essential workers.
105. See for example, Zack Stanton, “Why Senior Citizens are Flipping on Trump,” *Politico*, October 8, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/10/08/senior-citizens-trump-biden-2020-voters-428131>, accessed October 17, 2020.
106. See, Mueller Report, Vol. II, 49. The report states that, “in the days that followed, the President contacted Comey and other intelligence agency leaders and asked them to push back publicly on the suggestion that the President had any connection to the Russian election-interference effort in order to ‘lift the cloud’ of the ongoing investigation.”
107. See, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*.
108. See, for example, “How Trump allies have organized and promoted anti-lock-down protests,” *Reuters*, April 21, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-trump-protests/how-trump-allies-have-organized-and-promoted-anti-lockdown-protests-idUSKCN2233ES>, accessed October 24, 2020. Trump’s tweets and support for the anti-lockdown protests helped answer one of their fantasies of White Nationalism and white power: for individual white men and women to mobilize militias that wage war, a new Revolutionary War or Civil War, on the state, as well on as racial others. See also, “F. B. I. Says Michigan Anti-Government Group Plotted to Kidnap Governor Gretchen Whitmer,” *The New York Times*, October 8, 2020,

- 
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/us/gretchen-whitmer-michigan-militia.html>, accessed October 17, 2020. See also, Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).
109. See also, Hannah Knowles, “‘It Needs to Stop’: Whitmer condemns rhetoric at Trump rally, chants of ‘lock her up,’” *The Washington Post*, October 17, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/17/trump-whitmer-lock-her-up/>, accessed October 18, 2020.
110. See, for example, Anagha Srikanth, “Trump doubles down on ‘heritage’ defense of confederate statues,” *The Hill*, June 29, 2020, <https://thehill.com/changing-america/respect/equality/505060-trump-doubles-down-on-heritage-defense-of-confederate>, accessed October 10, 2020. Again, Trump shares his necropolitics, honoring these dead, not fallen members of the US military or the murdered Black victims of police brutality. But in defending the statues, these concretized memories of the slaveocracy, Trump affirms his sense of justice. Through this defense, he is able to help fulfill, especially within his model of masculinity, his and many supporters’ political and ideological wet dream: for a new American Revolution or Civil War that restores white (male) supremacy and subjugates racial others once and for all. This vision constitutes a critical part of Trumpism, See also, Belew, *Bring the War Home*.
111. See Shakespeare’s classic, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2.
112. See, Chinua Achebe’s classic, *Things Fall Apart*.
113. See, for example, Katie Warren, “I visited Trump’s childhood neighborhood on the outskirts of NYC, and it didn’t take long to see why he’s called it an ‘oasis,’” August 19, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/donald-trump-childhood-neighborhood-queens-new-york-city-photos-2018-11>, accessed October 28, 2020. See also, “An Oral History of Trump’s Bigotry,” *The Atlantic*, June 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/06/trump-racism-comments/588067/>, accessed October 24, 2020.; See also, David Barstow, Susanne Craig and Russ Buettner, “Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as he Reaped Riches from His Father,” *The New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html>, accessed October 1, 2020.
114. See, Frantz Fanon’s classic work, *Black Skin, White Masks*.
115. See, for example, “Inside the Push to tear-gas protesters ahead of a Trump photo op,” *The Washington Post*, June 1, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-push-to-tear-gas-protesters-ahead-of-a-trump-photo-op/2020/06/01/4b0f7b50-a46c-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-push-to-tear-gas-protesters-ahead-of-a-trump-photo-op/2020/06/01/4b0f7b50-a46c-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd_story.html), accessed October 18, 2020.
116. See, Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2.
117. Ibid.
118. See, for example, Jason Wilson, “White nationalist hate groups have grown 55% in Trump era, report finds,” *The Guardian*, March 18, 2020,

- 
- <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/18/white-nationalist-hate-groups-southern-poverty-law-center>, accessed October 10, 2020. It is worth considering that there is a significant portion of the country, perhaps more significant than previously assumed, that is not opposed to fascism or a monarchy if it means that the state is under the leadership and control of the right kind of white male leader, who can help ensure the leadership and control of other white men on even the most local and ordinary of levels on through the future, especially as it is projected that that future will be increasingly populated by people of color.
119. See for example, Josh Rottenberg, "President Trump isn't happy about the Oscar for 'Parasite.' What movies does he like?," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/movies/story/2020-02-21/president-trump-favorite-movies-parasite-oscar>, accessed October 15, 2020.
120. See, for example, Michael Wines, "'Looting' Comment From Trump Dates Back to Racial Unrest of the 1960s," *The New York Times*, May 29, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/29/us/looting-starts-shooting-starts.html>, accessed October 24, 2020.
121. See, for example, Richard Painter, "Trump loves the rule of law. As long as it targets his enemies," *The New York Times*, May 28, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/trump-rule-law-enemies/2020/05/28/7852771a-9de7-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/trump-rule-law-enemies/2020/05/28/7852771a-9de7-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d_story.html), accessed October 24, 2020. Further illustrating his conceptions of justice and power, Trump, like many other past and contemporary politicians, construes Black protest as a crime in and of itself.
122. See, Shakespeare's classic, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2. See, for example, Justin Worland, "How the Trump Campaign is Trying to Suppress the Black Vote," *Time*, October 22, 2020, <https://time.com/5902729/black-voter-suppression-2020/>, accessed October 24, 2020.
123. See, for example, Jonathan M. Metzler, *Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment is Killing America's Heartland*, (New York: Basic Books: 2020).
124. See, for example, Natasha Bertrand, "When Trump won, Putin deployed his oligarchs," *Politico*, April 18, 2019, <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/04/18/mueller-report-putin-trump-1282648>, accessed October 24, 2020.
125. See, for example, Alex Isentadt and Natasha Korecki, "Trump campaign ready to unleash thousands of poll watchers on election day," *Politico*, October 8, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/10/08/trump-election-poll-watching-427008>, accessed October 15, 2020.
126. See, for example, Tom McCarthy, "'I am the Chose One': with boasts and insults, Trump sets new benchmark for incoherence," *The Guardian*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/21/trump-press-conference-greenland-jewish-democrats>, accessed October 17, 2020. See also, Richard Wolffe, "Donald Trump is the Qanon president. And he's

- 
- proud of it," *The Guardian*, October 17, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/oct/17/donald-trump-is-the-qanon-president-and-hes-proud-of-it>, accessed October 25, 2020.
127. See, for example, Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Opinion: Trump's 2020 campaign strategy is psychological warfare," *cnn.com*, October 25, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/09/25/opinions/trump-campaign-strategy-psychological-warfare-ghiat/index.html>, accessed October 25, 2020. See also, "An Oral History of Trump's Bigotry," *The Atlantic*, June 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/06/trump-racism-comments/588067/>, accessed October 24, 2020.
128. See, for example, Patrice Kelly Yeo, "Trump Tried to Return to Oval Office Less Than 24 Hours After Discharge: Report," *The Daily Beast*, October 6, 2020, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/trump-tried-to-return-to-oval-office-less-than-24-hours-after-hospital-release-bloomberg-reports>, accessed October 25, 2020.
129. See, for example, Sara Murray and Kevin Liptak, "Trump has personally pressured drug company CEOs repeatedly to speed vaccine," *cnn.com*, October 6, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/06/politics/trump-pfizer-vaccine/index.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.; Michael Kruse, "The Fear Behind Donald Trump's Obsession with Immunity," *Politico*, October 22, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/10/22/fear-donald-trump-obsession-immunity-430928>, accessed October 25, 2020.
130. See, for example, Anita Kumar, "Trump's legacy is now the Supreme Court," *Politico*, September 26, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/26/us/politics/amy-coney-barrett-supreme-court.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.
131. See, for example, "Trump's words, bullied kids, scarred schools," *The Washington Post*, February 13, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/local/school-bullying-trump-words/>, accessed October 25, 2020.
132. See, for example, Julia Ainsley, "Internal documents shows Trump officials were told to make comments sympathetic to Kyle Rittenhouse," *nbc.news*, October 1, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/internal-document-shows-trump-officials-were-told-make-comments-sympathetic-n1241581>, accessed October 25, 2020.; Aaron Blake, "Trump's illuminating defense of Kyle Rittenhouse," *The Washington Post*, September 1, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/08/31/trumps-illuminating-defense-kyle-rittenhouse/>, accessed October 25, 2020. Trump's support for Rittenhouse speaks to his embrace of white criminality.
133. See for example, Mark Katkov, "Parents of 545 Children Separated At U. S.-Mexico Border Can't Be Found," *NPR.org*, October 21, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/10/21/926031426/parents-of-545-children->

- 
- separated-at-u-s-mexico-border-still-cant-be-found, accessed October 21, 2020.
134. See, for example, Eli Watkins and Abby Phillip, "Trump decries immigrants from 'shit hole countries' coming to US," *cnn.com*, January 12, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/11/politics/immigrants-shithole-countries-trump/index.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.
135. See, for example, Justin Worland, "How the Trump Campaign is Trying to Suppress the Black Vote," *Time*, October 22, 2020, <https://time.com/5902729/black-voter-suppression-2020/>, accessed October 25, 2020.; John Myers and Stephanie Lai, "California election officials say GOP's unofficial ballot drop boxes are prohibited," *LA Times*, October 12, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-10-12/california-gop-republicans-under-fire-unofficial-ballot-dropboxes-orange-county>, accessed October 12, 2020. See also, "Biden cancels Texas event after Trump supporters surround bus on interstate," *cnn.com*, October 31, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/31/politics/biden-bus-2020-campaign-texas-trump-supporters/index.html>, accessed November 1, 2020. See also, Anderson, *One Person, No Vote*.
136. See, for example, Rachael Levy, "Who Are the Proud Boys? Trump Tells Far-Right Group to 'Stand Back and Stand By,'" *The Wall Street Journal*, September 30, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/who-are-the-proud-boys-trump-tells-far-right-group-to-stand-back-and-stand-by-11601485755>, accessed October 25, 2020. Here, Trump makes clear his intent to promote, if not use, violence and intimidation as a technology of power to control voters and the vote. See also, Frantz Fanon's classic work, *Wretched of the Earth*.
137. See, for example, Aris Folley, "Trump wanted to rip open shirt to show Superman T-Shirt when leaving Walter Reed: report," *The Hill*, October 11, 2020, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/520540-trump-wanted-to-rip-open-shirt-to-show-superman-t-shirt-when-leaving>, accessed October 25, 2020.
138. Merrit Kennedy, "Trump Created The Space Force. Here's What it Will Actually Do," *npr.org*, December 21, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/12/21/790492010/trump-created-the-space-force-heres-what-it-will-do>, accessed October 25, 2020.
139. See, for example, Renato Mariotti, "How Trump Could Be Prosecuted After the White House," *Politico*, June 6, 2019, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/06/06/how-trump-could-be-prosecuted-after-the-white-house-227050>, accessed October 25, 2020.
140. See, for example, Anita Kumar, "Trump's legacy is now the Supreme Court," *Politico*, September 26, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/26/us/politics/amy-coney-barrett-supreme-court.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.
141. See, for example, Michael Crowley, "Trump Wont Commit to 'Peaceful' Post-Election Transfer of Power," *The New York Times*, September 23, 2020,

- 
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/23/us/politics/trump-power-transfer-2020-election.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.; Mark Sherman and Jessica Gresko, "With counting winding down, Trump team pushes legal fights," *apnews*, November 6, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-sues-3-states-election-c93acbc3e1f31baf3e9023b9b61696f7>, accessed November 7, 2020.
142. See Jones, Nas. *One Love*. Columbia Records. 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qjd7EbUUds8>. See also, Mueller Report, Vol. II, pg. 6. Similar to Nas's classic song, the Report states that Trump shared similar messages with his incarcerated friends at the time. "After the FBI searched Cohen's home and office in April 2018," the Report says, "the President publicly asserted that Cohen would not 'flip,' contacted him directly to tell him to 'stay strong,' and privately passed messages of support to him." See also, Michael Eric Dyson and Sohail Daulatzai, eds., *Born to Use Mics: Reading Nas's Illmatic*, (New York: Basic Books, 2009).
143. See, for example, Aaron Blake, "'Nasty' is Trump's insult of choice for women, but he uses it plenty on men, too," *The Washington Post*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/08/21/nasty-is-trumps-insult-choice-women-he-uses-it-plenty-men-too/>, accessed October 25, 2020.
144. See, for example, Ezra Rosser, "Trump and the Native American Vote," *The Hill*, October 14, 2020, <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/520899-trump-and-the-native-american-vote>, accessed October 26, 2020.
145. David Barstow, Susanne Craig and Russ Buettner, "Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as he Reaped Riches from His Father," *The New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html>, accessed October 1, 2020.
146. See, for example, Michael Barbaro, "Donald Trump Clung to 'Birther' Lie for Years, and Still Isn't Apologetic," *New York Times*, September 16, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/17/us/politics/donald-trump-obama-birther.html>, accessed October 19, 2020.
147. See, Paul Waldman, "Bill Barr's bogus investigations keep coming up short," *The Washington Post*, October 14, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/10/14/bill-barrs-bogus-investigations-keep-coming-up-short/>, accessed October 14, 2020. See also, Devlin Barret and Josh Dawsey, "Trump weighs firing FBI director after election as frustration with Wray, Barr grows," *The Washington Post*, October 21, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-wray-biden-barr/2020/10/21/6ce69f02-13b0-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-wray-biden-barr/2020/10/21/6ce69f02-13b0-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb_story.html), accessed October 22, 2020.
148. See, Wu-Tang. *Enter the Wu-Tang (36 Chambers)*. Loud Records. 1993. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KnDZuGzEM2E>. Beastie Boys. Licensed to Ill. Def Jam Records. 1986. Accessed October 29, 2020,

- 
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KnDZuGzEM2E><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xdutu8sWmbQ&list=PLjluADMrDKIZh24r0bnqFINTV8N5WD958>. See, Thomaz, Cameron (Wiz Khalifa). *We Dem Boys*. Rostrum Records. 2014. Accessed October 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vKzwbsl7ISQ>. See, Jones, Nas. *One Love*. Columbia Records. 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qjd7EbUUds8>.
149. See, Do Or Die. *Po Pimp*. Rap-a-Lot Records. 1996. Accessed October 22, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rp-9xcmJIBQ>.
150. See, for example, Victoria Bekiempis, “Trump’s attacks on whistleblower could do lasting damage to system, experts say,” *The Guardian*, November 8, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/nov/08/whistleblower-trump-ukraine-legal-protection>, accessed October 25, 2020. See also, Madeline Carlisle and Olivia Pashcal, “After Mueller: The Ongoing Investigations Surrounding Trump,” *The Atlantic*, March 22, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/after-mueller-ongoing-investigations-trump/585376/>, accessed October 24, 2020.
151. See Jones, Nas. *One Love*. Columbia Records. 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qjd7EbUUds8>; See, for example, Debanjali Bose, “Inside Donald Trump and Kanye West’s Unlikely Friendship,” *businessinsider.com*, July 20, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/kanye-west-donald-trump-friendship-timeline-history-relationship-2020-7>, accessed October 25, 2020. See also, Zack Budryk, “Trump asked about Kanye presidential bid: ‘I like him. I like his wife,’” *The Hill*, August 5, 2020, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/510782-trump-asked-about-kanye-presidential-bid-i-like-him-i-like-his-wife>, accessed October 30, 2020. See also, Randall Lane, “Kanye West Says He’s Done With Trump—Opens Up About White House Bid, Damaging Biden And Everything In Between,” *Forbes*, July 8, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/randalllane/2020/07/08/kanye-west-says-hes-done-with-trump-opens-up-about-white-house-bid-damaging-biden-and-everything-in-between/?sh=173ba4f047aa>, accessed October 30, 2020.
152. See, for example, Robert Reich, “Donald Trump has unified America against him,” *The Guardian*, July 19, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/19/donald-trump-presidential-election-joe-biden-coronavirus-pandemic>, accessed October 25, 2020.
153. See, for example, Luke O’Neil, “What do we know about Trump’s love for the Bible,” *The Guardian*, June 2, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/02/what-do-we-know-about-trumps-love-for-the-bible>, accessed October 30, 2020.
154. See, Wallace, Chris (Notorious B. I. G.). *Mo Money Mo Problems*. Bad Boy Records. 1997. Accessed October 25, 2020,

- 
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gUhRKVIjJtw>. See also, Russ Buettner, Susanne Craig and Mike McIntire, "Long-Concealed Records Show Trump's Chronic Losses and Years of Tax Avoidance," *The New York Times*, September 27, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/27/us/donald-trump-taxes.html>, accessed October 25, 2020.
155. See Jones, Nas. *One Love*. Columbia Records. 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qjd7EbUUds8>.
156. See Homer's classic works, the *Odyssey* and *Illiad*.
157. See, for example, Mary Trump, "Mary Trump: Psychiatrists know what's wrong with my uncle. Let them tell voters," *The Washington Post*, October 22, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/psychiatrists-mary-trump-goldwater/2020/10/22/ebf5e2b6-13c0-11eb-ba42-ec6a580836ed\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/psychiatrists-mary-trump-goldwater/2020/10/22/ebf5e2b6-13c0-11eb-ba42-ec6a580836ed_story.html), accessed October 23, 2020.; See, Molly Ball, "Even If Joe Biden Wins, He will Govern in Donald Trump's America," *Time*, November 4, 2020, <https://time.com/5907546/america-divided-2020-election/>, accessed November 6, 2020.
158. See, for example, "Trump Commutes Sentence of Roger Stone in Case He Long Denounced," *The New York Times*, July 10, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/10/us/politics/trump-roger-stone-clemency.html>, accessed October 25, 2020. It is worth reconsidering one of the American presidency's common appellations, "leader of the free world," within the context of Trump's pardons, white criminality, mass incarceration in America, and his steadfast position against the since exonerated Central Park Five. Trump's pardon of Stone makes plain his conception of justice, especially within the context of the theoretical framework outlined in Nas's classic work, "One Love." In it, Nas writes an incarcerated friend to offer him encouragement. Nas is deeply invested in an egalitarian vision of justice that, in his mind, should apply both to the worlds of the 'outside' and 'inside.' Yet, circumscribed by his racialized, working-class status and particular New York environs, even from the same borough in which Trump was born and raised, Nas is only able to offer his friend emotional support. But illustrating his racialized, privileged position, which has only been amplified by the power of the presidency, Trump is able to offer his incarcerated friend freedom. And yet, the 'one' at the center of Trump's "One Luv" ultimately remains himself, a deep self-love magnified by presidential power.
159. Wu-Tang Clan. *C. R. E. A. M.* Loud Records. 1994. Accessed October 18, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecRs1sWZIL4>. See also, Kate Kelly and Mark Mazzetti, "As Virus Spread, Private Briefings from the Trump Administration Fueled a Stock Sell-Off," *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/as-the-virus-spread-private-briefings-from-the-trump-administration-fueled-a-stock-sell-off.html>, accessed October 17, 2020.
160. See Jones, Nas. *One Love*. Columbia Records. 1994. Accessed October 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qjd7EbUUds8>.