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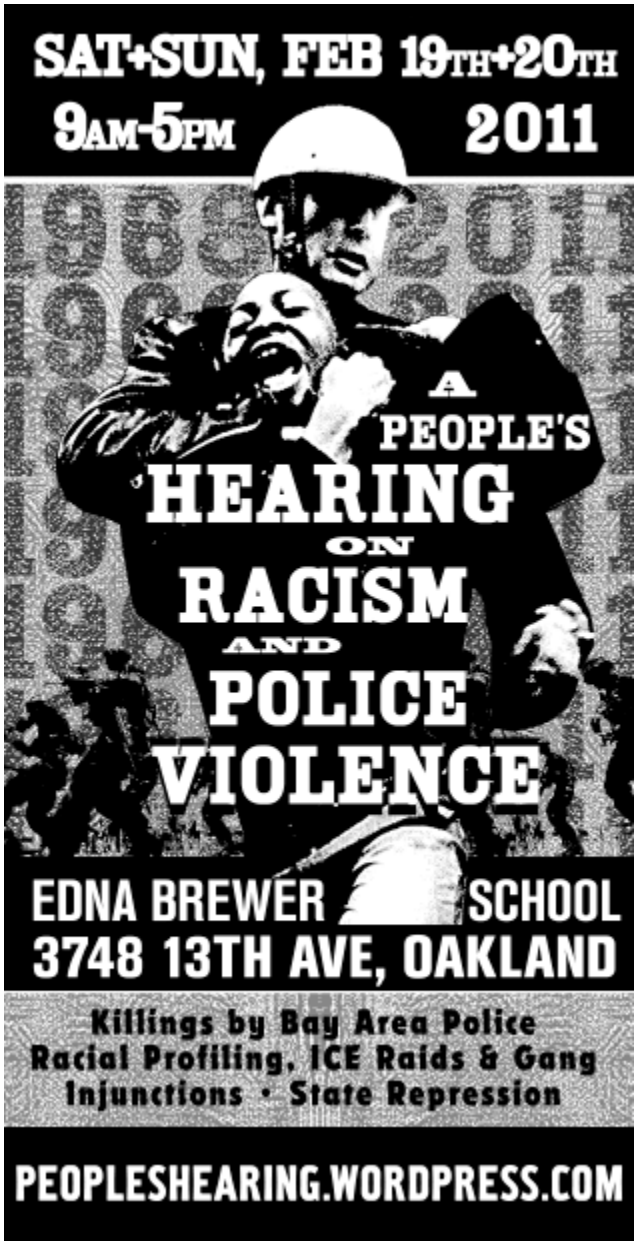

A People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence

Oakland, California

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Introduction

A People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence was an event organized at a grassroots level by community members and political organizers, offering space for the public to share testimony about the racism and violence of law enforcement. It was a chance to hear from witnesses and victims, their friends and family members, activists, organizers, and others. Giving a platform to individual and shared experiences of repression, we worked – and continue to do so – to indict the imperialist, white supremacist and capitalist power structures, and to document the people's case throughout our communities.

The initiative for this project grew from the outrage that had built over the two years since the videotaped murder of Oscar Grant, Jr. – manifested in police attacks, arrests, and beatings of many protesters on many occasions, the belated and half-hearted prosecution of the murderous and brutal police, the minimal sentencing of the officer who killed Oscar Grant, and the role of the lying and fabricating repressive media.

The struggle for Justice for Oscar Grant has pushed many aspects of racist state repression into prominence, and this event was organized in order to put the system on trial – not only for the murder of Oscar Grant, Jr. but for all police murders, racial profiling, state repression, criminalization of migrants, tracking youth out of school and into the military and prisons, systematic attacks on refugees from imperialist wars, ICE raids and thousands deported, gang injunctions, and the repression of resistance.

All these issues have been with us for a long time, but the economic and political crisis of the imperialist system in recent years has intensified these attacks on a worldwide scale, with ever-expanding wars and suppression of people's struggles and solidarity movements. The survivors and witnesses of police violence and state repression do not have to be isolated. When experiences are shared, we can gain a significant edge in the struggle for justice. But all must play a part and bring this knowledge forward.

This is a huge challenge, but it also creates the basis for more unified resistance. Once exposed, the system is thrown on the defensive. Our experiences and issues have rarely been so prominent. A People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence, which took place on February 19th and 20th of 2011, was a move toward the offensive, linking many sides of the repressive state in order to strengthen our movements against it.

Oakland, CA

January 22, 2013

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Welcome & Introduction – Maisha Quint (EastSide Arts Alliance):

I want to thank you all for coming out on this Saturday morning. I really appreciate it. This is going to be an incredible two days, and I just want to say, through many trials and tribulations we're finally able to bring this hearing to you. And this has been months and months and months of work. People started working on this as early as last summer, and there've been many obstacles to putting this on—venues dropping out, all these different things, and it's really because of the power of the content of what we're trying to do today. I really want to thank all of you for coming, for participating, for understanding that the themes and issues that we're talking about today are so critical and are of utmost importance, not just to the Oakland community but to communities all over the country and internationally.

I actually want to ask the audience for a couple of things. One of them is because these issues are very important and we also know that sometimes these events can be disrupted, and there are people here who might have ill will about some of the themes we're talking about. What I'm going to ask, as the MC today, I'm going to ask that the audience really help us keep an awareness and a respectfulness for this event. And an awareness, really, that we make sure that everyone here is participating in ways that are healthy and healing, and acknowledging the great risk that many of these witnesses are taking—especially the second session in the afternoon. Some of these folks have never spoken out in public to the degree they're going to, to the harassment they've experienced. And all of the witnesses, I would say, are taking a risk in talking about these things in this climate.

I'm really hoping that all of us together over the next two days can really build an environment, of one that's in keeping with this hearing, and it's primary focus for me is about healing. It's about healing for our communities. It's about creating a space where we can talk about these things without worry of any type of repercussions, without worry of violence or threatening, and in a space where we can talk about it and figure out ways we can mitigate it and take a strong stance of resistance against it. That's what I'm going to hope for all of you. If you have any concerns or questions or are just feeling like something's a little off throughout the two days, I'm asking that you talk to someone who's in a white armband, and you'll see them. These are all the Program Committee folks for the hearing. They're all around. Please go to them if you have any questions about anything—if you're feeling unsafe in any sort of way.

We also have counselors here, and they'll be here throughout the whole weekend as well. And we wanted to do that because many of these topics are deeply traumatic. I would say all of them are, right? These are all deeply traumatic issues, and we want to make sure that we are addressing them in ways that,

really incorporate the needs and think of the needs in this moment. If you want to talk to any counselors that are here, they're wearing yellow armbands.

I just want to briefly go over the schedule and just clarify what this hearing is. Cause I've heard a lot of questions, like, 'oh, this sounds amazing but what is it? What're you guys—what's going to happen for the two days?' So I'm hoping that everyone has a program. And you can get them at that table in the very front. It has the program for the next two days on it.

The way that the next two days are going to work is that each day is broken down into two sessions—two main sessions. Today we'll be hearing from testimony around Racial Profiling and then in the afternoon Police Killings. Tomorrow, we'll be hearing testimony around COINTELPRO and Beyond, and the last session is going to be on organized resistance.

What's going to happen is that witnesses are going to be up here along with jurists, and they're going to be giving testimony on the related sessions. Now, also it's really important, as planning this hearing we wanted to make sure that there was room for people in the audience who may not be up here as witnesses but also have direct experiences about any of these topics, because most of us have experience around racial profiling. Most of us have experience around police harassment or things of that nature. So, there's also going to be breakout rooms. Those are located, if you go through these doors and turn left there's a building of classrooms, and there's signs. So, during these sessions that are happening up here, concurrently there'll be videographers and jurists in these breakout rooms to record your testimony, if you have a story or you have a shared experience around any of these issues. So we also want to hear from you, and that testimony is just as vital as the testimony that's happening in this space. So I strongly encourage you, that if you want to participate in that way that you do. So that's going to be happening.

I want to thank you again. So, before we start off , we're going to have a first keynote. That's from Rachel Jackson from the New Years Eve Movement, a vital community organizer who's been doing work for years and years and years in the Bay Area. Please introduce and help me welcome Rachel Jackson.

Keynote address - Rachel Jackson (New Year's Movement):

This feels kinda awkward, but we'll have chances to be in pens by police or things like that in the future, I'm sure.

First I just want to start by welcoming this group and also first acknowledging the native land that we are on, and to welcome everyone to this event and everyone who is here on this land—whether by choice or by force. People of African-American, First Nations, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Latino, South

Asian, Middle Eastern and European descents and, of course, people who identify as "Mixed" or "Other." Welcome sisters, as well as brothers, young people and elders, and everyone in between. People of all faiths, whether you believe in a god in the sky or in the earth or none-of-the-above or if you believe in the power of the people, alone or in combination with those things. Also, welcome to everyone who considers themselves or identifies as Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender, Questioning, Two Spirited, or just straight "Straight."

I also want to acknowledge and welcome people of all political backgrounds as well. We know that that's been a really important part of this movement, and so I want to welcome everybody who's an anarchist, everybody who's a nationalist, who is a Communist or a feminist, everyone who's a combination or considers themselves a revolutionary, or some people who may not consider themselves political at all.

Most importantly, wherever we come from, wherever we came from today, let's recognize that we are all united and that we are fed up with police brutality, racial profiling, the prison industrial complex, COINTELPRO and all forms of state repression. We come to stand in solidarity, to heal and to organize, to speak and to be heard in a way that no United States court will ever hear the people, especially not victims of state repression.

We're also here to gather evidence to expose some of the dirty truths about life in the United States to a worldwide audience, especially these days when we see the President talking about those terrible countries out there, over there, that don't have democracies or that deny people's rights—and we need to show from the evidence that we gather here and hopefully in other tribunals that a lot of that same stuff is going on right here, and it's sheer hypocrisy when the United States points fingers at other countries.

For my remarks I'll focus on our experience here in the struggle for justice for Oscar Grant – which is also the struggle for justice for Jackie Bryson, for Nigel Bryson, for Carlos Reyes, for "June" Anicete, Michael Greer, all of whom were on the platform with Oscar that night – and all of the young people and all of the families who have had to experience this terrible thing.

But I'm focusing on it for positive reasons because what happened here is unique, and people who've been organizing against police brutality, back to the Rodney King days, or the first time a BART police officer shot Gerald Hall in 1993, we never have seen what we saw here. We had some important victories that we need to claim and honor and figure out how to reproduce whenever this kind of violence, racial profiling and incarceration and so on, rears its head.

I want to first clarify a few terms. We talk about racism a lot, but for a lot of us it's not just about race or color but really understanding that the underlying basis for racism is national oppression. It's about that oppressed group's relationship to the United States and global capital. If you or your homeland

or your people have been occupied, colonized, enslaved or super exploited for labor or national resources, or if your country has ever been at war with the United States, especially in the past 50 or 100 years, chances are, your people are an oppressed nationality here. That is coming from the government, from laws, military, law enforcement agencies. There's a lot more going on than just racism and how people look.

When we talk about police violence and racial profiling, the prison industrial complex and COINTELPRO, they're all forms of state repression or repression that is carried out by the government against its own people. They're all tools used to maintain the status quo of inequality – to keep people on the top on the top and to keep people on the bottom on the bottom.

It's important that we keep in mind the role of law enforcement – that it is not to protect and serve. Just like the United States is not overseas to bring democracy, these agencies are not here to protect and serve us either.

When we talk about police abuse and violence it also includes many agencies. We're talking about not just the police-police – we're talking about the Sheriffs, we're talking about La Migra, we're talking about the FBI, the CIA, private contractors like Blackwater, Halliburton, and post-9/11 Homeland Security and the many iterations of that.

We know that ultimately the police's job is to protect private property and to protect the lives of the people who are considered valuable in society. Everyone else, especially people of color, poor people and oppressed people, are dehumanized like we've seen in so many cases so that all kinds of brutality and abuses can be easily justified and excused.

There are a lot of lessons that we learned and want to remember from 2009. One is that in addition to Oscar's murder, that his friends were also assaulted and traumatized, and so were their families and friends and whole communities.

We also want to think about and remember the diversity of the young people who were there that night and the fact that – yes, there was racial profiling; but what a lot of people don't realize is that the group of young people on the BART platform that night included everybody – it included African-American folks, it included Latinos, it included Asians, it included whites and a lot of mixed people. It was a whole diverse group that was there, as is Tatiana, Oscar Grant's daughter. So when we come out and look at our own diversity as a community or a coalition, we keep in mind that. We reflect that group of young people too.

We've also been fortunate that in this case we've had allies and the opportunity to organize around the state. We've worked with and started coalitions in Los Angeles, the Central Valley, as far away as San Diego and Northern California, and we've also developed national networks in the process

and generated international attention and solidarity including from labor unions as far away as France and Japan.

We also need to remember the diversity of tactics and approaches that we have and that we have used in our toolbox. We've had vigils, memorials, rallies – like the labor and community rally on October 23rd where over a thousand people came to Downtown Oakland. We've had rallies and counter demonstrations against Mehserle supporters. We've had rallies against biased media coverage by KTVU, and even battling boats between pro-Mehserle and pro-justice forces during the World Series. There've been town halls, meetings, vigils here and in LA and other parts of the state. We've had mobilizations and taken over BART board meetings; because this is not the first time that BART has killed somebody, and it's the second time that the killing was shooting a young Black man in the back. We've had demos at the courthouse here and in LA during all phases of Mehserle's trial and also during all phases of supporting people who've been arrested at protests over the past two years. We've had numerous cultural events and brought together a wide range of mostly young artists and activists, and we'll probably see some today – the countless pieces of art – visual art, music, spoken word and things that have been produced in the wake of this tragedy.

Fortunately, we've also had ongoing excellent coverage by independent media including IndyBay, KPFA, and a number of other folks. We've used post cards, letters, petitions, and finally we've had major speak outs and protests that really fall into the category of small rebellions, the largest of which were in January of 2009, which was the community's initial response to the murder of Oscar Grant, and also at the Mehserle bail hearing. And we've also had major street demonstrations in July of 2010 against the verdict and in November for Mehserle's slap-on-the-wrist sentencing.

When we remember and think about the diversity of the people who've come together and the diversity of tactics used, what we ended up with was a series of really historic victories that happened here in the Bay Area.

This is one of the only times—one of the few, very rare times, that an on-duty police officer has been charged with murder and tried in court in the United States. We like that, right?

After that historic event, Alameda County District Attorney Tom Orloff, famous for protecting dirty cops including the Oakland Riders, decided to cut his losses and retire early.

After initially declaring publicly that the video of Oscar Grant's shooting was inconclusive, BART police chief Gary Gee also joined the early retirement bandwagon. In this wave of early retirement, and also in part because of the Oakland Riders scandal, Oakland Police Chief Wayne Tucker also was forced to step down.

BART was forced to conduct independent studies of New Years day and what happened that morning on the BART platform, and of the BART Police Department overall, which, for people who have ever tried to challenge BART about police brutality know, this has never happened before.

And lastly, legislation was passed in the state capitol creating an oversight for BART police – and again that's something that has never happened before. Even though there have been egregious murders before, we've never seen this. And these heads rolling in the wake of something like this is something we've never seen in the United States.

We also have seen some shady, dirty tricks used by the government to try to discredit protests and protesters. We've heard the claim that it was all because of outsiders. The OPD tried to say that if you didn't have an Oakland zip code, you didn't have any business being in a protest, which is outrageous because it's not just an Oakland issue. Oscar himself is from Hayward, and the Bay Area stands together. We know the real outsiders are those who are policing these communities and never come here.

Similarly, as for the claim of people being criminals and using these protests as an excuse for criminal activity, we can look at how few charges were actually filed against protesters, and we know that the majority of these arrests have been bogus, and just to stop people from protesting and to intimidate them. And sadly, in the few cases where people have gone through trial or gone through disposition of their cases, we have people who are doing almost as much times as Mehserle is doing for killing Oscar for being arrested at a protest, so we have to ask ourselves: Who's calling who criminals here?

Lastly, the issue of "violence," which is something that has constantly been thrown in our faces, has been used to paralyze people and to force people to take some kind of loyalty oath and be the "peace police," and when you have somebody with an arm band in front of you who wants to beat your ass for spray painting on a garbage can, that equates to this crazy miscalculation about what's violence. But the bottom line is that there's no way to compare vandalism or trash can fires, spray paint or broken glass, to the violence committed against Oscar and his friends, and the ongoing violence and murders by law enforcement which seem to be increasing in frequency and viciousness since Mehserle received his slap on the wrist.

Lastly, when people away from the Bay Area have heard about this stuff and we've been organizing in different places, a lot of folks say: "What did you guys do?" because they see this list of things that we achieved find value in it. There's a few basic things.

First, was that we were all part of bringing together and nurturing community leaders and building principled unity across diverse groups of people. Especially so that the new COINTELPRO would not be successful in using race, gender or class to divide the movement. We saw this early on in the case of the anarchist boogeyman, where initially, some people fell for that distancing tactic in 2009, but

folks learned from the experience, broadened their politics and understanding and did not make the same mistakes in 2010.

Secondly, we've relied on grassroots folks and not allowed self-appointed opportunists to come in and make themselves the leaders of the movement. By doing so, we've protected the movement from being manipulated and deceived and reduced the chance that people will be sold out by leaders who really just want to promote themselves or make money off community work. We also learned and saw that we had to act in unity and solidarity before, during and after any of these events or protests, and create a concrete basis for solidarity – not just the *idea* that we should work together, but *actually* working together – whether to organize events and campaigns or in the heat of the moment in the street, or afterwards in jail or with other court cases.

One really important example is the work of the Oakland 100 Support Committee, the National Lawyers Guild and Critical Resistance, because these are all folks who showed up, and they showed up for everybody. They didn't show up just for the "good" protestors. I know that people appreciate the work of the Lawyers Guild and Oakland 100 and Critical Resistance.

Lastly, we know that the government will use every kind of dirty tactic and dirty trick along with ongoing intimidation and violence to stop the movement against racism and state repression. We've seen a lot of those things here and we absolutely refuse to fall for these tactics or become paralyzed. We have become used to showing up at major events and seeing certain individuals trying to provoke or confuse crowds, and we have ways of dealing with that. We've gotten used to strangers showing up on the eve of organizing a really important event and wanting to be somebody's new best friend, and turning around and disrupting events from the inside. We've also experienced police trying to intimidate organizers in advance of events, either by calling and threatening them, calling the venues and threatening the venues, or scaring people by saying that if you signed the permit you will personally be held liable and you will pay the OPD for any overtime that's incurred.

They've done stuff like this to try to stop events like this one, and to try to stop this movement that we're building here. And I have to say that from this side it looks really great. Everybody should get up at some point and look, because this is a really good reflection, I think, of what this diverse movement that has lots of tactics and it's politically sophisticated looks like.

Millions of dollars were spent on public relations and to frighten and discredit protestors, exaggerating and lying about things like property damage or the November 5th claim that a protestor grabbed a police officer's gun and held it on the police, which was used as an excuse to arrest over 150 people. While we know that was just a straight up lie, on the other hand we have very clear examples on video tape of the police doing things like beat people and pull guns on protestors – as we saw at UC over the budget cuts.

We also saw early on the militarization of Oakland and this mobilization of every local police department, sheriffs, feds, and all kinds of folks from up and down the state and outside of the country using tear gas rubber bullets, flash-bang grenades on a regular basis, all made in the USA just like the canisters used in Egypt, all ultimately for the same reason: To prevent people from taking to the streets and exercising basic free speech rights.

But, like with all the other lessons learned we know that history is on our side, just like we know that history is on the side of the people of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Jordan, Yemen, Bahrain and in the Occupied Territories. When we come together with many tactics and many people and a vision and see that all things are possible, then all things really are possible. If we harness the power of solidarity and we use our power to make demands like the demands that we made and the demands that we won – because every one of those victories at one point was a demand on the demand side of the list, and then it became a victory. And it became a victory because of our taking to the streets.

We ran out of demands almost, as far as the specifics – the specific concrete things that people were asking for. But we also have to remember and practice that we will never fall for these divide and conquer tactics that will be talked about tomorrow; that we will never put the needs of the government above the needs of the people, because power concedes nothing without a demand, it is right to rebel, and we are not apologizing for anything.

I want to thank you all for coming out and being a part of this event, especially the families and friends and people who have been directly impacted by police violence either personally or because police violence or violence from other forms of repression –racial profiling, anti-immigrant hysteria, all of these things. I want to welcome and thank people for coming out because a lot of people haven't spoken out before.

Thank you also to the witnesses and the jurists and to everybody on the committee who worked so hard to make this happen. We look forward to working together and doing more of this in the future for years, decades and even whole lifetimes. A lot of new leaders have emerged in this process, and it really is a beautiful thing.

The murder of Oscar was not a first time and it won't be the last, so let's use this hearing to make our movement bigger, stronger, faster and smarter.

Power to the people.

Maisha Quint:

I want to call all the witnesses for this first session and all the jurists. So, the witnesses, if you can just come on down as I say your names.

We're going to have Sagnitcthe Salazar. She's from Youth Together and the Xicana Moratorium Coalition.

Eddie Zheng, who has been a longtime activist, former prisoner from the Community Youth Center.

We'll have Manuel LaFontaine from All of Us or None.

Lubna, please come down from the Arab Resource and Organizing Center.

And then we're going to have Liz Derias from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and Youth Together.

These are all of our witnesses, and now I want to introduce the jurists. The jurists will be sitting on most of the panels throughout the weekend, so you'll probably see them for all of the day and some for tomorrow.

We have Ajamau Baraka, who is the Executive Director of the US Human Rights Network.

We have Alberto Saldomando who is a lawyer with the International Indian Treaty Council.

We have Dennis Cunningham, who is a civil rights attorney.

We have Bill Ong Hing who is a professor at the University of San Francisco School of Law.

We have David Gespass who is the President of the National Lawyers Guild.

We have Dan Siegel who is a well-known local civil rights attorney.

And then, last but not least we have Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, who is a professor emeritus at CSU Hayward.

Just to remind folks, how this is going to work is the witnesses will each give testimony. And once they're all finished the jurists will then ask whatever questions they have of the witnesses, and then we're going to open it up for Q&A. Thank you.

Session 1: Testimony on Racial Profiling

Eddy Zheng (Community Youth Center):

Good morning everyone, how's everybody feeling? I'm not going to take up an hour, so we just going to start something like this.

When I see you I see me because I'm a reflection of society and society's a reflection of me. Just the other day I was kicking it with my comrades in the pen next to the Bay, talking about justice, talking about peace, talking about oppressions to bear on our knees. We dropped our shanks and pick up our pens to write about the human sufferings in the pen. Next thing we know we're gaffed up by 5-0 without

explanation we went straight to the hole. That is something that is happening all over the prison industrial complex.

My name is Eddie Zheng. I work for the Community Youth Center in San Francisco. I'm also part of the Asian Prisoner Support Committee. It is an honor for me to share this sacred space with all of you today to testify as a direct victim and eye-witness to the human rights violations at the hands of the US government, specifically under the prison industrial complex and the Department of Homeland Security—direct perpetrator of human rights violations our politicians, corporations, prison guards and its unions, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE agents).

What are we talking about here? The United States of America has enslaved me for 21 years under the 13th amendment of its constitution. The 13th amendment to the constitution declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of a crime, where the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States or any place subjected to their jurisdiction.

Therefore, at the age of 16, when I committed a crime of kidnap—to commit robbery, the government charged me as an adult and sentence me to 7 years to life with a possibility, and enslaved me for 21 years thereafter. Due to the ineffective council and the passing of draconian immigration laws, ICE ordered me deported back to China, a place I left at the age of 12, yet I'm not alone. Currently, there are more than 2.3 million slaves being locked up in the modern day slave plantation called the prison industrial complex —the PIC. There are thousands more of slaves who after being released from the Prison Industrial Plantation, they are ordered deported back to their homeland. Life-termed slaves are not being released even though they have served their punishment and transformed their lives. Other abuses are not limited to increase tougher laws to sentence more slaves to the prison industrial complex with lengthier punishment, overpopulation, dismal healthcare; building more plantations, depriving money and resources from education, breaking up families, chaining pregnant women while doing transportation to hospitals, asking former slaves applying for jobs to identify whether they were slaves or not, and endangering society. It also noted that there is a segment of the slave population which is not recognized by the abusers and the sympathizers. They are the Asian and Pacific Islanders—slaves. Prison industrial complex provides no culturally competent programs to address their challenges, they categorize them as 'others', they have no statistics about how many slaves who are of Asian and Pacific Islander decent, but they just lump them together.

An example of the abuse I experienced being locked up in solitary confinement for 11 months for signing a petition in the plantation college program. My fellow brothers and I signed a petition requesting that the decision-making process concerning classes taught, and who teaches them, to be more inclusive; that a student-body and faculty committee to be created to facilitate this process. Specifically, we asked for the Asian-American and more Asian-American literature and studies, and more ethnic studies classes

due to the demand from the students and teachers. Yet the prison industrial complex slave owners took three of the people who signed the petition to solitary confinement, and put them under investigation for circumventing the system. The three signers of the petition were Vietnamese-American, Filipino-American, and Chinese. All of them were life-termed slaves, and they were all denied parole for years because they exercised their First Amendment rights.

So after 21 years of enslavement I continued to live with uncertainty of being separated from my family and friends, my work in serving the youth in the community and their families, and the country that I grew up in because I can be deported at any time. So when did this all occur? So, this type of human rights violation for me took place from January 7th, 1986 to February 27th, 2007. The collective human rights violation happened to the poor and people of color, started since the passing of the 13th amendment by the conquest on January 31st, 1865, and rectified by the state on December 6th, 1865, until February 19th, 2001. That's when all this human rights violations and racial profiling started.

And why is all this happening? Well, the reason that the US government is violators of—historical involvement of human rights violations is because the prison industrial complex is a multi-billion dollar industry. With money comes power. Since our slaves there is no profit, it will continue its practice of violating the others human rights.

How do they do this? The manner in which the US government executes this abuse is instilling fear in the minds of the community members that it must enslave those who violated its laws, to enact tougher laws and proportionally harsher sentences. Racially segregating slaves, dehumanizing slaves by trashing their property through cell searches, making hundreds of men shower in segregated stalls, confining them in cages smaller than a regular sized bathroom, forcing them to work for pennies less than a dollar or no pay in exchange for privileges, ordering them to strip naked, open their mouths, stick out their tongues, lift up their testicles, bend over, spread their cheeks, cough and lift up their feet each time they finish visiting with their loved ones, lengthening their enslavement if they refuse to work, releasing slaves to communities after mental torture of lengthy human and sensory deprivation in solitary confinement, violating parolees for any reason to continue the cycle of enslavement to continue to profit off their slave labor.

Most importantly, it is upholding the systematic racism, continuing to disenfranchise people of color without providing them with equal access to their basic human rights: food, shelter, jobs and quality education. But yet, the slave is not exclusive for Africans who came from Africa. It's not exclusively just about the intentions of the Europeans, but because the 1865 13th Amendment ratification, it extended to all people of color, no matter where you're from. Therefore, I submitted that the United States government is in direct violation of the human rights and the international rights. Thank you very much.

Ajamau Baraka:

Can you speak to your experiences once you were formally released in terms of the kind of stigmatization that you may have experienced in trying to secure employment and the restoration of whatever formal rights you had before your enslavement?

Eddie Zheng:

Well, not everybody is as fortunate and lucky as I. Because I do have the family support, I do have the community support, and I do have a socially conscious mind when I exited the prison industrial complex, therefore my assimilation to the community that I'd been isolated from is still a part of me. Though being behind bars for 21 years, it definitely isolated me from the normal growing pains that nay normal teenager would experience, so for me it's definitely a difficult transformation inside the prison system and also transitioning back to the community; however, I was able to make strives due to the education that I received inside the prison industrial complex, and being able to think critically not only about the conditions around me but about the people who are suffering in these same conditions. So my challenges exiting the prison system is definitely technologically because we don't receive any type e of training or any type of access to computers or any type of technical skills that we would be able to utilize to catch up in this 21st century information super highway. That's one challenge.

The other challenge is definitely geographically, because over the 21 years, so much has been changed—people have been gentrified, African-Americans continue to be pushed away, people who cannot afford to live in the city that they have generationally occupied, so that's definitely a challenge for me. Definitely as an ex-con the police definitely still have that stigma of me as a gangster, wanting to recruit people on the streets to join gangs and to terrorize the community even though I'm doing the exact opposite of that. They continue to want to smear and assassinate my character, so that's another challenge that I have to deal with. Other than that it's all about how do I represent not only myself but the thousands of voiceless people who are still locked up in the penitentiary who don't know that what they're going to face is recidivism back into the slave plantation.

Bill Ong Hing:

Eddie, the Obama Administration is on a record-setting pace for depuration and detentions, so we know that you were turned over from state prison officials to ICE at one point and you were held by ICE, and I was wondering if you could talk a little about the conditions of your confinement in ICE and who makes up the population of ICE detainees that you observed. (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, what used to be Immigration and Naturalization Service).

Eddie Zheng:

After spending 19 years of my life in the state penitentiary, I went directly into Immigration and Customs Enforcement facilities, which is under the Department of Homeland Security. The reason I was

there is because in 1996 they enacted a law that illegal immigration reform and immigrant responsibility act that's derived from the 1996 Oklahoma Bay Bombing. When they pushed the law out, one of the causes of the law is that anyone who is not a citizen of the United States that has committed a crime of aggravated felony and crime or more interpreted to include priors on petty theft, drug cases, domestic violence, that you are subjected to detention and deportation. And the Achilles heal for that law is that it's retroactive.

It doesn't matter if you committed the crime 30 or 40 years ago, but if you're not a citizen of the United States you will still be detained and deported; so that's the way the system is working in double jeopardy. And most of the people affected by this are many Asians, South East Asians, a lot of Middle Easterners, people from Cuba, people from El Salvador and different of the South American countries; so those are the people that make up the population in there. But yet another form of making the money is the fact that after the transition from state prison, people doing their time on that plantation, they go to another plantation because they want to be able to monopolize more of this money and continue to push this fear of the people coming from other countries are terrorists who want to do harm to this country, but they don't talk about the fact that this country is built by immigrants, these people are put together by all the people from all over the world, by the immigrants. So therefore the population inside is totally subjected to another form of punishment by the government. And the way that people live inside the federal detention is because they don't have a lot of specific detentions for the immigrant populations; so what they do is they contract out in rural areas the small county jails where they're going to house these immigrant detainees so they can get deported expediently. Because in the court of law, when you've committed a crime in the state court, if you don't have money for an attorney, the state will provide one for you. However, in the immigration process, if you don't have the right to an attorney. If you can't afford it, it's too bad. If you get deported the judges will systematically deny your petition, no matter if you've been in the United States all your life or since when you were two years old, came as a refugee from war-torn countries, or come here for political asylum, for any other ways to try to get a better life because the United States government has reached out its hands in the propaganda promoting democracy in other countries, to continue to bomb natural resources away, separating homes and killing people in order for them to maintain this world status as the military police of the world, so they can continue to do this, but yet they don't tell people about that. The people who are locked in there are people just like you and I, are friends, are educators, are fathers and grandfathers and grandmothers and sisters—they're the ones who are locked up in this process of immigration.

Alberto Saldomando:

You mentioned that there's no data with regard to Asian and pacific islanders within the prison system that you classified as 'other', which is the same situation Native Americans are in. You're guess

with regard to the number of people on death row that are Asian and Pacific Islander or any guess that you might have with regards to the percentages in state prisons or jails would be helpful because there is no date, none of us really know, so if you could hazard a guess I'd appreciate it.

Eddie Zheng:

I think there are 699 people on death row right now, and I don't know how many of them are APIs. I think that they would probably have anywhere from 10-15 people on the death row. They range from Chinese to Japanese, probably Native Americans, and also some Southeast Asians inside. The other thing about Native Americans is that because of the government's guilty conscience, if you can say, that they do have a category for the Native Americans in the categorization of Blacks, whites, Hispanics, Others and Native Americans. And they do provide a spot out of each prison as a reservation inside the prison for the Native Americans to observe their religious culture. That's something that they do. And the reason that there's no specific data for what category of the Asian-Pacific Islander or Southeast Asian or any other Asians inside the prison system is because of the fact that when they categorize everybody as others, they lump them together. Puerto Ricans could be an Other, someone from Cuba is an Other, a Russian could be an Other, so therefore, it's very difficult to have those type of statistics; but yet when you don't have these type of statistics, you don't understand how many of these prisoners on these slave plantations are monolingual. How many of them don't have access to any language? How many of them are understanding what's going on in the penitentiary? So we expect them to come out to a society to say that we want to be an upstanding member of our community. How do you do that? How do you lock someone up after you validate them as gang members that you lock someone up in a determined sentence for five years, ten years, and then as soon as their determined sentence is up you release them back into the community, and we say, well, look what happened, why should we release these people? How do you do that? How is that not a formal human rights violation? So we need to definitely have more stats on that population. And fortunately the APIs are still a small number in regards to the African-Americans and the Latinos and the whites, but yet they are on the rise.

Manuel LaFontaine (All of Us or None):

So my name is Manuel La Fontaine, and I'm part of a national movement of formerly incarcerated people, their families and supporters who are trying to fight back for the full restoration of our rights to end all discrimination facing us. This movement is called All of Us or None.

I'm also a formerly incarcerated person, I'm a former street organizer, AKA gang member—a term I hate to use, a father, a community organizer; but most importantly a human being. And I want to

emphasize I'm a human being just like you individually are a human being, and collectively we are all human beings.

When we begin to use labels—stereotypes—to describe other people, we more or less, more often than not, begin to dehumanize people. The establishments in place have been shrewd. When I say the establishment I'm talking about politicians, police officers, law enforcement included, criminologists and so-called experts going back to George Washington and the so-called 'Founding Fathers'. They've been shrewd and conniving—equally conniving in framing certain people a certain way for their own vested interests, going back to the natives when they were described as barbaric, right?

Nowadays we are facing the same types of attacks for our young people especially here in Oakland around the so-called gang injunctions. Now, in brief, gang injunctions are tools used by police officers, developers, corporations and politicians to displace people of color, but most importantly to cleanse their neighborhoods of people they don't want to see.

Now, the way it's written is according to the City Attorney there are supposed to be civil injunctions that prohibits certain people from hanging out with other people in certain restricted areas. But when you look at it, as a former street organizer I recognize that law enforcement, and I personally have dealt with this back in my hometown of Daly City, next to San Francisco, a suburb, that police officers cannot distinguish me from another guy that has long hair with a pony tail. He could be 18, he could be 16, he could be 30. They can't distinguish. If somebody like me is hanging out in the neighborhood and I'm on the injunction, they're going to pull him over, detain him and question him. But John Russo, the City Attorney is denying that, saying that every law enforcement agent knows who is on the list and that's absurd. I repeat, that's absurd.

When we start labeling people, like he calls them domestic terrorists, it's easy to attack them like domestic terrorists. It's easy to attack them like international terrorists—no different than the US army does to the people they've deemed terrorists in Iraq, the people they've deemed—who fall under the umbrella of Al Qaeda. Now they fall under the family of Nortenos, that fall under the umbrella of Nuestra Familia. And you start attacking these people who are our own family members. These are our own community members. But the US government does not care about our youth, does not care about our elders, does not care about the voices of people that are important, that are part of the human fabric.

I've been part of a coalition of youth, educators, organizers, attorneys, and concerned community residents in Oakland, in San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area who are extremely concerned about this new attack on our community. And this is a new attack, even though the attack on youth has happened for a while. I could go back to like the 1400s, but we can just stick to probably the last twenty or thirty years with the war on people and so-called war on drugs. It's been goin' back to, I mean, to the 70s and 80s, but let's just go back to when they criminalized, when the codified the word 'gang' under

PC186.22 to attack people, because now they label any organization, whether formal or informal, that's involved in some type of criminal activity under certain crimes are deemed as terrorists in that because that was the step—the Street Terrorism Enforcement Act. Just by definition, Street Terrorism Enforcement Act is talking about the local young guys involved in public nuisance more or less because that's what I was involved. When I was involved in those so-called street organizations after I became conscious and I realized who my real enemies and not my false enemies—all the corporations who were profiting, like Eddie Zheng said, off our backs. The real criminals were the police officers, and I'ma tell you a quick experience that happened to me when I was in the county jail that helped politicize me. I had gotten into a fight inside one of the bullpens where they had profiled me and they had put me in the bullpen with another guy they thought was the same false organization in the street. The fight ensued—it ended up in the courtroom so the bailiffs were very upset. They took me into the—they extracted me from the courtroom and took me into the elevator and they beat me up for about 20 minutes in the elevator up and down. And one thing I'll never forget is they kept saying 'this north and south bullshit ain't playin' in our home'. They said 'we're the game, you gotto respect our rules'. I'll never forget that, because when I was in the infirmary afterward I kept thinking 'you guys are the gang' and it made me look at things a little bit differently, and that's what I needed to realize what I was up against, and it made me realize who were my real enemies and who were my false enemies.

So gang injunctions is a nice word for ethnic cleansing again; it's a nice word—it's a euphemism and its used to put people who fit certain descriptions, certain profiles. So if you are wearing red in the Fruitvale area, you know what, you might be a Niner fan—who cares? The so-called expert of police officers who have studied that, who have probably been Norteños, right? –are going to detain you, are going to question you, and if you're not, guess what, this is where the gang injunction gets worse. They put you in a database through a field interrogation course, a white court. And then that database can be used against you when you become politically active. If you're out there protesting, but you've been ten years ago detained in the Fruitvale or in Daly City—I could be in the database, I surely am, but now that I'm active, under PC186.22 and the Patriot Act I can be arrested and said that I've been trying to incite a riot in the same way inside.

I was labeled too before I got caught up inside with one of the prison gangs.

So another thing I want to emphasize is that inside the prison system, there are no transparencies, there is no accountability, so when we talk about gang injunctions in the streets, can you imagine what they're doing to people inside? My boy Hugo Yogi Pinell is someone that I wrote him a letter, and because I used the word 'comrade', the gang unit from Pelican Bay sent me a letter saying that I was being investigated for being in a gang for corresponding. This is important, my people and the jury, because what's going on is I'm getting letters from people inside saying that because they have George

Jackson paraphernalia, or they're getting caught with certain books, like books from Chairman Mao or Che Guevara or any other people that is trying to raise consciousness, their being sent to the SHU—the SHU is the Segregated Housing Unit. It's a prison within a prison, and this is important for us to recognize because who's bringing that voice out here? Who's talking about people who are getting beaten, abused? Apparently they don't have rights, but we need to really talk about when they have this stuff out here that's transparent.

When they're killing people like Oscar Grant, when they're killing people like Derrick Jones, when they're killing people like Amadou Diallo in New York, what are they doing to people inside, and then they justify it by saying they were part of a gang, because the gang validation is part of the new way of euthanizing attacks of terrorism, what they perceive to be the people that are going to create, and according to so-called people that are experts inside—because I'd like to expand the word 'expert' to the people on death row, the people that helped politicize me, were people who are very conscious and could have PhDs if they were not incarcerated. And these people have… one article that I read from someone from death row a couple days ago called gang validation… he said that the reason that the US government is using this tactic of suppressing gang activity inside is because they fear that because people are getting political through books like George Jackson, through books like Chairman Mao, through books like Che Guevara, Tupac Amaru and all the rest, is because they fear that these people are going to be released into the general population—or even into the free world—and start creating their own terror cells to stop the government.

So we have to really ask ourselves that when the people are being targeted, we have to say 'who are they targeting—targeting our members. And in closing I want to put out statistics that's very important. In 2009, Blacks accounted for 38.2 of the prison population. In spite of making up just 12.4 of the general population of the United States. How do they do that? If racial profiling is not one of the tools, we need to continue asking 'what are the other else—what other tools of the state of oppression have they been using?'

Ajamau Baraka:

I wanted to get some clarification on one comment you made. So you said that if people are caught with certain books, they have been identified as being members or possibly being members of a gang, and then they're sent to segregation…

Manuel LaFontaine:

I wanted to expand a little more. I will call him comrade George Jackson, right? He was labeled as the co-founder of the Black Guerrilla Family. Now, in the California Department of Corrections, which is a nice name for a California plantation, the term BGF is part of a prison gang, so if you get caught

writing the word 'comrade George', and you use the word 'comrade' to refer also to gang membership—so when you use 'comrade' it's like saying 'homey', or another word that is like a mob word. They use that word and they extend it to anyone that gets caught for that, because George Jackson was about overthrowing the entire system—they fear that because of what happened on that dreadful day of August 21st, 1971. So since then, and I remember when I was inside we couldn't get caught—that was one of the things that for those of us who were political, we knew better not to get caught with anything that said 'George', so we had to either hide our books or put another different name on the book that was more mainstream than others.

Bill Ong Hing:

Manuel, thanks. I wanted to clarify something also. We all know that there are white gangs in prison and out of prison, but what you seem to be saying is that the prison code sections that focus on gangs that have been created and gang enhancements, for example the sentencing, is applied racially.

Manuel LaFontaine:

Most definitely, overwhelmingly

Bill Ong Hing:

So, is it institutionalized racism then that you're talking about?

Manuel LaFontaine:

It is institutionalized, which brings me to something I forgot to mention, because the public face of gang problems is Black and Brown people and Asians at times, right? But whites make up the largest group of adolescent gang members, and I hate that term—street organizers, right? This is according to the—this is not me saying it—this is according to a report by the District Policy Institute in 2007, July. So even inside, the point that you raised is… I remember an incident where we got searched before a supposed riot—the guards knew there would be a riot—and they searched all of us; all of us being people of color, especially the northern, and they didn't search the other population that we were supposed to go to war with. So that profiling extended to make sure that certain people had disadvantages. The same thing applies out here, that we don't—police officers don't put injunctions on the fraternities at UC Berkeley; they don't put injunctions in places like Piedmont, despite there being crime; but they put them on certain people because they feel that they're not going to fight back; but they found resistance in the wrong place. And when I heard it was being put on Fruitvale I said it was not going to be so easy like in North Side Oakland.

David Gespass:

I want to go back to the books and get some clarification on that. Are there—is there any regulation as to what can be received in the prisons, and if so, who makes those decisions?

Manuel LaFontaine:

There are books, and I'm not clear on every single regulation out there, Title 115 here in California, but the constitution found it legal that put the safety of the staff, administration and faculty as well as prisoners, that the state department of corrections could deem what could be entered or not—but when you leave that kind of ambiguity, that type of leeway, they can determine what can be pushed in, pushed out. And another thing, when they're doing searches they take certain books out and they don't even tell you they take them, and they don't have to. They can just say 'we never found them to begin with', and who's accountable? I mean, who's going to go back and say yeah I didn't have that book; and it happened recently to Jalil Muntaqim In Attica when he got moved. He got stuff taken away, and it might not even be political books, but they do that to get to us; they do that not only to dehumanize us but to strip away our last defense, which is our spirit.

Liz Derias (Malcolm X Grassroots Movement):

Ok, good morning everyone. My name is Liz Derias and I'm an organizer with the Malcolm X Grassroots movement which is an organization which upholds the self-determination of Black people in the US, in the diaspora and on the continent, and I'm also an organizer with Youth Together which is an educational justice organization, building unity and power amongst students of color in the Bay Area.

So today I'm going to provide some testimony on the history and the impact of racial profiling of the Black community in the United States, and I'm going to reference some national reports and figures, provide some anecdotal information, and then end with a brief personal testimony on racial profiling. So or this testimony I'm defining racial profiling as the targeting of individuals and groups by law enforcement officials even partially on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin or religion.

So racial profiling and police abuse and violence against the Black community are legacies of African enslavement, repression, white supremacy, patriarchy and capitalism. In more current history, racial profiling and police abuse and violence can be linked to the war on drugs in which state forces are used to target and scapegoat the Black community, particularly Black men ages 14-24 for drug use or possession. This war on drugs is premised on the idea that most users are Black or come from other communities of Color. According to a report published on June 7th, 1999 titled "Driving While Black: Racial Profiling on our Nation's Highways" by University of Toledo law professor David Harris, 5 times as many whites use drugs than Black. However, the perception that most drug users are Black pervades US thinking, and this pervasion helps push forward the agenda of white supremacy using racial profiling as a tool. In 1986 the Drug Enforcement Agency, the DEA, provided highway enforcement agencies with a profile of what a drug currier would look like. It can be argued that this profile was racially biased.

Operation Pipeline launched in 1986 by the DEA, which is a not commonly known program, utilized this profile. According to professor Harris, Operation Profile, quote, has to date, in 1999, trained approximately 27,000 police officers in 48 participating states to use pretext stops in order to find drugs in vehicles. The techniques taught and widely encouraged by the DEA as part of Operation Pipeline, have been instrumental in spreading the use of pretext stops, which are at the heart of racial profiling. In fact, some of the training materials used and produced in conjunction with operation pipeline and other associated programs, have implicitly, if not explicitly, encouraged the targeting of motorists of color.

These tactics have been used by highway troopers even when the troopers have denied using them, and even when lawsuits and media coverage on behalf of victims have proved otherwise.

In 1993, Wilkins vs. the Maryland State Police was one of the first cases to introduce empirical evidence of racial profiling in the court record, according to the US Department of Justice. Black lawyer Robert M. Wilkins sued the state of Maryland after he was illegally searched and detained, settling outside of court. Maryland State Police agreed to keep detailed records of motorist stops in which the police requested permission to search vehicles. Nearly two years after this historical case, a Temple university professor, Doctor John Lamberth, conducted a study on police searches along I-95, Interstate 95 in Maryland. His analysis concluded that 74.7% of speeders were white while 17.5% were Black. The Maryland State Police reported, however, that 79.2% of drivers searched were Black. According to the Department of Justice report, Lamberth reported that the data revealed dramatic and highly significant disparities between the percent of Black I-95 motorists legitimately subject to stop by the Maryland State Police, and the percentage of Black motorists detained and searched by troopers on this roadway.

So documenting empirical evidence of racial profiling caught like wildfire after this case. In a 2004 study released by Amnesty International titled ‘Threat and Humiliation, Racial Profiling, Domestic Security and Human Rights in the United States’, it was revealed that Blacks and Latinos were stopped on highways and streets much more frequently than whites even when disparate rates of road use were accounted for.

For example, a 1994 study of the New Jersey Turnpike revealed that between 1988 and 1991, Blacks comprised 13.5% of road users but 73.2% of those stopped, even though Black drivers did not commit more traffic violations than their white counterparts. New Jersey has notoriously been known as the bedrock for criminal highway trooper activity, as in the case of Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur, who was profiled, shot and captured by New Jersey highway troopers in May, 1973.

On April 20th, 1999, governor of New Jersey at the time, governor Christine Whitman and new Jersey Attorney General released a report acknowledging that racial profiling was, quote, ‘real, not imagined’ as stated by the Attorney General.

This is very real for our community. As described by many Black victims of racial profiling, incidents of racial profiling often occur while driving. These incidents led to the popular coined term "Driving While Black"—DWB. The intense anxiety while driving and adopted behaviors to deal with this anxiety can be argued to have an adverse effect on Blacks. It's common knowledge that one should sit up straight, avoid eye-contact, look forward and put hands on the steering wheel when approached by an officer in the car. It's also common knowledge that we should avoid predominantly white suburban areas when driving or walking as the increase in racial profiling and police harassment is more likely. This anecdotal evidence of racial profiling has increased throughout the years as victims have come out in the media and as lawsuits have been filed. In addition, the discourse around racial profiling doesn't just happens while driving. It also happens while walking.

The murder of Amadou Diallo on the morning of February 4th, 1999, in which four plain clothed NYPD officers shot 41 times, hitting Diallo 19 times as they erroneously matched him to the description of a now captured serial rapist. This case sent shockwaves throughout the world. He was in his apartment building only lit… you could only see his silhouette because the porch light was off and the light in the vestibule was the only thing that was on. He reached for his wallet, which officers mistakenly identified as a gun. His murder and the subsequent acquittal of the murdering officers, sparked massive demonstrations against police brutality and racial profiling in the United States.

Similar reactions occurred with the murder of Sean Bell. In Queens, New York on November 25th, 2006, three men were shot a total of 50 times by a team of both plain clothed and undercover NYPD officers, killing one of the men, Sean bell, on the morning after his bachelor party, and severely wounding two of his friends. Three of the five detectives involved in the shooting went to trial on charges ranging from manslaughter to reckless endangerment, and were not found guilty. One of those officers filed a suit against the family for slandering afterwards.

This painful incident struck another cord in the collective consciousness of Black people on the deadly effects of racial profiling, leading organizations such as the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement to not only mourn, but to call and participate in nationwide demonstrations. This type of racial profiling leading to police violence and murder has occurred locally in astonishing numbers with the recent deaths of Gary King, Oscar Grant, Derrick Jones and Raheim Brown, as you all will hear about later this afternoon.

With the State of California facing a 24 billion dollar budget crisis and major cuts in critically needed public services and in education, Youth Together, a leading educational justice organization in the Bay, anticipates that instances of police violence and racial profiling will increase and intensify. As Black youth will either be pushed out of school or pushed out of receiving needed services, we fear that they will engage in activities that will expose them to increased police harassment and profiling.

In a 2001 article referenced by Missouri Western State professors, quote, "A recent survey of 1,087 police chiefs has found that 60% of these chiefs have found that 60% of these chiefs think that racial-based policing was not a problem, versus only 29% which feel that the problem is only minor."

It is our fear that young people will fall victim to this train of thought, and it's our fear that more young people will fall at the hands of the police.

So I want to end with a personal testimony. In July 2010, at approximately 10pm, I was leaving Jack London Square with a Black male passenger in my car. Nearly 3 blocks from the parking garage where we had pulled out, I was pulled over by Alameda County Sherriff Officers on 5th and Broadway in Oakland. The police officer demanded to see my driver's license and insurance and asked if I had been drinking. When I replied 'no' and handed over my documents, my passenger was also asked to provide his ID. The officer walked away from my car and immediately radioed for another officer to arrive. She walked back to her car and examined my information.

Nearly one minute later, a male officer arrived and stood about two feet from the passenger window, hand on gun, directly facing my passenger. My passenger felt as if he was being treated like he was being targeted, even though he had willingly provided his information. He sat facing the windshield, hands on the dashboard. The officer returned. All information nearly 15 minutes later, at which point the officer, standing by the passenger window, left. When I asked why I had been pulled over and why I had why she had asked to see my passenger's information, she grimly replied "have a good evening" and returned to her car. The impact of this incident had my passenger and I nerve racked, as we had anticipated everything the officer could have done, from pulling him out of the car to the potential of another shooting and murder of another Black man in Oakland at the hands of the police.

Thank you.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz:

Thank you for your excellent presentation of historical background. You mentioned eye-contact and I think that that is really a metaphor for the profiling that goes way back to eye-rape during reconstruction, the idea in the 1920s and the present, eye-contact.. I know during the Watts uprising in 1965, 1 police officer, LAPD, actually mentioned his training was to identify pre-identify, those who would commit crimes by whether or not they made eye-contract with the police officer. So at that time, it was not… it was crude. But I think what you're explaining to us—all of you, but especially now, is the development of a science of racial profiling. We can call it institutionalized racism, but it's almost reached a programmatic effect, which is illegal in international law and all law. Could you kind of zero in on what you think are the main elements that you've witnessed, let's stick to Oakland, that could be

documented as a methodology that's used that maybe is even used in training? I know you may not have all that information—you've given some of it, but anything further than that. Thanks.

Liz Derias:

If I understand, the question is around what are methods used for training to amplify racial profiling by police officers and state institutions? Unfortunately I don't have concrete evidence or concrete information, although I'm sure that it exists, around which methods are used. But we do see evidence of it in Oakland pretty frequently, when we have police officers – which I actually was just told by one of my students – that the proposal is that their beats actually encircle school areas, and so what I can imagine that this would look like is that instead of being in the community where they're in more residential areas, as many Oakland police officers have beats, that now they're going to be focused in where there are major high schools in Oakland, which, as I've heard from many of my students who experience police on their campuses anyway, I can imagine this would be an adverse affect, and whichever methods they use in the community to racially profile adults, that that would be amplified with students.

Bill Ong Hing:

Thanks, Liz. I wonder if you would tell us what you would recommend to remedy these atrocious behaviors.

Liz Derias:

I anticipated this question last night. What would I recommend to end racial profiling in the community? I think that I truly believe in community and people being organized in a way where they can police their own neighborhoods, in a way where secure communities, as our communities are being labeled by enforcement agencies that secure communities are defined by us and people in our communities.

What I also see in terms of battling this is being able to document and to put out to the media instances of racial profiling and police abuse. I don't think that we often times have it. We saw it in the case of Oscar Grant, and luckily, and so intelligently, our young people taped and videotaped that, and that was sent all over the world. And so being able to document those instances, being able to document things like this and the hearing.

I also do think that legal fights are important, and should be continued in combating racial profiling; and overall I think state institutions need to change. I think the police and state enforcements have always been a tool to advance white supremacy, to advance capitalism, to advance patriarchy, so unless the people organize to bring down those state institutions, I can only imagine that many of the things that we do are just band-aids on the problem.

Ajamau Baraka:

Speaking of a possible band-aid, are you familiar with the 'End Racial Profiling Act' that some people are trying to push in the national congress?

Liz Derias:

If I'm not mistaken, conversations around ending racial profiling came out when George Bush said that he was going to end racial profiling, he recognized that it was an idea or it was something that manifested itself in the United States, and that as a country we were against that, we would never stand for that, that we would end it. So those conversations started coming into the public debate, and you can correct me if I'm wrong, Ajamau, is that the End Racial Profiling Act, was it introduced in 2004, or has it been something that's recent? I don't have the information specifically on it, but I would love to hear more.

Sagnitcthe Salazar (Youth Together, Xicana Moratorium Coalition):

Alright, so I want to start by saying when we're talking about racial profiling, it's not just coming from our people. When we're talking about the violation of human rights and attacks on our folks it's not just coming from community and the people on the ground and from us on this panel. In 2006, the Oakland City Council voted to make Oakland a sanctuary city, and they did this because they understand that it's a violation against human rights for people to have to fear every time they leave their home, every time they drop off their children to work, every time they go to school, every time they're out in their community, it's a violation against human rights for them to have to fear that, for them to have to fear being deported and torn apart from their families without having committed a crime, without getting any due process or without even being tried. It's a violation against human rights, and the City Council, on paper at least, agreed to this and made Oakland a sanctuary city. Unfortunately, for Raza in Oakland, that didn't really make our communities any safer because we still have to experience this police repression, this police violence in this so-called sanctuary city.

So my name is Sagnitcthe Salazar and I'm part of the Xicano Moratorium Coalition, which works with Raza youth in the East bay working on issues around migration and around youth being targeted by police, around police repression and other issues that exist in our communities. I also work with Youth Together, which Liz already talked about it, so I won't talk more about it. But working with these two organizations I have endless examples of people, whether its young people or folks in the community, older folks, who have experienced this type of racial profiling, and I want to share some of those stories, some of those examples because too often those stories are not heard.

Being Raza in Oakland and being undocumented myself I have personal examples, but I also want to amplify the stories of people that I work with who too often face this. When we go into the

classrooms and talk about 'know your rights' with the young people, they laugh at us because they know that even though you have rights on paper, when they face police officers in the streets, the police don't care about their rights, you know what I mean? So they laugh at us when we give them trainings about know you're rights. They're all like 'what are we supposed to say? Am I supposed to give this paper to the cop when he's beating me? So I want to share some of those stories.

Personally, I've been followed by the Oakland police department and stopped for minor infractions and had my car towed away, and I'ma just say, in the last two years I've had my car towed away 5 times. It costed me over $1000 every time—every time over $1000. So I'm going to give one example, because I'm not going to fill you guys with all these examples—this is just in the past two years, right?

In September of 2009 when I was driving, and I'm going to emphasize that it depends on the car you drive, right? Not only the fact that I'm Brown, but the fact that I'm broke and I have to drive a rusty Chrysler, you know what I mean? That makes me more exposed to being stopped by the cops.

So in September 2009 I was driving down the street after coming from an event at Eastside, dropping off students, and I was driving on 98th and Pippin, and a cop was following me. And I got stopped over on 90th and San Leandro. The police officer stopped me and asked me for my license, and of course, being undocumented I was unable to provide those documents. And he immediately called the tow truck to have my car towed. He made us all step outside the car. I still had three students in my vehicle, and we all had to step outside the car. And when I asked the officer why I was stopped in the first place he said that the light on my license plate was broken. I stepped behind to see if that was true, and as I suspected it wasn't broken, and when I went to the officer to call to his attention that my light was actually working, he basically told me that that was irrelevant. So that day my car was towed, I was on the side of the road on San Leandro t 9 o'clock at night with three students who I was supposed to be taking home after an event, and even though I know, working with these organization I know that I have certain rights, I can't exercise those rights if I want to not risk my own deportation. So unfortunately I know that this is the case for a lot of folks in my community, a lot of Raza, and I actually feel lucky because I have a lot of examples of folks who weren't as fortunate as me. Yes, I've had to spend thousands of dollars for towing my car unfairly, but at least I'm still here to tell the story.

I'm going to share some stories of folks who weren't as lucky as I was.

On December 18th, 2008 at 8am, the father of one of my students was driving his daughter to work. It was himself and his brother, they were driving… he was driving his daughter to school right before going to work, and he only got about a couple blocks away from his home when he was stopped on 90th and MacArthur by an OPD officer. And he was never given a reason for why he was stopped. He was asked to provide documents that proved his citizenship. Now, we all know—everybody in here who's a

citizen knows that they carry around their citizenship card, right? He was asked for his proof of citizenship, and when he was unable to provide that he was asked to step outside the car and himself and his brother were handcuffed and put in the back of the ICE vehicle that was parked right behind the OPD officer. Now, he was taken to San Francisco ICE headquarters that same day and coerced into signing his own deportation. 12am that night at midnight, he was in Tijuana, Mexico, after not having committed any crime, not committed any violation, and without any due process. Even though he was not a criminal he was a human being. He did not commit any violation. He did not get to spend Christmas with his son, with his daughters and his wife that Christmas. That's one situation.

The stories get more and more off the hook, right? It's like things that are somewhat incredible, but they're real in our communities.

I have another story of another young woman that we work with. We actually took this story to Ron Dellums, when he didn't believe that this was happening in his city because he has a sanctuary city, right? So we took this story to him. He asked us to tell him stories because he did not believe that this was happening.

This young woman—it was in September 2007—she was riding the bus to school at 7:30am. She was riding the 1R down East 14th, and the bus got stopped on 98th and East 14th, and a police officer went inside and started pinpointing people that looked Raza. All these people were asked to step outside the bus and they were asked to stand on the wall where they were being searched and they were being asked to show proof of residency or citizenship. She was lucky enough to open the emergency window and jump outside the bus and go into KFC where from the window she saw where all those people were taken to an ICCE bus right behind the AC Transit bus and taken in that day. All these people who were going on their way to work, on their way to school, on their way to live their daily lives not doing anything wrong, but because of the fact that they were Brown, they did not live to see the next day in the United States.

Although Oakland has taken really progressive measures on paper, like sanctuary city and most recently, some of you guys may not know, they passed, due to organizing work, they passed a policy where if you're stopped and you don't have your license, you're allotted 20 minutes to have a licensed driver come and pick up your vehicle, right? So that your vehicle doesn't get towed. Although the City of Oakland has taken progressive measures like that, it doesn't protect our people from racial profiling and from the abuse that cops commit on our people every time they put their badge on and they feel that their bigger than the law. They feel that because of the fear that our community lives in they can violate our rights.

I want to share another story, because like I said these stories are too often untold.

Another woman who has been organizing through one of the organizations as part of Oakland Sin Fronteras, she was picking up her kids from school. It was November 17th, 2010, and she was stopped by OPD officer Silvera. This is a woman who knows her rights and is documenting the situation, so she has all the facts including the police officer's name. So she was stopped and asked to show her license—not given a reason for being stopped. And when she was unable to provide her license, the police officer proceeded to call a tow truck and backup. She told the officer that she wanted to exercise her right to have a licensed driver pick up her vehicle within 20 minutes. And the officer told her "you have two choices, i.e. to either take your vehicle right now and not wait your 20 minutes, or I wait for your 20 minutes and you will be arrested. And actually you should be thanking me because I should be taking you to jail and calling child protective services on you. So, this woman didn't want to have her two children see her being arrested that day, so she allowed the cop to violate her rights.

Being in Oakland, working as a part of the Stop the Injunctions Coalition, I know that the gang injunctions as well, which Manuel already spoke about, and Secure communities, which is another program that's being implemented in Alameda County along with other places in California, right, and across the country. These policies will only increase the vulnerability that our community already has every time they face police in the streets, every time they step outside their homes.

For those of you guys who don't know what Secure Communities is, it's a program that allows police departments to share fingerprints with FBI and ICE agencies every time a person is processed, even if they're not committed for a crime yet.

I just want to end by saying that we need to provide avenues to hold these officers accountable. Although the City is clear on paper that this is a violation against our human rights, we really need to be able to try and convict officers every time they're in the streets violating our human rights because this is not fair for an officer to go less than 6 months for killing a Black person, a Brown person, or any person of color in the streets or any person for that matter. After being caught on tape.

It's not fair that our people are being convicted and tried after not committing any crime and when officers are caught they're getting no time. So we need real avenues to hold police officers accountable, and hold city officials accountable for the violation that they're committing on us for not holding their officers accountable.

David Gespass:

I think it's always important when talking about this issue to note that transnational corporations are not bound by borders, by virtue of NAFTA and WTO and various incendiary trade agreements and only human beings are subjected to this. But my question has two parts: Have you noticed any difference in the way undocumented people have been treated since the establishment of ICE and in recent years

with all the propaganda we hear about the danger from undocumented immigrants? And specifically, has there been more cooperation between local police and ICE in terms of enforcement of immigration policy?

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

I think there's been a lot of changes in the recent years, starting in 2005 up to now, 2011. Secure Communities is an example of how there's been an increase in collaboration between police departments and FBI as well as ICE agents, right? I think that there's been a difference in the way that communities have been targeted. After all the organizing and resistance in 2005, 2006, by immigrant communities, there was a direct, really blatant targeting of entire communities. After there was a lot of press of this happening, what we're seeing is that there's not massive raids happening in our communities, but there's more individual targeting. What police are doing, and what ICE agents are doing, is that they're working with folks to basically snitch on their neighbors. Right? They're looking into communities where there's non-Raza or non-folks of color, and their asking people to selectively snitch on community members, right? And people will literally be followed from their homes and arrested and asked for their papers and deported that very same day, right?

So, we had a period of time when there were massive raids in our community, and again after the organized resistance there's been a change in the way they've been targeting our people so that we don't have the ability to document massively what's been happening in this police and ICE collaboration.

Bill Ong Hing:

Given the language of the sanctuary ordinance in Oakland and what you said that the end, what has been the response of the new mayor or the City Council, or the Police department to giving teeth to the sanctuary ordinance? What's the response been?

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

None. None. Like I said, before this new mayor, Ron Dellums basically acted surprised about what's happened. How do you not know that this is happening in your city? How do you not know that such a large population in Oakland is being targeted so massively? But if you claim ignorance then it's not your fault, right? Mayor Jean Quan actually hasn't taken a strong stance around making sure that the sanctuary city is being upheld, nor has Chief Batts, nor have any of the City Council members. The City Council members voted on passing this new policy to allow 20 minutes to unlicensed drivers to have a licensed driver come and pick up their vehicle. That's about it, right? That's about it. They haven't—they haven't maken any moves or made sure that there's any form of accountability to make sure that this supposed sanctuary city ordinance is being upheld.

Bill Ong Hing:

But what about municipal IDs that went into effect at the end of the year?

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

We haven't seen anything around that. We haven't seen anything around that. If you go into the community, folks don't know about this. You can pass a resolution, but if you're not doing anything to implement it, it's basically like you did nothing. And that's what's been happening, it's nothing.

Lubna Morrar (Arab Resource & Organizing Center):

My full name is Lubna Morrar. I live here in Oakland. I work with AROC, which is the Arab Resource Organizing Center, but I also work with AYO, which is the Arab Youth Organization. This is actually my story; but these are also facts and statistics.

When I was a kid growing up in the heart of Brooklyn, and raised within Oakland school systems, I never thought I was any different. Not once did it cross my mind that there was a difference between myself, and the blue-eyed white girl who sat next to me in my 6th grade English class—not until post-9/11 and the major impact it had on myself and all the Arab communities.

But the aftermath and itself brewed out a hatred that has always existed in this country, and what this nation was built upon: the slaughter of native, indigenous Indians on their own soil; the backbones of black brothers and sisters; the hands of Asians and Pacific Islanders who built this country's railroad system. It violently shifted the world I once knew to be more Islamophobic, and where Zionism is a form of racism and has become more of a trend than the latest Lady Gaga song.

Even pre-9/11, the Palestinian and Arab communities has always been a target of this country—during the 1960s, when the civil rights movement was at its peak, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the PFLP, was at its most significant moment—and not just as Palestinians living inside the occupied Palestine, but as Palestinians living in the Diaspora, were performing its most crucial organization skills; and even single supporters of a pro-Israeli state did everything they could to break it down and have the people turn on themselves.

When I became a college student at San Francisco State University, I came into a campus not knowing a single person and was enthusiastic about a campus who was the first of its kind to ever mobilize youth-run demonstrations for an ethnic studies building—not only in the United States, but the whole world.

This school was symbolic for numerous amounts of reasons, one of which was that this campus was very politically aware and active for the world's issues and had amazing leaders to prove it. I met some phenomenal activists and organizers who are a part of organizations like BSU, the Black Student Union; MECHA; La Raza; General Union of Palestinian Students; LFS; and many other pro-active organizations on campus.

With those sensational leaders, also raves in the vile followers. On State campus, there have been pro-Zionist students, professors and staff members—whom, by the way, have made it significantly clear that they support the racists acts of which Zionism stands for.

Now, let me make this even more clear for you: there is a distinct line between the faith of Judaism and the political movement of a bigot ideology. And we—as in Arabs and Muslims—know the difference between the two conflicting perceptions; and we are not anti-Semitic when we say we are anti-Zionist.

On campus, seemingly enough, even—even whenever there was an event for GUPS, which is the General Union of Palestinian Students, was ever being held, without the benefit of the doubt, Zionists come rolling in with their Zionophobe brigade, barging and claiming that they feel threatened and unsafe on State campus, when not a single event was ever held that was ever targeted towards those individual students, or those who supported them.

Funny: they feel unsafe, when in Palestine today, an Arab woman give bir—gives birth—on checkpoints. Children who are the age of thirteen have been to jail at least twice before the eighth grade, and most men have been given unreal trials and sentencing which they spend half of their lifetime incarcerated for throwing a rock in the 2001 uprising of the Palestinian people. And they have the audacity—they have the audacity to feel unsafe.

Every morning I wake up in my own home, and I know that I am unprotected, and that these streets are roaming with pigs waiting for us to show our movement and waiting—waiting to target us, and come into our communities and destroy the foundations that we've built with our own hands.

In March 2009 at protests, thousands of people have joined forces from all colors and creed, st—to stand against injustice of an anti-war rally. Out of the crowd that day, eleven got arrested, and nine of them were young Arab men, and all of which were—were un—were under the age of twenty-two. Out of the eleven, two of which were protesters who tried to stop the police brutality on young men and women who were clearly of Arab descent—most of whom were wearing the keffiyeh, which is what I'm wearing around my neck today; and some of the girls were wearing the keffiyeh scarves on their heads—and they—and they were called the criminals.

While at San Francisco city BART station at Civic Center, the Zionists who attacked the young men had sprayed them with pepper spray. And in the end, they—they were

consoled-ed and they were given a shoulder to cry on while the young Arab men were cuffed and sent to jail. All of them varied on their state in—and confinement, and each of them prolonged hearings.

During the same time as Israeli shellings were being bombed over the occupied Palestine in the city know as Reza, San Francisco police were beating their gray clubs on the college students who are practicing their First Amendment right for the freedom of speech.

Nothing—sometimes, it always seems to amuse me that at every anti-war protest there's always barricades within the carry-on—within the carry-on fence that SFPD seems to supply on hand in every cargo truck, while they are constantly protecting the Zionists—and then they can obviously hear them throwing out racial slurs to wearing—to women wearing hijab and older men who are standing there with fists, hands in the air.

While they scream out partisan phrases such as, "All you want to see is Israel out to the sea," and the retaliation of the young Arab generations chanting, "Israel, Israel, you will see/Palestine will be free," SFPD—who was supposed to protect us—the people who are supposed—th—we are supposed to call on when we are being attacked are, in return, stereotyping our younger generation, aggressively labeling them and the Arab community.

According to www.friendsoftheisraelidefenseforces, San Lean—San Francisco Police Department, Oakland Police Department and Los Angeles Police Department established an agreement with the second largest army in the world after the US to be trained in military and combat tactics in order for SFPD to learn how to treat violent protesters, groups of young activists, and even civilians. And all of these incidents correlate with each other.

When Mehserle cuffed Oscar Grant to the ha—to the hard and cold concrete floor that night, this was the same exact tactic used to force brutality on young Palestinian men and women who are beaten to a pulp, broken bones, and who are resisting gentrification and occupation on their own home land. South Africa's apartheid is one of—is one and the same with Palestine; it's one and the same with Oakland; San Francisco; Chicago; New York; and the United States as a whole.

Nelson Mandela once said, "We know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians."

At a fire safety event in front of City Hall, chief of San Francisco Police Department used an example of—of a security threat—and he stated, as anyone from the Middle Eastern community could just roll up in front of here with a van and blow up City Hall. When asked to later clarify, given the reaction from the Middle Eastern com—community, he specified by saying, "I mean, I mean anyone from the Yemeni and Afghan community."

Constantly we have been normalized of veri—of vilifying Arabs. Why is mental unstability a euphemism only when white people commit a crime? I do not need to list the examples. Timothy McVeigh, the recent shooting of the Congressma—Congressmanwoman in Arizona—but when someone who may be prone to the same PTSD—the same, the same exact upgrim—bringing—but because of their skin color, their background, and they're immediately profiled as terrorists and are connected to an insufficient network of hate and violence.

If we continue to be self-determined, but not just as Arab, Black, Xicano, Asian or white, but as humans with dignity and morality, we will continue to bash away the very same chains—chains that still, today, trap us in a system where sometimes it feels hopeless. But we will prevail through the locks of the racist bigots, who said that they h—are here to serve us; but, instead, enslave us in the same methods of force.

This is a people's hearing on police brutality and violence. But our self determination, our culture, our roots—we are no longer becoming commercialized and brain-washed. We are a people. We exist, therefore, we resist.

Ajamau Baraka:

Your statement that there is a formal agreement between the San Francisco and Oakland Police Departments to be trained by the Israeli military defense… I know we here over in Oakland, but I'm curious: dD you know of any agreements like that in any other parts of the country?

Lubna Morrar:

LA is one of them; Atlanta, New York—

Ajamau Baraka:

Atlanta?

Lubna Morrar:

Yeah. Atlanta is one of them; New York; I think Houston, Texas—actually, if you—even if you go on their website, which is www.fidf.org—which is Friends of the Israeli Defenses Forces.org, they list off all of the people who are in agreement.

And some of them also vary—they don't have any specific documents that say what it is that they—that they do, or what it is that they learn; but, I mean, obviously, if we see what Israel is doing—what the Israeli Defense Forces are doing to the Palestinians, and Palestinians in their community—I mean what else are they teaching San Francisco Police Department? What else are they teaching Oakland PD?

I mean, these tactics are used over and over again. And even in 1967, and even in '48, and even—even when the 2001 uprising happened, we saw the same exact video footage of the way that Oscar Grant was being held to—to the concrete floor; the same exact way that Palestinian boys—who were just—just about the same—you know—age and even younger are using the same exact tactics, and the same exact mechanisms, and the same exact ways of beating them as well. So they were almost—they actually, they're identical, in a lot of—in a lot of situations and in a lot of cases.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz:

Thank you. I understand that the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles also contracts with police departments to sensitize them; and I've never seen any information about what the content of that is; if it also includes racial profiling of Arabs and particularly Palestinians.

Lubna Morrar:

This website was actually a very Zionist website, but I never got to see the documents, because they're not up; and even when I tried to research them, they weren't available as well.

But they even have like photos where they have conferences in Los Angeles and in San Francisco; between San Francisco and Los Angeles and the Israeli defense forces. So it's crucial and it's right there; and especially due to the ties that are related to them.

Even last year when we tried to have a boycott and divestment in San Francisco City Hall—I mean, the amounts of Zionists that came through City Hall was staggering. Especially because it had nothing to do with you know when like—like I already said, when we say that we are against Zionism, it doesn't mean that we are against the faith.

And every time a person came up to speak during the public session, I mean all you can hear is all of these people saying they're targeting a faith; we feel unsafe in the city of San Francisco. We feel this, and we feel that; but, we're not targeting you as a Jewish person; we're not even targeting you as a human being; we're targeting the acts of which Zionism stands for. You know?

And I think that that's a problem that a lot of people seem to mistaken. You know, there are so many Jewish people who are with the Palestinian movement. And especially here in San Francisco. You know?

Just because you are of a certain faith, doesn't necessarily mean that you follow a law or an order; or even, or even a political movement like Zionism. So there—there is a clear distinct difference between the two.

Public Question & Answer:

Maisha Quint:

So if there are no other questions from the jurists, we actually want to open it up. If folks could just queue up, we're going to set the microphone right here. And I just want to stress that this is a time for questions; so if you have specific questions to any of the jurists or witnesses, that would be great; you can even be so kind as directing your question to a specific person.

I just want to stress that this is out of respect for people who have given their time—the jurists, the witnesses: please frame a question rather than a statement. Again, if you do have a statement related to

the session, I urge you to go to one of the break-out rooms and we have concurrent video-tape recording; so that we can get your testimony.

I just want to thank the witnesses again: can we just thank them one more time? Thank you—

And we'd like to limit the questions to just one question, if that's fine. Thank you.

Audience Member 1:

Great. My name's Deniece and I'm with Saint Patrick's Catholic Church, and I'm also a member of Black Alliance for Just Immigration Reform.

I want to leave this open to the panel. I'm kinda overwhelmed. I'm from—my people are from Sobrante Park East Side, and so basically, and I—I take a lot of public transportation. So, to hear that some brothers and sisters that are my brothers and sisters were lined up, and we didn't respond, it—it's really overwhelming for me. Actually, it's cause I know we were on that bus; African Americans are on that bus, and I just can't believe we just said nothing, and that happened.

I wanted to hear more about that; and then in terms of San Francisco State, everything that you said there it's just really touched my heart. And I think we should do more. But to think that my people are being lined up, in that way, and we say nothing. I find that unacceptable. Thank you.

Audience Member 2:

First of all I just want to say thank you, for everybody putting this together.

I know that lot of the information is—or targets are so-called Norteños, wherever it might be, in the Fruitvale. But I would like to hear more, if you could all speak about how even that might be a divide and—divide and conquer tactic, and how does that relate to the deep East Side of Oakland? Which constitutes the largest amount of black and brown folks. So, thank you.

Manuel LaFontaine:

I really appreciate that question because it opens it up for other people. When they say 'gangs' they're not just folks. They're Norteños—that's the entry. You open up a little bit of the door, and they want to blast the door wide open. When they talk about gangs, they talkin' about Norteños, Sureños, Border Brothers, FISAs, BGF, anything that they don't agree with, right?

And what's also important is that collateral consequence that comes out of it is that acculturation that happens. Tere was a p __ [?] that hit me; I mean, we talk about it sometimes informally; but people don't want to dress, people want to cut they dreads, people don't want to have long hair anymore because they know that they going to get targeted. People don't want to wear their '49er shirts or—or their Raiders shirt because, in certain areas, black is also a color that is—eventually, if we don't stop the repression and attacks on our youth and our young people now, it's going to spread to Deep East. It's going to spread to throughout Oakland, where the entire city of Oakland is going to be under gang injunction.

I think it's important and I really appreciate that question because they're not going to stop unless we stop them.

Eddie Zheng:

And the reason we all have to educate ourselves and raise awareness in our community is the fact that the gang injunctions go beyond boundaries, right?

You know, in San Francisco they got the gang injunctions in the Oakdale in the Bayview; and now you have, in the Mission Districts, you know; and—just me as an outreach worker in the—in the city of San Francisco, getting a balance of informations: When we go out to the schools, to the kids a lot of Chinese kids—a lot of the Asian kids—haven't been reached out to for the gang injunction yet, but what the police department has been doing is, they categorize them; they build up a data file on the kids as young as twelve years old, all the way to the college students.

It's like, what they do is they go out there and they—they see a whole bunch of people hanging out in the community hot-spots, or in the school areas, and they will jack them up: they jack them up, they ask for their name, they take pictures of them, and then build a file on them.

A lot of kids, they started wearin' Northface; they all black, right, because they can't wear red, they can't wear blue, so they all wore black. So, are they now become the Northface Gang? Or, what is it?

And any Asians they see on campus that have gotten into to fights or doing other things that they deem illegal or delinquent, what they do is they automatically say, "Oh, they from CT"—which is China Town. Well, if you live in China Town, of course you're from China Town; but they label that as a gang. Right? So through this labeling, now our school has become pipelines to the Prison-Industrial Complex. So all the gang injunction is just a set-up for a larger oppression of people of color.

Audience Member 3:

I really appreciate that so many people so bravely come out in order to speak out the truth.

My concern is now this type of brutality has been going on for so long; but look at it: So few people come out and there's no media to let people know such kind of important event is held in like here fixed here today. How can we make this type of information more spread to the community? And so more people knows and participate in the organize and become stronger? I like to hear from you guys how can we see some more strengths getting together? Thank you.

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

I think that there's a lot of ways to bring more attention to racial profiling, police violence. I think that this forum especially is a good one. They've also had similar forums, like the People's Tribunal in New Orleans post-Katrina; and recently there was just one in Philadelphia as well, based on some of the police brutality there. So I think that there is mass movement around getting this word out, and, 'em, using avenues where people come together and using social media tools to spread the word.

I think that one of the ways that we can best support getting this information right now—and I'm going to speak in the perspective of a youth worker support the youth organizations in Oakland, that unfortunately, due to the recession, due to the lack of prioritization that the state has on young people, are folding left and right. I mean we have several organizations, one of which I used to work for in Oakland named Leadership Excellence, that specifically was on the proactive side of developing young black people's leadership skills, so that they could not be targets of police brutality and not be targets of the state. That organization unfortunately had its funding cut—especially because it was tied to so much city funding. But I think we can support our youth organizations because all of us here work with young people. And we're the ones in the schools, every day; we're the ones in the streets with the young people, talking to them about being leaders.

I want to just address one other thing: It is very hard, especially if you've been a victim of police violence, a victim of police brutality, if you're undocumented; if you're Arab and Muslim and come from the South Asian community. There's very systematic surveillance and targeting of our communities. I just want to make sure that we're not always blaming those who can't come out, and we're not getting big crowds. And we need to be able to go where the people are, versus just always thinking that they're going to come to us, because there's targeting.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz:

I think one of the objectives of the tribunal, and certainly why I am here, is to take the findings, to compile the findings and take this to the United Nations Council on Human Rights and also the international treaty against racial discrimination.

I've been doing this work, as has Alberto Saldomando—and I think Ajamau—for about thirty-five years now—Alberto and I on indigenous people's issues—and it does make a difference. It makes a difference in the communities to have the validation of international law and know about it beyond the domestic injustice system; and the international solidarity that comes—it is much bigger than just the people who are here. And also the educational devices like the video and so forth can be taking out into the communities.

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

I don't think that you really need to come out to an event like this, because sometimes some people they're just like, "Oh, I don't know if I want to be affiliated; I don't know if I want to"—sometimes people feel very pressured into doing something—but I think that a key way of really having people know is through education.

And one of the things is through their teachers. A lot of the times a lot of the informations that students get, they just kinda hear it from their teachers and they don't really necessarily ask questions—

either because they're afraid, or because that they think that it's right when most of the time, it's probably not. You know? And so they're just kinda afraid.

But I think that one of the ways to really get into the youth and into the youth movement, and especially youth movements between brown and black folk and between Arabs and Asians, is through education and it is through their teachers and to even have in your schools or even in your high schools or in your middle schools where there's lessons on how to train teachers to talk about uprising and to talk about resistance; because I think that that is something that's very key and it's very influential. It's something that's always being put on the back-burner when it shouldn't be.

Ajamau Baraka:

Very briefly, cause Roxanne had touched on the point that I was going to make—that, that is again that these kinds of—of gatherings are vitally important. That, as a consequence of these kinds of gatherings, and the participation of folks like yourselves, and documenting these kinds of abuses, we have been able to, in fact, take these issues to the international arena. As a consequence of that work, we've had for example, when the US had its human rights record examined by the UN Human Rights Council back in November, delegations from other countries, in fact, raised with the US this issue of police killings here in this country.

That kind of advocacy work is important; but is important because it's connected to these kinds of grass-roots organizing and public educational efforts. Because, without this, then you have the Africans basically operating in a vacuum—speaking for themselves, as opposed to, to the masses.

We're going to continue to raise these kinds of issues, as Roxanne has said, the US is going to be examined under the, one of the three treaties that it did sign—the International Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Racial Discrimination; that examination is going to take place in 2012; but the US has to submit a report on its compliance with that treaty this year.

Now: we're going to feed in this information comin' out of this tribunal; we're going to be askin' many of you all, who are doing this work, to be a part of compiling and documenting these kinds of incidents so that we can continue to raise these issues and to keep the US's feet to the fire.

Dan Siegel:

I'd just like to tell you a quick story: Back in 1979 in Birmingham, where I live, a young woman by the name of Bonita Carter was shot in the back and killed by a police officer named George Sands. Now, this is Birmingham; it wasn't the first time an African American had been shot, brutalized, killed by police. And, lots of times before that, not much happened.

That same day—it was outside a convenience store—that same day, there was so many people out there, the convenience store was forced to shut down. That the protest went on for a very long time

after that, the consequence was the mayor of Birmingham of the time lost his reelection bid to Richard Harrington, who was our first African American mayor in the city.

My point is, it's easy maybe to feel demoralized when you don't see many people. But the water is always at like 208˚; we don't know when which event is going to make things boil over. But every one of these events keeps that simmering. We can't control which one's going to happen, but we should recognize and know and understand that it will happen—because we're on the side of the masses.

Audience Member 4:

Okay; thank you. I'm not demoralized, actually; just the opposite, because what I see happening from Tunisia to Egypt—around the world. I connect that with the openings of a beginning, I don't see that as divorced from what's going on in the United States; if anything, it's inspires us. You know, this is really cool and we forward to continuing developments.

And, like the other speakers, I wanted to just say that I think it's very important to speak up against any type of racial profiling; scapegoating, whether it's undocumented workers; anti-Jewish prejudice, which we see more and more of, of course; all the kind of racism that we're seeing—it's, very, very important to continue to speak up and to know that we're not alone; that this is a world-wide kinda thing.

Audience Member 5:

I do have a question, but I also want to say something that's—that I'm totally inspired by this; I'm not demoralized by even this event; that it's a wonderful event; and having—and I think, also, if you have another one soon, that it'll be bigger, because all of you people who are seeing it for the first time will bring their friends and say what a great event it was, and am I right?

Audience Member 5:

So, but my question is about the prisons and the cut-backs in the budgets. And what you expect or know about the impact on the prisoners in terms of the crowding, or the coldness, or the food or whatever.

Eddie Zheng:

The economy is bad, but at the same time, the prison business is booming. Alright. They don't suffer from any type of shortage of funding; but what is suffering is the people and his family who are being incarcerated, who is being affected by the prison industrial complex.

So, therefore as we know that in Mississippi, there are a big population of people from California who are being housed on their plantation over there. Okay; they are subjected to their rules and regulations over there and the, and the guards' abuses over there.

And in California, even though, right now, for the Department of Juvenile Justice they are proclaiming—with Governor Jerry Brown—the shut-down of the Youth Authorities in the next year and a half; so that is being taking place; however, it also sends back the youth to all of, all of these counties. A

lot of people, because of the over-population inside the prison system, it creates a lot of deaths in the family, because the poor health care inside of the system; because of the, the lack of money that they put on the prisoners.

But they put all the over-time on the guards; so a guard who has a high school education and that who you know, just doing baby-sitting jobs inside the prison system can make upward to eighty to ninety thousand dollars a year with over-time.

That's—that's what's going to happen with the prison guards; and then, for the population that who's doing time in there, they will continue to recidivate because of the parole system does not work; because the prison system does not work in providing those services to help those prisoners inside of the prison system.

Unfortunately, San Quentin State Prison is the only prison that has most of the self-help programs inside of the prison. But the other thirty-one prisons, they are all over-populated; they continue to suffer the abuse, 'specially those people who are 'gang-validated,' who are in the level 4 maximum security prisons, in the SHU programs; those are the people who's going to continue to be suffering due to all of this over-crowding and budgeting.

Audience Member 6:

Hi, I just want to thank everybody for their comments.

I also wonder if there's a way that you all could respond to the potentials for solidarity when we address the ways in which profiling also assigns some people as criminals and some as not criminals, right? So, Sanitcthe, for instance, you said a few times, they didn't even do any crimes, right?—but I also think we've seen ways in which kind of, the being black and brown gets you labeled as criminal, regardless; right?

And I guess particularly for Eddie and Manuel, like, what you see as the potential for solidarity and working with formerly imprisoned people, and all of the other kind of communities that are falling under the state surveillance and repression in the same ways.

Sagnitcthe Salazar:

I think, like Manuel said at the beginning, right?—we are all human beings; and I think that at the end of the day, that's what really matters.

I do agree that especially within the Raza community—with the migrant Raza community—because of the fact that crossing a border that has been created—crossing onto a land that we've been in for thousands and thousands of years. Because of that, we've been specifically labeled as a criminal, we highlight the fact that we are not committing any crimes, right?

But I think that, whether our people have, or have not committed any crime, it does not give any state agency, any individual, to violate our human rights. Especially for, for the Raza community that we

are working with, we try to highlight and understand how the same targeting that is happening in our community—how the same conditions that are oppressin' in our community that force our community to get into certain behaviors—especially for a lot of older Raza, they tend to really criminalize young people for the behaviors that they're in—and we try to really get them to understand that the young people are engaging in criminal behavior because of the root, oppressive conditions that exist in our community.

And that's the very same thing that happens within—whether you're talking about the Southeast Asian community, the Black community, the Arab community. And, the crimes that e—that our people are engaging in, does not make them un-human; does not make it fair for any individual to violate their human rights.

So, definitely, that link is there, and definitely do need to emphasize that. And I know that that has been a critique of the migrant Raza movement and of continuing to say that we're not criminals; but I think that we're being told that we are criminals for being in a land that we've been in for thousands and thousands of years, that we've been pushed out of.

And I think that because of the labels that exist, we want to highlight that we are doing what is natural to our peoples and we are not committing any crime; right? Because I think that because the dialogue that exists is that that we're dangerous, and we're a threat to the United States and that we are committing crimes; and I think that we need to dispel that myth, as well as we need to dispel the myth within our communities that just because you have committed a crime, that gives anybody the right to violate our human rights.

Manuel LaFontaine:

Yeah; no, I agree with Sanitcthe completely; but let's take it also a step further, right? One thing I almost do almost everywhere I go is identify as a Palestinian. And most people be wonderin', "So, are you from Palestine," right? No, I identify as a Palestinian because of the oppression they feel.

I identify Asian-Pacific Islander in the Philippines or Japan or wherever they're being oppressed; we gotta do the same thing and identify with other people that might not necessarily be where we come from. And also, in supporting each others' marches, events and all that.

The May 1st event should be full of everybody—not just Latinos, not just immigrants. I mean, I just hinted at that are considered immigrants; cause that term 'immigrant' is very derogatory for many of us, because there's many immigrants from all over the world, but when we be talkin' about immigrants, we're talking about specifically around certain people.

So showing up. And the la—and finally, when the formerly incarcerated people better known as 'ex-offenders' in the world—a term that it also derogatory—when we have events, we need support from everybody, cause most the time we're the first and last person thrown underneath the bus because of our stigma associated. So we ask for the support of everyone out there that when we have events—and vice-

versa, when you guys have events—we need formerly incarcerated people out there, open, comin' out of the closet. Same way like the, LGBT community did it—mo—movement have done it; it's been very successful. Now we gotta let this escalation that's going to help them have equal rights as partners.

Audience Member 7:

Good afternoon. I first want to say, thank God, thank Allah, and thank you for the intellectual revolutionaries that we have on the panel.

We're at war. America's on our death bed. I'm a POW; I'm a prisoner of war. This police brutality has gone one since the beginning of America. And when they say 'gangs', what do they think Christopher Columbus was?

I mean, the white man has broke every law known to man, but he would pu—he would put you and I in jail for breakin' tho—those same laws. People: wake up, and smell the coffee—cause we at war. Thank you.

Audience Member 8:

I just want to say thank you to everyone: It's an honor to be here and for those who have put this event together.

My question is specifically for Manuel and Eddie; and I'm wondering if you guys could speak to the potential for encouraging political activism and/or organization and awareness inside the walls; and, maybe speak to what happened in Georgia a couple months ago, with the ten-thousand-inmate prison strike striking for a nonviolent work stoppage to end prison slavery.

And as a formerly incarcerated person myself, I was incredibly motivated and inspired by that action; but also recognize how difficult it is to organize across racial boundaries and these kinds of imposed—imposed and reinforced segregation of communities inside the walls.

I'd like to hear about what you think the potential is for unity in organizing within the walls; and how people on the outside can support that.

Manuel LaFontaine:

Thank you for the question; and one the shows we have here in the Bay Area is called Without Walls—comes on Hard Knock radio—and that's one way to communicate with the people inside. The show airs every last Friday of the month. This month, we're going to be talking about the injunction; how it affecting the prison-industrial complex.

And another way is for people who are not familiar with the PIC—which I would call, in brief, the marriage of profit and punishment— is to start writing people inside and developing a relationship. Therefore, when people have cell phones, changing their perception that cell phone is not necessarily is contact to loved ones—not to—I'm not even going to say what I wanted to say—but to be honest, find

ways to build solidarity with the outside world. Because there's over ten thousand cell phones right now in the state of California alone.

So we could do a whole lot if Georgia—one of the most racist state out there in America, next to California, arguably—we can—th—if they can create somethin' which I mean people got—there was backlash to, that—but there was a sense of awareness that was coming, that people were shocked to know that people inside the state of Georgia has cell phones.

But those who have been inside recognize that there's everything that's out here is in there, because this is capitalis—in the capitalist system—that is, what I consider cannibalistic—it's everything that is going on is replicated in this state-run gulags. What is—what happened is we gotta start raisin' the consciousness of the prisoners inside with those of us who are activists out here to be able to help politicize those inside; because wha' happens is that those who are very politicized inside, who are conscious, they segregate them. Purposely. Because they don't want them to infect them with consciousness, with knowledge about their own roots and history, and therefore become potential freedom fighters.

Eddie Zheng:

Definitely, for the potential inside the prison system is unlimited. I, just like Malcom X; just like George Jackson; just like many of the prisoners who have made their personal revolution. See, when we talkin' about a collective revolution all the time, we always talkin' about armed struggle. Right? But then the revolution that I had experienced myself is the revolution of the mind. You know, that's what's most important.

If it wasn't for people from the community, I wouldn't become politicized; I wouldn't be thinking critically, or having a social consciousness that we are all in this together. That we all must help each other. So, therefore, it's crucial for the people from the community which in, regardless of the challenges that you have to overcome. The most important thing also is that we must willing to sacrifice. We have to be willing to make sacrifices going to go in there, make those type of things happen.

My experience inside the prison system is that I was included with the Black August commemoration inside the system, where I can share with the African American brothers and the La Razas and the API people.

And so we can share with them saying that, "Hey, we have the commonality, too." Right? At the same time, Critical Resistance, All of Us Or None, all the different groups that go into prisons: Those are the best avenues to reach out to the people who are inside. Because there are many prisoners inside; they're full of knowledge, they're full of potentials to become change-makers inside the system and outside in the community—if you only give them a chance.

Audience Member 9:

Hello; my name is Cindy Yee; I'm seventeen years old, and I'm a Ella Baker Center intern. I would like to ask if issues like these are broadcasted in different languages. I know for myself, my parents don't understand like why the Oscar Grant case is relevant for them; and there's always, like, difficulties and, like, language barriers in a sense, like trying to explain to them why do this issues—like—matter to me; why it should matter to them. That's it.

Eddie Zheng:

So, the reason that the Oscar Grant case matters to all people is because you can be the next victim. Your loved ones, any one of us walking on the street could be the next Oscar Grant. Right? So that's why everybody needs to come together. Because, for too long, historically, there's always this anti-Black sentiment that rooted in this systematic racism that we brought in not only in the United States right? But it's rooted in the Asian countries, the LAN countries: it's deep-rooted. That's how fast, enriching the racism has been and how it takes roots in our community.

So, I would love to encourage your mom to participate in any of the injustice happening in the community, because, if we don't educate ourselves—if we don't make allies with all the communities who are suffering—then we are just creating our own mental prison. Just like, when they came for the Nazis, nobody was there; when they came for the workers, nobody there; when the Japanese was interned, nobody was there. Next thing you know, when you'll— get arrested and caught, nobody will be there for you, either.

Audience Member 9:

Could you also offer resources for my parents to look up as well? Because for them, they only rely on one TV program because the language they speak is Cantonese, and they don't understand English very well.

Eddie Zheng:

I don't know how much how much capacity that Critical Resistance has—I'm sure they have people who that speak Asian languages or Chinese or Cantonese. If you need some resources also I can help you later on; and I can also provide some resources.

Sagnitcthe:

There's also organizations in San Francisco who do work with translating materials; and they also have pamphlets and brochures and all these kinds of things that will help out to understand the issues a little bit more clear. I'll give them to you when we're done with the panel.

And Quint:

I want to thank this panel; I want to thank you for the questions and answers. I just want to say that one of the primary purposes for the hearing is to share these resources and to get folks plugged into the different organizations and work that's going on. If you have further questions about MXGM, about

All of Us Or None, about AROC, about the Xicano Moratorium Coalition, about Critical Resistance, they have tables. We also have resource sheets at the very back.

One of the ways that we're asking folks to plug in and continue this work is by hooking up with these organizations and figuring out what kind of support they need. How can we support the few standing youth organizations that are doing work with youth of color in Oakland? How can we get plugged into that?

I want to thank this panel; I want to thank all of you. We're going to go into lunch right now. Lunch is going to be through these doors; we have free food from Food Not Bombs; we also have a taqueria that's also serving food right outside these doors. Lunch will be for an hour, and then we're going to return; and the next session's going to be our session on police killings and violence. This is the session where we're going to hear from a lot of the family members or eyewitnesses who have seen police engage or kill folks in the community.

I also just want to say that there's childcare for anyone who needs it in some of the break-out rooms. We also have additional rooms for testimony that anyone in the audience can use.

If you haven't made a donation yet, and you feel so obliged, please feel free; this was a free event, and there were also lots of unforeseen costs, so we would really appreciate it.

Session 2: Testimony on Police Killings:

Maisha Quint:

For those of you who are just joining us I want to welcome you to the People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence. I'm deeply appreciative of all of you coming. My name is And, I work with the Eastside Arts Alliance. We run the Eastside Cultural Center on East 14th, and I'm part of the program committee that put this amazing weekend together.

There are just a few thing I want to reiterate from this morning's session. In this session in particular, we're going to be hearing testimony on police killings specifically in the Bay Area, and I want to acknowledge and ask for the audience to help me in respecting the witnesses who are going to be giving this testimony. This is going to be very hard testimony for all of us listening, but particularly for the loved ones who are directly affected by police killings in Oakland and the Bay. One of the things we're trying to do to assure the respect of the witnesses is we're asking that no one do any audio or video recording except for those that are with the tribunal. We're really asking folks to respect this, and a lot of this is done to protect the witnesses testimony in terms of any active legal cases going on. It's really out of respect for them and to protect them. Also, I should say that this: Everything's being recorded for the next two days, and once the tribunal folks have gone through it and vetted it for any legal issues that might come up, we're going to make that available to the public and to different independent media sources.

A couple other things: This is a free event and we want it to be free but we are taking any donations that you may want to give to help with any of the costs. We're also collecting donations for the family of Raheim Brown, who is trying to have a proper funeral for their loved one. These things are incredibly expensive and, unfortunately the victim's compensation fund does not work for their family because that is how the system is set up. They don't have access to that money. The Oakland 100 Support Committee is set up to take donations for Lori Davis and Raheim Brown's family. You can leave a donation with them here. You can also make those online donations or any checks payable to the Oakland 100 Support Committee, and in the memo line you can put 'Raheim Brown/Lori Davis'.

The testimony that you'll be hearing today is going to be traumatic. It can bring up very intense things, and so we do have counselors here in the room. They're identified by yellow arm bands. If at any point during this or after this that you need to check in with one of our counselors, please feel free. They're located around the room. And if you need help finding those folks with yellow bands, find the folks with the white arm bands and they can help you.

One other thing: We know that lots of people in the audience have their own experiences around these issues. Most of us, definitely most people of color in Oakland, have their own experience around

police harassment, violence, those type of things; and so, we are taking people's testimony in the breakout rooms, and there'll be video cameras there to record your own statement and experience.

We're going to start off. I'm very happy to have a local poet. He's from Richmond, California. His name is Donte Clark, and he's going to be introducing this session. Please, give it up for Donte.

Poem - Donte Clark

Now I ain't know Oscar personally, but granted he ain't deserve this
That BART cop Mehserle had murdered this man on purpose
That was somebody's son
He was a son with a daughter
Face down one round entered his back
This man's slaughtered
They say it's involuntary so that was the charge given
Convicted for two years or less he leaves prison
Ain't that some bullshit
I guess life ain't fair
White man been killing niggas since the day we got here
It ain't start with Sean bell and it won't stop with Oscar
Harassed me and beat my family members up they killed my patnah
Pops had came home, teeth gone, his mouth leakin'
Eye swollen – them cops kicked his ass for no reason
All from a traffic stop over there in point Richmond
Far from home, a black man, two white cops, ain't no witness
Walked up to his car followed usual procedure
License, ID, insurance keep your hands where I can see 'em
My pops, a convicted felon ran his name, they rushed back
Billy club to driver window it shattered his head cracked
Pulling 'em out the car, they mace 'em and beat 'em more
Face kissin' the concrete, his blood startin' to pour
This violence against my people…I ask you….what is all of this for
Bounced out they caught my cousin at the moms and pops store
Out there in north Richmond, us and them means war
I wana catch one slippin' so I could even the score

My cousin ain't did nothing – no drug, no weapon
Just had a Sprite and Doritos chips
Rush 'em and hem him up, they slam him and start stompin'
They did the same thing to my brother like it was nothing
One of my cousins called and told me the news, my heart's jumpin'
Said the rollers came and raided the block, we start runnin'
Yo brother trump was the only one caught by twelve of 'em
Beat up my oldest brother and I couldn't do nothing
Same thang to big cousin peeper, they chase him and then beat him
Handcuffed him, he got asthma layin' there heavy breathin'
His inhaler was in his pocket but they wouldn't let him use it
So he died right there that night we couldn't do shit
I'm tired of sitting back, illegal searches we getting jacked
Considered as gang members – cause we poor and we Black
Live in the same hood but most of us related
Because I wear a hat, white tee and hoodie I'm gang affiliated
Well I guess that makes two because y'all all wear blue
Do harm to me and mine so its fuck you too
No I won't apologize for the words that I speak
My words are less threatening then actions of police
I don't trust nan of 'em, talked shit and I ran from 'em
I don't care to befriend 'em, man fuck 'em I can't stand 'em
After Oscar Grant's death I guess karma came around
Lovelle Mixon start spittin', knockin' shit down
One grazed, one critical, and a count of three police died
For them a tragic loss but for me a sense of pride
I remember a couple times I had run ins with police
I made one wrong move, they drawed, was like freeze
Guns is pointed at me, my hands reachin' the sky
I'm at home, a black man, two white cops, I'm 'bout to die
Grace of god they didn't shoot and I'm here right now
But its' so many opened with bullets or face pinned to the ground
So many who choose to fight when the rest of us choose to flee
It's very few who die standing, so many up on they knees

I don't want to have this hate in my heart, so lord please
Forgive them father god and please forgive me
Because I swear if I'm given the chance it's goin' down
All this yes sir and bowin' down stops now
I ain't lookin' for no trouble but I will protect mine
Young soldier I'm a rebel till my heartbeat flatline
I ain't talkin' breakin' laws though I'm talkin' 'bout protect
I could give a fuck about your badge, it's all about respect
Thinking their life safe cause they wearin' that lil vest
But that ain't worth nothing if they ain't aimin' at yo chest
Headshot… straight from the heart is where I'm speakin'
How could I be a man and withstand police beatings?
They lynched us back then and they slaying us right now
You talk that non violent and you still get beat down
Why can't you understand that I'm just a young man?
And I'm speaking for me and those who scared to take a stand
You tellin' me calm down and that my words are controversial
But they acquitted all charges when these muhfuckas murder you
Seem like y'all willing slaves to this unjust system
I rather be a runaway then to stay and be a victim
Slavery no longer physical its mental, no over exaggeration
Y'all talk that freedom talk and scared to leave the plantation
And I don't see what's controversial about life preservation
And don't think you beat this system with just an education
Cause although you book smarts you still lack common sense
This the land of free speech, so why I can't say this shit
So basically what you're sayin' is when they come to take my life
I should lay down and let 'em without putting up a fight?
Hell nah…either way they just gonna have to bury me
And that's why next year, 27th of February
I'd be 21 and be licensed to carry
And I'ma push a hard line
By
Any

Means
Necessary,
Pigs!

Maisha Quint:

I want to make a plug again, to never separate culture and art from the resistance movements that we're doing—because in Donte's poem, he just went through all the themes, all the topics that we're doing in this next two days. He went through everything. We have to be able to incorporate our artists as leaders in this struggle. As leaders in organizing resistance – not just delegating them to the end when everything's happy and done. So I really thank you for your poem. It was deeply powerful. Thank you so much.

I want to introduce the witnesses for this session. First, we're going to have Cathy King, who is Gary King's mother.

Next, we're going to have Sonya Wahnee who is Andrew Moppin's mother.

Next, we'll have Jack Bryson who is a close family friend of Oscar Grant and whose sons were on the platform with Oscar.

We'll have Kristopher Brown and Lori Davis. Kristopher is Raheim Brown's brother and Lori is Raheim Brown's mother.

And I also want to introduce our jurists again for those who are just coming. We have Ajamau Baraka who is the Executive Director of the US Human Rights Network.

We have Alberto Saldomando, who is a lawyer from the International Indian Treaty Council.

We have Dennis Cunningham, who is a local civil rights attorney.

We have Bill Ong Hing, who's a professor at the University of San Francisco School of Law.

David Gespass, who's the President of the National Lawyers Guild.

And we have Dan Siegel, who's also a local civil rights attorney.

I want to thank all of you. And I'm just going to explain the process. So, every witness is going to give their testimony, and then immediately following, the jurists have about 10 minutes to ask specific questions or clarifications for that testimony. And then we'll just continue down. When all the testimony is finished we'll open it up for question and answer from the audience. Thank you.

Cathy, whenever you want to start.

Cathy King
Mother of Gary King, Killed by OPD on September 20th, 2007:

Good afternoon, my name is Cathy King. To begin with, I'd like to express my gratitude to all of you for being here, for making this effort, and to the panel for allowing me this platform with which to share my experiences. Thank you.

My experience with police violence began on September 20, 2007, the day that my son, Gary Wayne King, Jr., was killed by the Oakland Police Department. I could say that his life was taken by the one officer that shot him, but I feel that more than one officer was involved. Yes, Sergeant Pat Gonzales shot my son, but there already existed the system that allows any citizen to be shot by what my brother refers to as a "peace officer".

Up until that day, I never realized that there was even such a thing as police violence. When I saw the Rodney King videotaped beating, I figured that it was an isolated incident. I didn't believe the policed needed to beat Mr. King to subdue him. The police had their story, but the tape was clear evidence that the police did beat Mr. King. The public is left wondering why, why are you hitting this man? It looked as if they were angry with him. Why isn't he being cuffed and arrested if he has committed a crime? It appears that the police themselves, on a street corner, had decided to exact punishment on this person, all on their own. I had heard of such things, but had never seen it. The public is then left with proof of police abuses, but after a while it's explained away, none of the cops get any trouble, nothing changes.

Admittedly I was naïve, but in my defense, I say it wasn't entirely my fault. Yes, it is the responsibility of the citizen to be informed, but how are we informed? By the news outlets. What has happened to freedom of the press? Most of the news outlets are owned by one or two major players and they have control over what goes out over the air waves. Not one person who is ever killed by the police is ever portrayed as completely innocent. They are always described, in the news, as some kind of known criminal. They are either a gang member, a parolee, a suspect, they're wanted in connection with some other incident, a person of interest, fleeing from the police or at least resisting arrest. That way, if the police kill this person, then their death can be explained by one of the aforementioned adjectives. "Well, we had to kill him. He was not cooperating. And after all, he was a parolee." And then the public is pacified. Oh, we don't like our fellow citizens being killed, but apparently the police had to kill him. After all, he was a parolee anyway. A ne'er-do-well, society is probably better off without him.

Imagine if the person was referred to in an entirely different light. They were a good decent person, hard-working, law-abiding, upstanding member of the community, kind to animals, children, helped little old ladies across the street. Then they tell you the police killed them. Everyone would be so outraged. No one would trust the police. Everyone would be afraid of them. So, we get the news to report the story a little bit different. A little spin on the story. The person wasn't so great. We realize that you

thought that this was a good person, but it turns out that they weren't, and had to kill them. After all, they were a danger to their community. It goes against everything you know to be true about this person, but the police wouldn't lie. They're there to uphold the law, to so they must be telling the truth. So now, incident over, everyone understands why it happened, the police are forgiven for having had to kill one of the citizens that they are duty-sworn to protect, everyone goes on with their lives. Except, of course, the person who was killed, his or her entire family, all of their friends, neighbors, co-workers and others who are left devastated by their loss.

When I read the article in the newspaper the next day, it said that a suspect was shot and killed by police. Gary was not a suspect in anything. But, that's what the paper said, so it must be true. But I know better. Gary was twenty years old at the time and he was, of course, referred to as a man in the news article. I had never really thought of him that way. It's horrifying to us to kill someone's child, so if we refer to them as a man or woman, it won't sound so bad. The public reading the article won't think of them as your baby. But that's what he was. My baby, my son.

It was a sunny, Thursday afternoon, the 20th of September, 2007. The air was warm and still. Gary had a day off from his new job being a salesman for a vacuum company. He was home that morning, leaving early afternoon to go around the corner to his friend's house. He kissed me goodbye and told me that he loved me. I told him that I loved him too and he said his usual, "I love you more!" at which point I always argue that he couldn't possibly. And he left. Three hours later, his friend called me, sounding like he was crying, and told me to come to 54th and Martin Luther king., now—it's Gary. My husband, Gary's brother, and I, jumped in the truck and drove the three blocks to the scene.

What happened that day? According to what his three friends who were with him that day told us, and from what we could glean from the video tape taken from outside of the store, the police person arrives on the scene, pulling across six lanes of traffic, pulls into the parking area outside of the store and calls to Gary to approach the car. Gary complies. Cop asks Gary his name, Gary tells him his name. Gary has a soda in one hand and a bag of chips in the other. The officer allows him to hand off the soda to one of his friends and then knocks the bag of chips out of his hands,, pulls his arm out straight as if to bring it behind him to put him in handcuffs. He never states his name to Gary or says that he's being detained or why he might be being detained or why he was cuffing him. Nothing. When the officer tries to cuff him, Gary resists and a scuffle ensues. Gary and the cop are wrestling back and forth in the street. His friends said the cop had him by his braids and was punching him repeatedly. The cop tases him, I don't know how many times, and then shoots him twice in his back as he is trying to stand up in the street. He dies right next to the median strip.

When my husband, our other son and I arrive on the scene, there were police cars everywhere—blocking every intersection, the traffic was stopped, there was police tape being put up everywhere. There

were dozens of people standing around in small groups. I could see an ambulance in the middle of the street and a tight circle of officers' feet around something. I ran toward the ambulance when a female police officer stopped me from going further. I explained that I believed my son to be there, injured. She would not allow me to go any further. I said I think that they're putting my son into that ambulance, may I go with? No. And of course, at the time, I really didn't know what had happened, as I'd be trying to push an issue that I wasn't even sure of.

My husband and I had gone in different directions when we got up there, but soon managed to find each other again and decided to follow the ambulance. We had lost track of our other son at the scene. We get in the truck and begin to follow the ambulance on the freeway. When it got on the freeway it had its lights and siren on. I almost lost track of it on the freeway because we had gotten slightly ahead of it and when I saw it again, it no longer was flashing lights or sounding the siren. I wasn't even sure it was the same ambulance.

We arrive at Highland, go to the emergency room, searching frantically for our son; someone tells us where he is. We tried to gain entrance to the room where he is and are again restricted. A woman wearing scrubs was allowed to enter and a moment later came into the next room where we were waiting to tell us that she was so sorry. I remember her trying to touch me in a consoling way, and I pushed her hand away. I asked if I could see him now, and again, was told "no." As far as I was concerned, the hospital was in cahoots with the police department. Everyone was keeping me from seeing my son. Now, his body is considered evidence and we don't get to see him yet. We have to wait for six days. So, instead of that shock coming that day, we had to prepare ourselves for the shock of seeing him, allegedly dead, which was something I could never have imagined in my very worst nightmare.

To this day, I hate that I didn't break through the police line, in the street, to be with my baby as he lay dying, maybe breathing his last breath, maybe saying his last words. I should have been allowed to hold, see, kiss, cry, with my son. No one should stand in the way of a mother trying to be with her son in his final moments of life. I bore him, I gave birth to him, I nursed him. My son. But I let the police bully me. I suddenly had no rights whatsoever as a human mother, as a citizen of these United States, to be with my dying son. This is an outrage to me and one that I will never get over, or forgive anyone for.

The devastation on us was real and deep. We all lost weight. My daughter got herself fired from her job. My husband quite working. Our other son stopped going to school. Gary's girlfriend quite her new job. I literally could not eat food. I knew I should eat, but chewing was difficult and swallowing impossible. Our daughter and son went crazy. They were drinking to excess every night, smoking weed, my daughter started smoking tobacco. They, along with a lot of Gary's friends, spent every day and night at the spot where he was killed. Every night there were about twenty young adults up there wilin' out, daring the police to do anything about it. The police were there, but they kept their distance, just

watching. Neighbors, relatives, including their father and myself, were worried about the whole scene, but I couldn't stop them. They needed to express themselves.

Immediately afterwards, we began protesting. Assorted people, who had been affected by this were hell-bent on protesting. I'm sure my husband and I never would have done that on our own. One of Gary's friends who were with him at the time he was killed has an aunt and uncle who were outraged and had done some protest type activity before. Another person was a woman who lived three houses away from the scene and was determined that the police are not going to "kill someone on my corner and get away with it". Talking together, we all agreed that this was an unjust killing and we were going to fight. Personally, I would have preferred to stay home a grieve, but that was not an option for me. It was time to fight. The aunt and uncle made us a lot of picket signs. Some with Gary's picture, calling for justice and some wanted posters of the murderer cop. We marched outside of City Hall, every Thursday afternoon for many weeks, maybe a couple of months. Gary's family, friends, neighbors, strangers, other interested people, other injured members of society that joined with us in the general spirit of the protest. Bullhorn in hand, chanting, "No Justice, No Peace!"

On the day that the officer was to be back on duty, after his harrowing three-day paid administrative leave, we protested outside of the downtown police station. I spent most of the day, screaming at the top of my lungs, "Sergeant Patrick Gonzales is a murderer!" Looking back, I believe that was healing for me to do. When is one afforded such a platform for expressing one's anger and resentment? I believe in the power of protest.

We hired an attorney, recommended by my husband's sister, who is a corporate lawyer and knew of someone who was a civil rights attorney, specializing in wrongful death. Our hope, of course, was to have this officer charged with first degree murder. No. It'll never be that. It will never be murder at all. The most we can hope for is wrongful death. Okay. Because it certainly was.

Soon after that, we stopped what had become our weekly protests. My son and daughter and I went through some therapy. That helped us, but we had to leave after on year, to make room for others and we never started back up. We all really appreciated our therapist. She was great and really helpful and the kids haven't wanted to see anyone different. If you've ever gone to therapy, you might know that it sometimes is really hard to get people to go in the first place, hard to open up in the second place and thirdly to actually like your therapist. Without the promise of that again, I don't know if we'll ever get back. Although, I know we still need it. My husband, Gary's father, never went to any therapy and says he'll never go. See what I mean? Also, it would have been wonderful for a lot of these other people who were affected to get offered free therapy. Not that they would necessarily have taken advantage of it, but it should be there for me, also. His three friends who were forced to watch him being killed, his girlfriend

who was pregnant with his baby. The neighbor down the block who'll never get over it. We are left affected.

September 20th, 2007, is the day that changed the way I view the police department. I see them exactly the opposite today as the way I saw them prior to that day. I believed they were brave. Soldiers on the streets. Here to protect us. That day I saw what my kids had been telling me—that they harass you constantly, stop you all the time just walking down the street, asking for ID, asking where you're going. That wasn't my reality as a youth. But I wasn't a man. I didn't live in Oakland, and I wasn't Black. In fact, if my husband weren't Black and my children were not of color, I believe this would never have happened to us. The police are not known for killing white people. They don't usually. And I'm afraid that as long as the cops are only killing Black people, a lot of white people will never care. They're not directly affected. The cops say this person was some kind of criminal, and the press backs up that theory, and you're supposed to think: "good, another criminal off the streets." That's good, right? Unless it's your baby, and he wasn't an effing criminal.

Speaking as one 53 year old white woman, I would never trust the police again. I would never call them for anything, for any reason. I hate them and blame them for destroying my family. I wonder how many others there are like me, wrecked for life by what I consider the worst gang in Oakland, the Oakland Police Department. No wonder people are afraid of them. No wonder they run as far and as fast as possible from them. They have a proven track record of being dangerous. These young men are running in fear for their very lives. That's a natural human instinct—self preservation.

The majority of the cops in Oakland come from out of town. They live way out in the lily-white suburbs. This is the big city, not the suburbs. It has loud streets, lots of traffic, hundreds of folks going this way and that. It might be easy for a guy from the suburbs to become overwhelmed. They don't like Black people as a rule, that's why they live out there. But they're willing to come all the way to Oakland to police a mostly Black population. I've heard one officer remarking that it's scary here, so you kind of have to get into the right frame of mind to go to work. Now, if he's out there scared, that's going to lead to very unfortunate circumstances. The majority of white men are scared of Black men as a rule. It's not the good guys versus the bad guys here in Oakland, it's the bad guys versus the citizens. What if all Oakland Police Officers were hired from the streets of Oakland? I know it won't happen—just, what if? They would certainly think long and hard before taking a man's life. Innocent until proven guilty, by a jury of their peers. How is one racist, scared officer, on the street, a court of law or a jury of his peers? It seems to be coming more commonplace every day, the shooting to death of someone by the police.

The man that murdered my son continues to work for the police department. He's left a trail of victims in his wake. He continues to be a valued member of the police department.

Maisha Quint:

Thank you, Cathy. Before we start with the jurists I just want to introduce our last jurist for the panel, John Burris, who's a local civil rights attorney. So if you could make your way on stage. Thank you, Cathy. Again, out of respect for everyone who's giving testimony in this panel, if you have discussions that need to happen I'd ask that you move into the outer room to have private conversations while testimony is being given. So the two men in the back who are speaking as I'm talking right now, if you could stop the conversation and move to the other room I would really respect it, and just out of respect for all the people giving testimony. Thank you very much. So jurists, if you have any questions or clarifications for Cathy.

Ajamau Baraka:

Mrs. King, that was very moving and very informative testimony. As someone who is not familiar with the case, what was the official response from the authorities? How did they justify this action?

Cathy King:

Well, at first he was resisting the polic. They said that he had a gun on him. They also said that the gun didn't function. It was not a working gun. And when the officer said in his deposition that Gary had reached for his waistband as he was going away from the officer to pull up his pants or who knows, but according to the officer he was reaching into his pants for the weapon. The thing is, he didn't say that in his original report—that there was a weapon on him and that's why he feared for his life, and in all the wrestling he didn't recognize the weapon. That was not found out about until Gary was down.

Ajamau Baraka:

What kind of investigation did they in fact engage in. Did they investing—did they question the individuals who happened to be with Gary that day, that is, the police department? What kind of internal investigation process occurred?

Cathy King:

They said the Internal Affairs division did an investigation. The three boys did wind up getting in touch with a pro-bono attorney and going in and giving testimony, I think to the police department. It wasn't until months later. They didn't want a statement at the scene. The police didn't take statements from any witnesses on the scene—and there were a lot.

Sonya Wahnee

Mother of Andrew Moppin, Killed by OPD on December 31st, 2007:

Good morning, I'm Sonya Wahnee and I'm Andrew Moppin's mother, and this is Justina, Andrew's sister. I'm going to read half and she's going to do the other half. Since this tragedy happened to us we've kind of stuck together as a family as much as possible.

On December 31st of 2007 at 7:30, my son, Andrew Moppin was pulled over by the Oakland Police Department for a traffic stop. Andrew had just turned 20 years old and had a one year old baby, and was expecting another baby on the way. He was pulled over for failing to stop at a stoplight on 46th avenue and International Blvd. At the police officer's request, Andrew and two passengers exited the car. Andrew only had a ticket for evading BART fare at that time. Andrew then fled on foot and the officers called for additional backup. Andrew was found hiding behind a parked car on the 1300 block of 47th Avenue. By the initial backup, the officers that were called had ordered Andrew to come out with his hands up. He was between a parked car and a brick wall and was 9 feet away from the officers.

His hands were up with a search light on him, and Andrew was alone with the officers fully armed. The officers were fully armed. At the time, the command officer came behind Andrew and shouted. It startled Andrew when he was told to move. One hand moved and the officers couldn't see it, and Andrew was completely unarmed. By not knowing that Andrew moved and was shot multiple times—8 times—at 9 feet away, when shots were fired he fell and hid under the car, and police reports said that he was still alive and passed later that evening, although there are no records of him being transported to any hospital.

I found out by my nephew calling me to tell me that Andrew was shot. Immediately I searched at several hospitals, and there was no news of any police shooting patients. My last resort was going to the Alameda County Coroner's office, where I found him.

Officer Jimenez was cleared of any wrongdoing of killing my son. Seven months later, he shot another young man, Jody Woodfox, who was also unarmed. For one year he was placed on paid leave, and due to the pressure after Oscar Grant's killing, officer Jimenez was fired. I feel that the results of insufficient training of rookie cops put in our community puts our community at risk. And with that I say two men would still be alive today.

I found out after Andrew was killed—after he was shot that he was handcuffed. After he was shot, one year later, his one year memorial, we left 47th Avenue and we walked into Oscar Grant's shooting—New Year's Eve at Fruitvale BART, where again, traumatized to the experience during our mourning and shooting of our Andrew.

Thank you.

John Burris:

Lemme say something about this. Obviously, I've been involved in both of the cases that she's talking about—her son as well as Jody Fox. Each of these cases, the men were unarmed. Jody Fox was

shot 3 times in the back as he was running away. It was one of the most egregious, horrible shootings I've ever seen. The first shooting was outrageous because the young man, really, was responding to conflicting commands. One group of officers had him have his hands up. Another officer had him turn to the other side, and when he turned, the two officers in front interpreted those movements as, quote, going to his waist band. And it was just a terrible shooting. The unfortunate part of it that you should all know, is that each of these cases represent the real challenge that we all have in dealing with police misconduct and particularly shooting cases. There were no witnesses in Andrew's case other than police officers. And as a consequence of that, the judge—federal district court judge—ruled against us because we could not contradict what the police officer had to say. In Jody Woodfox's case, we did have a witness who was in the car, and so we were able to prove up that the shooting was wrongful, aside from the fact that he was shot in the back multiple times as he was running down the street, ostensibly trying to get away, and at one point was probably trying to pull up his pants—just a terrible, terrible shooting. But it also shows the potential injustice that we're facing here: that any movement can be misinterpreted, and the defense police officers of today, the mantra that is being used, is he was goin' for his waistband. And any person knows in the African-American community or Hispanic community, or any community that deals with the police on an ongoing basis, knows fundamentally, you never reach for your waistband, particularly if you have no weapon there. And so we have all these shootings that have taken place most recently where the police claim that the person was reaching in their waistband, and I just believe that that's fundamentally a lie. But Andrew's case and Jody Woodfox's case illustrates the point. And it also shows that the pain and tragedy that families suffer—really suffer—when a young person is killed wrongfully and they don't have a lot of options, and so this case really illustrates that the family was very courageous. A lot of pain. They came to court all the time, every time we had to be there. And it was painful I'm certain when the judge ruled against us and through the case out of court; but it's one of the challenges that we face, that if you see something you really have to be prepared to say what you saw, because if you don't it puts us in a very difficult position trying to prove up a case, particularly even a civil case, but if you want criminal charges to be filed you do have to have witnesses or a video camera.

Jack Bryson
Friend of Oscar Grant, Killed by BART police on December 31st, 2009:

Man, it's hard sittin' up here and you listen to everyone's stories. These are their sons. Oscar wasn't my son, but he was my sons' best friend, and it's so hard cause every day for the last two years I hear Oscar Grants name, every day. Every night I sleep thinkin' of Oscar Grant. Every night I wake up thinkin' of Oscar Grant. Every morning I wake up thinkin' about Oscar Grant. I can't believe it, and when

people say his name, sometimes I'm like, this can't be Oscar Grant, but it is. And I'll never forget December 31st. I remember around 4 o'clock that evening I got off work, and then my son Jackie, John too Caldwell, Michael Greer and Carlos Reyes, they came by my house, and I was like, ' so what are you guys going to do tonight', and they was like—you know, they was smiling and they was like, 'I don't know, we don't know'. I kept asking them and they didn't want to tell me, but I kept askin'. 'Are you going to San Francisco?' and they was like 'Nah, dad. Nah, we're not'. So then I kept pleadin' with them not to go, and then I remember before they pulled off, I swear, this is what I told them. I said "do not go out tonight, cause I'm not feeling these police officers tonight", and they was like 'dad, don't trip it's good". So then they take off. Then Oscar Grant is at his mother's house. December 31st he was celebrating his mother's birthday with his mother. So Oscar gets a phone call, you know, all the young men, they said "we're going to meet at South Hayward BART Station and we're going to go to San Francisco."

Oscar's mother, Wanda, she tells Oscar, "Oscar, if you're goin' out tonight, take BART—it's going to be the safest way to go", so he says "alright ma, I'm going to do that", so he listens to his mother. As he's leaving, his daughter Tatiana jumps in his arms and she's like "No daddy, don't go, I don't want you to go daddy! I want you to stay here with me!" And he says "Tatiana, if you let me go to San Francisco, tomorrow morning when I get back, I'ma take you to Chuck E Cheese tomorrow." And she says "okay daddy, that's a deal".

So then they meet, they're jokin' around, they're havin' a good time. They get to San Francisco, they're young men, they got there late—they missed the fireworks. So they're walkin' around, about a hour, hour and a half later, my son tells me it was Oscar that said "man, let's go back", so they start walkin' back, get back on the train. So they're jokin' around, laughin', havin' a good time, and then you know, a little altercation breaks out—they break it up. It's over with.

But it wasn't over for Oscar Grant and these young men. Cause when they got off the platform—they got off the train and they were standing by the train conductor, and they were standin' there and they were waiting for everyone, and then they decided to go to my house. As they were waiting, my son Nigel asked the conductor "are the police coming", and she said "yeah, so you better leave". So as they're walkin', Tony Pirone comes up and he takes out these tasers and he tells my youngest son, Nigel, get against the effin' wall. And his brother's with him, and his brother's, like "what are you doin' to my brother" and she said "get your ass against the wall too". So my son and his brother and Carlos Reyes, they comply—they go against the wall. And you know, my son is takin' the braids out of his hair, and their just sittin' there relaxed.

So then Oscar sees what's goin' on. You know, any time you see police officers with tasers, that scares a young Black or Brown man. So they jump—Oscar jumps back on the train. So tony Pirone, he

comes and he's tellin' them to get off his fuckin' train. "This is my fuckin' train, get off my train". So Oscar gets off. He slams Oscar Grant into the wall. My son stands up and protests and says "what are you doin'?" you know, "why are you doin' this?" So Oscar's tellin' my son—"man be cool, Jackie, just be cool"—you know, Oscar's the peacemaker. So then there's another young man named Michael Greer. So Michael Greer—he's on the train and he doesn't get off. So Tony Pirone, he finally gets Michael Greer off the train. He grabs him by his dreadlocks. He slams him against the wall, he flips him over by his dreadlocks.

So these young men, they were doin' everything they were told to do. Even at one point they were singin' a song to Officer Dominici. It was that lil song by Lil Wayne, Ms. Officer, cause you know, she kept messin' wit 'em. So you know, I don't know how the song goes, but it's Lil Wayne's song, and she was getting' upset about it.

So I'ma show you guys somethin'. *[Jack Bryson shows & narrates video as follows]*

This is December 31st, when they got off the BART train, and you could see all the young men doin' everything they were told to do. Want to play it?

That's Carlos Reyes, this is Oscar Grant, that's my son Jackie.

If you could rewind it, cause we jumped to it.

Remember, this started at 2 o'clock, and Johannes Mehserle arrived at this platform at 2:09, and Oscar Grant was dead by 2:11.

This is Oscar Grant on a cell phone, this is my son Jackie, that's Carlos Reyes, that's Michael Greer, and my other son Nigel was right here. Now remember, Johannes Mehserle…

That's Tony Pirone pointing to Oscar Grant. He hits Oscar Grant, and this is Johannes Mehserle right here. He's beatin' my son up, Jackie. He knocks Jackie down. He handcuffs Jackie. And now he's handcuffin' Jackie. That's Tony Pirone workin' on Oscar Grant.

My son is like "man, you got us! You know, we're doin' everything you're tellin' us!" So he turns around, and his little brothers over here. He starts having a panic attack. He's havin' a panic attack, and Oscar's pleadin' with them—you know, "come on, we're doin' everything you're tellin' us." Tony Pirone's calling him a 'Nigger'. "You bitch ass Nigger" right there. So then Johannes Mehserle jumps on Oscar Grant, and Tony Pirone and my son are arguin', and my son is tellin' him, "what are you doin' to my cousin? We're doin' everything you're saying".

So Johannes Mehserle stands up right now, he says "fuck this shit"… and he shoots Oscar.

John Burris:

First off, let me say that Jack deserves a lot of credit for the movement that occurred around Oscar Grant's death. As tragedies present, opportunities for individuals or for the community, and

certainly jack was the motivating factor in bringing people together and really starting the effort that resulted in Mehserle bein' prosecuted. But for all of you and the community support that took place, and kinda directed and forced the District Attorney to prosecute it never would of happened. But I certainly think that it started with Jack and his understanding the importance of the issue at the time, and he is to be commended for that.

I think that the true lesson that comes out of that is that when tragedies occur in communities, that you should not accept on its face the official police position because invariably it's a lie, and you have to be willing to face that lie, and try to do what you can to try to force the truth to come forward, and community pressures is a good starting point. It's not the end, per se, but it is the starting point, and if there is community support around a particular issue—constant community support, the public officials can and will have to respond, and just because what we saw happen in Egypt and some of the other countries that might be appearin' on a national level, but it can happen on a local level as well. And Oscar Grant's case proved that, but there are many other Oscar Grant cases that area occurring, and other young people are being killed, and so the lessons that came from that, and making the public officials be responsive, whether it was BART or the District Attorney, that process should continue to occur, and that's kinda like where we are today, but certainly Jack was an instigator of that, but there are many Jack's out here. In every community there are those who are fully capable of appreciating the issue and starting efforts to organize communities around challenging some of the terrible misconduct that occurs in the communities.

Nellie Jones
Mother of Derrick Jones, Killed by OPD on November 8th, 2010:

Nellie: Yes, my name is Nellie Jones. This is my husband Frank Jones. I'm going to read the letter. It's from him, but I'm going to read it, okay?

My name is Frank L. Jones, the father of Derrick Jones, Dionne Jones. My wife Nellie Jones and I have been married since December 10th, 1966 for over 44 years. We have lived at 1506 79th Avenue in Oakland, California since March, 1969 where we raised all 6 of our children.

Our son, Derrick, was shot and killed, November 8th 2010, by two Oakland police officers:

Eriberto Perez-Angeles (I'm not sure how to pronounce these names) and Omar Daza-Quiroz near the barber shop he owned. Our son was 37 years old and unarmed when he was shot. The officers said they saw a metal object in his hand, which they believed was a weapon. The Oakland police department identified the object later as an electronic pocket scale.

Derrick Jones had a vision, had the vision to own his own business as a barber instructor, an aspiration that he had had since his youth. Bein' a proprietor in the City of Oakland and community of your upbringing is a huge positive influence and model for others to follow. Unfortunately, on November 8th 2010, the Oakland Police Department received a call from a young lady that was at Derrick's barber shop, who claimed he was harming her. Derrick had tried to get the young lady to leave—disturbing his place of business according to the witnesses. As a business owner he had the right to ask her to leave. The young lady purposefully made this false claim with the understanding that this would heighten the situation with the Oakland Police Department. The young lady had threatened to do this on a number of occasions.

On February 8th, 2011, three months after Derrick Jones' death, we met with District Attorney Nancy O'Malley. During that meeting I learned that my son was shot by the first officer 6 times in the front of the body, and a second officer still felt threatened, so he shot him two more times in the front. Derrick was a thin young man, therefore, 8 shots were excessive force. It was cold blooded murder in my opinion. I believe these officers should be held accountable and prosecuted for making a mistake such as this. However, due to a lack of evidence per Nancy O'Malley, she was unable to bring charges against the officers as a result of them acting out of fear that Derrick had a weapon—something considered to be within their rights. Nancy O'Malley based her decision to not prosecute the officers at this time off a witness statement lined up with the officers' statement. This same witness was my family's and Derrick's witness, whom in her initial statement to us, basically said that Derrick did nothing wrong to cause the two officers to take his life. Something is obviously terribly wrong with this.

Derrick leaves behind a two year old daughter named Denise Safari Jones, parents Frank and Nellie Jones, two brothers, three sisters, and a host of relatives, friends and clients whose lives will never be the same.

And by the same token, I was listenin' to Jack speak about how the little baby, how she was afraid of the police. My granddaughter and her mother was walkin' in the park one day, and she's two. She said when she heard the siren, "They comin' to kill us too like they did daddy!" And she's only two. Can you imagine that? And I know you guys probably heard this before. I don't know, but some of you have. When they first killed my son, I had no idea what had taken place, but during the night of the, what'cha call it, the quiet hour, I was left home with my granddaughter, just me and her. And she was actin' really strange, and so I said "what's the matter with you", and she kept rollin' on the floor—rollin', just rollin', rollin', rollin'—and so I said "okay, I'ma spank you if you don't stop actin' silly". She jumped up, walked up to me, sitted on the couch, and she said "Police". I said "what?" She said "Police—they did me like this." And she started shootin' herself in the chest [gunshot noises].

I got so scared, god knows. My right hand to god, I was so afraid of that little girl. I turned my head. She came and she got up on my lap, and went to sleep just like that. A few minutes later her mom came to the door to pick her up. I walked to the door, she jumped out of my arms, she ran to her mom, she said "mommy, mommy, I was sleepin' with daddy". Now, she's two. Two years old—and on the same night that my son got killed. Before—earlier in the evening—I had called him about three times cause I was worried about him. And so he said "I'm going to call you back, I'll call you right back" like somebody was bothering him, and so he didn't get a chance to call us. But I had a phone, a telephone—you know, a lil phone—and during that time, this phone, I couldn't use my phone anymore because I had changed my phone record to another phone. But during the night that my son got killed, I did not know that he was dead, but that phone lit up, and I can't use that phone. It lit up! And to this day I cannot understand, how did that phone light up? I don't know. It's by the grace of god—he said "I'll call you back". He didn't get a chance to. And I think it's just awful.

Frank Jones
Father of Derrick Jones, Killed by OPD on November 8th, 2010:

Derrick Jones and his family have been targets of constant harassment, and is still bein' harassed by the Oakland Police Department, even since they stood up and fought. Oakland police brutality has been goin' on over 20 years. Even as a teenager, the police assaulted and brutalized Derrick and his sister at our house. The family sued the OPD. Mr. John Burris was the attorney. The lawsuit ultimately led to the firing of the two police officers that were involved, and that actions are the retaliations there. The OPD relentlessly harassed members of the Jones family inside and outside their homes. Even after Derrick was murdered, our home was open for many friends and family members that came by with expressions bein' showed of the love that they had for Derrick. Two policemen drove by. My sons Frank and Eric were outside, and they asked as they drove by and slowed down, "are you lookin' for something?" I don't want to use the word that one of them used—I'm not gon do that. My wife said it started with a F.U. That's right. My son works for the City of Oakland. I retired from the City of Oakland. 34 years I served. I would never thought this would have happened to my family. For reasons I don't know why, Derrick had a business, upright citizen, yet was murdered.

I'm going to stop there. I don't need to go on.

Lori Davis
Mother of Raheim Brown, Killed by Oakland School Police on January 22nd, 2010:

Hi. My name is Lori Davis. I'm Raheim Malik Brown, Jr.'s mother. I'm sorry, I've had a hard morning. I had to go to the funeral home to braid his hair this morning.

My son was assassinated by the Oakland Unified School District Police. He was just on a date near a park and for these officers to… sorry… murder my baby… I'm sorry… is wrong. Is very wrong. They're actin' like this is the 1800s of slavery. You know, they're using their badges for weapons to kill the non-white race.

You know, I have Klan members in my family—very close. My aunts and uncles—my father's brothers and sisters. So I know on what they're doin'. You know, they shot my son several times, and I'll show you the pictures. They shot him once in his temple, once through his face, in his arms and his ribs. And before they did all that, they brutally beat him while he's sittin' in the passenger of the car—on the passenger's side. And their claim was that he tried to attack them with the screwdriver. They couldn't come up with a story better than that. And they said "oh, we're going to kill this effin' nigger, I'm going to kill him," cause my son knew a lot about the law.

I've been training with the special police in San Francisco for the last four years, and I let all my sons know about the law cause I was really trying to get my son to go on with me. But he loved his music career and he wanted to eventually get into law—to become a lawyer. And he was also getting ready to help me with a shelter that I been workin' on with one of Jesse Jackson's people that work with him. Raheim was very sweet. He was highly intelligent—so highly intelligent. My son at 3 years old knew how to add, multiply. He picked up things very fast. You know, he was very helpful. He helped all his friends, and there was a point in my life when I wasn't able to take care of my younger children. He has three younger brothers. This is my 18 year old, and a 22 year old younger brother.

Raheim worked. You know, he worked at a auto detail, you know. And he had no reason to have his life taken, just for goin' out on a date—and then they claimin' that he had a gun. Me and my son were so close. There's things I know about Raheim that his own father don't know, and him ownin' a gun is not… no. That's somethin' that he doesn't—wouldn't have done.

I'm getting there, I'm sorry, it takes me a second.

You know, he has a baby on the way. His fiancée is about two and a half months pregnant. He was a family man. You know? He loved LaDonna very much—that's his fiancée. You know? A boy being a boy, and boys have friends, but Raheim… During school he was an honor roll student. He went to some very good schools. The school district labeled him as gifted. You know? He loved the 48 laws of

power—he read a lot of psychology books. He was into… he wasn't really into sports. He was into modeling. My son loves his looks, but that's just a little bit about him.

But the Oakland police officer—I do blame the school district. This is about Sgt Bellusa, or however they pronounce his name.

So, how can the Oakland… Oh here goes the paper, sorry y'all. How can the Oakland school district not know about this man? I'll pass it around. He has shot... on this one, lemme see, I believe this one he shot the gentleman in his stomach and his leg while he was workin' for the school police, so that's just one.

This one right here… But this one right here is another lawsuit—same officer, while workin' for the school district, and this one, the son asked 'why are you arresting my father', and Bellusa decides to get out and beat this boy, his son, senselessly. And there's another report, I just don't have it on me at the moment, and there's actually a couple more on his violent behavior. So how can the police commission let this man keep his badge?

And don't forget about the other officer. Lemme see, how do I pronounce it?... Yeah, Barhim Bhatt. And he should be charged with accessory to murder because he… from a statement that was made by the witness—there is a witness—they also beat her, also. And, the statement was, "let's go on and kill this nigger". You know? And if anything, I know my son was probably trying to start up the car from the bullet wounds. He was turned the opposite direction from the officer that was on his side. The bullet wounds prove it—I told you, investigation is my… I love investigation. But he was turned the opposite way, facing the officer that shot him around the female. He got shot from the driver's side, and this, I will fight this all the way, and even if they try to say that they will not fire these police officers, if they try to not get them incarcerated, as many people that I do know, eventually they will get incarcerated. I will have someone re-investigate this case and several others, because I really believe that people need justice.

You know, this is not just about my son, this is about everyone's children that are getting murdered—not just by OPD, by SFPD, by all in the State of California and all the United States, all over the world; so I'm working on getting a foundation together to help families that need justice and need guidance and everything. You know? Sorry…

This is his baby brother right here—Kristopher—one of them. We are going to have to fight, and I need all the support, everything that there is to make sure… I'm asking the mothers, grandparents, family members of all the children in the Oakland Unified School District to help me get these police officers fired, incarcerated, and more than that to get the guns out of these children's schools!

Why do you have guns with high school students? I'm not sure if they're in the Jr. High Schools or the Elementary Schools, but I know for the high schools, that puts fear in the youth. There's no way,

even in San Francisco they have specials that go to the schools, but they do not have guns, and they do not have tasers. Oakland is just trying to kill us off, and kill off our children.

Thank you.

Kristopher Brown
Brother of Raheim Brown, Killed by Oakland School Police on January 22nd, 2011:

My name is Kristopher Brown, and I'm Raheim's third youngest brother. I know y'all don't know me, and I appreciate y'all support and I appreciate y'all support for my mom and also these people that have lost they children. I got little brothers, you know what I mean? I don't want them dead. I don't want no police shootin' 'em. Sayin' it's because they doin' this or they doin' that. Y'all got kids too. I want y'all kids to live long. My brother was a good man. I tell it like I tell my parents, like I tell my family. I got a dad, I got little brothers, I got a mom. That was like my second dad. I'm lonely, I miss him, he was a good man. The only thing he wanted to do was to do better, help his family, see what I mean? And they took his life away, I can't… This was the first time he's seen my brother since he died. He's been gone since the 22nd of last month, you know what I mean, and I'm still trying to focus on my life and do better but it's hard cause I'm lonely. I miss him a lot. I know y'all don't know me at all. I miss him, know what I mean? Man, the police just shot him, didn't even ask no questions. Front blank—Shot him in the face. It's not like that, if they shot him they coulda kept him alive. see what I'm sayin'? and I don't know, I really don't. My heart is lonely.

He was a good man. He always told me "go to school and do better. Do this, do that, but never nothing bad". When I wanted to kickit with him he wouldn't even let me hang around the things he did, you nahmean, he was a minor. And he just wanted to do better. He tried to take care of his brothers, take care of his parents, take care of his family. He said here's the family… I don't know how to explain how much I miss my brother because I can't. 18 years of my life I feel is gone, you know what I mean, and it's not, because I got family. But y'all don't understand how close I was to him. He was willing to give a tee shirt off his back. See what I'm sayin'? I'm hurt. So I just ask for y'all's support, even with all these other kids, and just support us, and I appreciate everything. I don't want to talk long because it hurts to talk about my brother's death, and it hurts to not even say it. So, I just want to let y'all know that he was a good man and he had a god heart, so I appreciate y'all support, and thank you.

Jurist Question & Answer:

Maisha Quint:

Before we move on to Q&A I want to really thank all of you for coming. This is a huge risk, as many of you were saying, it's a huge honor for us to hear your testimony. The pain and the loss that all of you have suffered. I feel deeply, we all feel deeply, and this is an epidemic that is happening, and I just really honor all of you coming here and sharing your stories, and I would actually like the audience to stand up and honor what you've gone through, so thank you.

Thank you. So now, I would like to open it up, if someone could please drag out that mic. We'll drag it out and then yes, one jurist has a comment.

Bill Ong Hing:

Thank you, for all of you for sharing your stories. You know, Ms Davis actually talked a little bit about this, but I have a question to all of you, and this is a hard question. It's: How do we change the culture of this police state institution? You talked of course about getting the guns out of the hands of the police cops, and dismissals and criminal prosecution of those, but I'm just wondering if any of you have any ideas on how to change the culture of this place, and maybe Mr. Burris and Mr. Siegel and other panelists have other views on that, but that's the big question in my mind.

Jack Bryson:

To me, and since I've been researching, since 1976 to 2005 it's been almost 9,576 young men killed by police officers, so what we have is a genocide. You say change to culture—the culture has to start with the racist police. We don't have Black police officers goin' around killin' white kids. All we have is white police officers killing Black and Brown young men. And that's a genocide—that's all over the world, all over the United States, and I've been some places where we've spoke and they say "well better training, we'll train our officers better." You can't train a racist better. Once you're a racist you're a racist. How can you take a racist police officer and ask him to protect the community that he's been taught by his fathers and their fathers and their forefathers to protect his community that they hate and despise so much?

Cathy King:

You hire locally—get some men from Oakland who want to police and uphold the law. There's a lot of men in Oakland who'd like to uphold the law. And then if you're from Oakland, you're far less likely, I already said that, to kill your neighbors.

Nellie Jones:

I heard that, and I might be wrong and correct me if I'm wrong, but I heard that the reason why I think that the police keeps killin', because they have an immunity—they can get away with this, you understand? They can get away with this. I think if you take away that immunity, you'll find a whole lot

less dead Black and Brown babies, okay? That's what I feel like. Cause I have two more sons and I—I'm scared to death every time they walk out the door, and even on one occasion, right after my son got killed, they had a little, I guess you'd call it, like a little get together—a little rally 'round the barbershop, they always go back to the scene—and they tried to, I guess, get support. Now, I don't understand it—there was so many people out there with cars. Guess who they targeted? My youngest son. He was sittin' in his car. Oh, they came up and they teased him. He said 'you killed my brother' and I'm not condoning the way my son spoke to them, because when they said… he told them, he said 'you killed my brother', and when they told him 'yes, we killed your brother, and we'll kill you and your family'. And that little boy, some stuff came out his mouth that I wouldn't even want to think about, okay? Okay? So they decide, oh, you've been drinkin'. So they took him—now he's parked, the car just sittin' parked—took him to jail, and then all of a sudden they said 'oh, the baby's son, they just carted him off to jail for a DUI', tried to make it look like… I guess, suspicious about what they had done. I'm not sure. But even at that, what they did was they carted him off to jail, kept him a few hours, let him go, gave him a slip sayin' you have 30 days, this is your receipt here—30 days to have privileges of drivin' and 30 days after this, and you, you're license will be suspended, okay? So he was drivin' 28 days later, and this one police officer stopped him—it was on my, on our anniversary, our 44th anniversary—he was on his way home. They stopped him and told him—in fact they put his hands behind his back… they wrote him a ticket, and he said 'well I have my license, this is my temporary license', and they said 'this is no temporary license'. They gave him a ticket, and somehow, I don't know what happened in the event of whatever, the day they decided to go and check the ticket, and they said 'okay', they sent him another ticket saying the correction was: Oh you were driving with a suspended license from a DUI. Now, if you an officer, you should know better than to write a wrong ticket, you see what I'm saying? They wrote him a ticket and then corrected it, and the reason why they said they stopped him is because his license plate light didn't light up. Well, we haven't fixed it—it's still lightin', it's lightin' up. So, right now his license probably is up in a mess. I'm not sure that they're going to bother him, but in the event that they do I mean, it's nothing he could do about it I guess. We're trying to figure it out. But anyway, they say he has to go to court for it. If he doesn't go to court they're going to put a warrant out for his arrest and put a hold on his license, and he hasn't done anything. They continue to bother my sons. I'm afraid that if they get that immunity from them, take that immunity from them! Trust me. They will not be killin' people because that way they will have to give count of those things that they do to our children. Thank you.

Dan Siegel:

I just want to make a brief comment. This is heartbreaking, first of all, to sit here and hear the reports. It's 5 families who have lost a son, a brother, a loved one, and to try to experience for a few hours the kind of pain they've gone through, and then to ask yourself the questions about what is wrong here,

and I agree that some things are terribly wrong, that we have a system that employs racist cops, cops who are serial killers, serial abusers, cops who have immunity for what they do. You know, I ask myself the question also—what's wrong here? And I'm sorry to have to reach the conclusion, is that I think that those police officers were doing what they're supposed to do. That's why they have immunity. That's why get away with it. That's why they're not prosecuted. That's why they're not jailed.

We have a system of tremendous inequality in this country where we have a clear division between rich and poor—the people on the poor side are predominantly people of color, and we don't spend the money for education, for healthcare, for housing, for things that people need to join decent life. Instead, what our country's riches are used for is in Iraq, Afghanistan. So, my simple minded answer to what needs to be done to change things is radical social change in this country, a transfer of power and of wealth to people who are interested in having a united society where all people have equal rights and equal opportunities.

Dennis Cunningham:

I would just comment also… John Burris and I were just here whispering about the number of shooting cases that have happened more recently. So many of them here in Oakland, so many of them in California, so many of them in our country, and it is an epidemic thing. There's something else that's epidemic about it, which is that the departments police that the killer or shooter police work for always back 'em up. Always make excuses for 'em. Always come forth with their version of the story and put it in the newspaper—whatever lie they make up to cover up what they did, the department is always there behind 'em, right up to the chief, and you see it everywhere and you see it here. So you talk about the culture that has to be changed—it has to be changed in these departments, it has to be changed in the trainings that the cops receive, it has to be changed in the supervision that they get when they're on the street, it has to be changed when they lie about what they did—when you have case after case when the cop shoots somebody and then says, 'well, he went for his waistband, he reached for his waistband and I thought he was going to get a weapon and I thought I was going to get hurt, and I was in fear for my life." It's like a rote formula that he could just recite. And then he's off the hook, and then the department goes to bat for him, and the city goes to bat for him, and if we sue we might be there ten years later and the city has money out the roof defending killers. So the culture that has to be changed has to be changed at the top—it has to be changed with the people we elect. It has to be changed with the people they appoint to run the police department. It has to be changed with the training, it has to be trained with the supervision from one day to the next out in the street, and the cops that do this stuff, they can't be allowed to get away with it.

You go all your life—I've been doin' this stuff for 40 years, John's been doin' it about just as long. I never had a case yet where the cop admitted he was wrong… I mean, ever! I never even heard of a

case, and I know dozens and scores of lawyers all over the country that do this kinda work. And you never hear it. The closest I ever heard was Rodney King. They had to admit it cause it was right there on the TV, and they still fought about what it was worth. They still fought it, and they'll fight every case until the politics change at the top—the politics change and the people who get elected know that they have to promise the people they have to supervise this, they have to control it and they're going to do something about it. We do live in a police state. It's a little bit star spangled. You know, it's a little bit apple pie. It's a little bit carefully covered up in a lot of ways, but the essence of it is like that, and the gang injunctions are about that.

John Burris:

Well, Dennis let me correct one point: The police officers in Rodney King never did admit. They always said it was justifiable. We had to make them admit to the judicial system. But I want to bring up one last point—I know I've spoken a lot already—and that is the big lie. And the big lie is in every case the officers always have some lie to justify the shooting. As Dennis said, he's never had a case, I've never had a case, and particularly shooting cases it's almost rote that they will say. And I'll give you an example. In the Oscar Grant case, we all know now that there was a video, but at the time Oscar Grant was shot, and the police officers' first statements, before he knew there was a video camera, he said "I thought he was goin' for a gun, I thought he had a gun, I saw his hand go into his pocket to get a gun". Now he said this three or four times, and he consistently said it, until he saw the video. And when he saw the video, then he couldn't maintain that lie. But I'm going to tell you, he never told anyone that he made a mistake and pulled a gun when he meant to pull a taser.

That lie never happened until almost a year or two later, but before he left and resigned from the police department he had numerous conversations with other officers. Not once did he tell anyone that he made a mistake. The night he shot Oscar, and Oscar says to him "you shot me", he looked over and he could have said then—"I'm sorry, I made a mistake". He should have said it then if it was true, but it wasn't. He was tryin' to get away with this. He was trying to get away with it by demonizing Oscar, and saying "Oscar is the one that is going for a gun" when the evidence clearly shows he was being held down. And the other thing you should also know, within moments before he was shot, both of Oscar's hands were on his butt behind his back, before he was shot. So it was just a lie, but he was tryin' to get away with it. And so this whole notion about later, that he was weapons confusion—they sold a bill of goods to everyone on that. And they did it largely because the people were vulnerable and they wanted to believe that an officer wouldn't make that kind of mistake. Alright? But he did. He shot him and he shouldn't have shot him and he tried to get away with it. And now he is very, very comfortable with the story he has told. It's almost like now he believes it. He believes it!

I took his deposition recently. He's very comfortable with the story now, but that's not the story he told immediately. And so, to always watch out, and I say this, that whenever there's a police shooting there's two things you're going to hear: One, the justification for the shooting, and the demonizing of the person who had just been killed. The demonizing of that person, and I always wonder—if the person had a criminal record, it doesn't matter what it is, why is it relevant to tell people about that at the time you have just shot and killed him when the officer who did the shooting didn't know about the background. And so these are the ways that the public itself is brainwashed to support the police and to demonize the person who has been shot and killed. They do not want you to care about them. The same thing happened in Oscar's case, but the community rose up and prevented it from occurring, and they had the video. But even with that the judge in the criminal case tried to get in Oscar—give Oscar's background. So there's always this effort done to support the police and demonize the person who's been shot and killed. And this happened in all these cases you heard about, and it's happened in every one of those cases, and will continue to happen in all future cases, and this is what you have to be on the lookout for as a community. You have to fight through the lies, and be prepared to stand up and demand the truth and to take public action as best you can. Everything is stacked largely against you, but you must stand up and you must be heard, and you must tell people that it's wrong and fight for the truth.

Ajamau Baraka:

Just briefly, and I know we want to hear from folks who are here, but I just wanted to say this. As painful as the stories are that we've heard today, unfortunately, my friends, what we heard today in some ways is not very unique. That from my point of view, someone who has to move around this country, we hear these stories in almost every major city in this country. And it goes back to what Dan just said: that basically these police officers are in effect doing what they have been trained to do; that their role in this society, this kind of society, is not to protect and to serve the people, but to protect and to serve the elite. Their role is a role of social control, and when you have that division between the elites and the rest of us, then you going to have this kind—these kinds of incidents. It's not until we in effect make that shift in power, where the police come from our communities, when they are in fact us, that we change the situation. I have to make one other slight correction. Now, we find that there are in fact incidents of racist cops—white cops killing Black and Brown people across the country, there's no question about that, that's the majority, but because of the function of this police force being one for social control, maintaining oppression—my friends, we have Black and Brown cops involved in the same kind of activity.

In fact, we have had situations where when they have executed someone, it's white and Black and Brown standing together and all of 'em are firing. So we've got to bring in that class element and again understanding the role of these authorities. So, how do we change it? When we start organizing ourselves,

when we begin to take the responsibility of, in essence, policing our own communities, that's when we'll begin the process of change, but the ultimate change won't take place until what Dan said occurs: until we're able to transform the society, transform the relationships, and have the power with the people themselves. That's the only way.

Public Question & Answer:

Audience Member 1:

I'm terribly sorry for your losses. This question is for the panel. Perhaps it's for Mr. Siegel and Mr. Burris. There was mention earlier on about changing the institution, changing the culture of the department. The Oakland Police Department has been under federal oversight of the Federal Court since 2003, and that's resulting from a pretty serious scandal, the Riders scandal. And I just wanted to ask, I mean, we're still seeing all these officer involved shootings, we're still seeing allegations of abuse, of dropped weapons, of planted narcotics, messes—search warrants being fabricated without be—without going in front of a judge. What is it going to take to change the department? And is the internal reform effort that they're trying to push, is it working? Are they getting rid of officers like Patrick Gonzales and Hector Jimenez or is there something deeper that's more intransigent, that they can't kind of dislodge this culture from their department?

John Burris:

I've been involved in both of those major cases for reforms—both the Riders case and the search warrant case. Unfortunately I am disheartened in many ways as the results. We've been on the consent decree now for almost 8 years. It was initially scheduled for four—for five years. We've had to extend it at least twice and it looks like we're going to extend it another year. It's very, very frustrating, and at the heart of all of this is a cultural shift. It's a function of the leadership at the top. We've had three police chiefs now. But at the end of the day it really has to be a buy in, not only from the chief, the command staff, down to the supervisors such as the sergeants, and have real accountability all the way through to the line officers. That hasn't happened, and largely because I don't think there's been a consistent buy in. The officers were very resistant of the program and many left, and so we're still at a point of trying to make changes—although I must admit that we've put in some very good systems to try to identify these problems as they develop, and I think that in the long run they can work. But it hasn't been successful in a timely way. And so we're still working at it. We have not—I certainly have not given up on it. I will tell you I am as frustrated and hurt by the continuing number of police shootings because they seem to be outside of the framework of what we were trying to get done in terms of the overall culture; and although there are areas where there's been significant improvement, it has not been significant improvement on

the areas of police shootings, which to me is the most deadly form of use of force of course because someone's life is taken and it effects communities forever, but we have not gotten it done. It is still a work in progress. I've been successful—more successful in other departments with other issues, but Oakland is different. It's one of the few cities with huge minority populations, and I think that that goes to the type of policing that takes place. And I think we've talked about those kinda issues before in terms of the mindset of officers in the department, so it is a work in progress and certainly I'm not happy about the results we've had so far.

Dan Siegel:

I'm not at all happy about the results we've had so far. Despite the incredible work that John and others have done to try to get this department to turn around. You have to ask yourself, in light of what you've heard today, why it is that when the current chief stands up and says, "hey, I know the way to San Jose" there are people throughout the city who freak out. "Oh no! Please don't leave! We love the way you look, we love the way you talk! We love all this bravado… despite the bodies on the ground." I think things will change in Oakland when we organize this community and insist that we're not going to have any more police murders in Oakland. And when we go out to our representatives—Larry Reid in District 7, Lesley Brooks in District 6, Ignacio De La Fuente in District 5, and the rest of them—and tell them that unless you get this department under control, we're going to elect people to the council who will. I believe, and you know, I'm working with the mayor, so you may take what I'm saying with a grain of salt, but I think we have a mayor who wants to see that kind of change take place. But she's dealing with members of the council, she's dealing with members of the police officers association, she's dealing with people who think gang injunctions and cops with guns are necessary to protect them from the hordes of us, basically. So unless we can build the movement from the bottom up to create the basis for change and the demand for change, there will not be change despite the good work that we do in the courts.

Maisha Quint:

And I just want to point out—we have other experts up here as well, and so if people have questions for the family members, this is a very unique opportunity—who we have on stage. So I'd like to encourage folks to ask anything of them as well.

Audience Member 2:

First, to the families, you have my deepest condolences. It's just to coattail on what other people were saying. Why aren't there stronger watchdog things set into place to control and to educate the police and to hire people? And why isn't there sensitivity trainin' for all levels of the police? And why every day before the police officers go on the street they sit in a big room and talk about what's happenin' out here in this neighborhood and that neighborhood. There should be people comin' to their officers in the mornin', or to this room in the mornin', and watchdoggin' the officers and let them know that they're

bein' watched. And I don't think they should be watched by their own contemporaries. There should be an outside force comin' in. You know? They should be held accountable for all these murders—these regretful murders. And as we sit here—you know, someone said they're high-fiving each other and—and you know, basically congratulating each other cause they got another notch in they belt for killin' someone, I think. And it's terrible. I—I think there has to be a whole lot put into place. And my vote counts and everybody's vote here counts. So get out and vote and do what you have to do to stop all this injustice and stuff, you know? Thank you.

Audience Member 3:

This question is for all of the families that are on the panel right now. So, given the realities of violence in our current communities and our fight for freedom from violence of any kind, what are concrete strategies that we can take to move ourselves forward, specifically as communities that are struggling to be self determined.

Jack Bryson:

To organize. Look what happened in Egypt. What happened in Egypt could be done here. We almost did it on October 23rd. We organized. But, like Dan was saying, and Mr. Burris, we have to stand up. If we don't stand up they're going to continue to stomp on us and do what they want. Its—you know? The change comes from people. We're the people with the power.

Audience Member 4"

Almost forgot my question. This question is for the families. I was curious because I assume most of you, since you lost your family member or your friend, that you've been networking with a lot of the other families that have lost loved ones as well, and have been really involved in anti-police violence work. So I was curious: How do you feel that this issue relates to women of color, and what are some of the examples around how we add gender into this—specifically for Black and Latino women?

Maisha Quint:

I just want to make sure so we understand the question. How do these issues impact women of color as well—issues of police violence and police killings? To the families or to the panel. And you also said specifically the families have been meeting with other families and doing organizing, and how do you see those issues also impacting women and women of color in particular?

Nellie Jones:

Did I understand you to say, how does police brutality effect women of color? It makes 'em widows real fast…

John Burris:

In all these years maybe less than five cases that I've actually looked at where a woman had been killed by the police. It just doesn't happen with any degree of regularity or frequency. But the truth of the

matter is that it affects the women and girlfriends and daughters and sons in a tremendous way because they're left with having to deal with the child, you know? Raising that child. Or the mother having to deal with the loss of her son. I don't know that you can measure the impact of that. I've done and tried to do a psychological study on the impact on children who've been killed by—whose parent have been killed by the police. And I've been workin' on this for almost 10 years now, and one of the things I see is the true pain of children. I don't know if it's different than other deaths that occur—I haven't made that determination. But I do know it lingers with the child for a long time because—the death of the police—because people have been taught as youngsters that the police are s'posed to protect you. And—and it creates a real fear in them, and that fear may last a long time as they—as they grow up and have to deal with the notion. So—and I think that that affects girls and boys as well, I mean, because, it's—it's the police. But certainly in terms of the aftermath, women—particularly spouses, girlfriends—suffer a great deal and they're the ones that have to pick up the pieces and carry on, if you will, from it.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz:

It just occurred to me that I don't really know if this happens in urban areas, but in Indian Country, in border cities like Farmington, Rapid City, Gallup—around reservations there's a extremely high rate of brutal rate by law enforcement officers of state patrol, local cops, they kill the men but they rape the women. So I don't know if that is the case or not in urban communities.

John Burris:

I didn't make reference to that point, but I've had a number of cases where women have been sexually assaulted by police. Many of you may know of a case where I represented over 20 South Asian women who were molested by an Oakland police officer. I think my first contact with the Jones family was related to a case of sexual misconduct by officers. I certainly have those cases on a routine—not death cases, but the pain and the anguish that the women suffer is very profound. And when I had the Southeast Asian women, their pain was such that they couldn't talk about it, because not only couldn't talk about it—they could not tell their husbands or their boyfriends, particularly their husbands because they viewed that they would be blamed for it, and so they had to suffer in silence. It is as bad as it can be in any other rape case that you can have. So when the law enforcement people do it there's a sense of frustration from it.

Audience Member 5:

I just—I—I want to say thank you for everyone's answer, and I also just want to say that I think it's really important to look at cases of sexual assault like they're police brutality and a mechanism of control that the police have used over—particularly in communities of color and against communities of color for a really long time. So, thanks.

Audience Member 6:

Hi, my name is Jenna, and I just wanted to preface my question by saying that I love that Jack brought up the example of Egypt, because not only does it show us the most effective way to change the culture at the top, but it also gave us a really good demonstration of the possibility and the potential of communities policing themselves—we don't actually need the police. But I wanted to ask the family members, what—because the small amount—well, the amount of justice that we got for Oscar Grant, even though Mehserle's sentencing is inadequate, the fact that he was convicted at all is a big step for our side, and that—that came with the—the movement that was largely led by Jack. And I'm wondering from the family members, what do you think is the possibility and the potential in the cases surrounding your families for the community to gain—too help you gain justice for your family? And what do you—how do you think we can get there and finish what we're doin' with Oscar Grant and also get the rest of your families so that they're known on an international basis also. I'd really like it if Oakland could be known worldwide as the city that puts their police behind bars for murdering people here.

Jack Bryson:

Can you repeat that one more time? I want to make sure…

Maisha Quint:

So the question was to the family members, what do you see needing to happen, or how do you envision people who are directly affected by police killings and police violence organizing in order to change the culture—in order to change the system effectively. In order to show the rest of the country, and really internationally, that Oakland is setting the stage for holding police accountable and really changing that. So, your thoughts as you move through this process?

Jack Bryson:

What I learned through the Oscar Grant thing—through the Oscar Grant murder is that we had a lot of momentum, but what happened is the system waits for us to play ourselves out and what we do is we get relaxed and we stop fightin', and we fade away. And once we start fadin' away, then they start doin' the dirt that they need to do to make themselves look more powerful. I'll give you an example. Just like when I was watchin' Egypt, the media kept repeating, "oh soon they're going to fade away. They're going to fade away. They're—they're going to go away. The protesters aren't going to keep fightin'." So what the protesters did—they came back in bigger numbers. More and more numbers. They never stopped fadin' away. And what was so inspiring about Egypt—on Thursday, when the president said he wasn't going to retire, that he was going to stick this out, that he was trying to provoke them into a war ag—so the protesters would get murdered. But the—what the protesters did, the next day they came out with a million more people, and they never s—they never gave up. They did it for 18 days, and that's somethin' we should learn. Like, myself. I mean, when—when—when Gary King was murdered, I'm guilty—I didn't stand up, ya know? Because it didn't affect me. But now that it affected Oscar Grant,

now I want everyone to stand up with me. So from here on out it's my obligation not only to the Oscar Grant movement but any person that is killed in my community to stand by that family.

Ajamau Baraka:

If I may, I'd like to follow up on that comment. I think that was a very important and very honest critique. As someone who's not from this community, I would just say that I'm impressed with the cross section of forces here in this room, and the kinda work that's been done here in the Bay Area, and as someone said this morning, you have concrete victories that need to be celebrated. That people across the country need to be made aware of. And you're right, Jack, that basically you have a foundation of work, and you have organizational experience now in these winds. What's important now is to keep yourself organized and get behind each and every one of these families that are still fighting for justice. If that's done then you can keep the pressure on the authorities and you can keep on pushing for the kinds of reforms that you're looking for; but the key—most of us in here are organizers—the key is organization. The key is what someone said earlier: All of us identifying with everybody who's being oppressed. So use this momentum. This is very important that this event happened today. Keep this momentum going. Transform it into an organized force and keep the pressure on. That's critically important.

Bill Ong Hing:

I want to add to that because there's a big connection between this afternoon's panel and this morning's panel. This morning's panel actually raised the issue of Immigration and Customs Enforcement and its targeting of immigrants of color in particular, and that's a coalition that should be forged between those folks that are passionate and upset about the Oakland police and other police departments, and the targeting of immigrants of color by another institution that intrudes upon their lives. And in terms of gender, ICE is an equal opportunity evildoer, and so the families that are affected by federal immigration enforcement, perhaps they're not traumatized by murder, although many are, but their families are traumatized by separation. And along the lines of the allusions earlier to training within training and aspirations, that type of cultural training is actually only as good as the leadership. And because way back when President Clinton was trying to reform the border patrol and immigration and naturalization service at that time, he had some good lieutenants who actually tried to change the sergeant and the lieutenant levels of the institutions around the country. And there was a period of time when it actually did make a difference, but it just took a different administration to come in to wipe all of that out—to revert to a cowboy culture. So, it's not the kind of thing that even if you were able to change it for a period of time that it will remain permanently changed. There's gotta be permanent pressure in order for those institutions to not revert to what we have today.

Jack Bryson:

This just dawned on me. If you don't think what took effect in Oakland October 23rd, then what happened in Egypt—out of all the places, just look at the news now. Look how they're organizing in Milwaukee, in Wisconsin right now. Who woulda ever thought the country's home apple pie would be organizing, and they learned from us. Now they're getting' all the attention and they're out in the snow in Milwaukee, in Wisconsin, all through the Midwest standing up to this government. And you gotta applaud that. And they took that blueprint from Egypt.

Audience Member 7:

I just was curious if it would be possible to organize an official ombuds service that could observe the police from the inside on the behalf of the community?... if it would be possible to create an ombudsman system… yeah, just like, a community ombudsman system that actually observed and watched the police from the inside. From the community but working inside the police offices and stuff like that.

Dennis Cunningham:

That's what the review board is supposed to be. There's supposed to be a group. They have 'em. There's one in Berkeley. There is one here, it just doesn't function—it functions consistently with the rest of the system. There's one in San Francisco. They don't really work very well. The cops resist them. The cops lie otherwise and they lie there. The people that are typically appointed to 'em are sympathetic to the cops. There is not—I don't think in the country, there's one that has real teeth and real power and real ability to change the habits and conduct and routines of cops in the street. There should be, obviously. The people have to form their own kind of ombudsman function to, the same thing all of us have been talkin' about over and over again is the pressure from the same kind of source that doesn't go for the okey-doke when the official cover up story goes out. But these boards and the one here in particular, they lap it up.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz:

I did a lot of work in Central America, and I think there's something they do there that we could really borrow from, and that is to really honor our martyrs. That these children are martyrs. No matter what their politics or whether they were political, they are martyrs. We should have pictures of them. We do of Oscar Grant, but of all of them. And for it to be present, for people to see it's personal for all of us, because this could be our sons, our brothers, our children, and I think that something we could do here that's positive rather than just focus on the pleas, focus on winning a huge mass of support for humanity, for life, and not killing unarmed civilians.

Audience Member 8:

Thank you all for being here. My heart goes out to all the families and you have my utmost respect and condolences. I have two questions for Ms. King and also for Kris, and they're somewhat

related and I think I'll just ask both of 'em and then have you reply. First of all Kris, you're an excellent speaker and I think everybody in this room felt your passion come through and I just want to encourage you to continue to speak to youth in Oakland, and I think your voice is something that this movement needs right now. And you have an open invitation to organizing events that we do in Berkeley, and I'd love to have you there. So I just want to talk. My question to you is just—if you've considered kind of—kind of speaking more to people and also to youth in Oakland, what potential you think about mobilizing young people in Oakland that are affected by all this to kind of rally together around defending the families and the legacies of our fallen martyrs as was mentioned. And also for Ms. King, you shared your experience about your transformation that took place after your son passed away and was—was taken down, and that prior to that you didn't believe that police brutality existed or was real, and I think something that even people in this room are realizing is just that perpetual nature and that it's constant every day in every different—so many different attacks. And that's something that I've dealt with with my mother, and sharing—and kinda dealing with her kind of conditioning, and how she is—is in this suspended disbelief that our kind of American culture, that this actually exists here. So I wanted to ask: I think about what you said, and as a person of European descent having this direct experience, if you've considered sharing your story on more of a mainstream platform to kind of address, to speak directly to mainstream culture, mothers that kind of are in this, that don't understand the reality of the conditions in this country? Thank you.

Kristopher Brown:

I wouldn't have no problem helping speakin' out to the youth and to people, cause I got little brothers for one, and I want them okay. I don't know none of y'all, but I want y'all kids okay if you got 'em, so I'll help.

Cathy King:

As far as speaking publicly or writing anything, this has been, now, three and a half years since this happened. My husband did a lot of speaking afterward, a lot of public speaking. He went to different events and I sort of slipped into the background. Yeah, I didn't want to be the champion for this cause. Really. I mean, of course I'd rather I wasn't involve at all. And—and yeah, before it happens to you, I would say that you absolutely cannot see inside this world. You can't—you couldn't believe it. Even after seeing the Rodney King. I mean, I'm shocked and amazed and it's almo—yeah, you just figure it's an anomaly, this does not happen everyday. And then to find out that yes, it certainly does, it's a complete outrage. People are—most of us are walkin' around blind. There's an awful lot of people in this country who have no idea. They've never been touched by it, and they're happier there. And I don't know what else your question was, I'm sorry. But I was encouraged to come today and I'm awfully glad that I did

participate because I've said no so many times before, and, I guess after all this time it finally seemed an appropriate time, and I'm awfully glad. Thank you everybody.

Summation and Closing for Day 1

Maisha Quint:

I just want to thank the witnesses. Thank you. I want to thank the panelists for today. I want to thank all of you for coming—it's freezing in here, thank you for sticking it out. And I just want to say the purpose of the overall hearing is to really talk about these things and—and you said it perfectly, Cathy, is that these incidents are not in isolation, and that's why we started off the hearing talking about racial profiling, right? A tool that the state uses, a tool that the police use to then justify what ends up, unfortunately, as being police killings, right? So we have to start making these connections between how victims of police killings are just—ah, are being under—are just under attack the same way that folks are fighting off ICE and detention centers, the same way that formerly incarcerated people are denied access to the basic things that you need in life. All of these things are connected and that is what this hearing is trying to get at. So we can, as Jack said, as everyone said, begin to organize in a mass unified front and begin to attack all of these different issues that really aren't different, right? So I really thank all of you. I urge everyone to come tomorrow. We are going to start the day by talking about COINTELPRO and Beyond, so that's really looking at how COINTELPRO, the program that really attacked liberation movements in this country from the Black Panther Party to AIM to Young Lords, and how that type of surveillance and repression is still happening today. That'll be our first panel. Our second pa—our last panel of the day tomorrow is going to be on organized resistance. So, much of the testimony you heard this morning and today, you'll also hear at the end of the session—it's just around what kind of work is happening locally that makes all these connections. And I want to bring Lori up again to ask one more thing. And I really want to urge people, if you can make a donation, please do so. We do have some costs for this but more importantly we really want to support your family in terms of having a proper funeral for her son. And I want you to just make an announcement about that if you could.

Lori Davis:

Hi. It's me again, Raheim Brown's mother. We are asking for support because, actually the community—there's a lot of people that has helped me with a lot of the money to help bury my son cause my son did not want to be cremated at all. We're still working on trying to get the remainder to pay the funeral home so the city doesn't try to take over. And I would also like, if you would like to attend his funeral, will be Tuesday at 11am at 55 Broad Street in San Francisco—that's in Lakeview. And I would appreciate it if all of you could come. A couple other things before I go. Those officers, they will kill your children, cause that's only the office—those are only ones that we know about, about how many

other people have they brutally attacked and actually murdered? Of people that's actually come up missin', they probably had somethin'a do with it. So we really need to try to get these officers off of their school beat before they kill, attack or do somethin' again because they have a history.

Welcome & Introduction – Jesse Strauss (Oakland 100 Support Committee):

Good morning, everyone. I want to welcome you to Sunday, from the People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence. We're going to be starting now; so if folks standing in the back might be able to come and sit down, that would be great.

Also there's still some breakfast food out there and I believe—I hope there's still some coffee. One of the rules of the school that I hope that we can all respect, is that there's no food or drinks allowed in the gym. There is space right out there and outside, and it's sunny today—which is a step up from yesterday. If you'd like to drink coffee right out there, that would be great; or in the break-out area, where there's a healing space, a childcare space and some break-out rooms. Those rooms are also heated, just to let you know.

As was mentioned a few minutes ago, if you're in need of translation, from English to Spanish, we have translation kits over there. Also, there's childcare available all day right through these doors, in the next building. There's also break-out rooms in this building next door, and we really want to encourage folks to give public testimony. We have people invited to speak up on the stage, as well as lawyers and jurists, who will be following up with that testimony. But we really want to encourage public testimony. If you're here and available to do that, we have space in the building next door. There will be professional video recording of that, as well as a jurist who has volunteered to do that. David Gespass, who's the president of the NLG, will be in the break-out rooms.

And if there's no one there and you'd like to make public testimony, please just tap one of the people sitting at this table and they will be able to help coordinate getting someone there to work the video camera and help get a jurist over there.

Also, the testimony that we're going to hear today—there's a lot of really strong topics that we're going to be covering—and so one of the things that we've organized as a program committee is we have some mental health support workers and counselors here. They're identified—raising their hands in the back—they have yellow armbands on. And feel free to pull them aside if you'd like to talk to them; if there's anything that comes up for you.

Also, there's people on the program committee who are wearing white arm bands. If you ask them any questions, they can help direct you to counselors, mental health folks, information about food—any other questions you might have. So feel free to approach any of us at any time.

As you can see, there's lots of tables in the back. You can plug into to local organizing and organizations. Some of those organizations are going to be speaking here this morning and this afternoon; and you'll be able to get more of a sense of what those organizations are doing.

This is a free event and we really appreciate you coming. If you're able to, we would also really appreciate donations. There were a number of costs that came about in organiing this space; so, if you're able to make a donation, you can do that at the front table—the welcome table.

If we're able to cover all our costs, and exceed them, any extra money that we make is going to be donated to the family of Raheim Brown, who was killed on January 22nd by Oakland school police. His mother gave testimony yesterday and told the story of his death and how it's affected her family. They're trying to raise money to have a proper funeral for him, which is going to be Tuesday. If you're able, it would be great if you could donate. If you'd like to donate directly to his family, you can bring donations to the Oakland 100 Support Committee table in the back. It has a red tablecloth. They're collecting donations directly for Raheim Brown's family.

Yesterday, if you were able to come, we had some really incredible testimony. The morning session was focused around racial profiling and how police and the state focuses on different communities—specifically targets certain communities based on race. In the afternoon, we had family members of victims of police violence speak on the actual experience of their family member's death; as well as the way it's affected their family.

Today is going to be focused a little bit differently. This morning we're going to be talking about COINTELPRO, and the way the state is trying to undermine organizing movements. That's going to be the morning session. The afternoon session is going to be about organized resistance and is going to feature panelists who are going to be speaking about how organizing is happening in the Bay Area, and specifically in Oakland, in order to combat some of the racial profiling; some of the state violence, that's going on.

Again, I want to remember that we're trying to create a space of healing. As part of this process where we're dealing with state violence, where we're dealing with people being killed—in January, five people were killed in Oakland by police—we're trying to encourage a space where people are able to speak about their experiences and come together as a community. It's really important to us as a program committee that we're here together, and that we try to build connections and maintain those connections and maintain those relationships in order to struggle against repression and violence by the state.

And lastly, I want to welcome our keynote speaker for the morning; Sanyika Bryant, from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement: C'mon up. Thank you so much—and welcome to day two of the People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence.

Keynote address - Sanyika Bryant (Malcolm X Grassroots Movement):

We have a statement called 'Free the Land'—that's our creed. That's how we greet each other because our struggle is about liberating the land and territory, so I want to greet you with the 'Free the Land' from MXGM.

I want to review the intentions of this event. This is really about getting the people a chance to really speak to the truth. For far too long people have been denied the right to speak to the—their experiences, right? They have been denied the sense of validation, the sense of empowerment that comes from being able to speak the truth—being able to speak to realities of the situations we are faced with, right? And so we really wanted to create a space where people can stand firmly rooted in the dignity of their experience, right? Firmly rooted, right, in the sense of knowing that they can actually stand up and take a stance—that they don't have to, like, you don't have to stand and be ashamed of what happens. You don't have to hide, right? So we wanted to really make that space available for people.

And one of the aims that we had for this was to be able to take testimony from the people, and submit it to the United Nations in an effort to put pressure on the United States for its human rights abuses domestically, and to make sure that the United States upholds its obligations to defend and promote and protect our human rights here.

Yesterday we had the honor of having testimony from people who spoke to the crimes inflicted on the native peoples of the Americas and the diasporas of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. And they really spoke to something that's systematic – a kind of a science of national oppression that we're witnessing and seeing. We're really living in a police state that's created a prison industrial complex that's a pillar of the economic base of the United States, and it's dependent on racial profiling for its slave labor, right? And the way these policies are created and enforced and specifically target oppressed nationality people for mass enslavement, and it's created a situation where not only are people being forced into this new form of slavery, right? The United States is still locked into this really—being really stubborn about giving up this practice of slavery. They always find a way to perpetuate it and keep it going. So not only do we have a new form of enslavement, it's also created a situation where we also have new forms of Jim Crowe—people who've been incarcerated or locked out of the regular economy. You have people who are convicted—convicted of a felony are locked out of employment, are locked out of even government social services. And this perpetuates this system of enslavement.

The police state that we built—that we live under, right? Is built on a continued legacy of white supremacy, and it's really taking the form of, like, what you could really consider like a state-sponsored domestic terrorism. And it's really keeping our communities in fear of having their loved ones being lynched or kidnapped and deported at the hands of the police and agencies like ICE and Homeland

Security. And so the lynchings and deportations and all these acts of repression that have come down on the people have created a sense of—like a state of kind of terror, right? The state is really trying to make people afraid of organizing. They're really trying to make you afraid to, like, come together and solve the problems that you're faced with.

And so we see the escalation of these attacks. You know, we see more and more murders from the police across the country. We see more and more laws like SB1070 being passed, you know? We have more and more—the police state is really expanding. It's really expanding. There's more surveillance than ever. You know, the police are—you know, I heard in Oakland they're tryin' to have the police beets be the same beets—be in sync with the school districts, the school districts. And so we're going to see an increase in police attacks on our youth—more police presence on the schools.

And so we really have to ask ourselves why? Why are we in this situation where we're having all these heightened and more escalated attacks on our people?

And so we're living—the period that we're in is really a period of a converging crisis. There's a crisis in capitalism itself with the collapse of the economy, there's the environmental collapse, right, which is creating a situation where there's going to be more competition for resources—you have food shortages sparking revolutionary situations abroad, and you also have an increased—you also have a increased drive for imperialist wars.

So all three of these crisises are converging, right? To create this situation. And the system is—the system is really under severe threat of collapsing itself. And we've seen this before. We've seen this before in the last period of struggle in the 60s and 70s where national liberation struggles broke out across the world. People were liberated from their colonial masters. Capitalism was not the only game, you know? It wasn't the only game plan. Most of the world—there was a time where most of the countries in the world were part of the socialist bloc. The United States was engaged in an imperialist war that it didn't win. And once again we're in—we're faced with a similar situation today—a very similar situation. And the way the state responded back then, when they saw that people here took on—took—started to really—really like reinvigorate the national liberation struggles here. We saw the Black Panther Party really take the lead in the Black Liberation Movement. We had groups like the Republic of New Afrika; we had folks in the Xicano liberation movement; the Puerto Rican liberation movement. Folks in AIM and the Native American liberation movement all coming together and really fightin'—fightin' and really—there were such a severe threat that the state saw. They were like, okay, we have a situation across the world that we're losing power, and now our internal—our internal colonies are also rising up. We have a problem, right?

And so what they did—they created a situation where they used the same tactics that they used abroad to destabilize—destabilize nations in the Third World here. And so they used these tactics in the

COINTELPRO programs to neutralize and destabilize and disorient all the movement forces, and really to destabilize the communities that our folks were working in—the communities themselves have been destabilized.

And so today, we're faced with a similar situation. There's another war they can't win. They're—they're getting their asses handed to 'em. The economy is collapsing, and people here are starting to really, like, rise up again, like we saw with the mass demonstrations around Oscar Grant's murder, you know. And it really created—it created this sense again that we was on the rise again. The people—they had all their different—all kinds of different state agencies—all different kinds of police agencies from all over the neighboring counties. The FBI was there, several intelligence-collecting agencies were there, and so they really do feel that we're in another period where the people can actually take advantage of the situation at hand—to take advantage of the collapse of the economy, to take advantage of the—of the war of aggression that the United States is losing, and to take advantage of the shifting ecological crisis, and really use this as a moment to organize—to really use this as a movement to galvanize our forces again, right? And really use this as a opportunity—a key opportunity where the system is vulnerable. The system is very vulnerable right now, and they know it. They know they're not all powerful right now.

We've seen in Egypt and in Tunisia the toppling of the regime, and there's still struggle to be had but the people aren't going to give up. And they see that people here and around the world are responding, and one another are looking for an alternative. And the fact that people are looking to an alternative again means that the questions of how to run a society—what kind of society are we envisioning? What's your vision of the way the world should look?

Those questions are really coming into play again, and that gives us a key opportunity—a key opportunity to re-galvanize our forces, reorganize ourselves, rebuild, and really go back and get into the field again, you know? And really take advantage of the situation, right?

And so today, that's part of what you're going to hear about. You're going to hear about the experiences of people during the previous phase of struggle and people involved in the struggle today to speak to the way the state is coming down, to speak to why the state came down on them. What were they up to that was so threatening? What was it? You know… You're going to hear about that, and you're also going to hear about the campaigns on the ground today, where you can plug in and really like get some ideas and spark the dialogue amongst organizations and amongst—amongst movements to really try to get together and really try to fix this situation that we're—we're faced with. We really don't have any choice at this point. We have no choice but to win. If we don't win we're faced with extinction these days. Straight up extinction. And so the—never before in history has the stakes been so high, right? And never before in history has the opportunity been so ripe—very ripe opportunity.

And so I want to—I just really want to—one point I almost forgot…

One of the reasons why we organized this was to really help, or like create the basis for an actual solidarity—an actual domestic internationalism amongst the different national groups here in the US, and not a fake sort of "I'ma scratch your back if you scratch mine" sort of solidarity. We really wanted people to come together because the only way—I mean, you're really are supposed to be rooted in your struggles, in your communities, right? You're rooted there. But we don't get a sense of the actual scope and breadth and depth of our enemies attacks on us without really knowing and learning about the struggles that our comrades from the different national groups are going through, so we really need to see that in order to get a big, broad and wide picture of what the state is actually up to. And so we know its weak points and we take advantage of all its weak points and we don't leave any ground of struggle uncontested. We always want to fight anywhere you can fight, right?

And so I want to leave you with that. And today's going to be really powerful. I want to encourage people to once again ask questions. If you're confused about something, if you wanted people to, like, go—if you heard something that you wanted more explication on. If you heard something that—that you just needed some more information on or you thought a point was glanced over, and you just wanted to go deeper with it—really ask those questions in the question and answer session. Right? Really ask those questions, and it's really good for the record because we're taking this to the United Nations, and they need—people need to know what's happening here. The human rights abuses in the United States have been covered up for far too long—far too long and on purpose. They don't want—they don't want to lose face. And they want to keep our struggles hidden.

And so I'll leave you with that. Thank you for your time, and thank you for coming.

Session 3: Testimony on COINTELPRO and Beyond

Jesse Strauss:

I'm really excited to welcome this panel on stage. As I read your name it'd be great if you could come up and take your seats.

Richard Brown from the San Francisco 8.

Claude Marks from the Freedom Archives.

William 'Jimbo' Simmons from the American Indian Movement.

Walter Riley, a civil rights attorney and from the Emergency Relief Fund and Meiklejohn Civil Rights Institute.

Jabari Shaw and Tim Killings from the Laney Black Student Union.

Ghetto Prophet from the ONYX Organizing Committee.

And Nina Farnia from the Committee to Stop FBI Repression.

I'd also like to welcome our panel of jurists to the stage.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, who was featured in the COINTELPRO 101 clip. Also a Professor Emeritus from CSU Hayward.

Ben Rosenfeld, a civil rights attorney.

Alberto Saldomando, a lawyer with the International Indian Treaty Council.

Dennis Cunningham, a civil rights attorney.

And Dan Siegel, a civil rights attorney.

And again, David Gespass is facilitating some of the breakout room testimony in the other building. If you would like to participate in that, if you have any stories you'd like to tell about repression or about your own experience with police violence, please check in with the folks at the video table right there.

So if we could start with the first testimony, that would be great, Richard.

Richard Brown (San Francisco 8):

Thank you. All power to the people!

My name is Richard Brown. I'm here today to talk to you, to share with you my experience—some of the things that I experienced while I was growing up. I'm going to try to squeeze this into ten minutes which is what we have, but I've been struggling for quite some… I've been struggling and fighting for freedom and justice and equality for over 50 years, so it's a lot to squeeze in, but I'll do the best that I can. I'm extremely fortunate because I'm a survivor—I'm still here. As I said I've been fighting for a long time. I've survived, I'm still here—and I'm not tired, I'm not goin' away. I will continue to struggle.

One of the reasons that I've been able to survive is because I learned early as a Panther that in order to survive you need the support of people. I have always been a warrior, a soldier for the people, and a servant of the people, and because of that the people have always supported me, and because of that I'm here. So, thank you so very much for your support and the fact that you allowed me to continue to fight all these years.

As the Counter Intelligence Program focused on me because of my participation within the Black Panther Party. As a Black Panther I was taught to fight for me, my rights and the rights of the people, that as a Black man I had the right to determine my own destiny and Black people did too. That was not a popular belief back in the 60s—50s and 60s and 70s; so naturally, the powers that be focused on us because we were successful in spreading that type of word.

I was tortured and I was framed and put in—placed in prison primarily because of my activities; nothing that I did actually as far as breaking the law, so I was a political prisoner twice. Twice because of great attorneys, I won those cases on appeal and I was released. So I am a torture survivor and a former political prisoner, so when I tell you that the United States is guilty of torturing people and that we have political prisoners, I'm not talking about something I've read or heard about. I'm telllin' you from experience—I know this to be a fact because I have been there and done that.

In the Black Panther Party, what we did, those of us who were there, we started because of the police violence and the police brutality in the street—people of color being shot down, brutalized, beat up—simply because the authorities wanted to prove that they had the right and the power to do that. And a lot of people were murdered—a lot of people, men and women were brutalized simply to teach us a lesson—those of us in the Black community, that you have to stay in line—we have all power and we're here and if you do anything that we don't like, anything can happen to you and nothing will be done about it.

That was primarily what was goin' on actually in the 60s, and because of the Black Panther Party, the civil rights and a lot of other organizations and a lot of people, Black and white trying to put an end to that, it did stop brief—it did not stop, but it slowed up for quite a few years. They learned to be careful, they learned not to report it in the news media, so that they could keep it under the radar and that people wouldn't know about some of the things that was goin' on.

Unfortunately, over the years, they've come to the point and the conclusion that they don't have to stay under the radar anymore—that they can continue the suppression, that they can continue these murders, that they can continue to brutalize these people, and nothing is going to be done about it.

Unfortunately the Oscar Grant case proved that to them beyond a shadow of a doubt. And if you have been paying attention you know that they've been escalating this. Police brutality has been escalating, police murders—and that's what they are—murders. When you kill unarmed people, that's murder. When you are someone with one and two guns, assault weapons, bullet proof jacket, mobility, the radio, backup, helicopters and tanks, and you have to shoot someone that's unarmed—a person of color and most of the time in the back, that is murder, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, that's actually murder. And the two reasons that they always give: Number one is that I feared for my life or I thought he had a weapon, you know, that type of thing. If you are so fearful that you can shoot unarmed men, unarmed women, pregnant women, people in wheelchairs, unarmed people, because you're afraid… If you're so afraid that you have to shoot innocent unarmed people, then maybe you should be a shoe salesman or a car salesman or something. You definitely… There is no way that you should be authorized a gun-you shouldn't even be allowed to carry a picture of a gun.

You're a coward. That's the definition of a coward: someone who was… I was so scared that I feared for my life and he was running away, but I pulled out my gun and I shot him four times in the back. That's a coward. On the other hand, if you do it and you're not afraid, then you are a murdering pig. You're a dog and you should be arrested, you should be sent to prison for the rest of your life. Something should happen to you.

I believe. I know for a fact that there is no power greater than the power of the people. As a Panther I saw that over and over, over the years I've been involved in a lot. I've seen a lot of successes. We've had a lot of setbacks, but there have been a tremendous amount of successes that we've had. And it's always, always, always been because of the power of the people.

We just had a situation in Egypt in which a dictator was ran out of office after 30 years, who had everything. He had the tanks, the planes, the guns, the soldiers, the bullets and the bombs, and all the people had was unity—unity and determination and a fierce desire to be free. And they proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the will of the people is greater than the man's technology. That is something that we can take an example of, that we can learn from.

I don't understand why we the people…

When are we, the people of the United States going to do the same thing? We have the power, we have the ability to be able to topple this regime, to topple this government, which cares nothing about the people. It cares only about corporate America. Yeah, I'm talkin' about Obama. He has done nothing as far as I'm concerned for the people. He's a tool for corporate America, and all that old "yes we can" I don't even want to hear it. And I don't think we were listening quite well. He was saying "yes we can, but no we're not", so it's obvious that we have to do something for ourselves. It's obvious that the people are going to have to step forward. It's obvious that we're going to have to just take over and see to it that freedom, justice and equality is here for everybody. And thank you very much for your time and patience.

All power to the people.

Alberto Saldomando:

Thank you very much. Actually, this is a question for all of the panelists, but for Richard particularly. We've both lived a long time, and I was wondering what you thought, if you had any reflections on how the media is complicit in governmental oppression.

Richard Brown:

Yeah, the media plays a huge role because everything that you see in the media is controlled by corporate America, is controlled by the government, and it's the biggest lie in the world. You don't get the truth from the United States' media. There is an agenda that they have. There's a message that they want to send. It is a message of 'things are going to be great; don't resist; those of you who do resist, we

got something for you; let me protect you; I'll take all your rights through this Patriot Act thing because there is an enemy on the horizon that is ready to destroy the world so let me destroy the world in your name in order to save you'. And the media is just used as a tool to misinform people, to keep people confused, to keep us primarily divided. The main tool that they have—that this government has is the divide and conquer. They play that game very well. We are so busy with petty squabbles among each other that we can never truly focus our energies and our power on the true problem, and that is, the problem is that we don't have any freedom in this country at all.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz:

Thank you Richard. You remind us that COINTELPRO was not only games playing with people's minds but actually with physical torture and killing, and ii wondered if you could expound upon the relationship between the soft tools of disinformation and sowing discontent and actual killings. I'm sort of thinking of, say, Geronimo Pratt. You know, that instance and some others. If you could talk about that relationship and how it plays into one another.

Richard Brown:

Again, it's the divide and conquer tactic. We started out in the Panther Party, and we were rollin' along and we had people's attention and we were doin' great as far as providing services for people in the community. We were doin' a number of things. The best way for them to attack us is the way that was successful to them because they tried all ways with straight out attackin' the police department, attackin' the officers and that type of thing. But they started destroying us from within. They started breakin' down the trust we had with one another. They started using the… Geronimo actually, that was tragic, as a fact, is that they framed him; withheld information that they knew would free him, and he served 27 years in prison for a murder that he didn't commit before he was released. There were people who just ran out of the country and ran out of the Party because of misinformation and lies that were told and the people believed it. There were people like Fred Hampton, who were murdered, actually a COINTELPRO plot carried out by local police. He was drugged and they attacked his apartment and killed him while he laid asleep. This is all a part of the Counter Intelligence Program. These people have never been held accountable for their actions, for any number of people who are still—and this is the real crime—You have people who were framed and they admitted it. Evidence was planted and people were framed and people were incarcerated 20 and 30 and 40 years ago because of COINTELPRO attacks against people of color and people who were actually trying to do something to better the conditions of everybody. And these people to this very day are still incarcerated. They still go to the board and they are told—they have to face these lies about, "well, it says here that you did…" And we all know it was a lie. We have to do something for the people who did everything for us. There are people who are in prison right now, have

been for 40 years, who sacrificed themselves for us. And it's time that we step up and demand—we have to do everything humanly possible to put an end to their suffering in the institutions.

Sanyika Bryant:

I wanted to ask if in your opinion, was one of the reasons—was there a connection between the re-targeting of yourself and the new Patriot Act that came out around the same time?

Richard Brown:

I believe that there was. I was quite active as a Panther, and so were the other 7 members of the SF8. We were serious Panthers. We were there 24/7 doing everything. I was focused on, I was attacked several times. I happened to be armed because I believed in self defense—I believed that I had the right to defend myself…

I was in a couple of shootouts. I ran out of bullets. You can have all the guns, but when you run out of bullets you're in trouble, so I had to surrender. Fortunately I held out long enough for the people to be there and witness what was goin' on, so I wasn't just murdered outright once I ran out of bullets. But they felt that because of my record and the record of the other 8, because we were Black, because we had already been demonized as Panthers, they focused on us because they wanted to be able to use confessions obtained through torture. This was back in 2005, if you remember then, there was this idiot Cheney, and everybody were running around and talking about how torture is good and that we should be able to use confessions even if we use torture to get it.

They felt that if they could get the courts to agree to use the confessions that were obtained in 1973 in New Orleans in which John Bowman Harold Taylor and Ruben Scott were tortured for days and forced to confess to any number of crimes throughout the United States and to say that—to also bring myself and several other people into it and say that we were guilty also, that they wanted to bring these confessions—so-called confessions—before the court in 2007 and have a ruling so that they would set a precedent and they would be able to do it. They felt that they could get away with it. They felt that because of racism, because it was a cop killing, because we was so old we probably got weak; all of these things—they didn't count on the support from the people, and that's what saved us. That is the connection—they wanted to use our case in order to set a precedent so that they could take confessions obtained through torture and be able to use them in today's law and in today's court. It did not work out for them unfortunately, but that is my answer. That's what I believe happened.

Claude Marks (Freedom Archives):

Good morning everybody. Thank you for including me in this. I was really moved yesterday, not just by people's stories of brutality and the experience of families who've lost family members because of

the OPD, but by the spirit of resistance that I felt in this space as a result of what they were putting out here. And it makes me think of a couple of things. First of all, an acknowledgement that we are on land that was conquered through brutality and military force. We are on indigenous land. We are on land in which people were brought here in chains. The history of the United States is a history of consistent brutality, war and violence. This is the reason why it's difficult to try to figure out solutions. When was there a period in which this government has not waged war somewhere in order to create itself, in order to expand throughout the world to colonize people? This is at the core of what we're up against—that's why our issues are so difficult. I also want to honor the fact that there are people who've resisted, not only who are still in prison, but people who have transitioned as a result of this—some people who you saw in the clip. There's a couple of people who come to mind: Henry Shasha Brown who was a Panther from the East Coast who transitioned recently. Donald Cox, we heard yesterday, the field marshal of the San Francisco Panthers passed away in exile—not his choice—in exile yesterday. Marilyn Buck who died recently who was a white anti-imperialist who unfortunately had to live a good part of her life in prison because of her commitment; not only her support for the Black liberation struggle, but in general her stance in the world. And so it's that level of resistance that these people place at their own core that is a result of the repression that they're met with. Everybody doesn't deal with repression simply as an act of victimization, is my point, but because a lot of people choose a level of resistance, that they come into conflict with this government.

I immigrated to the United States. I'm from a European family but was born in Latin America, in Argentina. I immigrated in 1954, a year in which the United States not only dealt with McCarthyism internally, but took out a government in Guatemala. 1954 was the year that Vietnam won its sovereignty against French colonialism, only to be replaced by the United States. As I grew up in the United States I was touched incredibly by a number of things that caused me to make a choice, a life choice that is not that uncommon. Young people in the 60s and 70s in their teens and their 20s, some of them are here—there are fortunately generations that continue to make those choices, bring us into conflict with this government for a reason—because there was a vision in the world. A vision that had to do with the possible change in values, but in order to obtain them we had to look at examples like Vietnam. We had to look at examples like Cuba and China as a way to understand what the potential was and what was required in order to obtain it.

The lesson of Vietnam is amazing. In 1975 this country actually defeated—not just politically but militarily defeated the United States of America. What did that mean? That meant something in the world. That act of that organized people in Vietnam inspired movements, inspired movements in the United States. One of the largest mobilizations of the Xicano/Mexicano movement in 1969, the Xicano Moratorium. What was it focused on? Not one issue, but the Xicano Moratorium was about a stance that

the Xicano/Mexicano people took in opposition to the war in Vietnam. That was true of the Black Liberation Struggle. There was a relationship between the Puerto Rican independence movement, which felt that they too had a right to overthrow the direct colonial relationship that they had to the United States. And there were people like myself who got involved in anti-war work. For myself I understood, fortunately by the time Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, that this President of the United States played a significant role in increasing US military involvement in Indochina. I mean, people look to him because of his positive example. The Kennedy's also played a tremendous role in attacking the Civil Rights movement and not defending the rights of Black people rising up in this country to demand their rights.

What does that mean? That means that we have things like COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO is a counter insurgency war that is being waged against resistance, and when you have a level of resistance that develops, it's not surprising that the US government chooses to wipe it out. And after the US government tried to take out, and succeeded in many ways in destroying the leadership in these movements, it proceeds to do other things as well. Look at the issue of mass imprisonment. The relationship of COINTELPRO taking out leading people in organizations to a huge increase in mass imprisonment in this country is about a continuation of a war, a genocidal war against non-white communities. Today's police violence is hardly surprising because social control in the community is a military act, and imprisonment is a consequence of a level of resistance. Sometimes its conscious resistance and sometimes it's just an act of rebellion, and those are the consequences.

So for myself, my own involvement, my own choices led me to doing clandestine work and it led me to try to break a political prisoner out of prison. That Puerto Rican that we failed to free just came up to parole after 30 years and was denied—Oscar Lopez Rivera—who was committed from a very early age to trying to free Puerto Rico from the yoke of US imperialism .That was his crime—it was a crime of thought; it was the outrage that people would rise up against colonial occupation. And in solidarity with that struggle meant taking risks, and unfortunately COINTELPRO ends up infiltrating the plan and it scuddled. I don't regret it, because you have to take risks. If you believe in what you believe in, you have to take risks, and some people don't survive it. Some people don't survive it. I'm blessed that I did, but it's not about stopping there. So, one other brief thing and then I'll try to wrap.

I made a lot of notes about the impact of COINTELPRO statistics about various movements and how it functioned and things like that, but rather than that, I'm reminded—the San Francisco 8 case was particularly significant to me because although I didn't know a lot of the people beforehand, there were definitely people that were part of that case that I had a lifelong relationship to. Two of the San Francisco 8, Herman Bell and Jalil Muntaqim have been in prison since 1973 in Herman's case, and 1971 in Jalil's case. These are people I've known or known of for a good part of my adult life.

I first interviewed Herman Bell in 1973 right after the tortures that Richard referred to in New Orleans, and as somebody who was a journalist at the time, played a role in trying to expose that torture here in the Bay Area. The exposure of that torture ended up in that case being thrown out in 1975, only to re-emerge 30 plus years later. To me, it's amazing that a relationship that transcends my entire adult life requires that to maintain it today I still have to either correspond or take those damn prison phone calls. The perspective of that—I'm blessed because I don't have to live inside that cage, but it's very hard for me to wrap my mind around what type of human spirit and capacity allows people like them to maintain their humanity despite being caged for a good part of their lives, and it's that that continues to motivate a lot of us, and we need to embrace them as people who have played a role in leading the movements that we may study and hear about. And that history is important, not because we want to make lists of the violence of the state, but because we need to look to people and to the history of resistance that can be taken to heart as the roots of what struggle we want to maintain today and the goals that we want to achieve.

Thank you.

Ben Rosenfeld:

Claude, thanks. I was wondering if you could expound a bit, based on your continuing work on behalf of political prisoners on the repression that continues inside. The obvious examples of course being solitary confinement, security threat classifications, control or communications management units. You have a lot of knowledge about this, so I was wondering if you could talk about it a little bit.

Claude Marks:

I think that's a good question, because of course, imprisonment isn't just about removing people from society, but it's about targeting people to try to destroy them. You mentioned communication management units. These are new prisons that are focused on locking up particularly Muslim prisoners, but also other political prisoners, particularly out of the Animal Rights and Environmental movement. There are two of them. They follow the pattern of control unit prisons that were established in the 80s in this country. Only one has successfully been closed, which is a prison for women in Lexington that there was a tremendous public campaign around that focused its attention on women who were political prisoners in this country. But these prisons initially started by the federal government have spread. I believe there's 38 states that have control unit prisons. California typically, if you're not familiarity, Pelican Bay. And Pelican bay is the control unit prison that's run by the state of California. It basically puts people out of communication, out of a social context, removes them physically from any kind of social interaction in order to try to destroy people. Control unit prisons are not only targeting people because of their consciousness but because of their potential. Anybody who gets a gang jacket in the state

of California has a very good chance of being put into a control unit prison, into Pelican bay because they're seen as people who have potential to lead and organize inside. Now, California has a long history of attacking prison movements. This year will mark the 40th anniversary of the murder of George Jackson, who not only became a member of the Black Panther Party, but played a significant role in raising consciousness and developing unity within the prisons in the state of California. He was assassinated through a program that wasn't called COINTELPORO, but was managed by the federal government to try to destroy the potential of prisons rising up. And he was seen as too dangerous because of that potential, so he was basically murdered. Attica prison in 1971 rose up in the wake of his assassination, where the entire prison was taken over. That was 40 years ago. The response of the State of New York to that uprising was a military attack that destroyed over 40 lives, including some of the guards, and it took over 30 years of litigation in the courts to hold anybody accountable in the State of New York for that bloodbath that was unleashed on those people. And what they were rising up for was to defend their human rights in prison, not unlike what we've seen recently in Georgia and in Lucasville, but really, that kind of resistance brews everywhere, and it's because of how prisons are run and the isolation of them that they can get away with it.

Walter Riley (Attorney, Haiti Emergency Relief Fund & Meiklejohn Civil Rights Institute):

Good morning. Good morning. First of all I want to salute the people of the Middle East who are rising up against oppression. I want to salute the people of Madison, Wisconsin, who are rising up against the oppressors. I want to salute the people in Minneapolis, in Madison, the people in Wisconsin, the people in our own Middle America who are rising up and fighting against the oppressor. And specifically, we need to recognize those folks who are the victims of the raids by the security forces in this country. I think we'll probably hear some more about that from Nina, but all solidarity with them from all of us.

Also, I find it necessary for all of us to remember the people in Haiti who are struggling for democracy. Just as a correction for the reference, I am with the Haiti Emergency Relief Fund, not just any emergency relief fund. And specifically I want you to remember that, that's a typo. Today, there is a struggle in Haiti. Masses of people are in the streets yesterday and today demanding that there be open and free elections in Haiti. That's a media blockout. In Haiti, the government is suppressing the media news of what's happening in the Middle East and what's happening in this country where people are marching because they don't want the example of masses of people mobilizing for self determination to be part of the consciousness of the people of Haiti. The struggle in Haiti is both for our recognition of what's going on there and to support them in their fight against the same enemies that we have. And they

happen to be our government who is sponsoring the repression and the killings in Haiti. People are dying daily as a result of targeted assassinations. COINTELPRO is alive and well in that country, sponsored by our own government. We have to recognize that. That's a part of the struggle that all of us are in. Our struggles here for ending the murders in our community, for ending the police brutality is in part and parcel the struggle of people around the world who struggle against domination.

The domination that has to occur here is the domination for a subservient population that allows for the exploitation of people here and around the world. The domination that's developing that our government wants to support in the Middle East is for power and profit—power and profit in Haiti and power and profit in the United States. Keeping people without jobs, keeping people without the ability to mobilize through COINTELPRO, keeping people without the ability for political determination of their own lives is part of what makes profit so important—what makes the profit-makers so important in this country, and we have to organize against that, we have to understand our role in fighting that, and as we fight police repression in this community, we fight against that domination that is part of the domination around the world.

My own experience is part of the struggle that we find, that all of us have had some connection with. I started my struggles in North Carolina in the 50s as a young man growing up in a segregated system in the South—segregated schools—the system where Black people were completely separated economically and socially from many aspects of our society. The extra exploitation allowed because we could make greater profits out of that.

In my youth I was aware of Emmett Till being killed because he dared to not abide by the rules of a system that said a young teenage Black man could not assert himself in the South. As a young man I was aware of Mack Parker being taken out of a jail in Tennessee and hanged publicly. I was aware that the FBI at that time and the national police said that they had no idea who did it, when we could see on television this man being taken out of a jail and being hanged publicly, with women and children at the hanging. It instilled in me a sense of the need to fight back. The need to assert my own importance. To be part of the struggle of my community. To determine our lives. To determine our ability to find some sense of security—social, economic security. And therefore, what was available was the struggle in the Civil Rights movements, and I became very active, and that's been part of the struggle that I have identified with for my life. It's interesting that that in that struggle I tried to fight my sense of alienation from this country that promises democracy and freedom, that presents that ideal for this society and for the world, and that for many people in the world that do identify with that, but I felt alienated from it, and I feel that's true for so many of us—not just Black people, but so many of the people in this country feel alienated from the sense of the promise that our society holds, and the reality that we face daily, and the reality that we see around us—how we as a country are able to oppress at home and abroad.

I know that that's part of the culture of resistance—the understanding of the nature of the oppression in this country, more directly experienced in terms of police brutality for young people. For people in the work force it's the domination, the attempts to destroy unions, low wages and terrible working conditions. For people in education it means the constant approach at providing misinformation to our communities.

I've experienced in my life that the people I come in contact with, very often are so annoured to the aspects of repression that we don't always enumerate it sometimes. We don't always state what we see in front of us, and I guess part of this tribunal is to elevate that to some sense of the political importance for us to recognize our daily task is to document and record the abuses around us, to be able to give a name to the people who abuse us, to be able to give some very specific definition, parameters to what they can do and what we see they do, and a description to what they do, so that we know what police brutality looks like, so that we know what COINTELPRO looks like, so that we know what political repression looks like, so that we know what we fight against, not just in some general sense, but in a very particular sense, how we unite with each other. How we understand what every community around us has gone through, every specific organization has gone through, and what the individuals that we see have to deal with.

My youngest son went to this school, McChesney, and right in this community—and you look at this community, it's not physically the worst looking community in this country and certainly not the worst in the world, but it's a place where there's a tremendous amount of repression, police misconduct, police brutality occurs. I lived just across the freeway when my son was here. And the police that ride around in this community spend a lot of time harassing kids—Latino kids and Black kids. My son grew up here with police officers that patrol these streets daily. And their plan was to keep the kids from feeling a sense of unity, and make sure that the kids felt that the police were in control, and that was part and parcel to some extent to the police department in the city. The mayor's office was part of that. And I dare say, to some extent, many people in the school district felt that it was important to try and maintain that level of control. Now, I worked with the principle in this school a lot at that time, but I do know they were very concerned about what was happening. And they had this sense of alienation from the young people in this school and in the community, that there were people here and this was after all at least East Oakland to some extent.

One of the things that happened, I'm going to move quickly, is that there were police officers that patrol this district and one of the things they do with the kids is they tell them that if they're not in compliance with what they think is important they will plant dope on them. As an attorney I do know that many of my clients complain that they do things wrong—I have clients who commit crimes, and they

commit crimes with dope sometimes, but they don't always commit the crimes they're charged with. And one of the reasons they get compliance is by planting dope.

My son was threatened with dope being planted on him any number of times in this district by police here.

I have another son who has developed a sense of alienation from this society. Some years ago, he wrote in a song, "I'm 21 now and I've reached my life expectancy". And I want that reported to the UN. As a parent that is not something that we should find acceptable. That we should not live with that. We cannot continue to live with the sense that we cannot feel comfortable in our homes. We cannot feel the ability to protect our young people or our children. That we allow a system to exist where a child believes that they have reached their life expectancy. Now he lived beyond that, but the reason he believed that, the reason that was so present in our community as these young people will testify to, is because that is the ever present reality in Oakland—that young people do not believe they will live very long, and therefore they have this sense of alienation, and it's particularly true for African-Americans, I know that.

Another line that he had was "in this land I can't sand or sit without getting shit thrown in my face". And that's a line of understanding of the nature of our society and what we do, what we have to live with, and as Americans, as people, as human beings, as workers, as teachers, as students, as friends and family, parents, children, husbands, wives, we cannot allow this system to continue under these circumstances with this outlook, and ideological change has to occur in our country and in our community and in the fight back. Our sense of unity here and abroad has to develop much greater.

Dennis Cunningham:

Walter, the issue of the cops in the community and the relation that they had with really young people—kids, before they're teenagers and the way that the kids grow up, the consciousness that they grow up with about the police, it seems like something you could talk more about with your experience with your sons. That what gets inculcated before they really know what it is in terms of an attitude towards the police. And I'll just tell one little story—I had a case a few years ago up in Covelo In the Round Valley Reservation. I took a deposition from a cop who broke down crying, talking about driving through the reservation and having a three or four year old kid come to the curb and give him the finger. And he said "what's wrong with those people?" and I said "Where do you think he got that? How do you think he felt that way? How did he learn that about the cops? That the cops weren't there to serve and protect, not only that they were a dangerous enemy". And it seems to me that this is an essential part of the dynamic of control is to create this understanding in children and that then in yours and develops as they get older, particularly the men, with the arrests, the busts, the jacking up, the cracking and the jailing.

Walter Riley:

I think that what you talk about, Dennis, is exactly the kinds of things that are conscious efforts by sections of our government to ensure that people remain in their positions. We knew that in the South in the old days, in my childhood, that there were systems in place to guarantee people knew what position they were in relation to the government, to society, that change was not going to occur freely and openly. But today those same things exist with police patrolling our communities. And there are many police officers—and some people might have police officers in their families, who they will find, and I'm sure they know that they do not have the ability to talk freely and open when they come to Thanksgiving or free parties because police feel themselves separate in part, not because they grew up with that, but because what they have learned through their training is that they have to be separate and apart because they are an oppressive force. They are there to dominate and to maintain domination by a system that is not just. And, while there are aspects of the system that we like, we want to perpetuate, we want to move on, we want to feel that we have a free society.

The fact is that the police maintain the oppression in our communities because there is a need for economic domination of a large section of our communities, and that community—the leading point is with the lower income sections of our communities, immigrant communities, the Black communities, so that police ride through these communities and when they go through areas around McChesney and a police officer leans out the window with a backpack of rocks in his hands and says "are you going to be okay today?" that threat to the person who sees that rock knows that that police officer can plant it, and they know that these judges—that the prosecutions office will prosecute, and the judges will provide the kind of reinforcement for those police officers that's necessary to maintain that system. That's what happens daily in our community. So when crimes are being committed, we have to deal with those crimes as part of our community, but the bigger crime is the crime of the oppression with the police officers maintaining that kind of separation from the people. And I think that for us, because we're in the movement, because we struggle around these issues, we sometimes begin to think 'this is just another aspect of the struggle and it's not so different from what we have always experienced, but we have to become incensed at it. We have to reach that point that maybe, to some extent, the people of Madison the people in Egypt, the people in Tunisia have reached when they say "Fuck it, it's time for it to end".

We had a position that we were dealing with in the 60s, and I was part of the Black anti-draft union, and we used to come to Oakland to demonstrate, and one of the things, and it was a slogan we all had was that we had the impression that if it didn't service then it didn't need to exist. And we need to develop that sense again, that there are aspects of our society that many people want to maintain, but when it doesn't serve us it doesn't need to exist.

We always said, burn it down. And I'm not suggesting that we go out and burn it down, but that sense of 'that's enough' that it doesn't serve us. If the schools don't serve us then they don't need to exist,

so that some people benefit from them, they don't need to exist the way they do. If the government isn't serving us then it doesn't need to exist the way it is, and so that there are other people who find that they like to maintain this system because it does benefit them. They are not us, they don't live where we live, they don't experience what we live in, and they don't have the mentality that we have, and they will only change and find unity with us when we take the position: enough is enough.

Jabari Shaw (Laney Community College Black Student Union):

How y'all doin' today? My name's Jabari Shaw. I'm no stranger to police oppression and repression. From No Child Left Behind to police brutality, COINTELPRO do exist, and I wan' talk about the Oscar Grant case mostly though.

You know, the first day of the protest I got a call that they was marchin' from the Oscar Grant BART station to downtown, to City Hall. I got a call, I went down there, and I mean, it was police, it was police presence there, and it was tear gas and they was runnin' us off, but I expected that with the protest. By the third day of the protest they brought in a tank. It was like, where did this come from? They sittin'—two officers on the back of the tank holding guns. My mother seen me on the news and several of my family members, so my mama came in, she's a minister, so my mama came in, broke the lines of the protest and dragged me out of there. My mama prayed for me I guess. But within the organizing and trying to get down wit' it, plenty of organizations just started reachin' out to me all of a sudden—people who'd never talked to me before: "hey hey, join my organization, I'm about this, tear down the system" when all I just wanted was just justice for Oscar Grant. You know, they wanted me to be protestin' for gay rights, and I'm not sayin' that's wrong, but people start influencing all they other things in the movement we was trying to push, and it really bothered me because I was worried about agent provocateurs and who could be who. A couple months later I got involved with the Lovelle Mixon things—you know, Lovelle Mixon that shot the officers. And I was passin' out flyers the day of the officers' funeral. It had three pigs on there and they had fires over they head, and it said 'don't shed a pig for these pigs cause they've been killin' us for years' and it showed six years of police killings and police brutality on there. That day they had 10 different districts of police that came to Oakland, and Oakland police officers was like, all off so they could go to the funeral.

Now, an officer who wasn't from Oakland, he was from Milpitas somewhere, he came and arrested me, he said "hey man, come here" and he knocked all my flyers out my hand and grabbed me up by the collar. Was on the tippy toes and I was gettin' choked. It was a Sherriff from Laney College, a Black man, may I say too, that stood back in the background like he never seen nothing that was goin' on while I was getting choked out. This officer, he was like, "yeah, If I catch you with another one of these

flyers I'ma take you to jail, I'ma take your family to jail, I'ma find your car, I'ma tow your car, I'ma find your house", and I'm like wow with all of this. So I tried to go press charges. I went up to the BSU cause I'm a Black Student Union member, and they laughed at me like I provoked the situation. They put me on punishment, said they was gon' have to look at my flyers before I could pass out any more flyers. So I took it up further—I went to the Dean's office. The Dean's office, they laughed and stuff and said "boy you better be careful". So I went all the way to the police station, cause nobody would go with me, I went by myself. I went in there, there was two officers there. I told 'em what happened. He said, "Lemme see the flyer." I gave him a flyer. He talked to the other officer in his ear. One left and three come back. You know, and they start laughing and whispering. I'm wonderin' what's goin' on. One left, four come back. Now I'm in a room with like 7 officers, and the officers say "man, you sure you really want to press charges, you know you kinda provoked this officer." At that point I was cool, you know. They choked me out on school campus, you know?

Man, I was in a situation where I had a DUI from 2007 after I got involved with the Oscar Grant case, a police officer walked up on me on campus and said "hey Jabari" during mid-terms—"hey Jabari" and took me to jail. I was arrested on school campus. I mean, I think two things should be sacred: church and school. You know, if you're there you can't get arrested there.

Man.

The police, they've been fluent in my neighborhood. I have a police state in my neighborhood. I have an intersection where there's no stop sign and every time the police come past my house they stop right there where there's no stop sign at. I'm like wonderin' what's goin' on. One day I'm walkin' up the street. They stop me and tell me I fit the description, they cuff me up and everything, and they showed me a picture. They actually showed me a picture of someone with dreads though, but this man light skinned though. I mean it may sound insignificant to others, but since I've been in this movement these things been happenin' to me. I've been walkin' up and down the street fluently. There's been no problem you know what I mean?

It was a decoy sent to me, you know a 50 something year old white man. He was like in a '59 Thunderbird or something, a classic, clean. He walks up, he's like "hey man, what's goin' on?" I'm like "hey, what's up?" You know, I'm friendly. He's like "yeah, you know where I could get some?" I'm like "where you trying to get to? You need directions?" He's like, "Nah, you know what I need." I'm like 'what do you need?" He said "I'm looking for some crack." I said "What the fuck? You think every Black man sell crack? Get out my neighborhood. Go back to them suburbs and buy some crack." Straight up.

I got into it with another decoy. It was two days before a Oscar Grant rally. We was leavin' out my back door and I was walkin' up the street and somebody yells and sold me some weed, and so we walked up about 10 feet. Cause I knew the guy—I wasn't with the guy, but I knew the guy. I walked up

about 10 feet. About 20 police cars get us right there on the block that I live on. You know, they knocked my Oscar Grant flyers down. They stompin' my Oscar Grant flyers out.

Oh, one minute.

Stomped my Oscar Grant flyers out and everything, you know? And it's like I think they watchin me. I think they watchin me. It's just scary, you know what I mean?

My kids scared of the police. You know, they terrified. If the police come they come runnin' in the house: "Daddy, daddy! The police! Daddy, the police!"

You know, I took my girl to the beauty supply store cause she was trying to get her tracks in real good, right? And I'm standing outside with the kids smoking a cigarette. The police rolled up on me and stopped me for pimping and pandering—with two of my children and my baby-mama, like I'm going to watch the kids while she hops in cars and stuff. You know? And it's just ways to get us.

You think about November 4th and what happened. You know, people start marchin', I felt excited and I started marchin' too. I left 80 CDs—I'm a rapper, I left 80 CDs right there so I could march. They cornered us off. You know, they got us up in the corner, and since I'm a police liaison at the time, they know who I am, you know? The officer wanted to shake my hand in the midst of communists to try to discredit me, so he knew exactly who I was. I'm like "Can I speak to somebody in charge so we can negotiate a safe exit for all of these people". You know they ignored me, so I walked to the other side of they barrier. "Can you let us go? Can I speak to somebody in charge so I can negotiate the people getting out". They pulled out their guns. They said "step back for your own safety." They took 152 of us to jail. They said we stole a police officer's gun and pointed it at him. Man, you know that was a lie because didn't nobody get shot and killed that day. If we had a gun—Oscar Grant didn't have a gun, you know what I'm sayin'? If we had a gun they would'a shot at us. They said a police officer got ran over by a car. They didn't say that the police ran him over by a car, you know what I'm saying?

I was felony searched at a protest. A female officer searched me twice. You know, they gave me a felony search. I don't know if y'all know what that mean, but that's when they go through your buttocks and search for drugs. They go into your underwear and grab your crokersack and make sure there's not a bundle of drugs there. A female officer did this to me, then she sat me down on the ground, handcuffed with about 50 other protesters, and picked me up by my arms. They ripped my arm all out of socket. You know? And I'm complaining "I need a doctor, I need a doctor". While in the line I have on my beret. The officer said "are you a Black Panther or something?" I said "it don't matter if I'm a Black Panther or what. I'm a Black man concerned with what's goin' on in my community." They said "do you think the Black Panthers are comin' back?" I said "I think the Black Panthers never went nowhere."

Man, then he looked at my ID and he said "oh you know, I work in this area of your address. Maybe I'll see you sometimes." Straight up, a straight out threat. We went to jail. They made the women

do pregnancy tests. They made everybody do a DNA test to make sure—you know what I'm saying? A DNA test for a protest.

It's so many things that happened in the past two years that I can' get 'em all out right now, but I'll be sure to share something with you later on.

Thanks for the National Lawyers Guild, and helpin' us out, and maybe we can get a lawsuit against 'em for crimes against humanity.

Ben Rosenfeld:

You ended by giving props to the NLG. Some of us are lawyers. We're active with the NLG. We haven't heard a lot yet, and I'm sure you could comment, I'm sure just about anybody could comment, on the attitudes of people that are suffering this repression in the streets, particularly youth, toward the entire judiciary. I mean, is there any hope, any expectation that there's any justice in that system? I mean, is law the engine of social change in this community in any way? Do you feel like you got some better shake there than you do with the cops? Or not at all?

Jabari Shaw:

It's been a lot of lost hope in our communities, you know? I was passing out flyers for the last rally we did for Oscar Grant. They was like "y'all still doin' this?" you know what I mean? It's like a division between the people and the people that can really promote and change policy. The people have deteriorated, man. We stressed out and we scared that we not going to get a real movement. But me personally, I think that the Oscar Grant movement and what we was doin' here in California, that inspired what's goin' on in Tunisia and Egypt. If they can see us fightin' against American imperialism right here in America that they said "yeah man, we gotto stand up." And I think that it's not until we stand up in all impoverished communities, like Huey P. Newton taught in inter-communalism, that we can make a change, that not just us here, you know what I'm saying in Oakland, California, but state to state, country to country, everybody that's been a victim of the system.

Sanyika Bryant:

Can you speak to just about how often the police would come back after you after you had initially gotten involved in the Oscar Grant movement, like, what was the… can you just state again what your life was like before the movement, and then like the repression you're facing now because of your political activity.

Jabari Shaw:

Okay, well, like, October 22nd, that's the national day against police brutality. I got up on the stage and I work with the Black Riders Liberation Party and I was talkin' about armed self defense and the way we need to get these police out our neighborhoods. Well, shortly after I get off the stage I'm in a

group of revolutionaries and a police officer comes and shakes my hand and says “Hi Jabari”. Well I don’t know his name. You know what I mean?

So, one day I’m at a BOP—Black Organizing Project—meeting, and detective Leonard calls me from Walnut Creek, talkin' bout “yeah, I hear y’all comin’ out here to rally. What is your intentions in Walnut Creek?” You know, I had police that come and honk they horns at me. Just about three weeks ago I was headed to the Niebel Proctor library for a meeting. The police rolled up on me, shined they light on me. You know, I thought about Denzel from back in the day in Richmond, and I threw my hands up. I said, if they shoot me they gon' shoot me in the arm pits and my kids gon’ get paid, you know what I mean? And if I die I’ma die good, you know? And I put my hands up and they kept movin'. So the police see me all the time, and they mess with me.

Before, though, in the streets I have been involved with the police. Like Patrick Gonzales even rolled up on me, pulled his gun on me and said “I got two bodies in my belt, try me if you want to,” and this was before the Oscar Grant case.

But now they ridin' up on me in groups of people, like sayin' my name like if I work with the police to discredit me in front of the public.

Patrick Gonzales is the police officer that shot Gary King. Before he shot Gary King he shot another brother, I can’t remember his name. Before he shot him, he was gang task, and he shot Ahmir Rollins in the throat. When he shot him that’s when he got promoted to Sergeant. You know, he’s shot and killed three people in Oakland and paralyzed another one. He was actually the officer that gave the death shot to Lovelle Mixon, and he’s workin' Internal Affairs right now, so when we fightin' for Derrick Jones or anybody else that’s been shot by the police, he’s the one that’s getting the report, this officer that’s killed three or four people in Oakland, and braggin' on it.

Tim Killings (Laney Community College Black Student Union):

First I want to start off by thanking you guys for having me. I’m a student, I’m a organizer with the Black Student Union.

I’m not no stranger to police brutality either. As like earlier today I’ve been hearing a lot of people speaking on like control and containment of the system. I believe I been a victim of the system since I was three days old since I was token from my mother and I was in foster care all the way till I was 18. Four years in YA as a juvenile, so I’m not no stranger to how the system oppresses and contains, mainly people of color to be exact. I know we’re not the only race that’s oppressed, but I believe Africans in the United States receive a good portion of this oppression.

In June of 2010, me and like three other comrades, we was ridin' high off the phenomena of Oakland rising up against the murder of Oscar Grant, and we decided to go to Los Angeles to observe the trial of Johannes Mehserle. When we got there it was like, we were targets like as soon as we got into the courtroom, like, like we had the nerve to even come down there, you know. They could tell we was from Oakland, all of us with dreads and with grills in our mouths, man. We were automatically the targets of the sheriffs in that courtroom. The trial was a façade, man. If you were there in that courtroom it would'a probly made you more angrier. Just hearing some of the lies that the police got on the stand and told about what happened that night. Defense evidence was being labeled 'KKK'. I don't know if you know about evidence in courtrooms where they label it. They have, like, exhibit AB or something, exhibit AC. They had a exhibit 'KKK' in there, ya know? So, I mean, it was just, it was crazy. And we were angry, man. I went to jail in the courtroom for, when Johannes Mehserle got on the stand to testify he started cryin'. The judge was like—I think he was part of this cover up. It was a cover up goin' on in Oakland about this murder of Oscar Grant. He allowed Johannes Mehserle to cry in front of the jury.

I stood up. I told Johannes Mehserle. Basically, the judge was helpin' witnesses answer questions, you know? It was—I really think this trial should be investigated because I know it wasn't legally correct. But when Johannes Mehserle started cryin' I stood up. I told him "you know, you can save those tears." I know—I could tell it's a rehearsed testimony. It's a act. I spent three days at LA County, man. Once I stood up the judge held me in contempt. I basically was detained by like 10 sheriffs in the courtroom. I was tooken to the back. I was handcuffed. They removed my glasses form my face. They rammed my head up against the wall. I had my head up against the wall with his elbow like this for at least ten minutes. Then I was cuffed and then I was taken upstairs and walked through one door that led to another door to a cell. And I was basically left in that cell for almost 8 hours from like 8pm—that's when I got detained in the courtroom—from 8 pm till about 4:30. And then around 4:30 they came and got me. They took me to, like, a mass processing in LA County where they ask people, like, do you feel like killing yourself? Do you have any medications that we should know about? But they do this like in a mass process. There was 'bout 250 to 300 people just sitting in one, like, big medical area. And as I was sittin' there, a sheriff, he walked by me about three or four times, and then he came back up to me. He was like, "what'd you say to me?" He got in my face like—and I haven't—I didn't—I haven't—I wasn't—I didn't speak one time when I was in there, you know? He got in my face like "what'd you say to me?" I was like, "I didn't say nothing to you, you nahmeen?" Then he told me to stand up. He was like… he told me to stand up basically. He took me to the back, put me in the hallway, and trying to intimidate me. So I know how activists and organizers are constantly intimidated by the police.

After we left the court trial we came back to Oakland and we started to prepare for July the 8th, the day of the verdict. That's when thousands of peaceful protesters were surrounded by officers, man, in

downtown Oakland. I watched the city of Oakland be evacuated through a week of media onslaught, telling about how there's going to be violence in Oakland, man. I mean, that's one way that the system uses to control people's thoughts with the media, man. When we do stand up against police brutality, when we do stand up against murders like Oscar Grant, they automatically want to divide people and make us make the community think that when we come out to peacefully protest, like in Egypt or in Tunisia, that we're going to be violent when we're not the violent ones—we're basically upset.

November the 5th we went to Downtown Oakland for the sentencing of Johannes Mehserle, man, and there was a lot of people downtown, man. It was a rally—a peaceful rally, a peaceful candle-light vigil. After the march was cut off—I believe we were supposed to march to DeFremery Park. The march was called off—a lot of people was standing in the streets, ready to express their anger—peacefully expressing their anger. And as a group we decided to walk to the Oscar Grant BART Station: Fruitvale. And as we began to march there, we were blocked in on 10th street by Laney. We had a contingency of police in the front of us, a lot of police in the back of us, the march sorta went to the left because we were blocked in from both sides.

We walked through a field, and we got to International Street where we ended up bein' blocked in on 6th. They declared the whole scene a crime scene—arrested 162 of us for a event where they said somebody grabbed a police officer's gun, which we know was a lie, cause if any of you guys have ever reached for a police officer's gun, I'm pretty sure you wouldn't be here today to tell about it. The conditions in the Oakland county was horrible. We sat on buses. We all were hogtied and we had, plastic bands on our arms. We sat in prison buses for four hours. Then we were all processed and kept in there to the next day. Nobody came and asked if there was any medical problems while we was on this bus. It was just a false arrest and the conditions was horrible. Those are just some of the things I've experienced since I've been organizing. Around this Oscar Grant case I've been arrested three times, I done had break-ins to my homes, I done had people come up and ask me do I know anywhere I can go to a Indian reserve to go let off rounds. You know, some people I never even recognized in my life, like I feel they're trying to set me up to give me a case or something.

COINTELPRO is still alive today, and even more sophisticated.

Ben Rosenfeld:

Maybe the same question, your attitudes about the judicial system?

Tim Killings:

As far as the judicial system, I just think that's just another arm of the government that's used to oppress us. I believe that cocaine in our neighborhoods wasn't no accident, man. I believe that our race or ethnicity—Black people in America have been specifically targeted because—of course we are going to

want to see social change in the United States and we're going to be at the forefront of that because, just our history in this country, man, from slavery to today. And I believe that the legal system is just a form of modern day slavery today, man, and I believe they used cocaine and crack to bring that on our communities. And you could see it as far as the way our neighborhoods look… You go to any courtroom and the majority of the people that are going to come out of there are going to be Black and African-American. We get locked up at a faster rate than anyone else, man, and we recognize that, man, but in our community is just a sense of hopelessness. There's not really no organization—social organization, political organization or party for us to move through, man. And I believe that, that it has to change, and what it's gon' take I don't know, but as far as your question about how the community feels about the criminal justice system here—it's illegal, it's unjust, and I mean, it's used to just keep us suppressed and it's used for repression.

Sanyika Bryant:

Can you speak to your experiences when they sent you to jail for exercising your political rights? Like, how were you treated and how were others treated inside the jail?

Tim Killings:

The conditions inside LA County is unbelievable. Like, briefly, like I said earlier, a officer tried to intimidate me by pulling me to the side, pulling me to the back. I was basically put into a unit that was for people who had violated gang injunctions, you know? Which is not really a charge, so they have a separate unit for us, but I was in my cell for 23 hours in a day. You only can come out for an hour to make a phone call, take a shower, whatever you need to do you need to do it in a hour. I wouldn't know what the food was like cause I refused most of the food my whole three days in there, but you get a small four ounce juice with each meal. The conditions are horrible in there. Jumpsuits and sandles, cold cells. It's not a place that anybody would want to be at.

The Ghetto Prophet (Co-Chair, ONYX Organizing Committee):

How's everybody doin'? Thank you all for putting this together. My two comrades said a lot of what I'ma say, or some of it.

The trial started June 5th; so June 6th, I was invited to go to LA for a poetry show at Chuco's Justice Center. It was a benefit for the Oscar Grant family, and so I had to ask my PO for permission to go to LA. Her name is Agent Patillo. And I'm a poet. I do poetry, spoken word; so she give me permission to go. She wrote me a pass to leave.

The day we were scheduled to leave, Tim took me down to my parole agent's office to pick up my pass so that we can get on the freeway. When I walked in her office, she was gone already. When I

called her, she said that her supervisor had refused to sign the pass and stated that the Oscar Grant trial was starting in LA and it wasn't a good idea for me to be down there at the same time. I ended up going anyway.

We went, we did the show, we did the trial, we come back for Father's Day weekend; Father's Day weekend, we leavin' to go back to LA at the end of the weekend to go finish the trial; we get jacked at 1:30 in the morning. Out the middle of nowhere, a cop ran up, called Tim by name, take him to jail. They sweat us about goin' to LA for the Oscar Grant trial. One of the officers—I forget his name—basically tells us that when the tear gas starts to get shot, we should pack up and come back home, cause then we'd done all we could.

And it was like, 'Man, you trippin'.' So, we went back, we did the trial, we came back. So when I came back July 6th—we came back two days before the verdict—we came back, and it was like they said—wh—when we come back, everything we were asked every time the media wanted to talk to us—the first thing they asked us was, how did we feel about the potential violence that would take place the day of the verdict? And whenever we asked for clarification, they only mentioned breakin' windows. And, it was like, every time they questioned us—being the youngstas of the movement, I guess—it was always, 'Well, what about the broken windows.' Like we, somehow, were negotiatin' these windows.

And when we'd tell 'em, like, we just tryin'a come assemble peacefully, they had originally told us that 14th and Broadway would be considered an evacuation zone, and it'd be illegal for us to be there. When we had a press conference—statin' it basically, we felt it was our constitutional right to peacefully assemble, wherever we could, to exercise our right t—t—to just express our feelins'. And that we would, in fact, be on 14th and Broadway—no matter what.

So, then suddenly the city of Oakland decided to plan a rally on 14th and Broadway—right by where we would be anyway—and then say they did it to support the movement. An' also, while doin' that, told us that they would have police 'protection,' but not for us; because we weren't agr—agreein' to have a rally with the city.

July 8th was the day of the verdict. I'd say, by July 18th, I had suddenly come home one day from grocery shoppin'; there's thirteen parole agents standin' on the front steps of my house. I had just saw my parole agent two days before, and everything was okay. So, I didn't go home, naturally. I went to call my PO and I, 'Hey, why all these cops here?' She told me that she had no idea my house was being searched; that they do these 'random' parole searches.

I been on parole a total of four years, now; never had a random parole search done on my house. So, she said six files had been brought to her desk of different parolees from her case load. Mine was amongst the six. She took mine out immediately and said, 'No; his house doesn't need to be searched. I

know this guy; you know, he's doin' things positively in the community; he goes to school, he has children,' and what have you.

She said her supervisor then asked her, 'Well, his file says he has possible gang affiliations.' She said, 'Well, all I know from experience with him being on my case load is that he fights and advocates daily against gang activity. And so, therefore, I don't feel that he's a gang member and there's no need to search his house.' She left it at that; they searched my house anyway. They never once mentioned any possible gang affiliations while searchin' my house; like they—my son's mother was in the house. They never asked her anything about, am I a gang member? she said, when they were searchin'. They never looked for any possible gang affiliation—anything; any clothes that might say I'm a gang member.

The only thing that was mentioned while they were there was, one cop looked at another one and was like, 'I just saw him on the news last week.' There's no pictures of me at all in my home. Period. Nowhere. So, there's no way a person can walk into my house, while searching it randomly, and know you saw me on the news unless you knew who I was before you walked into my house.

They searched my house in July—18th. In August, I had a car parked in front of my house. It was my car. Suddenly my car was impounded for no reason—they said the tags were expired, so they were impounding my car. There was another car parked behind it, to where you couldn't even see the back plates; so there's no way they knew the tags were expired from riding by. But, that's what they did. So they stopped; they impounded my car.

I think after that was Labor Day weekend, I think it was, was the next incident? Basically they searched my house; they didn't find anything; so they left. Labor Day weekend I was with my kids; I went out to eat and w' jus' chilling with my children. It was about 1:30 in the morning; I stopped at my mom's house for a while; the kids wanted to go to the house and lay down. I get in the car; I left her house—she lives on 98th Avenue in East Oakland, up near the free—she's, like, literally, the freeway runs down the back of her house. So I leave her house; I'm drivin', turn on 98th to enter the freeway. As I get on to the 580 freeway, I look in my rearview mirror; I see some headlights already comin' down the freeway.

I look at the headlights; I emulate to everybody in the car, I say, 'Hey, the police comin' behind us.' So I stayed in the slow lane and never switched lanes—nothin'. Stayed in the slow lane cause I know it's the police; I know any move I make they will say somehow might be a traffic violation. So, they follow me from the 98th entrance to Keller. Finally put they lights on at Keller. I exited at Seminary. They pulled me over at Seminary; when they walked up on me, he asked me for my ID and asked me if if I had a license, I think. I told him that.

So then he come back to the car, said, 'Have you been drinking?' I say, 'Yeah, I had somethin' to drink about three or four hours ago, and I've also just went to eat and was at the house for a while.' He get me out for a field sobriety test and all this; so I'm like, okay; I comply with all of this.

During the field sobriety test he told me to hold my head back, estimate thirty seconds then look at him and tell him to stop. I held my head back, closed my eyes, counted to twenty-five, looked up and said, 'Stop.' I looked at his watch; his watch said it was, like, almost thirty seconds. I asked him how long it had been. He looked at me and said, 'Oh, it was about fifty-two min—fifty-two seconds'—or somethin' like that; he said it was almost a full minute.

So I'm knowin' he lyin'—I'm like, wow. So I finish the field sobriety; they give me a breathalyzer test—I took two breathalyzer tests. After the second one, they walked up to the passenger in my car and told her that they were going to—that I had blew a 0.82, and so therefore they were taking me to jail for a DUI. She was like, 'Look, his kids, they're in the car.' And I told the officer, I say—my daughter was visiting from Los Angeles. So I's like, basically, 'She is stuck with me. If I go to jail, where is she goin' go sleep tonight?' And she has to get in my house to go to sleep. He still didn't really care.

I's like, man, 'I didn't do nothin'. If thi—if that's what it is, can't you give me a, a citation or somethin' and let me go?' He said, because I was on parole, he had to take me to jail, or else he could possibly lose his job. So they took me to jail; I took another breathalyzer once I got down to Santa Rita; I blew a 0.7. It was less than an hour from the first test. They said they were going to cite me out. So they cite me out; I get out; I go to court for this charge. Before I even went to court I get out.

September 11th came. I'm standin' in front of my kids' house; and I took 'em to get some clothes. I'm standin' in the driveway in a pair of jogging shorts and a white tee-shirt. A cop rides by lookin' at us out the window hella crazy. And my lil' sister's like, 'Man, what's wrong with him?' I'm like, 'I don't know.' So I tell my kids, 'Look: you all hurry up and get y'all stuff; we've gotta go.'

He went to the corner, made a U-turn, came back. When he came back, it's now two cars. He stopped in the middle of the street, got out of his car, walked up. He spoke to a guy that was standing in the yard next to the one that I was standing in; walked up to me and said, 'Are you on parole or probation?' I said, 'Yeah, I'm on parole.' He said, 'Turn around, put your hands behind your back.' I said, 'Damn; you don't want to know my name? Why am I being stopped?'

So he's like, 'Don't worry about it; you are on parole and this is my job.' So I'm like, 'Man, why are you harassing me? I'm not doin' nothing; my kids are right here; why you cuffin' me in front of my kids when I've done nothing wrong?' He said, basically, that it's his job to get 'dangerous criminals' like me off the streets because I'm on parole. So, we have words back and forth. Finally, he tells me that he had just spoke to my parole agent, and that she had said to take me to my house and search my house.

He had never spoke to my agent. He gets to my house; search my house for no reason; finds nothin'. Comes out of my house; is about to release me; he's asked me whether I want him to let me out there, or where he picked me up. I say, 'It don't matter; I've got nothin' to say; I'm filing a complaint when

you take the cuffs off.' He put me back in the police car, had the sergeant come; eventually I was arrested because he said my parole agent wanted to meet me downtown.

He took me downtown; had me charged for a (fake) parole hold that was basically put by another agent that had nothin' to do with my case—they put a fake parole hold on me. I spent eleven days in jail with no charges. During that time, my youngest son was born while I was sittin' in jail. He spent like, three–four days in the ICU unit. I was stuck in jail; I couldn't contact anybody to make sure they was alright or nothin'.

I get released, basically, after eleven days with no charges. Finally they say, 'Okay, go home, finish parole—oh, by the way, do a AA class because you were arrested for somethin' else that didn't happen.'

When I go to court for the DUI, the DUI was thrown out of court, and the District Attorney said that there was no probable cause for an arrest. And that was her reason for throwing my case out of court to begin with.

That's twice I was arrested for no apparent reason. Again I've been on parole a long time. I've never been a victim of a random parole search. I've been out since August 6th, 2009; had no arrests, no violations on my parole or nothing. Hadn't been stopped hardly ever.

As soon as the Oscar Grant trial started, I've been jacked so many times it's crazy.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz:

Thank you. I see a pattern of targeting that brings up another question of destroying leadership. You know, the kind of leadership that emerges in movements—really targeting individuals that the police monitor and see. I don't know if I'm just having a moment of paranoia, or what; but I wonder if you could address that?

Ghetto Prophet:

Yeah, just real quickie: When this started taking place, the ONYX organization was starting to emerge and a lot of us were really active; our faces were on the TV a lot.

When I was arrested and released, I was supposed to be released to do outpatient AA classes and twenty hours of community service; that was the conditions of me being released back on parole.

I was released; the next day I went to my parole agent's office to check in and get the paper saying I'm going to AA. She informed me then that her supervisor had overruled her decision to release me and basically, put me back on parole; and had deemed that I needed to go to a six-month residential drug treatment program. Which is the stiffest drug treatment sentence you can get for just basic parole. She pleaded against it, and he basically asked her why was she defending the word of a parolee over a cop.

And then I was eventually put into a residential program, and I had to stay for close to thirty days before they let me out. During that time, it ended up stagnating a lot of what I was able to do. A lot of my movements were restricted; a lot of meetings and things had—we were trying to get goin'—subsequently fell off. We were starting a task force through the mayor's office; and right around this time, I got stuck in this halfway-house. Because of a lot of that, I wasn't able to go to those meetings, so a lot of stuff fell off behind that.

I think they definitely target people that they know they have leadership capabilities and positive voices, and try to stifle that as fast as possible.

Walter Riley:

For the record, I represent one of the people who was arrested at the Oscar Grant demonstration. And he was jacked up on a proposed parole violation for something he didn't do. After the proceedings started, he was looking for a job out on Hegenberger. And a police officer rode up on him and said, 'Are you suing us?'—without asking for his name, or anything.

That suggests very clearly that they know a number of the people who were involved and they keep a record of those people who were involved. And somehow or another, it spread to patrol officers. To the extent that they could ride up on this one person, who's on record as my client, Rashoud Lynn, and said to Rashoud Lynn, 'Are you suing us?' without asking Rashoud Lynn his name, and proposing that they violate him, clearly demonstrates intent to harass people who were involved in the Oscar Grant activity.

Tim Killings:

I want to answer that, too. We came back from LA on Father's Day, and we were on our way back to there, and a officer pulled us over, in the gas station, comes up to my car and says, 'Timothy Killings—I thought I recognized you,' and snatches me out of the car and arrests me. ive squad cars came, instantly, for a minor DUI warrant.

I had a DUI warrant where I was supposed to do two days of work-release – to-work instead of doing two days in the county. I was supposed to got to a sheriff's alternative program where they have you picking up trash or whatever. This is why the officer stopped me, knew me by name, and arrested me with plenty of back-up; he said he recognized me, and I never seen this officer a day in my life.

I do believe that they do have a list of people who would dare to organize or stand up against any repression.

Dennis Cunningham:

I think it's important to note the part about the parole officer—your own parole officer—getting overruled by somebody up above her; that there's a policy that's enforced or that's active now that comes from the top about the harassment.

We've seen the same thing in the gang [injunction] hearing. We had a witness who was doing fine on parole, and all of a sudden, last summer he got jacked up from the lowest status to the highest. They put a GPS on him, just out of nowhere.

Just like you say that your parole officer's saying, "Wait a minute: this guy's doing fine; let him alone," and it gets overruled because there's a policy of, of, of not just the harassment, but of picking out people to use them as a, as the examples, to stop what they're doing, and to scare everybody else.

It doesn't matter how good you do, it doesn't matter if you tow the line; you might get picked out anyway and just used, just like if they're going to take you to fulfill the need for bodies in the prison. It's the same thing on the street: that they have a number of people that they're going to harass, and that they're going to use as examples. And the people that are the regular contact people, like the parole officer, don't have anything to say about it. It's coming from the top. Again.

Nina Farnia (Committee to Stop FBI Repression):

Hi. Thank you all for coming and I'd like to thank everybody for inviting me to speak. We're going to change gears a little bit. I've been asked to speak about the targeting of Palestinian activists and international solidarity activists—folks that do work challenging Israel, the occupation of Palestine by Israel and US funding to Israel.

So on the morning of September 24th in Chicago and Minneapolis, seven homes were raided by the FBI, the local police department—so the Chicago police Department and the Minneapolis Police Departments—and Department of Homeland Security agents, so groups of government agents both local and federal. Of the seven homes that were raided, most of these people had young children in the home. The agents arrived between 7 and 8 in the morning. In one instance they stayed for 12 hours, so they were there from 7 am to 7pm. In another instance they stayed for 5 hours and they took everything from those homes. They took cell phones, books, document. One person in Chicago—they took a postcard of—from an old girlfriend 30 years ago. They took pictures that their children had drawn. They took images of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. They took computers. They literally took a ton of stuff and none of that has been returned yet even though this all happened on September 24th. 14 people were subpoenaed to testify before the Grand Jury in Chicago arising out of these raids. All 14 people refused to go before the Grand Jury. The warrants—both the subpoenas and the warrants—the search warrants alleged material support of terrorism for two organizations that are officially designated by the federal government as terrorist organizations: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is basically the Palestinian—it's a Left party in Palestine, and the FARC in Colombia.

Material support of terrorism has shifting definitions. It's a sort of—it's a legal term hat generally came into being in 1996. At the time—it's hard to define what the term is, I guess that's what I'm trying to say. If you send money—if you give money to an organization that is designated as a terrorist organization, that is material support of terrorism, but because of a Supreme Court decision that came down over the summer, called Humanitarian law Project—Holder vs. Humanitarian Law Project, advocacy done in coordination with an organization designated as a terrorist organization could qualify as material support for terrorism. This means that inviting somebody to speak who you know to have affiliations with, for example, the FARC or the PFLP, inviting them to come speak here could qualify as material support for terrorism. Posting statements by these people up on your website could qualify as material support for terrorism. Now, we're not… this decision came down very recently. It came down in June. We're not quite sure what the reach of this decision is, but what we do know is that if you knowingly engage in coordinated advocacy with an organization designated as a terrorist organization, you could be engaging in material support for terrorism, which carries charges of up to 15 years in prison.

I think most people in this room know the overwhelming majority of liberation movements around the world are designated terrorist organizations. The government has discretion to designate who it wants and what it wants as a terrorist organization and it is very, very difficult to challenge those designations. Some of these organizations are virtually peaceful. Some of them are virtually inactive, and some of them have military wings, but also they provide social services and they build schools and things like that; so the term—designated terrorist organization covers a wide range of basically liberation movements around the world.

One of the people that whose home was raided and who was subpoenaed to testify before the Grand Jury, his name is Hatem Abudaiah. He's a very close friend of mine. He was actually here last weekend—last week. Many of you saw him speak when he was here. He was also my former employer. He's the Executive Director of the Arab-American Action Network in Chicago, which is a local social service and organizing group in Chicago servicing the local Arab community, but also Black and Latino communities on the South Side. He—when the FBI and the Chicago PD showed up at his home he actually wasn't there. His mom has cancer and he was with his mom. His wife called him. He ran home. He has a 5 year old daughter—his daughter was home at the time. He ran home. The agents were there for about 5 hours. He followed the agents around to try to watch what they were taking, and they eventually told him 'you need to sit down in a corner of your house, you cannot get up.' When the agents left his house they went to the home of two other activists in Chicago. These are long-time activists who have been doing anti-war activism since the Vietnam War. They went to Joe Osbaker and Stephanie Weiner—they went to their homes in Chicago, and stayed there till 7pm that night.

In December—well, once all 14 people refused to testify, the government withdrew the subpoenas. At that point it was incumbent on the government to decide whether or not it would give folks immunity and force them to testify, or whether it would withdraw the subpoenas. It withdrew the subpoenas, and what that means basically is that we don't know what's going to happen next. You know, governments usually don't start investigations this aggressively and this large unless they're serious, so our assumption was that this was serious, but because they hadn't tried to force anybody to testify we didn't know what was coming next. In December, they subpoenaed an additional 9 people to go before the Grand Jury. Of those 9 people, 6 of them were Palestinian. So what the government was trying to do was basically get people to talk. Since the original 14 were refusing to talk, they expanded their investigation to these 9 additional folks to get them to talk. These 9 additional folks also refused to testify.

Right now, we're basically in the same place that we were after the 14 refused to testify. The government has not said that it's going to force anybody to testify, so we're basically waiting for the government's next move.

We know that—I mean, the legal team is very certain that indictments are going to come down, which means that people—certain people in this group of 23 will be charged with material support for terrorism because of their international solidarity work and their peace activism, their anti-war activism, basically. The indictments are expected to come down in the Spring, so this has become and will continue to become one of the largest political investigations the government has undertaken in quite a long time. It's spread throughout the country.

I think in the beginning when it first happened there was a lot of energy in the Bay Area—or a lot of tension in the Bay Area because we were thinking 'when's it going to come out here'?

Well, the fact of the matter is that it came out here immediately. One person was visited the day after the FBI raids here in San Jose arising out of the raids in the Midwest. Another person was visited around Christmas arising out of the raids in the Midwest. So the investigation is here. No one out here has been subpoenaed yet. No one out here is a target of the investigation as far as we know, but they're watching the political activity here. And what we can be certain of is that as the movements in the Middle East become stronger and more successful, the targeting of international solidarity activists here is going to get worse.

Um. We have since learned—the legal team has since learned, and many of you have probably heard about this, that there was an FBI agent working with the folks in Minneapolis who were raided. This agent was with them for over a year. She built very close relationships with folks to the degree that a lot of them felt completely betrayed when they found out she was an FBI agent, and she, she passed along a lot of information to the federal government.

So, the way that the FBI, and as you heard on the rest of the panel, the local police department, and then also ICE agents, the way these government agents are embedded in our lives is severe, and I think from what I've heard from my mentors and my friends who were around in the 60s, the level at which these folks—the government is embedded in our lives is far worse than it's been for a very long time.

The folks that showed up at Hatem's house in Chicago were members of what's called the Joint Terrorism Task Force. These are multi-agency places. Places where people from various agencies, federal, state and local, come together to open up criminal investigations, to share intelligence, to produce intelligence, right? So this degree of local, federal, state collaboration is something that we haven't seen before. They are becoming more efficient in the way that they carry out their investigations.

They also use what's called 'fusion centers' and I urge you all to go home as soon as you can—go home and Google the word 'fusion center' when you get a chance. These are agencies, I think there are 6 or 7 of them in California—these are multi-agency efforts to share and produce intelligence.

Oscar Grant's actually a perfect local example. There were a ton of federal law enforcement agents at the Oscar Grant protests in addition to the local Oakland Police Department. Any major political activity—we should be sure of the fact that any major political activity is going to be surveilled and investigated by both federal and local law enforcement agents.

In my day life I work at a law firm and we do anti-racial profiling cases. What we're seeing is that our, our Black clients—their lives are embedded with regular visits by the police, with local police departments. Not just the Oakland PD, but police agencies around the city. The same can be said for Latinos with the level of ICE involvement and infiltration into their homes. And the same can be said of Arabs and Muslims with the level of FBI presence in their homes. I mean, these law enforcement agents show up at people's homes and walk right in as if they're house guests. And they develop relationships with these people that they actively call friendships. They ask them questions. They try to get information from them, and then they use that information on people and against people.

All this is happening alongside the murders that we heard about yesterday. This level, this degree of law enforcement presence inside our homes has huge and horrible affects on our lives. And I want to go back to a question that was asked yesterday from the audience about the role of police violence against women. Right now, partially as a result of the presence of police agents in people's homes, the fastest growing prison population in the United States is Black women. So women are not and should not be absent when we talk about police violence.

Police violence is in fact a product of state violence. The police system, the federal law enforcement agents, immigration officers, they don't engage in violence without the collaboration and the consent from the federal government—from their governments. So, what happens is that when our men—

I say this as a woman of color—when our men are dealing with this level of violence in their lives, in the streets, when they're forced to go to war and then they come back home with all kinds of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and whatnot. When our men have to deal with all this, they come into the home with tension and aggression and that violence—that state violence that begins at the state level and in the prisons and from the cops in the streets, that comes into the home, causing what we like to call 'domestic violence'.

This is a long line—I'm drawing lines between a lot of different things, but what I want to say is that domestic violence is not in fact domestic violence, it's state violence. And so—so when we talk—like yesterday's panel, when we talk about what happened to the lives of the people on yesterday's panel—yesterday afternoon's panel, we're also talking about the violent effects on women's lives that these things produce. Just one interesting fact. During war time, when the military is in active duty, civilian rape rates are higher. So there's a ton of data saying that rape rates are high in the military, right? There's also a ton of data saying that active duty law enforcement engage in higher levels of rape and sexual violence than regular civilians. But what I'm trying to say is that du—when we are in war, violence against women increases dramatically. It is higher than when the nation is not in active duty war. So these kinds of state violence, again, have effects on women across the board, whether or not they have partners in the military, whether or not they have people in their lives who are in the military. This violence produces domino effects for all of us.

So, I talked a little bit about the role of this violence for communities of color generally. Even for people who are privileged enough to go to college, and who—there's some distance between them and this violence, right? The young people right now who are privileged enough to go to college are graduating into an economy with no jobs and with outrageous amounts of debt. So the social conditions—both the socio-political and the economic conditions right now are just unbelievable. And all this violence and infiltration into our communities eventually causes people to get out into the streets, right? Eventually it causes people to want to fight back and to demand our rights as human beings.

The government, while the current surveillance that we see today is an extension of COINTELPRO, the government's gotten smarter. And I said this a few weeks ago—they're organizers just like we are. They have gotten smarter and figured out better strategies for what to do. Right now, rather than have to wait—they've learned from the era of the Panthers and AIM and the Brown Berets to stop us at our knees, so before we have mass movements in the street, before we get to a place where we saw Egypt is at, they're getting rid of our leaders, they're charging them with small things like sending $1000 abroad which we're seeing in the Muslim community, they're deporting our leaders, they're putting people in prison, they're doing this stuff with the probations and things like that. They're getting people wrapped up in the system so people—activists and our political leaders are busy trying to deal

with these kinds of issues. The legal movement is busy defending these people. So we can't engage—and also the organizing movement—and part of our energy as political people goes to defending all these efforts, and we—-it's difficult for us to engage in proactive political work. So the strategy has shifted. The strategy has become far more preemptive than it was 30 or 40 years ago, and we need to recognize that when we reach a place when we're going to be out in the streets.

Dennis Cunningham:

What was the other thing you wanted to say?

Nina Farnia:

Thank you, Dennis. I am one of two women up here, which is why I felt like I should take up more time … The last thing I wanted to say was just about the Middle East. You know, we have a tendency—through the media and whatever, we have a tendency to assume that when people rush out in the streets like that, it just happens out of the blue, right? But that's not the case. What happened in Egypt was a product of broader political dynamics—the Intifada in Palestine, the presence of the US in the region, but also organizing on the ground in Egypt. Political people, NGOs—and I know NGO is like a dirty term. Non-profits are a dirty term sometimes, but sometimes these organizations do good work. These people have been working for decades on the ground in the region, so the efforts like the one in this room, while small, are very important for preparing people to go out in the streets when something pops. So, as conditions become worse here—and I guarantee you they will, these efforts need to increase because we need to prepare our folks to get out into the street and to be organized when they get out into the street.

Public Question & Answer:

Audience Member 1:

Alright, first of all, I want to say this: Regardless of how the UN responds to this, the panel, the organizers and everybody here—let's take a moment to feel good about what we're all out here doing. And to piggy-back on what you said: I loved it.

I wanted to speak directly to something, Jabari, that you mentioned. A homeboy of mine was telling me that he actually saw footage of some cats in Dubai comin' out in solidarity for Oscar Grant. You're talkin' about the Persian Gulf. You know what I'm sayin'?

Audience Member 2:

Thanks again for all the testimonies. I think it's a small glimpse into the attacks that COINTELPRO and other programs take on individuals' lives, and in focusing on tearing apart individual people or at least attempting to.

But I'm also curious if people could speak a little bit more to how these programs divide larger groups of people into smaller groups of people, less as, like, individual targets.

And specifically, for Mr. Riley, Mr. Marks and Mr. Brown—people who have seen decades' of these programs—whether you see patterns of the same activity continuing to target new groups of people—new groups of movements, and whether we're falling for the same kind of traps that they've been setting for us for forty years; or whether you see certain tactics evolving, kind of looking specifically at more recent examples within the Bay with the Oscar Grant Movement: How COINTELPRO, how FBI programs, how federal programs divide these movements into smaller groups of people, and whether they're using new tactics, in your opinion, or whether they're using the same ones, and we just need to learn our lessons a little bit better.

Walter Riley:

I think that what I here observe, and experience listenin' to people talk, is that a lot of the tactics are the same: Send in agents to try and direct people to do various kinds of things. Somebody presents themselves with a car that looks like one that ought to be jacked, and asking you for directions—some place that you could send him—which is clearly the kind of conduct that could get somebody in trouble.

That kind of thing existed before. I heard somebody talking earlier about, trying to divide families. When I was organizing, before I was a lawyer, a woman used to call my house a lot to talk to my wife and say that we were meeting later that night; or, that we had gotten together the night before. What was good was that my wife was also an organizer at the time, so understood those tactics. But those kinds of things and divisions can exist a lot.

I think there are many kinds of divisions in communities that are internal divisions, also, that we allow to happen. Cops will do what they do, and I think we understand that. One of the things I was dismayed about in the Oscar Grant activity was the degree to which people bought into the 'outsider' discussion. I personally found that to be a divisive tactic; and I think that we need to be aware of that, and discuss that and figure out what it means when somebody is trying to call somebody in the movement 'outsiders'.

We need to talk about the politics of what people do, how they do it, and what the alliances are; but, the movement is one for all of us.

I also saw an Oscar Grant photograph in some demonstrations in the Middle East, in one of those uprisings. It didn't last for very long. But I think that we are all part of the struggle: When there are people fighting for a change and trying to develop some sense of what liberty means for them, we should identify

with it. And we should encourage other people to identity with us. And that's a struggle that we have to make. And that is also one of the things that helps to avoid government and agents dividing us.

Claude Marks:

I just want to point out and appreciate what Nina was saying—but I think that we need to look at the change in terms of mass imprisonment in this country as being an effective way of destroying our communities. This so-called War on Drugs—which is, in fact, a war of keeping people tranquilized so that they can't rise up—and their willingness to put millions of people in prisons, impacting particularly non-white communities. That is a huge change from what was going on in the '60s and '70s.

Audience Member 3:

Thank you all for being here. It's been a privilege to hear you all speak.

My question is specifically to Ms. Farnia and Mr. Brown; and I was wondering if you could speak about infiltration and the infiltrator that entered the organization that you are part of. I was wondering if you could speak more to some of the details about that.

And then, just to the panelists in general: Do you have any ideas about concrete measures that can be taken by organizers to prevent infiltrators from entering their ranks, and then to identify them once an organization is already progressing in a way that is respectful and inclusive—something like certain conditions that would have to be met by members of organizations that potential infiltrators would not be able to… information that they wouldn't be able to provide; such as where they're from, or family background—in a respectful way.

I'm interested in hearing some concrete kind of systematic approaches that can be taken by organizers to prevent infiltration.

Nina Farnia:

So, I actually wasn't part of the organization. The infiltrator joined the Minneapolis Anti-War Committee. The infiltrator became a part of the organization as they were organizing against—organizing the protest against the Republican National Convention in Minneapolis. That's all I can say about that.

In terms of strategies, I'll answer what folks last week answered. The folks were friends with the infiltrator—when they were asked the same question, they said that we should cut off relationships from people and close our doors to people out of the fear of infiltration. Frankly: Infiltrators are known to do work, because they want to maintain their legitimacy. A lot of my elders have said to throw work at people who you think are infiltrators; sometimes they'll do it. And then if they don't do it, it's an interesting strategy; that's all I'll say; but I'll defer to Richard.

Richard Brown:

Honestly, I remember going through that. We tried all kind of methods of questioning people, checkin' into backgrounds, trying to do a thousand things; and all it did was waste time. It took up a lot of

time and energy to try to keep infiltrators out of the Panther Party, and there's no way that you can even do that. Some of the people who actually start out on your side can get weak and against you at a later date. Just focus on what it is that you have to do.

Number 1: If you have an organization, like 99% of the organizations, that are peaceful and goin' about tryin' to do something to help the people, don't worry about infiltrators, because all that they can find out is that you're doin' a good job. They're going to frame you regardless.

The purpose of arresting people, and the purpose of the twenty-three and doing all of that is to waste our resources. They don't care if it's the truth, they don't care if they're lyin', they don't care if they even lose, to a certain extent. They waste your time, they waste your energy, they disrupt your program, they keep you from doin' things that are positive.

The only thing that you can do—the only thing that I focus on—is serving the people, and I ain't going to let anybody interfere with that.

Audience Member 4:

Thank you for all presenting. I really appreciate it, everything that you guys had to say. I just wanted to make a quick correction, because I've been hearing folks talking about the uprising in Egypt as an uprising in the Middle East; and, it's really part of a continuum of African revolution.

I'm Egyptian; my family's Egyptian—and it's on the continent, along with Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria—who's also been rising up. I just wanted to make that at as point.

The other thing that I wanted to say is that the young people in Egypt were the ones that called for the demonstrations in Tahrir Square. And most people in the country, in the region, are under the ages of thirty. It always makes me think about the power of young people, especially since there was a thirty-year 'emergency' law which would never have allowed for gatherings like this to happen.

Young people came out on the street, even despite when the police and the military ran into their offices, and jacked their offices up, and ran into their homes, and took them into the police stations and tortured them. All of that is happening, and there is still a fearlessness that they had that made them come out there—still out there on the street today. People think that, eighteen days later, after the president fell, that they left. They didn't. They stayed on the street and they demanded more and they grew in numbers.

And so the question that I have is, often times we talk about state—state violence and police violence and all this stuff and then we step back a little cause we get afraid, right? And then, even as an educator, I'm not always sure what to tell my young people, even though I want them on the street and I want them to be part of an organization. I kinda want to hear from the young people. I kinda want to hear from you—especially since tomorrow is the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X—and if one thing he told us was about organization and the importance of joining organization—can you guys talk to us about how you maintain your fearlessness, and how you maintain organization in spite of this stuff.

Jabari Shaw:

It's good that you brought up Malcolm X because I take my son to a lot of these different group meetings and what-not that I be doing and organizing—he been on the news with me—and Earl Little used to take Malcolm X to events with him; that's how he got politicized early.

I think about Huey P. Newton's book, *Revolutionary Suicide*; and he talks about how it's going to be the young people that make the movement happen, that push the movement; because the old people have felt so alone that they see no change comin'; or, they seen a little bit change, and they get complacent.

So, it's going to be on us to push it—not to exclude the elders, because we need the elders for they advice so we don't keep up in our heads—but without us getting together, with the old folks tellin' us, 'Y'all, see you don't know nothing,' and the others saying, "Well, you owe m-aaan!'—you know how I'm saying—if we don't never get together, then we'll never get to where we're tryin' to go.

Tim Killings:

I want to say that a lot of us got the attitude that, like, 'Fuck it.' Like, you know what I mean? We don't have but our chains, in the words of Assata Shakur; that's how we stay determined, because we know that we're fighting for a righteous cause. And we know that if we get people to join us, get involved in the struggle, we can do greater things than Egypt is doin' right now, and get rid of this government right here.

Ghetto Prophet:

Just piggy-back on what bro's said: It's that attitude that, I'm thirty years old, but I spent a long time fearlessly runnin' the streets, and doin' what I wanted, and didn't care about going to prison or nothing else. And so my mind state is: If I was that fearless in destroying my community, I'ma be just as fearless in fixing it. So, if I didn't give a fuck about the police then, then fuck 'em now.

Nina Farnia:

I would just say to talk to elders. I mean, that's what I do when I need people to keep me grounded and to talk to them—my elders who've been involved in this struggle for decades.

Richard Brown:

There's only one struggle, and that's the struggle to free everybody. Let's not get off into old people against young people, men against women, or any of that. I'm a hundred and ninety-five thousand years old, but I'm still as involved as everybody else. Young people have more energy, so you have to do more. I have to rest longer. But if you can go longer and stronger, that's your job, that's your duty.

When I was your age, I was out there twenty-four seven. Now it's your turn to be out there twenty-four seven. I'ma be there, but I'ma take my time, because I haven't got the energy that you have.

Audience Member 5:

I wonder if anyone on the panel wants to comment on—and Jabari and Tim, I know you were involved in the rally to support the Georgia prisoner strikers—the strike that happened in Georgia prisons recently.

I wonder if you would comment on the connection between the movements that we're talking about here; lethal policing and that strike. Thank you.

Timothy Killings:

The comment that takes me back to when—I don' know if I mentioned it earlier—about George Jackson, and we believe that the prisons are going to be filled with us if we don't start standing up now.

The Georgia prison strike was inspirin' to us because that's when seven prisons, all coordinated through cell phones, didn't come out and work. We believe that the prison system today is a form of modern-day slavery. In Georgia, it's the only state where they don't pay they prisoners.

To work here, in California prisons, I think you get ten cents to forty-five cents an hour. The products that you make are being sold on the open market for profit. So, you get like fifty thousand a head here for each prisoner, or somewhere in that amount.

Those struggles are definitely connected to things that we fight for in the street. Police brutality, repression, housing discrimination—it's all connected. It's all part of a system to keep us contained. We believe that the prisons are a big part of that. That's why we connected that to our struggle and decided to support the Georgia prison strike. And we believe everybody should.

Jabari Shaw:

With me being a former slave myself, being in prison, I was there when they executed Tookie; I was a prisoner there at San Quentin. So I look at it, with the Georgia prisoner strike, and them askin' for education, of all things. You know what I'm sayin'? Something to rehabilitate them, and to get 'em into a life struggle that's different than bein' out on the streets and goin' back and forth to jail.

I see it as a police state, that they just want us to go back and forth to jail. If they givin' the death penalty to Kevin Cooper, or if they givin' the death penalty to Oscar Grant —that it's all the same thing.

Audience Member 6:

Hi, my name is George Camaroda. And my question is for anyone on the panel; but it's in regard to Tim's testimony about what amounts to the mass arrest that took place the night the Mehserle sentencing came down, where over a hundred people were arrested.

This is not a new tactic; my understanding is that it was employed in DC and New York; and, that this tactic of mass arrests was successfully challenged in the courts and resulted in monetary awards to all the people who were arrested.

So my question is: Is there a movement or legal action specifically challenging the OPD, using this tactic of mass arrest again around peaceful protest?

Tim Killings:

As far as a legal measure being taken, I can't comment on that; but I have heard of the police usin' those tactics like you said, in Washington, DC. I even heard of—in England, they actually used it with students rose up—and it's called 'kettling' or something like that?

As far as the trial; all of the charges have not—they haven't went forward on 'em. When people went to court, they didn't pursue. They had us with a charge of unlawful assembly; That's as much as I can speak on about it; it's because it hasn't even be litigated yet.

Dennis Cunningham:

I can speak about the legal part a little bit. There is a movement to try to get together civil suits against the cops for mass arrests—those in July, the ones last spring, with the people protesting tuition hikes at Berkeley. And it goes back all the way to Seattle ten, twelve years ago, and the different conventions. There've been these huge, mass arrests—there always were. There were here in San Francisco in 1984, when they had the Democratic National Convention.

There's been a lot of those suits. They've been very difficult: they're drawn out, they get fought very assiduously by the cities and the police forces. They're sort of worth it, if you can get the effort together, but it consists of a distraction into the legal sphere, of a lot of energy that could be expended in the organizing sphere; which always pays off quite a bit better, I think, than messin' around with these courts.

The cards are stacked against you in those cases; the cops are very polished in the lies they prepare to tell; the jurors are confused about which side they should be on. And if you get some money somewhere down the line, God bless you, but I hope you didn't waste a lot of time tryin' to do it.

Audience Member 7:

Good afternoon. First of all, I wanted to thank everyone who participated in this and helped put this on; and it's a fabulous event, and it's a very important event.

I specifically want to thank the speakers this weekend who have acknowledged that this is native territory. But no one yet this weekend has said specifically whose territory it is, and it belongs to the Ohlone people. And as it absolutely is. And, as this land is Ohlone territory, they deserve that we pay attention to their struggles, because they definitely have a lot of their own struggles in this day and age.

And so, that's the first thing: I wanted to make sure that the Ohlone name got out there today, at some point. We should all look up, and see what they're up to, see what they're doin', pay attention to what they need.

My question was, since our brother Jimbo Simmons, from the American Indian Movement, was not able to make it here today—we do have some Native representatives up here, at least on the jury

panel, I wanted to get one of them to talk about the history of COINTELPRO, with the Red Power movement, the American Indian Movement, and how it ties in to struggles that we're facing here today.

Alberto Saldomando:

Yeah, we're getting limitations here, and I can understand that; but I had also asked that we have some some recognition and some observance of the American Indian Movement—particularly with regard to COINTELPRO—precisely because I think that there are lessons to be learned from that experience.

But apparently, there was a decision made not to do that. I appreciate this opportunity. And not to make a long presentation, but, really, to try to address the issues that have come up within the discussion.

The American Indian Movement really began a little bit later, but not much after, the Black Panther movement; and many of us believe that it really took off after the occupation of Alcatraz. That was in 1969.

Alcatraz is really an all-nations event. There were Indians from all over the United States that attended there and went back to the reservations, went back to their communities and started to organize. And many powerful people from that movement went back to the Oglala Sioux reservation and the communities there.

As a reaction to them, the Means brothers, Dennis Banks—really names in their movement—there was a reaction by the FBI. One of the lessons that we learned was that they used local police to do their dirty work. They got the chief of the tribe at that time in Pine Ridge, and they gave him a goon squad, which was military—paramilitaries that the FBI armed. This was around the beginning '70s—not by the FBI directly, but by what was then called the 'goon squad.'

The use of local police and local authority is very common. It's a very common tactic of a national policy. But what it tends to do is that it tends to focus the attention on the local level and make it look like a local problem, a local dispute; a local intratribal kind of a dispute when it really is an implementation of a national policy on a local level against the organization of resistance.

The other thing is that they pick examples and they think that our brothers here—the young brothers here that have testified—but they pick people to make examples out of. And I think that the greatest example that we have had, in terms of becoming an icon with regard to the imprisonment of all indigenous peoples in the United States is Leonard Peltier.

He's been in prison for thirty-six years. Richard and I had been at the UN lobbyin' about political prisoners, and certainly that has been our priority for the past thirty-six years.

But what has happened with the Leonard Peltier case: The more they persecute him personally, the more we get an opportunity to talk about the issues that we want to talk about. About the extreme poverty, about the marginalization of Indians, the theft of lands, the violation of treaties.

Leonard has become an icon, and as we work for his freedom, we really need to emphasize the struggle that he has been involved in for the past thirty-six years.

I think another lesson is that we have people in prisons who are human rights defenders, and have to be supported, and have to be raised up.

The last, the last point I wanted to make was with regard to provocateurs. It's certainly true that you really can't tell—or really worry—about infiltrators. They're going to know what you're doin' anyway.

Even in the Treaty Council—it used to be a lot more common, and now they're more sophisticated; maybe their equipment is better—but we used to be tell when there was like a kind of vacuum on the phone. But that's not going to keep me from talkin' about what I need to talk about. You know?

I just wish 'em a nice day, and talk to the people that I need to talk to.

But there is such a thing as provocateurs, and I think that we do have to be very careful about that.

Certainly there are times when we want to be arrested. But then there are times when we dont. I remember—you mentioned the Xicano Moratorium. There were provocateurs in the back of the crowd throwing rocks at the Sheriff's Department, who would react against the people in the front of the crowd. And they were just there to demonstrate peacefully. And I was there. We were trying to keep people from provoking police, but there are people who do provoke police. And I think they have to be identified. They may be agents of the government or not; but what they do is they really damage the movement.

John Trudell's house, as many of you know, as a result of Pine Ridge, was burnt to the ground and his wife and two kids were burnt with it. It was one of the larger tragedies of the movement. The government interference and provocation really split the American Indian Movement into many segments. I'm not even sure that some people are still—after forty years of workin' together—talking to each other.

And it's all because of these rumors. One of the major events that has really raised a tremendous amount of division within the American Indian Movement to this day is the assassination of Anna Mae Aquash. The government is right now prosecuting an Indian for her death. They've prosecuted another guy last year who was tried and found guilty—but they've never really focused on the role of the FBI in her death.

The rumors that they started about her… It's absolutely true that there was a great deal of division, there was a great deal of paranoia; people were being hunted, just like Richard was being hunted, in the beginning of the '70s throughout the United States—up until actually, nearly the end of the

'70s, beginning of the '80s. People were being looked for. And among the leadership, there was a great deal of insecurity.

When the FBI focused on a few individuals and started spreading rumors about them—I believe that the FBI was the one that assassinated Anna Mae Aquash—and then blamed the AIM leadership and people within the movement. Other people within the movement don't. Other people within the movement say, 'No, no, these are the guys and blah-blah-blah-blah-blah.'

There's always disputes because of the division that is caused by government. I think we have to be very careful about that. Maybe they haven't achieved that level now of repression where they're going to start looking for the murderer of one person or another. We know they did it with Malcolm X; we know they did it with Martin Luther King. They were involved.

Now, the level of involvement I think remains to be seen. But I think they were definitely involved. I think, with Malcolm X in particular—it's a well-known fact, how he was tailed, how he was surveilled, how his conversations were—to say that did not lead to the unfortunate result that it did, I think, is a bit naïve.

But how? Who knows. You know? I think that we have to do a lot of the things we do in terms of trust. I think we have to—as was pointed out earlier by our brothers—do what we have to do, you know? And if that causes repression, if that causes reaction, those are the consequences that we have to be prepared for.

And I think it's unfortunate, but I think it's also necessary that we do have those kinds of attitudes, that we be free about what we do, that we not distrust our brothers and sisters; that we have trust amongst ourselves, even though it is sometimes used against us.

But I think that, because of the lessons that we've learned from our movements, because of the lessons we've learned from our repression, there is really not much else we can do.

Thank you.

Audience Member 8:

Thank you all for sharing today—talking about capitalism and government just protecting capitalistic interests.

My question is for Nina, particularly with your work with ICE: I want to know if your organization—if anything—what they're doing to expose corporations that are working together with ICE, and in particular, the corporate owners that have factories and sweatshops full of undocumented workers.

And instead of risking a raid, what they do is they collaborate with ICE to give them five names this week, this month; ten names next month, so that they can replace all of those workers instead of risking a raid where they won't be able to replace five hundred as quickly. And so, ICE works with them

knowing that, in fact, the entire factory is undocumented. But because they're just protecting the capitalistic interests they work together with them.

And so I was wondering if you could talk on that, and then what your organization is doing to expose them a bit.

Nina Farnia:

I actually don't do a lot of work around immigration or ICE.

What I can tell you is that my work around fusion centers and agency collaboration—we're trying to figure out how to effectively challenge, so corporations, private actors are in fusion centers, corporations and private actors are collaborating with law enforcement, like, what you just said. So we're trying to figure out legal ways to challenge that collaboration.

What we're finding is that it's virtually impossible, and that's not to say that it is impossible; but we're just having difficulty finding legal ways to challenge that collaboration.

I agree with Dennis: The real political work happens in organizing—in the streets and the organizations. The trouble is, though, that a lot of people don't know about these kind of collaborations that you're talking about; they just don't know about it. So there's no political movement that's galvanizing all this energy and moving it forward.

I'm sorry I don't have more of an answer for you. I would suggest—you know, somebody who recognizes that this is going to be, I think, one of the most important places of political movement work in the next couple of decades, and so we need to start moving on it.

Audience Member 9:

Leah Sherman, Socialist Workers' Party. Would you talk about the Cuban 5? Five Cuban revolutionaries who have spent over twelve years on the front lines of the class struggle in US prisons—they were monitoring anti-Cuban revolution activities in Miami and for this they were sent to prison.

The workers and farmers of Cuba took political and economic power out of the hands of the capitalist class in the Cuban revolution… My question is: Would you talk about the FBI attacks against socialist and against communist organizations, as well as trade unions?

Claude Marks:

There's no question, but the hidden history of the United States that's predicated on anti-Communism resulted in a tremendous amount of repression against the communist movement. At the same time, less known—and as was mentioned earlier—the framing of state attacks is particularly also in line with the racism, or with the white supremacy of this government.

In the opening, the mentioning of Marcus Garvey is particularly significant. I'm not trying to dodge the question, but I feel like there's a way that the politics of state repression has been much more harsh in relationship to movements of color and/or indigenous people, and anti-colonial struggle.

The Cuban 5 are a good example in the sense that the Cubans themselves and their revolutionary example has been targeted from its very inception by the United States. The fact that there were Cubans in the US that were basically developing intelligence on the right-wing Cuban constellation—particularly in Miami—that has consistently, with US government support, waged war against Cuba, along with an embargo that goes back sixty years, is not surprising.

Certainly the Cuban 5 five should be considered in the list of political prisoners that includes a lot of people—Leonard was mentioned; Mumia, who spoke earlier; a lot of the former Panthers that are still locked up; the Xicanos that are locked up, etcetera.

Richard Brown:

How many people in here believe in freedom, justice and equality for all people? Please raise your hand.

Then I would suggest that we, as a people, fight against all injustice. If we start breakin' down all the things about the different ethnic groups and the different political groups and the different social groups, we'll spend a hundred and fifty-seven thousands hours talkin'. We need to stop talkin' and start doing something.

An attack against one is an attack against all. We have to come together as people, united, and fight against all of it. Thank you.

Session 4: Testimony on Organized Resistance

Poem - The Ghetto Prophet:

How y'all doin'? we'll do these so we can get y'all into this next session. I'ma do two pieces. They're both short. So, this first one is called The New Klan. I feel like spittin' it cause we're discussin' so much police activity.

I think you better sit back and please watch
Like a burnt movie, these cops
Before you find yourself encaptured in chains
Encapsulled by pain from your scrotum to your brain
Then back down your spine again into the pits of your soul
That's now on parole, plus runnin' cause the jobs ain't bitin'
And the monkey keeps fightin'
Tryin hard to get back inside the comfy confines of yo cranium
so you went all in again on the block, get back
Posted like a gnat on a cow's back
Pushin that same sack of cocaine crack
That same lack of insight
Obviously
Cause this side is that side
Where previously your freedom was snatched
So unless my theory is totally wrong
Then going to face the depths of jail
Must either be your hustle
Or your hobby
Now you patrollin' the hood on zombie
Bein' thudded with insomnia
Yet brain gone numb cause this game don't come with no sedatives
So you created some
Regardless of what they said it is
Damage control or community interaction
It was all created with the thought in mind of public unawareness
And people truth distractions

Distracting people from the truth
Extracting fear from our youth with bold obliterations of they rights
The New Klan
Discardin' the sheets they wore at night
Optin' instead for the clean shaven head
Hopin' that glare from the sweat on his skull
Will hide his chains in the sunlight
Thank you. Last one is called 'We Seek Justice.'
Our lives are shattered like… S'cuse me
Lives scattered in pieces in streets but they beg us for peace
Never considerin' our rights to humanity 'till we demanded 'em
Been deprived and branded we've fought back
Took losses but gained deep overstandings
Under siege but still strivin'
In the sea of the dead we're not dying
We're warriors
No civilization could reign supreme consisting simply of kings and queens
So
See now how our society needs weed
We seek justice
Finger tips metaphorically bloody yet literally cracked, we've been clingin'
Clawin' silently back
The spirits of Panthers poised for attack
Stealth is Black mamas addicted to stacks
Issues, articles, volumes
I'm talkin' 'bout books
In backpacks like slingshots
David with handwritten rocks
Leavin' Goliaths on their backs en route to find Ezekial
Givin' dead soldiers back breath
We rise up like tsunamis and monsoons
From the depths of your hatred
To walkin' in new moons
See, my people's dancin' in the darkness callin' out for the light

My people 'bout ready now to illuminate the truths of those who hide facts in lies
Wrap our love around the chests of our warriors
Then hold vigilant as they fight
Cause we know
That battle fields comprised of concrete still house fishers filled with their life
Juices of warriors long fallen
Like stars they're ours
Legends of a people too tired to give up
So we keep striving
Cause though we seek justice, we know that the only thing worse than losing this battle
Is to somehow die not fightin'

Thank you.

Jesse Strauss:

Thank you, Ghetto Prophet. I want to introduce our next panel. It's focused on organized resistance, and this is really the panel that's really exciting about how people are organizing against this police state. It'll hopefully offer you some thoughts and some opportunities to plug in to how organizing is going on in Oakland. There's also tables in the back, again, with other opportunities.

But I'd like to introduce our next panelists. First, Tony Coleman from the New Years Movement for Justice and one Fam.

Aurora Lopez from Stop the Gang Injunctions Coalition and the Xicana Moratorium Coalition.

Lily Haskell from the Arab Resource and Organizing Center.

Meshá Monge-Irizarry from the Idriss Stelley Foundation, Education Not Incarceration and the Cannabis Justice Commission.

Dorsey Nunn from Legal Services for Prisoners with Children.

And Mama Ayanna from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement.

I'd also like to introduce our panel of jurists. Some of them I'm welcoming back, some of them were not here earlier this morning.

To start off, Dennis Cunningham, a civil rights attorney.

Anne Weills another civil rights attorney in Oakland.

David Gespass, the President of the National Lawyers Guild.

Dan Siegel, civil rights attorney.

Alberto Saldomando, a lawyer with the International Indian Treaty Council.

Ben Rosenfeld, a civil rights attorney.

And Sanyika Bryant from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement.

Tony Coleman (New Years Movement for Justice):

I want to say thank you for all the organizers for putting this on and for all the opportunities that we have to come together and talk about some of these issues that we're so passionate about. It's very good to see some recognizable faces. I mean, that's one thing about this movement is that the people involved, you nahmean?

When I was in prison I met some of the down to earth, most humblest, most coolest people. And also, when I came home and got involved with the movement—same thing. I got met some really, really good people, and I think that's what really makes the movement—is the people. We're not making none of this stuff up. We're following in the tradition of the Panthers and all the history that's been here laid down before us. And when I came home I was able to just step right into a lot of this history. I mean, I made a choice, but it's also that it was already laid out here and there's a lot of elders around, and some of them that's on this panel tonight that was able to give me a little bit more experience, lessons, so I could keep this audacity to want to change the world. And I think that's what you've gotto have—the audacity to want to stand up against this power structure and really think that you can do something. And it's the people like the people that's here that gave me that.

I want to say a little bit about some of the organizing that I've been involved in. Like I said, when I came home I got involved with police organizing around police brutality. And a officer had killed somebody in the neighborhood and I had the audacity to think that I could do something about it. And that audacity led me to go invite some people into a meeting, and got some folks together, and one of them people was Van Jones—and helped them start the whole Ella Baker Center, was around this campaign that I was starting—was Aaron Williams Campaign in San Francisco. And all I wanted to do was to get more people to come out and support victims of police brutality because when I went to the police commission all I saw was the victims family, and I felt like that all the organizations that was around, why weren't nobody there to support the family?

So my whole motivation was just to get more people to show up at some of these police commission hearings. And what happened—it ended up turning into a movement, because the Office of Citizen Complaints came to the meeting. A lot of people showed up when we made this call, and the Office of Citizen Complaints came and said that we were going to bring the officer on new charges. And I just led this whole campaign, and like I said it was a lightning rod for the Ella Baker Center. And that's what I like about organizing campaigns—it's that the most important things about campaigns are the movements that come out of it.

Just like the Oscar Grant campaign. How many organizations have spun from that? And that's what we gotto keep alive. When we start these campaigns, not only is the goal of it whatever our objective is, but it's also to build with new people, to bring more people into the movement. And that's what campaigns are good for. Because it captures the imagination of the regular people that's out there working 9 to 5's, working jobs. And sometimes they don't get it right away, but when it's something that touches them and it's a campaign, that's when you're able to pull people in, so it's really important.

The Oscar Grant campaign was one of those campaigns that was able to pull people in. It captured the imagination of the people because it was on video tape and we seen what was goin' on, that it was so outrageous, and a lot of us that been working in the movement for years knew this already, but it was just the way that this was seen on video—and it happened to be a young man that I coached in basketball, so I had a personal attachment to this case as well. But from the people that came out, that seen this goin' on, it just led from there. And from the first organized march to take place, to see the people comin' out and resisting like that, you couldn't help but to feel that. And of course there's a lot of struggles when you're bringin' a lot of different groups in. That's what we had. We were able to bring a lot of different folks who'd never met with each other, and be able to break down some of these barriers that we deal with on the day-to-day. And that was the really important thing that I took away, that it is possible for us to work together, though it's challenging. And I'm not gon' say it wasn't hard work. It's really hard work to keep coming to meetings, to keep you're motivation, to keep your enthusiasm alive when you're dealing in such a painful thing, and let alone that you're meeting with strangers that's comin' from all different places. But that's one thing that I could say the Oscar Grant movement was able to do. We were able to meet, we were able to come together, we were able to challenge ourselves to get beyond some of these things that keep us separated. And that's one thing that I could take away, that I could testify that it's something—that we still have a long way to go in this regard, but it was something that I seen, that it was some hope that was captured in this Oscar Grant movement. That we can come together. Though it's a long way to go, but we can come together, and we met, and we had some results. The results bein' that there's some—many organizations that spawned from it, one bein' the New Years Movement that I'm a part of, and the ONYX organization and all the different great organizations that spawned from this, to keep this alive. That is what true organizing is: To keep this movement alive, keep bringing in new people.

David Gespass:

You talked about how campaigns bring people into the struggle, and one of the things that I'd like you to expand on a little bit—and you all know that there are ebbs and flows—but once a campaign is over or past it's pinnacle, what do we need to do to sustain the momentum that was built on it?

Tony Coleman:

I think the main thing is to keep meeting, to keep things like this goin' on in the community where people can come out and see each other—because it's been a while since I been out. To be able to come to organized functions like this, to be able to get back with the people—to check back in. One.

Two is to be able to support these organizations, because a lot of us is struggling, and so we get bogged down with just our own organization isolated within our own little groups and our structure to continue on, let alone to be able to go outside of that and to go meet with other people. And I think that hurts the movement and separates us because some of us be funded and others won't. And I know it's a trip because some folks—back in the day, they say before these non-profits were set up, before that was even a issue as far as money coming into the mix, folks was organizing, and they didn't have that problem. Well, here in this Left Coast, in this Bay Area where we're in the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, it is a problem, it is a issue, because you have some organizations that speaks on our behalf, that get funded, they have access to a lot of the liberal folks that want to fund good hearted people that don't have access to the people that's on the ground, and they get funds. And then some of those folks that's on the ground, they don't get the funds. They don't get the support, so we go away. You know what I mean? And it's hard. And that's the one thing I could say that I have a complaint against it, is that it's just unfair on how the structure, how the system is set up for folks to be funded in this world, as far as in the non-profit area. It's not fair. Because you have good folks that's on the ground that's doin' a lot of good work. You got folks sleepin' on they couch that will organize, will open they homes up at the drop of a hat when something goes down. The first people you go to if something happens in the community—the main folks you gon' call is the main folks that may not be the ones that's funded. That has to change, and that has to change from the top, and it needs to change now because there's a lot of work that could be done, and there's a lot of good people out here that could do it that's able, willing and able.

Anne Weills:

I'd like to ask a question in terms of going forward. I know that a lot of spinoff organizations came out of the movement around Oscar Grant and—and all the other murders of the Bay Area by cops. Now, people been talking about going statewide, hooking up with our network statewide having to do with police violence, racial profiling, gang injunctions. Do you think there's a basis for doing that—connecting with people in LA, Long Beach, San Diego—going forward?

Tony Coleman:

Yes, I think that's a beautiful thing about organizing is that we are not alone in our issues. The issues is nationwide—worldwide, and any opportunity we have to connect with folks down south we do. A lot of the things we did in 2000 around Proposition 21, it was a statewide campaign. Those same relationships was able to help us in this Oscar Grant stuff because folks was down there organizing. A lot

of these folks we had knew from past campaigns, so there is connections. And a lot of those young folks that was comin' up durin' those days are now older and they still organizin' and they trainin' the next generation, so any opportunity we get to go statewide, we do it. We always try to connect. And we always be good hosts. Always be good hosts to folks that's comin' from out of town. Open up your homes. You treat 'em like dignitaries. If they organizers, they come to yo city, you treat 'em right. Because when I travel across the world as a organizer I get treated right. I get picked up, I get took to places, you nahmean? They take me around like I'm a dignitary—they make me feel proud of bein' a community organizer.

Sanyika Bryant:

Could you speak a little bit more to the transformation you've seen in people through the organizing work that you've done?

Tony Coleman:

I see transformations every day. That's what make this work. There's not a lot of money in it. That's what keeps me goin' is the reward. It's very rewarding work. When you see young people or you see people that wasn't organizers before start to organize, start to call you with ideals and just be pumped about things that we could do and their ideals, and that is what I see in the movement, and that's what keeps us alive is to see those young people comin' in with new ideals, new energy and motivation and energy that keeps us goin'. I see it every day and that's what keeps me in this work, is to be able ta see young people comin' in with the new ideals. And it may be the same ideals—they just have a different way, a different flavor about goin' about it. And I love it. And I think that in this Oscar Grant movement we were able to see that, and that was somethin' that kinda like, gave us the spark. And I think that we need more of that. We need more—it just shows you that we need more opportunity and more spaces for this to be—come out more. We need it, because, soon as they get together, when their—you could tell—when the young people—when its—when their imaginations is captured, they could change the world.

You see what they did over in Egypt. When the young people get excited about something, and they feel it, and it touches them, they can change the world. And we need to create more spaces for that to happen.

Aurora Lopez (Stop the Gang Injunctions Coalition, Xicana Moratorium Coalition):

Good afternoon everyone, my name is Aurora Lopez. I want to really thank the organizers that put this together. There's not a lot of opportunities that we have to do something like this, and I just feel really honored to be sitting on this table and amongst other organizers that have been doing this work for

a very, very long time. I want to share a little bit about some of the history that I have being here in Oakland and just in the Bay Area.

I was born and raised here in the Eastside of Oakland, California, and throughout my life I have been a victim and a witness to racial profiling and police abuse. My experiences and that of my family and my community really has forced me to take a strong lead role in the resistance and community organizing. Through my work I have came across endless examples that have really fired me up, and even more so play this role of organizing my community through work that I do with young people and just with other people. The fear of cops, for me, has been real, and I think it is for a lot of us here, that have shared through this experience, just being brown and bein' from Oakland, right?

Actually, my first encounter was when I was 8 years old, that I can remember. This event took place in Hayward, but you know, there's a lot of Oaklands everywhere as I like to say. While my mother was inside doing a work-related workshop, my father and my two younger siblings and myself were outside playing with a soccer ball. I was 8 years old, my sister was 7 and my brother was about 3 years old. All of a sudden, two car cops come in and round up all the Brown people—all the Brown men that were around there, and with excessive force put them all against the wall and said they were looking for somebody that was suspicious to have a weapon. At that moment I was very afraid—I didn't know what was goin' on—I was trying to do my older sister role and really try to take care of my younger brother and my sister. And really, I that was really one of my first moments that I felt really scared, like something was going to happen to me. I really felt like I was going to get killed by the police—to that extent.

And from then on it grew, and there were other experiences up until I was 14 years old. I was attending Skyline High School, and one of our friends picked us up, we were going to go out to a movie or something. He picked us up in his car and we were driving down Foothill, and we get pulled over. As soon as we got pulled over, the cop looks to the back and sees girls—a bunch of teenage girls, and says "I thought I was going to run into a bunch of dirty guys, but I see all you pretty ladies." At that moment, I was so upset, and I said "Why did we get stopped?" And he said, "oh, your music was too loud," or something like that.

He made us get out—all out of the car, and harassed us and asked us a bunch of questions, and the guy friend of ours that was driving said "Do you know if he does drugs? If he's in a gang? What's his name?" He just started really harassing us to the point that we felt really uncomfortable and wanted to leave but he wouldn't allow us to leave.

Those are two examples in my life of many, and also many that a lot of the young people I work with have shared. Really, these encounters with police were really what instilled fear and anger in myself and the many people around me towards these men that are supposed to protect and serve us.

My frustration continued to grow with no real place to turn my energy. It wasn't until I met this group of organizers that were known as the Xicana Moratorium Coalition, that were doing all these workshops on knowing your rights and knowing what happens when you get stopped by the police—what should you do. And so they were doing these workshops at different schools and I just thought it was perfect, because I was so angry that I didn't know what to do with all that anger. I didn't know what to do with those feelings. It was almost like a feeling of helplessness. But I knew that it was unjust.

It was really at this moment at 14 years old that I felt like this is where I need to invest my energy. And along with a lot of other injustices that were going on in my schools, and just like the feeling of all the violence that was going on, it sort of clicked. It was then that I began organizing, and I began organizing with my peers. And that was very powerful—to just try to motivate people my age to come to meetings, to stand up against things that weren't fair in our schools or just in our communities.

I also wanted to share that one of my earliest memories of feeling power as a young person was around the time when the war was announced in Iraq. And I was a still a high school student, so I'm still young, but at this moment I had already been politicized. I had already gone through this consciousness of really understanding who I am, and really understanding that we have power. And it was as a high school student that we found out that the war broke out, that it was announced, and as a young person we were so upset at the fact that all these resources were getting spent on killing families in other countries and the fact that our schools were really underfunded, and just the fact of war itself, the meaning of that.

What we did is that we decided we were going to walk out. We planned a walk out. We knew it was coming, and it was myself and two other high school students that knew that it was time. And in real organizing, for any type of thing like that you need time, you need to make sure that you have a route, you need to make sure that you have police liaisons and security and all that, but really at that moment, maybe it was our inexperience, but at the same time our feeling of our power and what that means that we needed to do something. Thankfully everything went great and there were so many people that were feeling what we were feeling and that walked out with us. And maybe some of y'all, probably were a part of that. And we know that that was something very powerful for our communities and for ourselves to realize that, damn, we really do have a voice. We really do have a voice.

With that, as my organizing grew and my consciousness continued to grow, and learning about the everyday attacks on people of color, not just here in Oakland but also throughout the country and abroad, even more so validated why I was doing what I was doing, why I continued to organize, why I pulled in my brothers and my sisters to also be a part of this. It became that much more evident how important community self determination is. How important it is for us to really provide solutions for us.

And one primarily example right now it's the issue of the gang injunctions, right? Now, the City of Oakland is presenting this new strategy, but really what it is, is an old attack. With this idea of

addressing violence, these gang injunctions are really causing a lot of harm in our communities. And as we know, this is happening continuously throughout history—for a long time. It harms our communities, police are terrorizing our neighborhoods, and it's further legalizing racial profiling. Displaces communities. The list goes on and on of things that we've seen happen.

So, what's more important, I think, that I've taken away from all of this is that the reason why organizing has been such a powerful weapon in the fight against injustices—it's because it utilizes our strengths to the fullest potential. How to put that energy and that passion into something totally revolutionary: The way that we live, the way that we interact with other people, everything, and it totally revolutionizes people's minds and hearts.

That's really what this organizing has came to be, and gang injunctions are just another strategy, but it's the same old attack. What's beautiful about that is that organizing provides so many opportunities for people to get involved. There's the legal act of it, there's also education, there's organizing young people, there's taking action, there's so many different things, and so much potential for solidarity work, and really, I feel like organizing my life, so, thank you.

Ben Rosenfeld:

Thanks, Aurora. I'm wondering what kind of support and resistance, both, you encounter from regular families that own houses in the neighborhoods that are afflicted—and when I say afflicted I mean afflicted, of course, by police violence and killing and brutality and harassment and criminalization of youth. We accept that fact in reality, but also, a sense of affliction by the things that police are targeting. I think there's a tendency for people from without the community, like myself, who are of a progressive bent, to assume that middle class families and homeowners are automatically incensed by police violence and harassment; but then when I probe a little deeper I learn that they're not. So how do you reach these people and get them on your side, and what are some specific examples of both the kinds of resistance and support you encounter and which you feel like you need to do strategically to get that message across and recruit them as allies and supporters?

Aurora Lopez:

One of the beautiful things about this coalition is that it has turned from just a North Oakland organizing space to a city-wide organizing coalition, and what we really say is that it's a multi-cultural, multi-generational and multi-everything coalition, because we really are reaching out to so many people. So many people are affected by this. It's not just the families that have been living here for years, but it's also the young people that are growing up, it's also the business owners, it's also all these people. So, what we're doing is that we're constantly doing outreach, and outreach is really important. Not just the media work that is being put on the news, but also making sure that we're sending a message and

knocking on people's doors. One of the things that actually we have coming up—it's a week of actions, and the idea with that week of actions is that we're targeting people from different communities to be a part of it. We have activities that are going to happen throughout the day, there's other things that are going to happen at night, there's things that are going to happen in the zone, there's things that are going to happen in the schools, there's things that are going to happen in different neighborhoods, and the idea with that is really to plug in other folks. And we're really welcoming because what we need is that—we need to stop thinking about how many things that we have that are different from one another, and how many things we actually have that are similar.

David Gespass:

Can you relate the specific issue of the gang injunctions to larger issues of systemic problems and overall issues of the problems we have in society?

Aurora Lopez:

That's one of the reasons that I think why a lot of us are involved, because we see this connection to so many other things. One thing specifically, is Secure Communities, and I'm not sure if somebody else is going to speak about this, but just one clear point: Racial profiling is huge. It's something that we hear it a lot from different people saying—including the office of the City Attorney—that this is not racial profiling when in fact it is. We say, in order for you to stop a young person, you're going to stop a group of kids and then see if that person's on the list. That's one way. But also, the categories of what it means to violate the gang injunction rules, right? And a lot of those are very vague, like, are you wearing red? Are you carrying a marker? Something like that. Those are some of the things that are sort of the same when we talk about immigrant communities, and when we talk about immigrant communities there is racial profiling. If you're Brown, right? If you're wearing something that appears that you're not from here. And to that extent, those are the communities that are getting so much harassed by police, so we don't only have police but now we have ICE, which is the same thing, right? And so, those are just some examples that come up, but there's definitely a lot of connections.

Tony mentioned Proposition 21, and that was something that we saw as another attack—another strategy that really criminalizes young people, and we're not going to allow this criminalization to occur in our neighborhoods or to our young people.

Anne Weills:

Thank you Aurora, it's awesome. But I wanted to say, given all the activity that's going on in Oakland around resisting the gang injunction and also around the struggle to honor Oscar Grant and all the other young people that have been murdered, how do you think we can take power in the City of Oakland? I mean there's so much momentum going on. I think we have all these city council races going on in 2012. Maybe we should form a city-wide coalition to take power in the city. What do you think?

Aurora Lopez:

I mean, I definitely think we need to do that. We need to get into positions of power, you know? Definitely, the heart starts in grassroots organizing. The heart starts there, you know? Unpaid work, people are doing all these hours, meeting in their houses, all these other stuff, but really we need to take up those seats. We need to take up those seats that have decision-making power, because when we get there, it's a really hard job. Some of us maybe can't picture ourselves there, but there are some of us that do, and we need to be able to make those sacrifices for the movement, for the people to really be able to change and transform not just Oakland, but a whole society.

Lily Haskell (Arab Resource and Organizing Center):

I'd like to begin by just paying tribute to those martyrs that we have that could not be here today, particularly in this moment the martyrs that we have across the Arab nation who have given their life for our freedom, and also to pay tribute to those who are locked up who could not be here today as well; and, as the brother mentioned before, to pay tribute to this land that we're on—the Ohlone land.

That said, my name is Lily, and I'm with the Arab Resource and Organizing Center, and I want to talk a little bit about immigration and some of the work we've been doing around immigration in, sort of broad coalitions with other people. So I wanted to start by listing off a couple of questions.

Have you ever been a member of, or are in any way associated with the Communist Party?

Have you ever been charged with committing any crime or offense?

Have you ever helped anyone enter or try to enter the United States illegally?

Are you willing to bear arms on behalf of the United States?

So, can anyone tell me where those questions are pulled from?

…

Right. Your application for naturalization to become a citizen… It's on your application to become a citizen to the United States, and it's no coincidence that these questions are on there. In fact, it's a deliberate tool to maintain the militarization and the policing of immigration. The militarization of immigration, which reached a new height with the absorption of immigration into the Department of Homeland Security in 2003, serves three main purposes as I see it.

The first is to continue to advance war and imperialism abroad in the public eye and through monetary support so that they can paint an image of immigrant invader-terrorist to perpetuate wars on Muslim lands and an image of impoverished immigrant to be saved by global capitalism. Meanwhile, it's US wars and economic policies that drive this immigration.

Secondly, immigration is used to suppress social movements for change and control free thought and expression. Most recently, we see this tactic used in a case where a man who had computer files mentioning Hamas may be deported out of this country just for having those computer—files on his computer. Interestingly enough, though, the US isn't able to deport him because they don't recognize Palestine as a state.

Finally, immigration is militarized in order to maintain white supremacy in this country. This happens through the use of immigration quotas and enforcement programs and the militarization of our borders. However, one could also argue that white supremacy is perpetuated through immigration policies that constrict and define within white norms how an immigrant must conform such as work permits and guest worker programs, and arguably some might even say the DREAM act, which says that you must be a student or you must go into the military in order to stay as an immigrant in this country.

So, I'd like to talk today about both the militarization of immigration policy as well as different strategies that we use to organize for migrant justice, and focused on the rationale behind this militarization of immigration. The toll on our communities and how—in order to confront this abuse we have to challenge each of these three issues and these three purposes behind the militarization. And I'm going to talk a little bit about the Secure Communities program—S-Comm.

Since the beginning of immigration to this land from white settler imperialists, immigration has been centered on the business of racial profiling. It established not only who's the good immigrant and who's the bad immigrant, but also which type of immigrant can we control and use as slaves or subordinates in the maintenance of white supremacy and capitalism.

I'm going to come forward a little bit in history though and talk about more recent control patterns. Presently, immigration is inextricably linked to the prison industrial complex. We often talk about a post 9/11 era of repression, although we all know that that repression began way before September 11th, and Arab, Muslim, South Asian communities were also impacted by this repression before September 11th, and unfortunately have continued to be impacted by it still. However, the connection between immigration and policing in the modern era is not only about painting someone as a terrorist. It's also painting someone as a criminal, as a drug lord, as a communist or even as a revolutionary. Constructing this good/bad checklist that is our current immigration system.

This came up yesterday, and I'd like to say something about this discussion of—well, we're not criminals. Actually, immigrants are not criminals. Immigrants are not criminals because none of us are actually criminals. We're all human beings. And so when I talk about the criminalization of immigrants I don't mean to say that immigrants are law-abiding people versus those criminals who may or may not be immigrants who are actually doing wrong. I mean that the government and the media have created a narrative whereby the act of immigration is a criminal act, just like the act of poverty is a criminal act, and

in contrast when they do this they distract from the real criminal acts—not immigration, but imperialism and not poverty, but capitalism.

The Secure Communities program is an extension of this militarization and criminalization of immigration. Briefly put, we call Secure Communities S-Comm among movement people because we know that it doesn't make our communities any more secure. So S-Comm is an enforcement tactic used to expel from the US as many immigrants as possible, particularly immigrants of color and particularly working-class immigrants.

Despite a halt on immigration raids by Obama, 2010 saw the highest number of people deported, and before that, 2009 was previously the highest number of people deported, and this is in large part due to the enforcement policing measures and collaborations between police and immigration such as S-Comm, such as 287G, such as SB1070 that we see in Arizona.

S-Comm is a program that uses technology to connect municipal jails with US Customs and Immigration Services, so that immediately when a person is arrested, their fingerprints are turned over to ICE. Then, the jail will be asked to put a hold or a detainer on this person, all of this pre-trial. Most times before even seeing an attorney, until ICE can pick them up for the deportation. It's an obvious attempt to push out as many immigrants as possible with a focus of course on low income immigrants of color just like racial profiling used within the police system. So, of course, nationwide and locally, immigrant communities and immigrant rights activists such as myself, a lot of people in this room have come together in our organizing against S-Comm, and the context that I'm coming from is within the San Francisco Immigrants Rights Defense Committee, which is a broad-based coalition of organizations. I know Mujeres Unidas, who was here earlier was a large part of that, Causa Justa/Just Cause, the Asian Law Caucus—a number of organizations are working within SFIRDC. And we work together on organizing campaigns and also primarily do a lot of policy advocacy work. And so we've used different tactics to try to stop S-Comm, board of supervisors' legislation, public protests, media attention, pressuring the state attorney general until then he became governor. Something that has been critical in these diverse tactics has been working on local, state and federal levels. So, trying a multiplicity of tactics and also a multiplicity of forums where we can try to stop the repression caused by S-Comm.

I wanted to give an example of something that happened in our work around S-Comm to try to draw some of those bigger examples of how to move forward in our organizing work. In the fall we were planning a meeting with the Sherriff of San Francisco. And in San Francisco, we're lucky because the Sherriff has come out against Secure Communities—against S-Comm—unlike most other counties in the nation. Within SFIRDC we wanted to be able to seriously curb the number of referrals to ICE from jails. We wanted to come out of the meeting with the Sherriff and have some concrete next steps and agreements to move forward. In our internal meeting, we had this conversation: What is the Sherriff going

to agree to, right? He's a very practical man. Will he agree to refuse to honor any ICE detainers in his jails? Probably not. So, the question became: How can we limit the detainers? And then the conversation switched to kind of a checklist of criminal charges and of types of people. Do not honor ICE holds on domestic violence arrests. Do not honor ICE holds on misdemeanors. Do not honor ICE holds on non-violent felonies or juveniles or people without prior convictions. And as our conversation progressed we realized that we can't actually have this conversation, that we can't do that, and if the powers that be want to divide us in our organizing work and divide our communities that's one thing, but we have to resist dividing ourselves in that, right?

We made a decision to go to this meeting with the Sherriff and ask for everything basically… Do not honor any ICE holds whatsoever in your jails. And starting from this place created a radical shift within our work internally, and also externally. We became more empowered as a coalition, we're coming to the table with our demand rather than kind of trying to grovel for handouts, right? And the difference was notable.

Starting with this more radical demand we were able to show the Sherriff how S-Comm creates a sub-class of individuals within its jails. Immigrants who are deported without any due process; and we were also able to discuss how, by honoring any detainers, the county sheriffs were acting like judge and jury and sentencing people without trial to deportation. And we left feeling optimistic and hopeful, and there are some next steps that are being worked on currently, and we can follow up on with, and we're very optimistic that actually the Sherriff was able to see that point and will be pushing soon for more changes within S-Comm and the city of San Francisco or the County Jails.

Meanwhile, steps continue on national and state levels to curb and push back against S-Comm. Since I don't have too much time I just want to summarize a few main points:

In our organizing sometimes we are put into a position where we have to push for and work for more realistic reforms, but in doing that, when we start from this radical place we're able to strengthen and build our unity and lay the groundwork for achieving more of our actual dreams for how we envision our world.

We must also coordinate tactics on local, state and federal levels so that counties California-wide are pushing back locally. There's also a state-wide legislation that was introduced on Friday against S-Comm by Senator Tom Amiano's office and the National Day Labor Organizing Network is also pushing on a national level against Secure Communities.

Our organizing has to be deliberate in challenging this narrative of against immigration and this narrative of the War on Terror, and policing and criminalization of our communities.

And lastly I just want to say, in 2013, Secure Communities is going to go federal as a program, and so a lot of the work that we're actually doing now may unfortunately be made redundant in a few

years. And that doesn't mean we're going to stop doing the work now, but we have to keep an eye towards that future. And we have to keep an eye towards organizing our communities and grassroots—with grassroots strategies for the defense of our communities. So if that means getting together in your communities and pooling some money that can be available for bail—to bail someone out as soon as their arrested so they don't risk an ICE detainer, then that's what we need to do. If that means figuring out houses where people can stay if they're being chased by immigration, that's what we need to do.

So we need to think about strategies that are really the defense of our communities while simultaneously working for this policy change.

Sanyika Bryant:

You mentioned that on the federal level they're going to be implementing S-Comm, or at least they're looking to do that. I wanted to really think about or hear from you, what kinds of ways can we use what's going on, on the ground here to impact things nationally? Since it's going to move to a federal level, what do you think can be done to move this conversation on the ground here to push it nationally?

Lily Haskell:

On the one hand no one has the answer to that question because so much of the policing of our communities is done in secrecy, right? The ways that these programs are implemented are kind of done in secrecy and we don't know exactly how Secure Communities is going to go national in 2013. They're just beginning to… so the National Day Labor Organizing Network filed a FOIA to get some of the documentation around the Secure Communities program, and basically what they found out, in retrospect, is that is that there was this conversation about whether counties and states can opt out of Secure Communities, and we maintain that we can opt out, and what they found was that it was initially designed as a voluntary program and it wasn't until there was push back from communities and counties and municipalities that they actually said that 'no, you can't actually opt out, sorry.' And they said, 'well, it was always designed that way.' And now we're finding out, no, it wasn't always designed that way. They switched it mid-program to say that we don't have that option. So I think all of the work that we do on a local level can be translated nationally. There's some amazing work happening in Washington DC around S-Comm, in Washington State as well, but in terms of how we can enact measures locally to stop it federally, we're just not sure how the program is actually going to be implemented.

David Gespass:

My impression from what I read and what I hear on the radio and stuff is that hostility to undocumented immigrants is really beyond hostility to virtually any other progressive agenda. And I'm wondering: One, if that's your experience, and Two, how is it combated to change the dynamics within society.

Lily Haskell:

Repression of any community is repression of any community and we can't get into this, you know—which hostility is worse and which repression is worse and whatever else, because, as a number of our speakers this weekend have highlighted, these are all systems of the same type of policing, government repression; and so, yes, the repression of undocumented people is brutal, and it's extreme and it's horrific, and they say that within this country you have the same rights regardless of whether you're a citizen or you're not, and we know that that's not true, and even amongst citizens there are multiple, sort of, classes of people within this country, so that's why we're all here—to make those connections I think.

Meshá Monge-Irizarry (Idriss Stelley Foundation, Education Not Incarceration):

I'm honored and humbled to be here today. I'm sorry I couldn't come to the family panel yesterday as I was involved in the taser forum in the San Francisco Bayview in San Francisco. Thank you for the panel, Jerry, and the panelists.

And, for you all who are choosing to spend your Saturday and Sunday in this very cold room, we are very grateful. This is definitely revolution in motion here.

In 1968, I was the secretary of the Union of Students and Laborers during the 1968 student revolution at La Sorbonne in Paris; and I was arrested, put in a wagon of the special police force of General De Gaulle; and I was gang-raped by three special officers and left pretty much bleeding to death; thrown out of the wagon by a freeway exit. And I come from a long line of people who like to keep a stiff upper lip and 'just pull yourself by your boot straps'—so I put it out of my mind, eventually.

Until June 11, 2001, when my only child, Idriss Stelley, who was a twenty-three-years-old African American student, was gunned down at the San Francisco Metreon—forty-eight bullets fired by, nine 'peace' officers during a so-called psychiatric intervention.

A year later, we lobbied and obtained a forty-hour mental health mandatory training for SFPD—which so far has not decreased the amount of lethal shootings, so we're not impressed—and later, in 2004, we lobbied to get restructuration of the Police Commission so that there is at least three people elected to the Board of Supervisor, and four appointed by the mayor. And this still needs to be revisited; they are pretty dormant at this point.

For all of you who have been involved in police brutality: You know, the amount of intimidation and terrorization that we get, subjected to constantly. We have death threats that are being slipped under our door; my office was invaded once; my home office was invaded. The dog weighed like a hundred and fifteen pound Mastiff, the dog was drugged, and the only thing missing was the hard drive, and the

content of the freezer was thrown on the kitchen floor. They didn't even try to make it look like a regular theft.

A year later, at a presentation on police violence at La Galleria, under the tarp where we had our equipment, my laptop was stolen with nothing else out of my wallet but my green card. My immigration card. Ever since, I've been petitioning to get the replacement from my green card, and the INS is refusing. They say that nobody is legal in this country since 2001. I did a FOIA, and the FOIA came out dirty. I've been blacklisted by the FBI since 2001.

I don't know if the sister who was with me in Greensboro in 2001 is still here? All the keynote speakers at the National Police Brutality Conference, whether they are obscure or not, are on the blacklist, which means that, after thirty-five years in this country, I have now become an 'illegal' immigrant. Which means that they can decide at any point that I'm a dissident and deport me; and it's nothing special about me—and I'm sure you hear those stories all the time.

Something I want to touch on briefly is, we need to revive a strong coalition of families of loved ones who have been killed by law enforcement, and extended families and friends and allies and community organizers. Because I feel, that although there are efforts right now, especially to the Oscar Grant campaign, for solidarity and unity, the movement has been extremely fragmented.

We have lost a lot of organizers to 9/11. You know, a lot of people say, 'Oh no, no, no—I only do Iraq, I only do Iran, I only do Afghanistan, I only do Guantanamo, I only doorphan seals. I don't do police brutality.'

When are we going to get hip to the fact that there is an intimate web that is being weaved—and a lethal one—that link the war at home and abroad? When we say, 'We're all Gaza' or 'We're all Oscar Grant', it's not a joke. Okay?

We need to start, again, to show up for each other. We need to start taking the case of somebody who just died as the pet peeve to increase our memberships and our limelight. This has to go; this has to go: It doesn't matter who is the group who starts taking one family—one grieving family under their wing. Okay? We don't have precedence over anybody; it's a movement. Okay?

And so I'm totally with Tony on this, in terms of broadening our horizon and forgetting about turf—it's gotta go. And there's so many more things I could tell you, and I know it has been a long day; but, I want to say—I was just asking Dorsey, 'When are we going to retire?' And Dorsey said, 'When does a slave retire?'

When you're poor, black and brown, do you really have a chance to retire? So, some of us are going to die doing the revolution; and some of you who I'm looking at here are the generation that's going to take up the legacy, and bring forward the revolution.

Ashe!

Anne Weills:

I really appreciate your wisdom; and, particularly given that I remember the days of Paris in '68, and I lived in Paris for a while as young woman, and *les flics* were some of the worst cops in the world; I don't know today, but given your experiences as a young student organizer, and you're still here today, could you break down more, how you've evolved as a revolutionary, in terms of, from when you were young to now?

Meshá Monge-Irizarry:

Somebody has mentioned before that we have learned some of the lessons of the past—demoralization, infiltrations—and it's a very delicate balance to keep between feeling paranoid and suspecting everybody to actually pointing out, in our consciousness, the sign of an infiltrator. Like, when you think you've got a perp' alert, you need to have a sound board, and say, "Did you check dude, here? Did he appear a little weird? Was he nervous? What's up with him? Like, can we kind of keep a tab on what's happening here?"

I mean, this is real. We know there are infiltrators; I'm not saying there are infiltrators today in this room, but, c'mon now, that's a very important lesson. And also, I second Tony here about that whole thing about the NGOs. Once you get enslaved by funding, your grantors are going to dictate your agenda.

Dorsey Nunn (Executive Director, Legal Services for Prisoners with Children):

The first thing I need to say is I'd like to thank all the organizers that put this together.

I got a lot of things that I want to say in a short period of time, and when she talked about when something clicks—I can remember being in prison, standing in line with thirty other naked men. And we were bent over spreadin' our cheeks. And all the way up until that point we would tell each other like these bizarre ass jokes, and they used to be funny. "What you think they lookin' for, a TV?" "What do you think they lookin' for? Uzi?" You know? And one day the jokes stopped being funny.

When that happened I think I became an enemy of the state.

I need to say I don't give a flyin' ass if you record me, if you put it out, if you do any of that shit, I don't care. The question that I wrestle with on a daily basis is: "Am I an American?" Just a fundamental question. And I know that question's been asked and answered by Malcolm. I know Martin had said in his presentations, "It's really dangerous to have somebody that don't have a state," so I must be a dangerous ass person.

Even our language could be different, because you probably see a Black man and I define myself by my degrees of oppression that I experience. I'm a formally incarcerated person. I define myself as that first. Who happened to be Black at this point. You know, y'all talk about re-entry. We don't even have the same language. I just as well be standin' on the banks of Palestine throwing rocks because I'm demanding my right of return. You talk about out of state transfers and I talk about human trafficking. We could have a whole different frame, and the thing that keep me alive is the activism.

I told y'all I left my wallet on the toilet. It was less than a block when I start sayin' "thank you the immigrant community. Thank you for allowing them to stop and so I can keep my car." Because it was out of those struggles came the right to drive and not necessarily have the state seize your property. But sometimes we don't see our organizing across lines when you're benefitting from it. So when I was driving along, and I need to say I slowed down at first, then I found out they weren't going to take my car, then I sped up. I say I could keep my car.

You know, I'm an Executive Director of Legal Services for Prisoners with Children and I don't get to come here often like this anymore. My primary responsibility as the Executive Director of a non-profit is to always beg for money. So I need to say, I miss you family, because I don't get to do this often. And I'm a revolutionary. And my job is to make sure that other younger revolutionaries have access to feed they families while they doin' work in the revolution. I done got older, I can't run as fast, I can't march as long, but I damn sure can beg for some money at this point. I done got good with the money begging shit. You know, I know how to kiss some ass. I'm effective at the shit.

I can tell you, some rooms you walk in you won't see me personally there, but you will see representatives that represent me there, probably always. Some of my work that when people initially said that we were crazy, we didn't turn out to be so crazy. I'm a co-founder of a organization called All of Us or None. And we announce: Anybody that want to participate in that shit, you can be a co-founder too, Cause the police going to ultimately chase us all.

But when we first started that organization and we start talkin' about ending structural discrimination and you know the discrimination—you see it on the application when you fill out the job application. You see it when you fill out the application for housing. If any of y'all got some of that TANF, the questions get really bizarre when you're a real, real, real poor person. They start askin' if there's anybody in yo house that got a felony. So not only do they ask about you, they ask about ya kids, ya mama, ya neighbor, they ask about all of y'all. So when you're real poor the demands get greater on you as poor people.

But when we first start sayin' that we thought it was outrageous that you would ask us the question, people thought that we were crazy. And I need to say since we start, like, resisting, we done banned that box in something like 26 or 29 counties across the United States.

When people said that we was pushing we couldn't do it, we banned that box in 6 whole states so far, and I need to say: we don't have a real budget budget budget, cause we keep givin' our money away to like, other causes. Here's another one of those causes. We hooked up with a plan for a safer Oakland. They start jackin' people in Oakland as being gang members. So we start sendin' organizers into Oakland to start resisting, because we still seeing that if we didn't say anything somebody might mistake it to mean that we really didn't want our right to assemble. We reaaaaally didn't want our free speech privileges. We didn't mind climbin' in the back seat of the car. We didn't mind bein' put on probation before you had a trial. That's the way we assessed it. So when it happened in terms of the Fruitvale, we was like 99 on the list.

And before I get away, because I recognize that I can get caught up, cause like, I got 35 years of doin' this shit, and I done got old, and it's real meaningful that the organization that I helped co-found was called All of Us or None, and on the back of our shirt, even though I'm the Executive Director of a non-profit, our first slogan was 'building a movement, not another non-profit'.

We can't win this thing being isolated. We can't win—you know, do you really think that I think that George Soros and all those people giving me money really want me to fuckin' win?

Maybe they want somebody else to win, I don't know, but I know it ain't me because I got a plan.

Probably the last thing I want to say, because I think that, if you haven't wrote down the addresses like on the email—you know, cause I'm doin' email with two fingers. I'm still like, email illiterate, text illiterate and I still ain't got a Facebook account, although I peek over the shoulder of my granddaughter. I think that you should be takin' down the email and the web addresses to All of Us or None. I think you should take down the web addresses to Legal Services to Prisoners with Children. I think that you should take down the web addresses to Critical Resistance. Because some of us have did work and we touched you and you may not even know you've been touched. So the next time you say prison industrial complex, that was an obscure term in a Mike Davis book until we taught you how to say it. We touchin' you all the time. So my reality is that I got less than a minute and I know it.

And I wonder—do democratic process count for me too? Because what I need to say here, when we talk about revolutions all over the world, my vote always have been in peril. I can move out of the state of California—my vote become absent as if I move to a Third World country ruled by a dictator. And it happens so often, it is as familiar as a negro tryin' to secure a vote prior to 1965. So in reality, people are sayin' "democracy this, democracy that." I'm a slave—not of old, but of new. Slavery as punishment is slavery nevertheless. And my vote, stolen from me, is also stolen from you.

Once again, my name is Dorsey and I miss you, family, because now my job becomes begging other people for money so that we can have soldiers that can show up and eat and feed they families.

That's what my job is, and I recognize that everybody that had to do they job because they got old first—I need to thank my predecessors that allowed me to eat and struggle too.

Sanyika Bryant:

Welcome home comrade, welcome home. I wanted to see if you could speak a little bit more on the structural segregation—part of the work that you do, getting into the new forms of slavery and Jim Crowe that exist in this country today.

Dorsey Nunn:

First of all, nobody's keepin' count of how many of us in the United States that suffer from a felony conviction at all. The only time that we have any value in terms of the count is generally when we on parole or probation. They stop counting us shortly when we exit. What does it mean? It's that half the time I'm engaged in the community about what my rights should be. They don't think that I got enough sense to say "there's been so many Black folks and Brown folks that been convicted and they stripped them of the right to actually earn a livin'," that maybe I should be saying "how do we engage each other about how is my absence impacting the economy of Black and Brown communities?" because fuck a job—at this point I want control of my community. I want control of the access in my community. I want real control of some stuff. But most of the time everybody think I'm lookin' for a simple job, and I'm lookin for justice on a larger scale—a much larger scale.

So, how do it become structural in nature is that, when we can say we can't even count the millions of dollars that's being robbed our community as a result of people not having access to full employment or comprehensive jobs. It becomes structural in nature that in the event that I do get a job and I want to send my savings and my stuff into the next generation, and I look at the form, I can see that form, that question on stuff like life insurance. "Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Have you ever been in prison? Have you ever seen these questions?" None of these questions was designed to help poor people or to help me in particular. So you can't do me without doing my kids, my grandkids. At this particular point, I know I look good—arrogant and shit. That's a side view, another side view for you. But I'm a great grandfather, and my grandkid is four years old. So what you do to me is not just a question of what you do to me, it's what do you do to my great grandchildren. So to deny me access to employment is to deny my kids access to healthcare, my family access to healthcare, to deny me access to employment, deny me the inability to provide adequate housing for other people. To deny me the right to vote means that I don't get to determine who's the District Attorney. I don't get to determine how the police patrol my community. I don't get to determine any of those things. So, some parts of the stuff that I'm askin' about is that my vote don't simply belong to me, it belongs to my great grandchild who don't have the ability to say shit right now.

I hope I answered your question.

Anne Weills:

I have a brief question: Does All of Us or None have a campaign that we can support, going forward with our new Attorney General, Kamala Harris? And also, in terms of the governor and all of the rights of California in terms of money and the role that that's played in terms of his—so far that I know of, he's not docked the prison guard's union any of their—talking about taking any money away from them, so I'd like to know what you guys are doing going forward.

Dorsey Nunn:

Y'all don't know it, but we banned the box in the state of California on the state level, right? So we banned the box right before the election. They say "shhh… don't tell nobody." Haha, about that shit… I'm tellin' everybody. So we done banned the box. Stuff that we can engage in on the state level is, when they talk about reducing the budget, make them attack the prison system budget. Make 'em attack that stuff and seriously think that you can make them attack it. And by the way, somebody should be conscious in this room to say "don't it sound familiar when they talk about stuff like shifting the resources to the responsibility to the counties so that we can save money." The only they're not saying is they're not calling it slavery again, but they can talk about it and frame it where my ass still produces money for other people. And unless y'all stand up and say, "I don't care how much it costs, there should at least be humane treatments, and it should be more people free" because, like when I first became executive director, and I know I'm takin' long, I went to see three of my homeboys whom helped me learn how to read when I was in prison, and two of 'em came out on a walker because they had been down over 35 years, and what I thought about was—if we really want to be safe for two of these people, we would take their walker and let them go; cause they couldn't hurt anybody at this point. So sometimes we holdin' old people long passed when they're even threatenin' to us. And I probly owe everybody in this room an apology. And this is my apology: I apologize if something that I ever did in the past made you feel like tradin' in your hope and your faith for bullshit demands for security. So if you feel like you need security more than you need to fund hope and fund other stuff, I apologize, because I can't say that I didn't act crazy when I was 19. But damn, I'm 58 years old. I long since had sense, and my apology is still sincere. Invest in the schools and stop investin' in the other stuff.

Mama Ayanna (Malcolm X Grassroots Movement):

Asalaam alaikum. Free the land. Peace. And the people, yeah. Alright. I'm here representing the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, a national organization representing the rights of New Afrikan, Black, Af—people of African descent in this country.

I'm also a mother, and a wife, sister, aunt, grandmother, great aunt. I'm here to do two things. One is to talk about the systematic oppression and targeting of my family because of our politics, and then also to let you know how you can tap into the work Malcolm X Grassroots Movement is doing. So I'ma try to keep this down, cause I've lived a while—I'm a young elder, and so this repression goes back many years. It started when I was in school, of course, when I was ambidextrous and my teacher forced me to use my right hand instead of both my hands in my learning. That went on through school, the oppression, so I became a chronic truent. I quit going to school at the age of 10, and didn't return, really, until college. I was self educated because I was a chronic reader—I taught myself to read at 3. So, by the time I was 13 I was in the Youth Authority, and I was constantly in and out of the Youth Authority, my last stint being a year before I was released because my family had moved from the Midwest to California.

While I was in the Youth Authority, locked up, I made a vow to oppose the oppression that I had experienced, in particular the time in isolation on a concrete slab and a pallet with a pot to piss in, and the light bulb on 24 hours a day. As a teenager. And all I had done was come back late from a family visit—a home visit.

At that point it was on. So, I became a community activist at 18, and within a few years I was going into the prisons to work with prisoners because I realized, coming up behind the Panthers—I was too young to be a Panther—but I had entered the New Afrikan independence movement, taking the New Afrikan creed at the age of 19, a single mother already by that time. I saw that the Black men were quickly disappearing into the prison system, and thought I had the ability to go in and work with and teach within the prisons. Many of our movement people were in there—former Panthers, former members of the Republic of New Afrika, former members of the Black Liberation Army, and as Mumia said, many of them voiceless.

So, organizing in the prisons, we formed what we now called Black August. Up until that time the level of oppression that I was experiencing was relatively mild—you would be followed by members of the California Department of Corrections—their police. You would find yourself targeted, phones tapped, things like that. But once we began to organize around Black August and take the concept of and the ideas that were formed with George Jackson out to the streets, then the oppression became much stronger. The first time my house was raided and tore up was June of 1979. At that time they were also coming to my jobs and telling them I was a terrorist and going to my landlords and telling them I was dangerous.

August 21st, 1979, was the second time my house was raided and tore up. I was lucky at that time because there was someone in their movement that came to my home in the middle of the night the night before and told me not to be home the next day, so I wasn't.

Continuing to educate and organize around people understanding that the prisons are not separate from our community, that when you go to prison the level of trauma and intimidation and isolation, and

as Lily said, repression and brutal extreme and horrific that occurs when you're in prison, needs to be out on the streets than told—even more today than ever, but…

During that period we also—as members of the Black August Organizing Committee—in response to a young man being killed by a store guard at the Pay 'n Save store in South Berkeley, organized the Pay 'n Save Boycott. And we successfully shut them down for a month.

Out of all our activities, that's the one that began to draw the strongest suppression toward us. I can see a couple faces in this room that I met, I believe for the first time, at that boycott

And we knew while we were doing the boycott that we were being watched. We also saw—and this happened with my sister too, the criminalization of our actions in a totally different way—the media collaboration. And we knew that they were going to begin to move on us because of how they were portraying us in the media, and our organization as—us as gang members and gang affiliators, and the anger of how we were actually able to effectively cut off the economics of a national corporation. So, October 1981 was the next wave of repression. I do remember on October 10th, 1981, my neighbor calling me and like, "Ayanna, look out the door—the neighborhood is surrounded." Cause her apartment was caddy-corner from my house. And I walked out and looked, and not only was the neighborhood surrounded, but the corner where the kids got picked up by the bus—it was surrounded. Police were everywhere, armed. And I don't know—sometimes that makes you kinda lose your mind, and I went off on the police—which, thankfully, gave me a whole different kinda reputation in my neighborhood, okay? And because I knew my rights—I was working as a paralegal at the time—I was actually able to make them back down.

That day they raided homes all across the United States. That day, many people went underground.

Moving on, they arrested my husband—current husband at that time for a murder frame up. And I could go on and on, and I will—I'ma go a little bit further, because when we moved into that neighborhood we moved into a neighborhood, a predominantly Black neighborhood and felt that we were moving into a level of safety and protection bein' in the community. And we decided—my family decided to be a presence in that neighborhood and build upon our ideals and values for that community. And that neighborhood was targeted. That neighborhood that was a working class neighborhood within a few years was targeted with crack cocaine and decimated.

Now, we were aware that part of that happened because of our presence in that neighborhood. It was tremendously hard to watch and see—watch it happen. That neighborhood is targeted to this day, just like Oakland was targeted because of the activism there. To live through what you see now in North Africa—the Africans rising up all across the north part of that continent, I saw that as a youth in this country—the uprisings in this country, so to see the level of oppression, apathy and stagnation resulting

from it that has occurred is amazing. It keeps my heart open though because it created a tremendous love in me that transcends fear and continues to keep me active.

It was in the early 80s that I first heard about the inter-agency liaison, where the FBI had found a way—because it wasn't legal for them to just be in our community, right? Openly in our community. The first raid in June is when I became aware that there was a inter-agency activity going on—that organized against us June 1979 when I looked up and I was surrounded before they took me in for questioning. I realized I recognized people from the District Attorney's office, I recognized state police, I recognized Oakland police, I recognized Berkeley police. And during that period in the early 80s when they were doing that, the Klan was really active in California. Tom Medsker was a state assemblyman. He was the grand dragon of the Klan. They had a—a large national constitutional conference that he organized in California where they experienced no oppression—were not called gangs, even though the Aryan Brotherhood and you could probably tell me some of the names of the white supremacists in prison, Dorsey—the neo-Nazis were there, prison guards union were there in effect. And they organized and ratified their constitution that year, 100 percent. I believe that year was 1981.

I'm sayin' that to say I'm not crazy or insane or out of my mind when I tell you there's a concerted plan that's been in effect to oppress African people and people of color in this country. And just like the sister who said earlier, Nina Farnia, that they are coming together and they're well organized, they're well funded. They have powerful think tanks. They have access to many resources. And so when you target a neighborhood and a family in a neighborhood, it takes planning. It takes resources. It takes intricate putting people into place to make those things happen.

I'm the mother of 6 songs and daughter—5 birth sons. So you can believe that 4 of those 6 have had contact with the jail system.

The decimation that crack cocaine brought to my neighborhood severely affected all of South Berkeley where I lived in the same house and raised my children for over 25 years. One of the things that Mutulu Shakur and et al in their research paper done entirely behind the walls—The Genocidal Effects of Counter-Insurgency and Low Intensity Warfare Through Behavior Modification on the New Afrikan Community—where they talk about the twenty four point plan that was put into effect in 1962 to change the culture in the streets in the Black community.

The labeling, the criminalization, the racial profiling, the constantly stopping people in my house, the harassment of myself and stopping people right after they would leave my home, standing out there protecting the youth in the neighborhood while the police are telling them that they would never be nothing: "You are nothing, you will never be nothing. I'ma be here until you go to jail."

My son that was last arrested, while we were in the courtroom a young woman came up to me, and I believe she came just to tell me this. She said, Mama Ayanna, the police are now targeting people

that don't have any records. She said, pretty much everybody that had a record is in jail now, and they're now targeting people that don't have records so that they can get them to take plea bargains, and then have them on probation and arrest them.

In that time I also want to say my sister, who had her daughter in prison and her daughter had a baby and that baby was taken from her daughter and adopted out, that one of the things that we really haven't talked about in the systematic oppression of women and women in prison and women who go to prison—their children. Just like we were talking about in terms of people who have who are so-called immigrants, it's familial, right? It goes down intergenerationally.

Finally, I just want to say to you all, before I quickly talk about what Malcolm X Grassroots Movement is doing in the community—we came out for Oscar Grant by the thousands and the millions, and there's all kinds of work to do around that. But you live in a community that has been under attack—under genocidal counterinsurgency and low intensity warfare since the early 60s because of its activism, its history of activism and resistance.

We owe this community, thee families in this community, the history of this community to get into these schools, get into these streets, get out of our comfort zones and really work together. That means being present for each other in a level of unity and fearlessness that hasn't been seen before, because the level of oppression and repression is going to continue unless we do. That includes us moving out of our feelings of elitism, whether we're feeling elite because of our color or because we feel like we're the revolutionary vanguard, or the cultural intellectuals, wherever that hits us, to move beyond that.

I believe that one of the first things that we need to do is create and change a culture around the deaths and the murders in this community. Create something that other people can utilize—an emergency response network so not only when the Oscar Grants happen, or the Derrick Jones happen, but it's also when the Chris Jones or, giving honor to my son Khatari Gant whose birthday is today—he would be 29. When the Khatari Gants happen, when our youth are shot down in their yards, when our women are murdered through domestic violence, when our babies are murdered often due to chemical imbalances.

Take that for a minute. Think about it cause we're going to be putting a call out. We want to see you on the streets when this happens. We want to see your networks on the streets when this happens—your non-profits, your organizations, so we pack these corners and these blocks by the thousands, so that people know that they're not alone and that we're not going to continue to accept it, just like we won't accept it from the police.

Now, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement—we work under six points of unity: self determination, human rights, freeing political prisoners, opposing genocide, reparations and stopping sexist oppression. We do work in the Black and New Afrikan community. Some of our programs that happen nationally and locally, we work with the Malcolm X festival here in Oakland, but we also have elsewhere. We have

what's called copwatch, and take back the land project, which is about the right to return in New Orleans, and then about the mass displacement that's happening through gentrification across the country. We have people's assemblies, which this comes out of. We have New Afrikan scouts in Camp Pumziko for our young people, where they go to school—s'cuse me, camp down south. The Black August hip hop project, and the New Afrikan women's caucus. Folks are working nationally, locally, and we need to continue to work together. Don't let this be our first tribunal. Do, if you are not working, join and hook up with one of these organizations or start your own. Be fearless; and finally I'ma leave you with an acronym that came up for me so it's easy to remember. Be creative. It's CURE. Creative and compassionate with one another. Have United organizing that creates Resistance that creates Evolution among the people. And get out there—yes, be out on those streets. Be fearless. Go home and teach people what you learned today. Teach your neighbor, your friends, your co-workers, so that this information, this history, this unification doesn't stop here.

Free the land.

Dan Siegel:

Thank you, and I want to thank all the panelists this afternoon and all weekend, and I'd like to thank everyone who's come out. This has been, I think, an exciting, exhilarating and provocative couple of days.

Mama Ayanna, and actually other members of the panel too, here's my question: We've heard over the last couple of days from a wide range of activists—veteran activists, younger activists, people engaged in different movements primarily around specific issues… So the question is this: Do you see a basis now in our community for creating an ongoing organization that addresses multiple issues simultaneously and cooperatively, and if so, what are your thoughts about the principles that would unite that movement?

Mama Ayanna:

An organization that functions as a coalition? Hmm. Could be a coalition of individuals and organizational representatives. I thought we did—there was something like that in MoveOn.org, and ANSWER. The possibilities that are created from that are powerful because that type of broad-based work can be very effective because then you're combining resources, knowledge, skills and outreach. Obviously I say this often: Outreach is key. Forming this organization in a vacuum to the choir more or less, to the people that are newly in the movement, those of us that are veterans as you'd call it—it has to be something that has a plan for including what we would call 'the masses of the people' that moves and deals with what's happening for us in our daily lives that addresses many of what creates the problems for people, you know? Finances, employment, education or miseducation, healthcare, mental health, of

course the ecology. It would take some proactive protractive and long term planning. I think that's one of the mistakes we often make is we are often crisis responsive in what we call our movement or interactive movements, so actually being strategic and scientific and patient with what we need to do, cause it's not goin' away, while at the same time, having an arm that can be crisis response. Having an arm that can be future—oriented, and then having the think tanks that interact with other think tanks or focus groups or whatever the current verb we want to put on it in other areas so that it has the opportunity to grow.

Jesse Strauss:

So before we go to public question and answer I just want to thank our panel. And I know some really strong and intense and powerful stories were told—some frightening and some really exciting in terms of how those things are turning into organizing and how they're turning into productive and positive movements and movement building processes. I know I'm personally really excited about that and it's pushing me forward. And I'm excited to open the floor and see what you all have to say in terms of asking questions specifically to this panel.

Public Question & Answer:

Audience Member 1:

I also want to thank all of you for your testimony today and for all of your efforts. I know that you guys have been at it for quite some time. My name is Andrea Pritchett; I'm with Berkeley Copwatch, and over the years we've had the opportunity to watch as citizen efforts to resist police brutality include monitoring that police directly in the streets. And that movement has gone internationally. But what is different now is that it used to be that one mad-dog cop would try to take your camera or arrest you for watching, and then we sorta counted on the fact that that was considered to be a violation of our civil rights. Now, more and more, there are legislative attacks. The attacks are not coming from the cop on the street. They're coming from the legislature. They're coming from the courts. We see Simon Glick in Boston, a lawyer who was arrested for videotaping police—beaten. And now his case was thrown out, so there are efforts to move that through the court of appeals. In Chicago, Illinois, there was a case that said there is no right to cop watch, there is no right to monitor the police, and it's not hard to imagine a day when this question will come before the Supreme Court of this country. I mean, I don't feel like that's far away. So I'm trying to imagine on the day I read that in the newspaper, how that's going to effect our movement. How the right to document so that we can petition for a redress of grievances is gone. So I'm wondering how do you anticipate—how would that affect your organizing, your movement, your community, if that right to monitor the police, to copwatch, is gone?

Meshá Monge-Irizarry:

If I may, I think that you bring an issue that is—that is burning right now, and it goes beyond the cops, you know? Soon, it's going to be legal to murder a doctor who perform an abortion, for example. And I think that more than ever, as we are being told 'no you may not exercise your constitutional right to observe,' we have a civic responsibility—each and every one of us with a disposable camera, who has a tape recorder on, who has a cell phone, a pair of eyes and a pen and a pencil to right down where, why, how and what happened to do it. The voice of the voiceless is not going to be suppressed. If we remain isolated, of course it will be suppressed. It takes a village. It takes a village of the oppressed—the poor, the Black and the Brown to continue documenting every day, every minute, every time a pig is violating your rights.

Dorsey Nunn:

I think long before it get to the Supreme Court I think it need to get to the community in a different way. And as activists sometimes I wonder that—do we only listen to ourselves, because I listen to KPFA, but I also listen to KGO that got a much wider range of people listening. So when they talkin' shit, we're generally not there to respond to it. They just get away with putting messages out and not havin' it countered in a particular way. Sometimes I think some of us should stay at home and actually listen to stuff that we don't agree with, and at least make the argument before they shut us down, because I don't think we resist on the public airwaves in a different way. And by the way, when I say that I'm a formerly incarcerated person, I've already taken it to mean that they have the right to kill me because I've already seen how society respond when they say they killed me as a result of being on parole, probation or a crime. It seems like when they make that statement, it seems like everybody relax as if it's okay. It's not okay to the family members who are losing loved ones. It's not okay to other people, so I'd just like to caution people: How do we culturally make it impossible for them to kill people, and if they can do it to me as a formerly incarcerated person, it don't take a hell of a lot of imagination to think that they could do it to the immigrant community too.

Mama Ayanna:

Andrea, I agree with Dorsey and Meshá. You have to be in your community. I think one of the things that is important that you do communicate with your neighbors, get to know who's around you, let them know what you're doing—you know, the kinda work that you're doing, and have some protection—you're family, that kind of thing, in the harassment of my sons and their friends and my constantly comin' out, other neighbors began to come out and join us when the police were out there. There were other witnesses to the harassment of the young people in my community. But it happened because of the level of courage of myself and another mother and another mother, you see what I'm saying? And we may not have the internet to communicate soon. They are organizing to be able to shut down the internet and our cell phones at a minute's notice. So we do have to organize on multiple, varied levels, and look at

situations not just from one point of view but from many points of view, and like Dorsey said—said yes and be present outside of what we feel is the most important things.

Meshá Monge-Irizarry:

I just wanted to add quickly that last week, my co-director of Education Not Incarceration—Jeremy Miller, was giving me a ride home from the police commission after we were at the mental health hearing, and the cops followed us all the way to my house. Then we're at dinner, and an hour and a half later, Jeremy, you left my house and they followed you again, and they finally arrested you on Geneva and Mission for an expired license—license, right? And what they're really trying to do is this young brother is trying to take on the legacy of my agencies. They know I'm getting old and I'm tired. He's not, and he's all work. And they are trying to create a criminal record on this young brother, just the way they have with Minister of Information JR Valrey, just like they have with the MOVE 9 family. So just stay aware: There is no cause without an effect. Stay aware, document, make it known, don't let it slide, don't let one crisis chase the other. What they do to this young brother here is for a reason—to suppress the voice of the people in San Francisco.

Audience Member 2:

Thank you to the organizers, thank you to the panelists and the jurors. My name is Shawn McDougall, an organizer from LA originally, now live in the Bay Area the last 3 and a half years. It's good to see some familiar faces—people I've encountered in various places throughout my movement work, but one of the things I have a question about actually is how do we get beyond—how do we get to the point where I go to one of these things and I don't see familiar faces, right? How do we get to the point where we've expanded the movement so much where, it's like we have no idea who's involved because there's so many of us? And so the question I have for the panel, we—and it came up in terms of community control and in terms of getting beyond reacting to things, is how do we create structural change so that instead of us reacting to the legislation that comes, we're actually defining the legislation—we're determining the legislation? And a question I have for the panelists is what do you think about the possibilities of taking a model of direct democracy at the local level that's in many ways been sort of inspired by, for example, Porto Alegre, Brazil, and taken to a next level? And what would it look like to have direct community control over the budget at the city level in Oakland or Berkeley—to do a voter initiative, for example all you need is 13,000 signatures in Oakland to get a voter initiative on the ballot to have structural direct democracy in terms of the budget, so we decide—the community decides and debates on how much funding the police gets, how much funding goes to after school programs, what the priorities are at the local level, and then taking that to—and then that can lead, obviously into the statewide level. So what are the possibilities for that?

Dorsey Nunn:

When we said that we, as All of Us or None, banned the box, we start doin' somethin' a lil bit different. We start aksing the City and the County of San Francisco to ensure that people doing contract services with the City and the County of San Francisco adopt the same policies. That meant that we start lookin' at how to use the resources of the City and County of San Francisco, that's millions of dollars to force them to actually end structural discrimination—so in the event that somebody want to do business with the City and the County of San Francisco, to put into play a mechanism that they couldn't do business with the City and County of San Francisco unless they drop a clean application. We're beginning to do that in various places, where we sayin', not only do we think that government should dismantle structural discrimination, we demand that government, then in turn, in order to be able to do business with other people—make them drop a clean application.

In terms of other parts of the question, is that, I got a colleague and a comrade named Linda Evans. So some parts of what her job is doing is writing law when she's sittin' at the desk—is what do we want the law? How do we get proactive to say what I'm finna do is draft a law and make sure that the human rights commission and the personnel commission adopt our policies in a real particular way; because, like at a certain point, when you get old you don't necessarily have enough energy to continue to march around in a circle. Some other shit got to happen. You know, my march looks a little bit different at this point. My march looks behind a computer. My march looks a little bit different. And I really appreciate all y'all that still got the energy, but we still got to move an agenda that makes sense, so our marches could look a lil bit different, and we got to get in where we fit in. If you don't see me on the street corner it's cause I'm trying to push policy.

Mama Ayanna:

Successfully, well, one of the things Malcolm X Grassroots Movement decided to do a couple years ago is run one of our leadership for city council—Chokwe Lumumba in Jackson, Mississippi. And we successfully won by a landslide, even though right before the election they had tried to put on YouTube that him—you know, saying—and the whole community already knew it, right? Because we had taken time to be a presence and build leadership in the community we were in. And it's been a long way—long term plan—planning process within our organization to begin to create presence in the communities that we're in, so it can be done. I'd like that—what's your name again? Shawn, direct democracy on a local level, cause the truth, that's really where we have to dig in, is where we are, you know? And build from that place. And it does mean going beyond the choir, Shawn. It does mean being there for your neighbors and talking to your neighbors. It does mean getting—going where the masses of our people are, the young people in the schools—catching them before they move into the cultures of violence and apathy and—and isolation, and going into the churches, and, yeah, listening to something other than KPFA—even making plans: okay, this week we got you on this show, you on this show, you

on this show, you on this show, and everybody donate an hour a week to listen to talk radio and bein' present. And if you got 100 people in your organization you got 100 hours where you are bein' present outside of your norm, your comfort zone.

Lily Haskell:

Yeah, I agree with you that we need to be proactive about our legislation and creating more democratic structures, and I think that we can be proactive about the legislation pieces, but ultimately there's going to come an end point for that, and if we work towards creating the structures—and I hate how the revolutions that have been happening keep getting painted as democratic. For me there's a word that's missing there, but if we create sort of liberatory structures within our own communities, then we will be prepared for something much larger and much more proactive than something that proactive legislation can bring to us.

Audience Member 3:

Peace, family. My name is Sy, children of the civil rights, human rights movement in America. I wanted to ask a question about espionage and counter insurgency and all that, because it's been a recurring theme for a long time in our struggles and I don't think we have yet to really strategize or organize a capacity to monitor or research or analyze that whole story. And most recently, we got Oscar Grant—I'm watchin' the news and I'm seein' people takin' pictures inside the Footlocker, where they were sabotaging the Footlocker, right? And you know if you see a cop next to you, you not about to continue to grab shoes off the racks, so it was blatant. It was blatant. We have current history of espionage really tearing apart key formations, even involved in theories and demands and all of these kinds of things, and so I think it will behoove us to begin to take that as its own kinda campaign at some point. And I just want to know how folks feel about that. Thanks.

Dorsey Nunn:

There was a point when we actually wasn't ashamed to say we could engage in armed struggle. It was a time that we had more boldness in our action, more boldness in our statement. And when I see young people come out and actually start takin' what I consider to not have a attitude about comin' out and struggling, some parts of that effort seem to be based on them having faith that something could be different. And that part of it is a remarkable feeling for a old person to look back and see. Because, like, I got to see the Panther Party, I got to see the war stopped, I got to see ANSWER become ANSWER, I got to see a lot of historical stuff. A lot of people under 30 is traveling without those markers. Me and my homeboy Th___ was in the room. We was talkin' about yesterday, what did it mean for y'all to actually get on the internet and not expect the police to be there, so I'm just assuming that y'all don't give a fuck because everybody that's been a victim of the COINTELProgram know that the FBI and everybody else is there. We know that somebody's going to have the kill switch in they hand real soon. We're just

assuming that y'all must not care about it. And that boldness is rewardin' to us, but I need to tell you: If you're on Facebook, the government's on Facebook.

You're doing all of these things, and you think that this is just like—it's remarkable for me to think that Egypt got off like that. It may not never happen again. The kill switch is already in play. And I'm not on Facebook, and y'all going to force me to get on Facebook, but me and some of the real old, old people still paranoid cause they used to bug our phone calls. Let alone give them a note—just like crazy too us.

Mama Ayanna:

Espionage is part of white supremacy and oppression. Its part of the culture. In order—I don't know if we want to really integrate an oppressive culture in our culture, but in dialectics there is the integration of the tools of the oppressor to aid the oppressed, which is what we did with Facebook and, the telephone and school system—all of it. The thing would be, in the spirit of proactive espionage is we wouldn't really talk about our plans here at this table, but we might, amongst ourselves, create plans and institute them, and do it in secret, without tellin' everybody. You know, there is the process of 'need to know', so that would be my answer to you, Sy. If you feel the need for something to happen, make it happen, and everybody doesn't need to know that you're making it happen.

Audience Member 4:

Good afternoon. First I want to start by thanking absolutely everybody that's been a part of the last couple days, cause this has been one of the most beautiful and expiring experiences I've had in a long time. My name is Jeremy Miller, I'm co-director of Education Not Incarceration. I've had the honor to work with Meshá for about 5 years now—5 or 6 years, and working with our community, and that is a constant blessing to me. It's wonderful to hear all the different experiences—not only the experience is wonderful but it's wonderful to be in a forum, an environment to be able to be in a forum and an environment to share these experiences with each other. I personally have dealt with quite a bit of—of COINTELPRO. I've had two different placed dwelling places broken into. I have a roommate who is now serving 19 years in the pen on thought crime for a crime that never happened on a so-called eco-terrorism charge.

I Just wanted to say that Meshá brought up a recent arrest, and I just wanted to say that I am grateful that I've been able to stay out of the clutches of the law this long, but for those who have or have not been arrested, and for those people who have undergone those experiences, thank you so much to all the soldiers that stay true and continue to support the cause. And my question is this: There's also a solidarity protest with Iran that was scheduled in San Francisco today. It was a call out for a mass protest. And that disturbed me, because as many people as I saw, as I see out here and I've seen out here in the past couple days—given the nature of the issues that we are addressing here at this forum, it seems to me

that this building should be bursting out the door, given the severity and the seriousness of these issues. At the same time, of course the issues of the people that are struggling for the liberation of Iran and other parts of the world is of supreme importance and needs to be addressed as well. And I'm wondering, as a movement—and I've heard many references to the movement as a 'movement', what can we do to keep channels of communication open enough to where we can coordinate these things in tandem with each other and show more solidarity and support across cultural lines and across national lines for the people's movement.

Mama Ayanna:

I'm just going to say quickly one-on-one. They might be recording a lot of the one-on-one conversations, but that one-on-one, that lil group gathering, that brothers circle, that sisters circle, that families circle, that neighborhood gathering—there's a lot that can go on in places like that. In building that network and knowing who's who and knowing people's history and their family which will also often help you stay away from agent provocateurs when you have history with people. That's one of the most important ways of doing it. There's a lot going on—there's a lot happening. We all can't be in one place again. But outreach is the other thing. You know, you're not going to have any support, you're not going to have people present if you don't really do the work—and we can't rely on the internet. You know? That human contact is one of the most important aspects of human response. We are still wired and geared to respond to human contact, to connectedness. And as a medicine woman, I also believe in our political environments, we leave out the spiritual aspect, and I know a lot of us that have been raised around the concrete Marxism and things like that, but for those of us that come from a more indigenous perspective, that aspect to creating spiritual gatherings and a spiritual ceremony where we do call on the unseen to aid us in our work is an important part of that too.

Dorsey Nunn:

I get rewarded in different ways, because in the 1982 or 1983 campaign, that we was fightin' before we called it the prison industrial complex, we were marchin' around San Francisco and other places, and what our slogans and what our demands was, was education not incarceration. So when I see somebody say "I'm from a organization called Education Not Incarceration" we're reaching beyond generations, and the seeds that we planted is still comin' up.

Aurora Lopez:

It's really hard. We're spread so thin, there's so many different issues. We're all trying to organize and do something, but it's very important to really look further and understand what solidarity work really means. Because that language is really thrown out really loosely, but what we're really doing right now is identifying points of solidarity—identifying ways that we can support each other. One of the organizations, an organization called BAYAN, they always do solidarity statements on any issue that's

goin' on. They say “this is how our community is going through the same stuff that your community is going on.” And I think that that’s one of the ways that we can definitely find how we can communicate more and definitely support what’s going on and actively stepping in, going to meetings and saying this is what’s goin' on with us, but we know that’s what’s going on with you. And this is how we can support each other, you know? A week of actions, things like that, they could all be related, and really be a struggle or a resistance action that compiles a whole bunch of different issues, and I think that’s how we get together, and these are lessons from my teachers that have paved the way for folks like me.

Audience Member 5:

Good afternoon. Thank you very much for a very, very inspiring panel on racism and police violence. My name is Nellie Wong, born and raised in Oakland but live in San Francisco and long active with radical women and the Freedom Socialist Party. My question is this: Have you considered or thought about, and if you have, will you discuss that a moment? Is calling for and implementing a civilian police review board without cops, to handle the violence against our communities in the Bay Area, or if you’re from Oakland or Berkeley, has that been done, and if so what do you think about that idea? Thank you.

Lily Haskell:

I mean, I think the civilian police review board against the cops is all the people that we saw on the streets when Oscar Grant was murdered. In my mind that’s a civilian police board. We are there to tell the police that they’re not doing their job that they should be doing. Right? Maybe they shouldn’t be doing that job at all, but those people there, that’s really the only way that I think that the police are going to be held accountable is out on the streets and people taking control of their own destinies and their self determination in that way. There are other review boards that have been established like the Office of Citizen Complaints in San Francisco. We know now that it’s stacked with former police officers if they’re not current police officers now or if they’re not getting some side check from the police. In my experience, going there with clients from my organization, it’s been a fruitless and disempowering experience to go before the Office of Citizen Complaints. And the only way that we’re going to empower our communities if we do that ourselves

Jesse Strauss:

And I just wanted to add to that Oakland and Berkeley both do have Community Police Review Boards. The one in Berkeley was very progressive and taking strong actions until California passed the Police Bill of Rights, which changed the abilities that the civilian police review board had, which now is basically nil.

Mama Ayanna:

Which one in Berkeley? Not in my history.

Dorsey Nunn:

One of the things that I'd like to probly throw out as an idea is that when we talk about policy we also talk about how do we finance government, you know? And when we talk about this stuff on a deeper level, we get down to like, in the event that they decide that people with 6 toes was dangerous, the federal government would throw money out for people for 6 toes. The local government would start chasing people with 6 toes. If you start doin' it—gang members are dangerous, they'll start puttin' money into gang members. When the federal government is saying "we think we want this as an issue," the local government generally jumps on top of it and the chase start with the funding structure that they send down. If they say people with—that got too many bullets in the clip, pretty soon you'll start seeing them outlaw that and chase that. If we're not necessarily staying on top of what the federal government is sending down in terms of money, then we learn control—we'll lose serious control of what the police decide to pursue and chase. They chasing money like everybody else is chasin' money. I think we need to be focused about how do we actually say 'not all money is good money'? I used to hear that slogan inside of a prison. We need to have that slogan inside the community. Not all money is good money, because some of the money that they grab mean that they will determine an agenda to satisfy the reportin' structures to that money; whether it be gangs, 6 toe people, people with naturals, I don't know. They will come up with something and they will chase it based on the money.

Aurora Lopez:

I think it was really perfect to have the whole weekend of panelists, to really talk about action. It is not enough for us to just sit around. At this time in history and in our lives, it is not enough for us to sit around. And, meaning that we need to be out there. We need to be on the streets. We need to be writing these policies—whatever way it has to be, but everybody needs to be taking a role. If not, and we've heard this a million times. If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem. There's so many attacks in our community right now that everybody has the responsibility to take back what's ours and really take back our land and our human rights.

Summation & Closing Statement – Sanyika Bryant

We have heard that there's a need for a greater level of coordination amongst movement people, amongst people in the community, amongst our organizations. And so one of the things that we were thinking of is to push a national alliance for racial justice and human rights. This alliance is in existence was formed last—actually formed in '09 but really got jumped off last year. Malcolm X Grassroots Movement was part of the formation of the organization along with Black Workers for Justice out of North Carolina. We also work with the US Human Rights network, right? And so, this—this national alliance for racial justice and human rights would be a—would be a means of using the human rights

framework, because for every issue that we've heard today—everything that we're going to fight over is a human rights issue, so we can use that human rights framework, right? To have the, sort of, umbrella to unify our forces. Right?

We are not saying that using the human rights framework alone is what's going to solve our problems. We are taking this to the UN, knowing that we got testimony about the human rights abuses in the US. But we also know that human rights can't be legislated to you. You're not going to be able to defend your human rights just through a formal sort of state engagement. You're also going to need to engage in struggle. You're going to need to engage in active struggle. And so this national alliance would serve to, one, Push for the domestic implementation of the—of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. There should be a national campaign around that where people in their local—in their local cities and towns push their local governments to adopt that—to adopt the CERD and enforce it since it's the law of the land—since it's one of the treaties—one of the few UN treaties that the US has actually signed onto. So it's a tool. It's a tool—it's a tactic. It's something that we can use and add to our toolkit. It's not the only thing that we need in our toolkit, right? But it gives us some space to struggle, and we need all the space to struggle that we can possibly get at this point in time. So coming forward out of this, right? If folks are down, right? This is a recruitment pitch, right? If folks are down and wanted to have a higher level of coordination using that human rights framework as a umbrella. One of the things you can do—we have a website—the National Alliance for Racial Justice and Human Rights has a website. It's called NARJHR.org. And sign in with us at the tribunal table. We'll be following up with you all about the ongoing campaigns, the work that we canal do together to build this alliance. And it's really important—I remember when Tony was up here talkin' about how it's all kinds of folks on the ground. I mean, my comrades Jabari and Tim and GP—all kinds of folks on the ground actually doin' the work that don't get the recognition, right? And I mean, these cats had, like they said, they had Oscar Grant posters in Dubai. I've seen images of Oscar Grant posters in India, you know what I'm sayin'? So we need to have a way to push—to push our local coordination. But using that human rights framework, right, you going to the UN, we also create the conditions to help the people on the ground here—the actual folks on the ground like sister Aurora, like Mama Ayanna, like Dorsey, like GP, like Prophet. Have the folks on the ground be able to engage and build alliance internationally—and they're damn sure afraid of that. They're damn sure afraid to build alliances internationally at this point in time. And there's calls—our comrades across the world are calling for the forces in the United States. You're here, this is your land, this is where you're at. You need to struggle for it and get down. You need to struggle and get down for over here, right? In unison with the struggles that are happening elsewhere. And so this would be a means—this would be a means of building that—building that and creating some local coordination for that and giving us some ongoing work so we don't just have one tribunal. We can have multiple

tribunals on multiple things. We could have all kinds of things come out of this. All kinds of things come out of this and getting some actual implementation of some of these treaties, I think, is really a key campaign that a broad level of organizations, movement forces, community people can unite around, right? And actually get down on some work. Right? So that's the pitch.

Jesse Strauss:

Thank you again Sanyika, and as we're thinking about moving this process forward and building and bringing it to the UN, I also want to recognize the work that's come into this, and I want to thank some people and some organizations. First of all I'd like to thank all the panelists here now, earlier today and all of yesterday.

I'd also like to give thanks to jurists, some of whom came from as far away as Atlanta just for this event, and Birmingham.

I'd also like to thank Urban Shield who's doing security at this event.

Food Not Bombs who provided free food as well as the local taqueria that sold food outside.

All the tablers from local organizations that are holding it down in the back.

Mr. Murphey and the Panther Edna Brewer crew.

The US Human Rights Network for supporting this process.

And especially a shout out to Kali Akuno of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the US Human Rights Network.

I also want to thank the Program Committee who organized and put together this event. I really appreciate each and every one of you. I'm happy to say I've built strong relationships with a lot of you throughout this process.

And thanks to all of you who came to hear, who came to share and who came to push movements forward.

Resources

The organizations listed below were represented and/or were part of the organizing process of the People's Hearing on Racism and Police Violence, and have accessible websites.

Local:

All of Us or None (http://www.allofusornone.org/) – A national organizing initiative of prisoners, former prisoners and felons, to combat the many forms of discrimination that are faced as the result of felony convictions.

Arab Resource and Organizing Center - AROC (http://www.araborganizing.org) - A grassroots organization working to empower and organize our community towards justice and self-determination for all. AROC members build community power in the Bay Area by participating in leadership development, political education, and campaigns.

Coalition for a Safe San Francisco (http://safesf.wordpress.com/) – A grassroots alliance dedicated to protecting the civil rights and civil liberties challenged by overbroad national security policies

Committee to stop FBI Repression (http://www.stopfbi.net/) - An organization that came together in response to the FBI raids on seven homes and an anti-war office on Friday, September 24, 2010. The work has grown to defend more people targeted by FBI raids and subpoenas since then.

Community Youth Center (http://cycsf.org/) - Since 1970, CYC has set the standard for awareness and activism in the Asian community. Originally founded to address the problems of juvenile delinquency and gang violence in Chinatown, CYC has grown to encompass behavioral health, education, intervention, leadership development, street outreach and workforce development in all its programs.

Eastside Arts Alliance (http://www.eastsideartsalliance.com/) - EastSide Arts Alliance uses the voice of art and culture to nurture a genuinely multi-cultural community that benefits all people in our neighborhood and provides creative opportunities for youth and adults to share their own cultural traditions and innovations.

Free the SF 8 (http://www.freethesf8.org/) - The mission of the Committee for Defense of Human Rights is to draw attention to human rights abuses perpetrated by the government of the United States and law enforcement authorities which were carried out in an effort to destroy progressive organizations and individuals.

Freedom Archives (http://www.freedomarchives.org/) - Preserve the past – illuminate the present – shape the future

Laney BSU (http://laneybsu.blogspot.com/) - the official voice of the African-American students of Laney College in Oakland, California.

Legal Services for Prisoners with Children - LSPC (http://www.prisonerswithchildren.org/) – LSPC advocates for the human rights and empowerment of incarcerated parents, children, family members and people at risk for incarceration.

Meiklejohn Civil Rights Institute (http://mcli.org/) - Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute (MCLI) uses Human Rights and Constitutional Law to promote fundamental human rights within the United States, including the right to jobs, food, and housing.

Mujeres Unidas y Activas - MUA (http://www.mujeresunidas.net/) – a grassroots organization of Latina immigrant women with a double mission of promoting personal transformation and building community power for social and economic justice.

Oakland 100 Support Committee (http://supporttheoakland100.wordpress.com/) – A group of anarchists and community members committed to helping generate resources for those arrested seeking justice for Oscar Grant.

ONYX (http://onyxbrief.blogspot.com/) - A group that is dedicated the Enlightenment, Education, Edification, and Up lifting Empowerment of all People of Color.

Stop the Injunctions Coalition (http://stoptheinjunction.wordpress.com/) - A diverse group of concerned community members fighting gang injunction(s) in Oakland.

Youth Together (http://www.youthtogether.net/) - Grounded in our commitment to peace, unity and justice, the mission of Youth Together is to address the root causes of educational inequities by developing multiracial youth leaders and engaging school community allies to promote positive school change.

National:

Critical Resistance (http://www.criticalresistance.org/) – A national grassrooots organization committed to ending society's use of prisons and policing as an answer to social problems (based in Oakland).

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (http://mxgm.org/) - An organization of Afrikans in America/New Afrikans whose mission is to defend the human rights of our people and promote self-determination in our community.

US Human Rights Network (http://www.ushrnetwork.org/) - A national network of organizations and individuals working to build and strengthen a people-centered human rights movement in the United States, where leadership is centered on those most directly affected by human rights violations, and the full range of diversity within communities is respected and embraced.