

DECOLONIZE "COP CITIES"



Compiled/Edited by J. James and I.B.

May 2023 drone photo of destruction of Weelaunee Forest in Dekalb County, GA

THANK YOU for READING

Decolonize "Cop Cities" is a zine pamphlet for political study and struggle around predatory policing, colonialism, anti-Black violence, and environmental defense. We invite communities to use this zine to examine the modern police state and the proliferation of (inter)national "Cop Cities."

This zine is informed by Beneath the Concrete, the Forest: Accounts from the Defense of the Atlanta Forest, a print given to Joy James when she met with several Black forest protectors in Atlanta in May 2023. In August, organizers to stop "Cop City" obtained 100k signatures for a referendum on the construction of the police training facility. *Intercept* reveals Atlanta government's plans to verify/nullify citizens' signatures (<https://theintercept.com/2023/08/21/atlanta-cop-city-referendum-signatures/>).

Please scan the QR code to access resources on "Cop Cities."

- J. James/I.B.

August 30, 2023



CONTENTS

The Rubik's Cube of Cop City....2

Joy James and Kalonji Jama Changa

El Cubo de Rubik de Cop City....10

Translated by Liliana

Urban Warfare and Corporate-Funded Armies....17

Joy James and Kalonji Jama Changa

Letter of Concern to Black Clergy Regarding "Cop City"....26

Rev. Matthew Johnson; Introduction by Joy James

Resisting Cop City Corporate and Clergy Colonizers....47

RSTV/Changa/James Interview with Fergie Chambers & Matthew Johnson

Scalawag's "Week of Writing: #STOPCOPCITY"....48

Curated by Da'Shaun Harrison

Local Organizers to Hold Stop Cop Campus Rally at San Pablo City Hall....49

Weelaunee Defense Oakland

Proposed Baltimore Police and Fire Training Facility Has Hefty Price Tag: \$330 Million....50

By Justin Fenton and Ben Conarck

The Alchemy of Abolitionisms....55

Joy James

Slave Rebel or Citizen?....55

Joy James and Kalonji Jama Changa

THE RUBIK'S CUBE OF COP CITY

The crisis of colonized cities and state criminality. The first installment in a two-part series.

Joy James & Kalonji Jama Changa (*Inquest*, July 18, 2023)

<https://inquest.org/the-rubiks-cube-of-cop-city/>

I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta. . . . Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. . . . You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place. . . . But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations.

— Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," April 1963

When foundations and corporations attempt to run the world by buying politicians and police forces, what's the role of ethical citizenry and captives? How do citizens and captives comprehend the scope and strategies to resist the massive engineering of predatory policing—a rising urban phenomenon that reveals that the term "military occupation" is more than a metaphor, and reaches way beyond any particular city? And when such violence is deployed against citizens by the police, who are protected by the government, who then protects the citizen and captive from this state criminality, which is approved and funded by corporations and the wealthy?

These are questions we invite readers to consider in a set of paired essays about ongoing attempts in Atlanta to fund and build a massive new police training center where law enforcement will practice counterinsurgency techniques to use against the city's own citizens. In this first part, we review the militaristic and legal violence that police have been unleashing against people who dare to oppose the new facility, and examine how the Atlanta Police Foundation (APF) draws on vast private wealth to set public policy against the public's wishes. In the second essay, we examine how these strategies practice a form of domestic colonialism with techniques rooted in imperial counterinsurgency.

The Atlanta Police Foundation (APF) is a private foundation with strong corporate ties that supports the Atlanta Police Department. As a private nonprofit, it steers Atlanta policing policy with zero public accountability. APF's promotional tag—"21st Century Community Policing"—suggests concern for non-elite communities. But the language APF uses to describe the aim of the Atlanta Public Safety Training Center—commonly known as "Cop City"—actually presents a lethal Trojan Horse as a humanitarian gift "to make Atlanta the safest large city in the nation." Without specifying the beneficiaries, APF boasts that it will bring "resources to underserved neighborhoods" that are already underfunded and overpoliced—or overpoliced because they are underfunded. APF also claims that it will "cultivate a mindset of true servanthood" within the Atlanta Police Department (APD). What does APF's twisted vision of "true servanthood" look like in practice?

In January 2023 Atlanta state troopers shot and killed Manuel "Tortuguita" Estaban Paez Terán, a twenty-six-year-old environmental activist who was protesting the destruction of ancestral forests to build Cop City. Police claimed that Tortuguita had fired a gun at them, but a private autopsy informed the public that Tortuguita had been sitting cross-legged on the ground with their hands raised when Georgia troopers shot them fifty- seven times. While riddling Tortuguita's body with bullets, a Georgia state trooper was shot and injured, almost certainly by "friendly fire" from another officer. After the killing, organizers obtained public information about the police involved in the shooting and distributed flyers in the neighborhood where one of the officer's lived. Police jailed them on stalking and felony intimidation for sharing this public information with the community.

Organizing food support for families and communities in Atlanta for months, Tortuguita and their collectives provided what the city withheld. Their murder and the subsequent arrests are part of an organized campaign to terrify and jail all who oppose the building of Cop City. In March prosecutors also charged twenty-three people with domestic terrorism after clashes between police and protesters at the proposed site of Cop City. At the end of May, a police SWAT team, in full gear and weapons, raided the Atlanta Solidarity Fund (a community bail fund), arresting three of its leaders, Marlon Scott Kautz, Adele MacLe-

an, and Savannah D. Patterson. The three have been charged with money laundering and charity fraud, accused of “misleading contributors” to channel funds to the Defend the Atlanta Forest, which was, according to the warrant, “classified by the United States Department of Homeland Security as Domestic Violent Extremists.” In fact, the Department of Homeland Security never designated Defend the Atlanta Forest or other community caretakers as “Domestic Violent Extremists.” Yet that did not stop DeKalb County Superior Court judge Shondeana Morris, a Black woman appointed by Republican governor Brian Kemp, from signing the warrant. The warrants claim that the “illegal” reimbursements included expenses for “forest clean-up, totes, covid rapid tests, media, yard signs.” The Atlanta Solidarity Fund issued a statement saying that its sole function is to provide resources to protesters facing repression. Following the arrests, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) released a statement asserting that bail funds protect the right to dissent and to have access to counsel. On June 2 Judge James Altman granted bail.

In June 2020 an Atlanta police officer shot and killed Rayshard Brooks, less than a month after George Floyd was killed. Brooks’s funeral was held at Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Ebenezer Baptist Church. King’s daughter Bernice King and Reverend Raphael Warnock, then a Senate candidate, addressed the funeral gathering and the public. Warnock spoke eloquently in the historic church: “Rayshard Brooks is the latest high- profile casualty in the struggle for justice and a battle for the soul of America. This is about him but it is so much bigger than him.”

Neither of Georgia’s democratic senators—Warnock and Jon Ossoff—spoke of a “battle for the soul of America” when three years later Georgia troopers assassinated Tortuguita in the forest. When the twenty-three environmental activists were arrested, Senator Ossoff deplored the “violence” of an “extremist minority”; he did not address the lethal anti- human violence of the Georgia state troopers under the control of Governor Kemp, who rages about terrorism without acknowledging to the public the functions of his Georgia troops. Both senators expressed concerns about the arrests of the organizers of the Atlanta Solidarity Fund; yet they never articulated or advocated for a constitutional right not to be assassinated by police forces. If no one is

policing the police for the safety of the community, then security as community care becomes high priority. As public referenda (or even recalls) are waged, electoral politics and legalism appear insufficient in demilitarizing a war zone built and protected by the state with the backing of corporations.



At the June 5–6, 2023, Atlanta City Hall hearing, hundreds of residents — varying in age, race, gender, and income—denounced Cop City for fifteen hours. Despite considerable opposition from the public and community organizers, on June 6, in an 11–4 decision, the Atlanta City Council approved \$67 million in funding for the Cop City project. The total cost is anticipated to be \$90 million. On June 7 opponents of Cop City filed a petition to create a ballot measure that would ask voters to halt the building of the complex. On June 20 they filed a lawsuit against acting city clerk Vanessa Waldron for delaying certification of the petition. Shortly thereafter, Waldron certified the petition. The petition must now receive signatures from 70,000 Atlanta voters—some argue that the number is closer to 100,000, given likely challenges—by August 15 to be certified and added to the ballot. The referendum petition seeks to repeal the ordinance which authorized the city to lease the eighty-five-acre Intrenchment Creek Park—renamed Weelaunee People’s Park by organizers—for the building of Cop City. Cop City is slated to be built on part of what the Muscogee Creek called the Weelaunee forest before state-sponsored terrorism forced them from the lands in the 1820s and ’30s. Before it was a park, now reclaimed by organizers as a forest for food and gardens, it was used by the state of Georgia as a prison farm, on which convict laborers were enslaved growing food for other inmates. Before that it was a plantation. Through duplicitous and antidemocratic politics, federal, state, and local politicians —along with the APF, ADP, and corporate sponsors—plan to dismember the Weelaunee forest into a training ground for war.

APF promises the enhancement of civilian safety through private funding. Yet, the “public-private partnership model” that APF celebrates is more accurately described as a raid on public coffers that will deprive working- class Black Atlantans while building equity for white billionaires and corporations. Atlanta’s city council has pledged millions of dollars to bankroll the endeavor. Black citizens are being priced out

of a city that they can no longer afford to live within in part because public monies are going to fund a military playground where police will be taught counterinsurgency tactics that could be used to kill Black Atlantans.

Pushed by the APF, under the guise of a public project, Cop City is heavily backed by corporate interests. APF has notable financial and leadership ties to a long list of companies, including Waffle House, Equifax, UPS, Wells Fargo, Home Depot, AT&T, Delta Airlines, Chick-fil-A, and Koch Industries. Cox Enterprises, Inc., a multi-billion-dollar privately held communications corporation that shapes public perceptions, is recognized as a lead funder of Cop City. (In a July 2023 Black Power Media/Renegade Siafu TV [BPM/RSTV] interview, a member of the Cox family and a member of Atlanta Black clergy critique their respective institutions.) Atlanta's elected officials—its mayor, chief of police, and city councilors—are attentive to the directives of the APF, the brain trust building, banking, and redefining Atlanta through Cop City. APF's website boasts that President Obama's 2015 Task Force on 21st Century Policing promoted Atlanta as a "model city," claiming that it is 1 of only 15 jurisdictions out of 18,000 police forces that received such an honor. Celebrating this endorsement from the first Black president veils the fact that the Atlanta democratic political figures rooting for Cop City are Black but the funders are white corporations. According to the APF, the police training received at Cop City will "improve morale . . . for APD." How so? Training in domination, violence, and abuse of power increases civilian distrust of policing.

Despite the massive protests in the wake of George Floyd's 2020 death at the hands (or knee) of a Minneapolis police officer, police killings reached an all-time high in 2022. Simultaneously, APD lost police after the 2020 protests; it plans to hire 750 officers over three years with retention bonuses and relocation stipends. Mayor Andre Dickens maligned environmental and community protectors protesting Cop City by calling them "outsiders"—but APD's growth requires recruiting "outsider" police to accelerate gentrification.

APF sells its product: policing. Meanwhile Atlanta citizens go without bus shelters, well-funded schools, free lunches for children and elders,

adequate housing and health care, clear air, and parks. APF sees the forest (and the city budget) as the property not of the public but of affluent sectors and corporate wealth, whose interests are served by the comprador class. People sleep in substandard public housing, or on cardboard in streets and alleys, with insufficient food and care, while investors build a political economy based on predatory policing. Once built, Cop City would train APD, state, regional, and international law enforcement agencies “in 21st Century Policing best practices” while also providing a cushy “gathering spot for community events and conversations” amid the destruction of Black communities through terrorizing those communities and the environmentalists and caretakers protecting them.

Despite its stated mission to care for (Black) youth, the APF still projects them as primary targets of the combined forces of the APD, Fulton County District Attorney, judges, and Atlanta Criminal Justice Commission which will “address Atlanta’s repeat offender issue.” APF promises “Youth Engagement” to “expand its At-Promise youth initiative” to “divert Atlanta youth from crime to brighter pathways.” When nonprofits partner with police (or carceral foster care) to help youth in communities neglected from the city government and abused by predatory policing, they actually worsen the health outcomes of these communities. Artist Hausson Byrd’s spoken-word meditation “Projection” poetically addresses the violence of predatory policing. Police networks, as Byrd notes, project their violence upon civilians, citizens, and captives. The disproportionately targeted are poor, working class, and people of color. Rather than ask communities what forms of assistance are useful, governance dictates to under-resourced communities, and continues to destabilize them through financial neglect and punitive policing. If militarized policing is a colonizing project for cities writ large, it is imperative to think beyond the plans and protests of individual cities, and political betrayals, in order to map trajectories that inform war resistance strategies.

NOTES

Radde, Kaitlyn. "Autopsy Reveals Anti-'Cop City' Activist's Hands Were Raised When Shot and Killed." NPR, March 11, 2023. <https://www.npr.org/2023/03/11/1162843992/cop-city-atlanta-activist-autopsy>.

Valencia, Nick, Devon M. Sayers, and Pamela Kirkland. "Climate Activist Killed in 'Cop City' Protest Sustained 57 Gunshot Wounds, Official Autopsy Says, but Questions about Gunpowder Residue Remain." CNN, April 20, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/04/20/us/cop-city-activist-killed-dekalb-county-medical-examiner/index.html>.

Enriquez, Alyza. "Atlanta Police Release Body Camera Footage of Activist Killing at 'Cop City.'" VICE, February 9, 2023. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/wxrvvgx/atlanta-police-release-body-camera-footage-of-activist-killing-at-cop-city>.

Lennard, Natasha, and Akela Lacy. "Activists Face Felonies for Distributing Flyers on 'Cop City' Protester Killing." The Intercept, May 2, 2023. <https://theintercept.com/2023/05/02/cop-city-activists-arrest-flyers/>.

Rico, R.J. "Muddy Clothes? 'Cop City' Activists Question Police Evidence." AP News, March 24, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/cop-city-protest-domestic-terrorism-atlanta-6d114e109d489d316f588f51c7cab0cc>.

The Associated Press. "3 Atlanta Activists Are Arrested After Their Fund Bailed Out Protesters of 'Cop City.'" NPR, June 1, 2023. <https://www.npr.org/2023/06/01/1179427542/atlanta-copy-city-arrests>.

Brumback, Kate. "Bond Granted for 3 Activists Whose Fund Bailed Out People Protesting Atlanta 'Cop City' Project." AP News, June 2, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/police-training-center-arrests-cop-city-1468a138ed4b17ed394e4b1e4fe202fe>.

Scott, Matt. "APD, Gbi Raid Bail Fund, Arrest Three Organizers." Atlanta Community Press Collective., June 12, 2023. <https://atlpresscollective.com/2023/05/31/apd-gbi-raid-bail-fund-arrest-three-organizers/>.

"Statement from the Atlanta Solidarity Fund Regarding Attorney General's Investigation into Transactions, Donors." Document Cloud, June 2, 2023. Atlanta Solidarity Fund. <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/23833003-atlanta-solidarity-fund-investigation-response-statement-1-docx-1>.

"NLG Condemns State Repression against Atlanta Solidarity Fund Activists." National Lawyers Guild, May 31, 2023. National Lawyers Guild. <https://www.nlg.org/nlg-condemns-state-repression-against-atlanta-solidarity-fund-activists/>.

Ossoff, Jon. Twitter Post, June 4, 2023. <https://twitter.com/ossoff/status/1665436838956347392>.

Mitchell, Taiyler S. "Dem Lawmakers Speak Out Against Cop City Arrests." HuffPost, June 5, 2023. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/lawmakers-cop-city-arrests-atlanta_n_647cf7a3e4b02325c5e1608e.

Rico, R.J. "'Stop Cop City' Activists Pack Atlanta City Hall Ahead of Crucial Vote." AP News, June 6, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/cop-city-vote-atlanta-city-council-d782604c15874e441570654ea362e0ef>.

Bagby, Dyana, and Collin Kelley. "Live Coverage: Atlanta City Council Approves 'Cop City' Funding after Hundreds Speak for 15 Hours." Georgia Public Broadcasting, June 6, 2023. <https://www.gpb.org/news/2023/06/06/live-coverage-atlanta-city-council-approves-cop-city-funding-after-hundreds-speak>.

Rico, R.J. "Atlanta Clerk Sued for Denying 'Stop Cop City' Petition Lets Effort Move Forward." ABC News, June 21, 2023. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/atlanta-clerk-sued-denying-stop-cop-city-petition-100287575>.

Associated Press. "Atlanta Police Training Center Opponents Sue over Delays in Approving Referendum." NBCNews.com, June 20, 2023. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/atlanta-police-training-center-opponents-sue-delays-approving-referend-rcna90252>.

Rico, R.J. "Atlanta Organizers Unveil Plan to Take 'Cop City' Fight to the Ballot Box." PBS, June 7, 2023. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/atlanta-organizers-unveil-plan-to-take-cop-city-fight-to-the-ballot-box>.

Tatum, Gloria. "Forest Defenders Reoccupy Weelaunee to Stop Cop City." People's Tribune, March 12, 2023. <https://peopletribune.org/2023/03/forest-defenders-reoccupy-weelaunee-to-stop-cop-city/>.

Tatum, Gloria. "Native Americans Share Concerns over Fate of Forest." Streets of Atlanta, May 3, 2022. <https://streetsofatlanta.blog/2022/05/02/native-americans-share-concerns-over-fate-of-forest/>.

"Native Knowledge 360": The Removal of the Muscogee Nation." National Museum of the American Indian. Accessed 2023. <https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/removal-muscogee/during.html>.

"21st Century Community Policing." Atlanta Police Foundation. Accessed 2023. <https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/>.

Class, Jessenia. "Corporations Are Keeping Cop City Alive." The Flaw, May 13, 2023. <https://theflaw.org/articles/corporations-are-keeping-cop-city-alive/#:~:text=Backed%20in%20turn%20by%20a,the%20media%20narrative%20around%20protest>.

Black Power Media. "Resisting Cop City Corporate and Clergy Colonizers." Youtube, 1:17:28. July 18, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31Fe4g5Iu54>

Johnson, Rev. Matthew V., and Joy James. "A Letter of Concern to Black Clergy Regarding 'Cop City.'" Logos Journal, June 14, 2023. <https://logosjournal.com/2023/a-letter-of-concern-to-black-clergy-regarding-cop-city/>.

"Public Safety Training Center." Atlanta Police Foundation. Accessed 2023. <https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/programs/public-safety-training-center/>.

Levin, Sam. "'It Never Stops': Killings by US Police Reach Record High in 2022." The Guardian, January 6, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/jan/06/us-police-killings-record-number-2022>.

Haney, Addie. "Atlanta Police down 220 Officers since Start of January, Department Says." 11 Alive.com, December 9, 2020. <https://www.11alive.com/article/news/local/atlanta-police-numbers-2020/85-a54ace87-bed2-4d41-87b1-150a9b877672>.

"The Atlanta Police Foundation." Atlanta Police Foundation. Accessed 2023. <https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/about-the-atlanta-police-foundation/>.

Youth Justice Project. "Projection: Spoken Word Performance by Hausson Byrd." YouTube video, 3:28. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XLptzN_zvB0

EL CUBO DE RUBIK DE COP CITY

Traducción de Liliana

La crisis de las ciudades colonizadas y la criminalidad estatal.
La primera entrega de una serie de dos partes.

Por Joy James & Kalonji Jama Changa (*Inquest*, 18 de julio 2023)

“Soy consciente de la interrelación de todas las comunidades y estados...No puedo quedarme de brazos cruzados en Atlanta. La injusticia en cualquier parte es una amenaza para la justicia en todas partes. Estamos atrapados en una red ineludible de reciprocidad, atados en una sola prenda de destino. Lo que afecta a uno directamente, afecta a todos indirectamente. Nunca más podemos darnos el lujo de vivir con la idea estrecha y provinciana del "agitador externo"...Usted deplora las manifestaciones que tienen lugar en Birmingham...Pero su declaración, lamento decirlo, no expresa una preocupación similar por las condiciones que provocaron las manifestaciones.”

— Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. "Carta desde una cárcel de Birmingham," abril de 1963.

Cuando fundaciones y corporaciones intentan dominar el mundo comprando políticos y fuerzas policiales, ¿cuál es el papel de la ciudadanía ética y los cautivos? ¿Cómo comprenden los ciudadanos y los cautivos el alcance y las estrategias para resistir la ingeniería masiva de la vigilancia policial depredadora, un fenómeno urbano en ascenso que revela que el término "ocupación militar" es más que una metáfora y va mucho más allá de cualquier ciudad en particular? Y cuando la policía protegida por el gobierno despliega tal violencia contra los ciudadanos ¿quién protege al ciudadano y al cautivo de esta criminalidad estatal, que es aprobada y financiada por las corporaciones y los ricos?

Estas son preguntas que invitamos a los lectores a considerar en un conjunto de ensayos emparejados sobre los intentos en curso en Atlanta para financiar y construir un nuevo centro masivo de capacitación policial donde las fuerzas del orden practicarán técnicas de contrainsurgencia para usar contra los propios ciudadanos de la ciudad. En esta primera parte, revisamos la violencia militarista y legal que la policía ha estado desatando contra las personas que se atreven

a oponerse a las nuevas instalaciones, y examinamos cómo la Fundación de la Policía de Atlanta (APF) se basa en una gran riqueza privada para establecer políticas públicas en contra de los deseos del público. . En el segundo ensayo, que se publicará a finales de esta semana, examinamos cómo estas estrategias practican una forma de colonialismo doméstico con técnicas arraigadas en la contransurgencia imperial.

La Fundación de la Policía de Atlanta (APF) es una fundación privada con fuertes lazos corporativos que apoyan al Departamento de Policía de Atlanta. Como organización privada sin fines de lucro, dirige la política de vigilancia policial de Atlanta sin responsabilidad pública. La etiqueta promocional de APF, “Vigilancia policial comunitaria del siglo XXI”, indica preocupación por las comunidades que no pertenecen a la élite. Pero el lenguaje que usa APF para describir el objetivo del Centro de Capacitación en Seguridad Pública de Atlanta, comúnmente conocido como “Cop City”, en realidad presenta un letal Caballo de Troya como un regalo humanitario “para hacer de Atlanta la ciudad grande más segura de la nación”. Sin especificar los beneficiarios, APF se jacta de que traerá "recursos a los barrios desatendidos" que ya tienen insuficientes fondos y control policial excesivo, o control policial excesivo porque no tienen fondos suficientes. APF también afirma que "cultivará una mentalidad de servicio verdadero" dentro del Departamento de Policía de Atlanta (APD). ¿Cómo se ve en la práctica la visión retorcida de APF del “verdadero servicio”?

En enero de 2023, policías estatales de Atlanta mataron a tiros a Manuel “Tortuguita” Esteban Paez Terán, un activista ambiental de veintiséis años que protestaba por la destrucción de bosques ancestrales para construir Cop City. La policía afirmó que Tortuguita les había disparado con un arma, pero una autopsia privada informó al público que Tortuguita estaba sentado en el suelo con las piernas cruzadas y las manos levantadas cuando los soldados de Georgia les dispararon cincuenta y siete veces. Mientras acibillaban el cuerpo de Tortuguita con balas, un policía estatal de Georgia recibió un disparo y resultó herido, casi con certeza por “fuego amistoso” de otro oficial. Después del asesinato, los organizadores obtuvieron información pública sobre la policía involucrada en el tiroteo y distribuyeron volant-

es en el vecindario donde vivía uno de los oficiales. La policía los encarceló por acoso e intimidación por delitos graves por compartir esta información pública con la comunidad.

Organizando apoyos alimentarios para familias y comunidades en Atlanta durante meses, Tortuguita y sus colectivos aportaron lo que la ciudad retuvo. Su asesinato y los arrestos posteriores son parte de una campaña organizada para aterrorizar y encarcelar a todos los que se oponen a la construcción de Cop City. En marzo, los fiscales también acusaron a veintitrés personas de terrorismo doméstico luego de enfrentamientos entre la policía y los manifestantes en el sitio propuesto para Cop City. A finales de mayo, un equipo SWAT de la policía, con equipo completo y armas, allanó el Fondo de Solidaridad de Atlanta (un fondo de fianza comunitario) y arrestó a tres de sus líderes, Marlon Scott Kautz, Adele MacLean y Savannah D. Patterson. Los tres han sido acusados de lavado de dinero y fraude caritativo, acusados de "engañar a los contribuyentes" para canalizar fondos a Defend the Atlanta Forest, que, según la orden, fue "clasificado por el Departamento de Seguridad Nacional de los Estados Unidos como extremistas domésticos violentos". De hecho, el Departamento de Seguridad Nacional nunca designó a Defend the Atlanta Forest ni a otros cuidadores de la comunidad como "extremistas violentos nacionales". Sin embargo, eso no impidió que la jueza de la Corte Superior del condado de DeKalb, Shondeana Morris, una mujer negra nombrada por el gobernador republicano Brian Kemp, firmara la orden. Las órdenes afirman que los reembolsos "ilegales" incluían gastos por "limpieza del bosque, bolsas, pruebas rápidas de covid, medios de comunicación, letreros de jardín". El Fondo de Solidaridad de Atlanta emitió un comunicado diciendo que su única función es proporcionar recursos a los manifestantes que enfrentan la represión. Tras los arrestos, el gremio Nacional de Abogados (NLG) emitió un comunicado afirmando que los fondos de la fianza protegen el derecho a disentir y tener acceso a un abogado. El 2 de junio, el juez James Altman concedió la libertad bajo fianza.

En junio de 2020, un oficial de policía de Atlanta disparó y mató a Rayshard Brooks, menos de un mes después de la muerte de George Floyd. El funeral de Brooks se llevó a cabo en la Iglesia Bautista Ebenezer del Reverendo Martin Luther King, Jr. La hija de King, Berni-

ce King, y el reverendo Raphael Warnock, entonces candidato al Senado, se dirigieron a la reunión fúnebre y al público. Warnock habló con elocuencia en la iglesia histórica: “Rayshard Brooks es la última víctima de alto perfil en la lucha por la justicia y una batalla por el alma de Estados Unidos. Se trata de él, pero es mucho más grande que él”.

Ninguno de los senadores demócratas de Georgia, Warnock y Jon Ossoff, hablaron de una “batalla por el alma de Estados Unidos” cuando tres años después, las tropas de Georgia asesinaron a Tortuguita en el bosque. Cuando arrestaron a los veintitrés activistas ambientales, el senador Ossoff deploró la “violencia” de una “minoría extremista”; no se refirió a la violencia letal antihumana de las tropas estatales de Georgia bajo el control del gobernador Kemp, quien se enfurece por el terrorismo sin reconocer al público las funciones de sus tropas de Georgia. Ambos senadores expresaron su preocupación por las detenciones de los organizadores del Fondo de Solidaridad de Atlanta; sin embargo, nunca articularon ni abogaron por un derecho constitucional a no ser asesinados por las fuerzas policiales. Si nadie vigila a la policía a favor de la seguridad de la comunidad, entonces la seguridad de la comunidad se convierte en una prioridad alta. Mientras se llevan a cabo referéndums públicos (o incluso revocatorios), la política electoral y el legalismo parecen insuficientes para desmilitarizar una zona de guerra construida y protegida por el estado con el respaldo de las corporaciones.



En la audiencia del Ayuntamiento de Atlanta del 5 al 6 de junio del 2023, cientos de residentes, de diferentes edades, razas, géneros e ingresos, denunciaron a Cop City durante quince horas. A pesar de la considerable oposición del público y de los organizadores comunitarios, el 6 de junio, en una decisión de 11 a 4, el Concejo Municipal de Atlanta aprobó \$67 millones en fondos para el proyecto Cop City. Se prevé que el costo total sea de 90 millones de dólares. El 7 de junio, los opositores de Cop City presentaron una petición para crear una medida electoral que pediría a los votantes que detuvieran la construcción del complejo. El 20 de junio presentaron una demanda contra la secretaria municipal interina Vanessa Waldron por demorar la certificación de la petición. Poco después, Waldron certificó la petición.

La petición ahora debe recibir firmas de 70,000 votantes de Atlanta (algunos argumentan que el número está más cerca de 100,000, dados los posibles desafíos) antes del 15 de agosto para ser certificada y agregada a la boleta. La petición de referéndum busca derogar la ordenanza que autorizó a la ciudad a arrendar el In trenchment Creek Park de ochenta y cinco acres, rebautizado como Weelaunee People's Park por los organizadores, para la construcción de Cop City. Cop City está programado para ser construido en parte de lo que Los Muscogee Creek llamaron el bosque Weelaunee antes de que el terrorismo patrocinado por el estado los obligara a abandonar las tierras en las décadas de 1820 y 1830. Antes era un parque, ahora reclamado por los organizadores como un bosque para alimentos y jardines, fue utilizado por el estado de Georgia como una granja de la prisión, en la que los trabajadores convictos eran esclavizados cultivando alimentos para otros reclusos. Antes de eso era una plantación. A través de políticas engañosas y antidemocráticas, los políticos federales, estatales y locales, junto con el APF, el ADP y los patrocinadores corporativos, planean desmembrar el bosque de Weelaunee para convertirlo en un campo de entrenamiento para la guerra.

APF promete la mejora de la seguridad civil a través de la financiación privada. Sin embargo, el “modelo de asociación público-privado” que celebra APF se describe con mayor precisión como una incursión en las arcas públicas que privará a los habitantes negros de la clase trabajadora de Atlanta mientras crea capital para las corporaciones y los multimillonarios blancos. El consejo de la ciudad de Atlanta ha prometido millones de dólares para financiar el esfuerzo. Los ciudadanos negros están siendo excluidos de una ciudad en la que ya no pueden permitirse el lujo de vivir, en parte porque el dinero público financiará un patio de recreo militar donde se enseñará a la policía tácticas de contrainsurgencia que podrían usarse para matar a los habitantes negros de Atlanta.

Impulsada por la APF, bajo la apariencia de un proyecto público, Cop City está fuertemente respaldada por intereses corporativos. APF tiene vínculos financieros y de liderazgo notables con una larga lista de em-

presas, incluidas Waffle House, Equifax, UPS, Wells Fargo, Home Depot, AT&T, Delta Airlines, Chick-fil-A y Koch Industries. Cox Enterprises, Inc., una corporación privada de comunicaciones de miles de millones de dólares que da forma a las percepciones públicas, es reconocida como una de las principales financiadoras de Cop City. (En una entrevista de julio de 2023 de Black Power Media/Renegade Siafu TV [BPM/RSTV], un miembro de la familia Cox y un miembro del clero negro de Atlanta critican sus respectivas instituciones). Los funcionarios electos de Atlanta: su alcalde, jefe de policía y concejales de la ciudad—están atentos a las directivas de la APF, la creación de un fideicomiso de cerebros, la banca y la redefinición de Atlanta a través de Cop City. El sitio web de APF se jacta de que el Grupo de trabajo del presidente Obama sobre la vigilancia policial del siglo XXI de 2015 promovió a Atlanta como una "ciudad modelo", afirmando que es una de las 15 jurisdicciones de las 18,000 fuerzas policiales que recibieron tal honor. Celebrar este respaldo del primer presidente negro oculta el hecho de que las figuras políticas democráticas de Atlanta que apoyan a Cop City son negras, pero los patrocinadores son corporaciones blancas. Según la APF, el entrenamiento policial recibido en Cop City "mejorará la moral. . . para DPA." ¿Cómo es eso? La capacitación en dominación, violencia y abuso de poder aumenta la desconfianza de los civiles hacia la vigilancia policial.

A pesar de las protestas masivas a raíz de la muerte de George Floyd en 2020 a manos (o rodillas) de un oficial de policía de Minneapolis, los asesinatos policiales alcanzaron un máximo histórico en 2022. Al mismo tiempo, APD perdió policías después de las protestas de 2020; planea contratar a 750 oficiales durante tres años con bonos de retención y estipendios de reubicación. El alcalde Andre Dickens difamó a los protectores ambientales y comunitarios que protestaban en Cop City llamándolos "forasteros", pero el crecimiento de APD requiere reclutar policías "forasteros" para acelerar la gentrificación.

APF vende su producto: vigilancia policial. Mientras tanto, los ciudadanos de Atlanta carecen de paradas de autobús, escuelas bien financiadas, almuerzos gratuitos para niños y ancianos, vivienda adecuada y atención médica, aire limpio y parques. APF ve el bosque (y el presupuesto de la ciudad) como propiedad no del público sino de

los sectores ricos y la riqueza corporativa, cuyos intereses son atendidos por la clase compradora. La gente duerme en viviendas públicas deficientes, o sobre cartón en calles y callejones, con comida y cuidados insuficientes, mientras los inversionistas construyen una economía política basada en una vigilancia policial depredadora. Una vez construida, Cop City capacitaría a la APD, a las agencias de aplicación de la ley estatales, regionales e internacionales “en las mejores prácticas policiales del siglo XXI”, al mismo tiempo que proporcionaría un cómodo “lugar de reunión para eventos y conversaciones de la comunidad” en medio de la destrucción de las comunidades negras a través de la aterrorización de esas comunidades. y los ambientalistas y cuidadores que los protegen.

A pesar de su misión declarada de cuidar a los jóvenes (negros), la APF aún los proyecta como el objetivo principal de las fuerzas combinadas de la APD, el fiscal de distrito del condado de Fulton, los jueces y la Comisión de Justicia Penal de Atlanta que “abordará el asunto de los delincuentes reincidentes”. APF promete “Participación de los jóvenes” a “expandir su iniciativa juvenil At-Promise, “para desviar del crimen a los jóvenes de Atlanta hacia caminos más brillantes”. Cuando las organizaciones sin fines de lucro se asocian con la policía (o el cuidado temporal carcelario) para ayudar a los jóvenes en comunidades desatendidas por el gobierno de la ciudad y abusadas por vigilancia policial depredadora, en realidad empeoran los resultados de salud de estas comunidades. La meditación de palabra hablada del artista Hausson Byrd “Proyección” aborda poéticamente la violencia de la vigilancia policial depredadora. Las redes policiales, como señala Byrd, proyectan su violencia sobre civiles, ciudadanos y cautivos. Los objetivos desproporcionadamente son los pobres, la clase trabajadora y las personas de color. En lugar de preguntar a las comunidades qué formas de asistencia son útiles, la gobernanza dicta a las comunidades de escasos recursos y continúa desestabilizándolas a través de la negligencia financiera y la vigilancia policial punitiva. Si la policía militarizada es un proyecto de colonización para las ciudades en general, es imperativo pensar más allá de los planes y las protestas de las ciudades individuales y traiciones políticas, con el fin de trazar trayectorias que informen las estrategias de resistencia a la guerra.

URBAN WARFARE AND CORPORATE-FUNDED ARMIES

Atlanta's Cop City is another chapter in the long history of U.S.-based colonialism. The second installment in a two-part series.

By Joy James & Kalonji Jama Changa (*Inquest*, July 20, 2023)

<https://inquest.org/urban-warfare-and-corporate-funded-armies/>

In the first in this set of paired essays, published earlier in the week, we explored how the Atlanta Police Foundation (APF)—a private, militarized policy offshoot of the Atlanta Police Department (APD) working in collaboration with corporate interests, clergy, and Atlanta City Hall—is forcing the Cop City complex onto Atlanta despite widespread opposition.

What is happening in Georgia right now, however, is not restricted to Atlanta and APF. No one fully has a clear sight of the puppet masters' hands and the manipulation of governance. Still, federal police have a significant impact throughout the country. In July 2022 the FBI raided the St. Louis and St. Petersburg headquarters of Uhuru House, part of the African People's Socialist Party, with weapons drawn, and confiscated files. The raids were conducted supposedly to investigate Russian election interference. But the African People's Socialist Party, which provides food and material support for under-resourced organizations, has noted how the FBI's use of the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) is continuous with its long history of violent policing against environmentalists at the behest of corporations. The FBI appears to maintain a similar appetite to that wielded by J. Edgar Hoover under the COINTELPRO program which, with lethal efficiency, sabotaged Black radical organizing.

What we are witnessing is the logic of colonialism practiced domestically. Colonialism is a contemporary threat to the stability of cities (and countries) facing attempts by corporations and governments to violate the rights of working-class and low-income communities, most often Black and brown. Addressing the complexity or puzzle of Cop City means acknowledging the historical trajectory of militarized violence, corporate dominance, and political corruption that preceded the present crisis.

Paramilitary and mercenary foreign policy strategies seep into domestic policing. Six decades ago, Democratic and Republican administrations were both equally funding white mercenaries and paramilitary policing to destabilize African freedom movements. In 1964 President Lyndon Johnson authorized the Department of Defense to provide material support toward the effort of undermining and killing African liberation leaders and intellectuals. This racial terrorism in U.S. foreign policy was conterminous with domestic policy. Despite the terror, Black agency continued to resist violence and dishonor.

In the summer of 1964, Johnson met with the parents of slain white civil rights activists Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, but seemingly not with the parents of James Chaney, a Black Mississippi CORE organizer. That June, assisted by a sheriff's deputy, Klansmen had assassinated the three civil rights workers in Mississippi and buried the bodies in a dam. Johnson called upon J. Edgar Hoover to solve the crime. The corpses were found on August 4, 1964, when President Johnson was campaigning for the presidency and attempting to appease various political factions. During the search for the bodies of the civil rights activists, rivers were dragged and eight corpses of Black males discovered, including two nineteen-year-olds and one fourteen-year-old who was wearing a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) T-shirt. On August 3, 1980, one day short of the sixteenth anniversary of the recovery of the bodies of the murdered civil rights activists, Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, staging his campaign near Philadelphia, Mississippi, a ten-minute drive from the dam where the three organizers had been buried, stood at the podium demanding "state's rights."

History is instructive. Atlanta's brutalities and tragedies are not unique. Cop City's current paramilitary violence—from city police, state troopers, and the FBI—mirrors the lethal policies of the past where vigilante and police terror, opportunist politicians, and state criminality converged. Without the formal endorsement of (white) nationalist presidential candidates such as Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, Black compradors have worked in and beyond Atlanta to obscure the legacies of Martin Luther King, Jr., el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz (Malcolm X), Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Ella Baker. Investment portfo-

lios incentivized by corporations and foundations seek to decimate the civil rights of working- class and poor communities deemed exploitable and expendable, particularly if they are Black. From city councils to mayors, through governors, Congress, and the White House, intimidation and terror tactics appear to be implicitly (by Democrats) and explicitly (by Republicans) approved in standard governance for the control of Black cities and communities.



APF is only one organization within a larger nexus of “public–private” partnerships attempting to shape Atlanta’s public safety policies. Headquartered inside the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies at Georgia State University, the Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE) has been in partnership with the university, Atlanta Police Department (as well as various other police agencies), public and corporate sectors, and civic groups since its inception thirty years ago. Among its activities, GILEE organizes a police exchange program that provides U.S. law enforcement with special training from Israeli Police. Aside from hosting Atlanta police, the Jerusalem Post reports that “Israel . . . has hosted over 1,200 public safety officials since the start of the program.” A least twenty-nine U.S. delegations of law enforcement have traveled to Jerusalem to participate in “intensive two-week training programs,” including many from the Atlanta area.

Why would Atlanta, a city that many view as the “civil rights capitol,” look to Israel for local police training—and what does this training even consist of?

In 2019 the United Nations Human Rights Council released a twenty-two- page report stating, according to the New York Times, that “Israeli troops may have committed crimes against humanity in shooting unarmed civilians—including children—who posed no threat during mass protests.” Israeli military and police forces have been guilty of the illegal occupation of Palestine for the last fifty-six years—making it, according to law scholar Valentina Azarova, the longest occupation in modern history. They have a well-documented track record of human rights abuses. Yet for the past three decades the Atlanta Police Depart-

ment, as well as various state and local officials, have through GILEE turned to these same actors to train law enforcement in military tactics in Georgia.

GILEE donations, channeled through Georgia State University and government funding, are more opaque than APF resources. We know, though, that APF is supported by major corporations such as Cox Media Group, Coca Cola, Wells Fargo, Delta, and Home Depot. A host of other multinational corporations maintain a significant influence in and beyond Atlanta by funneling private funding into police foundations. Deploying similar tactics across the globe, U.S. corporations have facilitated coups and assassinations of labor, environmental, and human rights organizers in Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and many other nations. In its refusal to hear an impassioned citizenry argue and plead against a militarized zone, Atlanta remains loyal to the trajectory of colonial cities despite the rising costs and violence against civilians.



A member of Atlanta's Faith Coalition to Stop Cop City, Reverend Keyanna Jones has family that lives in the Black neighborhood targeted for gentrification and militarization through Cop City. In her activism against the police training complex, Rev. Jones brings attention to the betrayals of Black mayors and the predominately Black city council. Jones and other activists have drawn attention to the fact that plans for Cop City include a "mock village" in which police will practice urban warfare tactics. Contributors to educational platforms such as Scalawag help keep the public informed on strategic opposition to state warfare.

Rev. Jones anticipates that Cop City will be used for police training in "MOUT" tactics. MOUT is a genre of military-developed urban warfare strategies—for example, as described in the Marines-developed training handbook *Military Operations on Urban Terrain (MOUT)*. The manual focuses on "military operations on urbanized terrain" (i.e., urban warfare), with diagrams illustrating military operations in commercial and residential areas that would be perfectly at home in Atlanta.

Indeed, an Army report from the early 1980s says that researchers developing MOU techniques used the city of Atlanta as a basis for their research. Under the rubric of MOU, protests against police violence, redistricting, poverty, and hunger become criminalized. Essentially communal advocacy and protests for civil and human rights are treated as acts of terrorism. This is the Atlanta (and international) playbook to colonize a city. In its effort to suppress dissent against Cop City, the majority of Atlanta's city government has criminalized people who want to grow flowers and food, and attend music festivals and, while there, show solidarity with forest protectors without being arrested on "terrorist" charges.

The U.S. military has practiced some version of MOU across the globe for decades. Combat training seeks to colonize your local city. Primary targets of the domestic deployment of MOU will be Black folks, BIPOC, and working-class and low-income communities. Some argue that the "asymmetric enemy" will look like the "Chocolate City" or "Black Mecca" and thus we should expect some version of Detroit 1967 in the future. State violence continues despite the fact that it would be simpler, safer, and more orderly to provide healthy jobs, food, housing, schooling, and green spaces to communities. Progressives' and abolitionists' unpreparedness for repressive mandates to construct and control "internal colonies" indicates that this ongoing struggle has been shortsightedly portrayed as a local, urban issue.

Speaking about Atlanta during a June 9, 2023, Black Power Media (BPM) podcast, this essay's coauthor Kalonji Changa reflected upon the trajectory of escalating state violence and police as executioners:

The arrogant and desperate attempt to terrorize and crush the morale of activists five days before the Atlanta City Council's vote on funding the corporate-sponsored paramilitary training ground is utterly repulsive. The trumped-up charges used to criminalize and vilify the Atlanta Solidarity Fund's legitimate activists, including Marlon Kautz, and Adele MacLean—both of whom I have known and organized with for well over a decade—is proof that these warmongers will pull out all stops to achieve goals. The police and the media have unsuccessfully tried to paint Marlon and Adele as opportunists or "agitators" when in fact they are seasoned organizers who have a long history of organizing in the Atlanta community.

As part of their Cop Watch program, they worked alongside our organization, The FTP Movement, and many other organizations working on numerous campaigns, including the case of Troy Anthony Davis who was executed in September 2011 despite global demands for a stay due to his innocence. The state's blatant disregard for community will be their ultimate demise. You cannot attack community organizers in front of the world and think that it will be an easy victory.

Cop City's architects have blood on their hands for the murder of Tortuguita. The government and police should be charged not only with his assassination, but also the numerous false arrests, bullying, scare tactics, and the strong-armed robbery of taxpayers who are supposed to provide the tens of millions to fund a colonial project. The APF, corporate donors, and indifferent Georgia politicians are the true domestic terrorists.

Activists warn that a militarized police training center will disenfranchise a Black working-class community as the state and corporations wage a lethal war against communities and civilians. The only people killed or tortured in Atlanta were those assaulted by police. Communities deploy various strategies in war resistance. Anti-colonial battles are continuous and require constant vigilance. Less than a two-hour drive from Atlanta, at Fort Benning, another deadly entity with a benign name—the School of the Americas (SOA), also known as the “School of the Assassins”—was shut down by ethical organizers in 2000. Yet the former SOA was rebranded as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, which reportedly continues to offer SOA's curriculum of torture, assassinations, and human rights violations. Still, mass gatherings of diverse and principled individuals and communities continue to resist death and gentrification structured by communal dispossession, predatory policing, and state criminality from New York to Nanterre. History remains instructive. In 1972, only a few months before his assassination in Guinea by forces supporting colonialism, African liberator Amílcar Cabral spoke with New York City organizers (his speech is preserved in *Return to the Source*), instructing and offering international solidarity in anti-colonial war resistance:

We realize the difficulties you face, the problems you have and your feelings, your revolts, and also your hopes. We think that our fighting for Africa against colonialism and imperialism is a proof of understanding of your problem and also a contribution for the solution of your problems in this continent. Naturally, the inverse is also true.

NOTES

Black Power Media. "Resisting Cop City Corporate and Clergy Colonizers." Youtube, 1:17:28. July 18, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31Fe4g5lu54>

Johnson, Rev. Matthew V., and Joy James. "A Letter of Concern to Black Clergy Regarding 'Cop City.'" Logos Journal, June 14, 2023. <https://logosjournal.com/2023/a-letter-of-concern-to-black-clergy-regarding-cop-city/>.

"Introducing the Economic Future for African People." The African People's Socialist Party. Accessed 2023. <https://apspuhuru.org/about/black-star-industries/>.

Shahshahani, Azadeh, and Collin P. Poirot. "The DOJ Is Using 'Foreign Agents' Accusations to Repress Black Liberation Organizers." The Nation, April 26, 2023. <https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/foreign-agents-registration-act-political-repression/>.

Wolfe-Rocca, Ursula. "Why We Should Teach About the FBI's War on the Civil Rights Movement." Zinn Education Project, March 1, 2016. <https://www.zinnedproject.org/lf-we-knew-our-history/fbi-war-civil-rights-movement/>.

Howland, Nina D, David C. Humphrey, and Harriet D. Schwar, eds. "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XXIII, Document 1, Congo, 1960–1968." Government Printing Office, 2013. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v23>.

Dennis, David. "How Dick Gregory Forced The FBI To Find The Bodies Of Three Civil Rights Workers Slain In Mississippi." Medium, August 30, 2017. <https://stillcrew.com/how-dick-gregory-forced-the-fbi-to-find-the-bodies-of-goodman-chaney-and-schwerner-fa9790c49ad4>.

Beschloss, Michael. "'Think They Got Killed?' 1964, L.B.J. and Three Civil Rights Icons." The New York Times, June 25, 2014. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/26/upshot/think-they-got-killed-1964-lbj-and-three-civil-rights-icons.html>.

"June 21, 1964: Three Civil Rights Workers Murdered in Mississippi." Zinn Education Project, June 21, 2021. <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/chaney-goodman-schwerner-murdered/>.

"16 Senior Police and Public Safety Executives Return from Police Executive Training in Israel." *Georgia State News Hub*, November 19, 2021. Andrew Young School of Policy Studies. <https://news.gsu.edu/2021/11/19/16-senior-police-and-public-safety-executives-return-from-police-executive-training-in-israel/>.

Roitman, Ariella. "Georgia State Police Return Home after Two-Week Israeli Training." The Jerusalem Post | JPost.com, July 22, 2022. <https://www.jpost.com/israeli-news/article-711682>.

Council on American-Islamic Relations. "BIGOTRY & BRUTALITY IN FOREIGN POLICE TRAINING: A Comprehensive Report on the Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE)." Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep31111>.

UNHRC, Report of the independent international commission of inquiry on the protests in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, 25 February–22 March 2019, online: < https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/ColOPT/A_HRC_40_74.pdf

Cumming-Bruce, Nick. "Israelis May Have Committed Crimes Against Humanity in Gaza Protests, U.N. Says." *The New York Times*, February 28, 2019.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/28/world/middleeast/israel-crimes-against-humanity-gaza-un.html>.

"Israel's Occupation: 50 Years of Dispossession." Amnesty International. Accessed 2023.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2017/06/israel-occupation-50-years-of-dispossession/#:~:text=Since%20the%20occupation%20first%20began,them%20of%20their%20basic%20rights.>

Azarova, Valentina. "Towards a Counter-Hegemonic Law of Occupation: The Regulation of Predatory Interstate Acts in Contemporary International Law." *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, January 1, 2018.
<https://ssrn.com/abstract=3133978>

Simon, Morgan. "Cops And Donuts Go Together More Than You Thought: The Corporations Funding Cop City In Atlanta." *Forbes*, March 14, 2023.
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/morgansimon/2023/03/14/cops-and-donuts-go-together-more-than-you-thought-the-corporations-funding-cop-city-in-atlanta/?sh=146c8f76bc60>.

Class, Jessenia. "Corporations Are Keeping Cop City Alive." *The Flaw*, May 13, 2023.
<https://theflaw.org/articles/corporations-are-keeping-cop-city-alive/#:~:text=Backed%20in%20turn%20by%20a,the%20media%20narrative%20around%20protest.>

Seidman, Derek. "Corporate Backers of the Blue: How Corporations Bankroll U.S. Police Foundations." *Eyes on the Ties*, June 18, 2020.
<https://news.littleisis.org/2020/06/18/corporate-backers-of-the-blue-how-corporations-bankroll-u-s-police-foundations/>.

Gebrekidan, Selam, Matt Apuzzo, Catherine Porter, and Constant Méheut. "Invade Haiti, Wall Street Urged. The U.S. Obligated." *The New York Times*, May 20, 2022.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/haiti-wall-street-us-banks.html>.

The United Fruit Company and the 1954 Guatemalan Coup, 2023.
<https://ufcguatemala.voices.wooster.edu/>.

Harrison, Benjamin. "The United States and the 1909 Nicaragua Revolution." *Caribbean Quarterly* 41, no. 3/4 (1995): 45–63.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40653942>.

Little, Becky. "10 Times America Helped Overthrow a Foreign Government." *History.com*, June 7, 2022.
<https://www.history.com/news/us-overthrow-foreign-governments>.

Square Mile Media Atlanta. "55 TRINITY - 'I DON'T WANT COP CITY' Rev. Keyanna Jones." *Youtube*, 6:06. March 6, 2023,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tnFbsm3k2Oc>

Jones, Rev. Keyanna (Atlanta's Black Community Says, "Stop Cop City!"). Interview with Margaret Kimberley. *Black Agenda Report*. Podcast audio. June 9, 2023.
<https://www.blackagendareport.com/atlantas-black-community-says-stop-cop-city>

"Public Safety Training Center." *Atlanta Police Foundation*. Accessed 2023.
<https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/programs/public-safety-training-center/>.

"Cop City Archives." *Scalawag*, 2023. <https://scalawagmagazine.org/tag/cop-city/>.

Department of the Navy. *Military Operations on Urbanized Terrain (MOUT)*. Washington, DC: Department of the Navy, 1998.
<https://www.marines.mil/Portals/1/MCWP%203-35.3.pdf>

Department of the Army. *URBAN TERRAIN ANALYSIS TRAINING AIDS*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1981.
<https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA105652.pdf>.

Gill, Lesley. "The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas." *Duke University Press*, September 2004.
<https://www.dukeupress.edu/the-school-of-the-americas>.

Wright, Julia. "France's Racism Still on Display as It Denies Its Colonial Past — and Present." Truthout, July 12, 2023.

https://truthout.org/articles/frances-racism-still-on-display-as-it-denies-its-colonial-past-and-present/?utm_source=Truthout&utm_campaign=36ae1ade0d-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_3_20_2023_13_41_COPY_05&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_bbb541a1db-36ae1ade0d-650623509&mc_cid=36ae1ade0d&mc_eid=62fe682022.

Cabral, Amilcar. Return to the Source: Selected Speeches, 1974. https://abahlali.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/amilcar_cabral_return_to_the_source-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf.

LETTER OF CONCERN TO BLACK CLERGY REGARDING “COP CITY”

[A]n open letter . . . to members of the clergy... speaks to the challenges, principles, and strategies of activists opposed to the building of “Cop City.”

By Rev. Matthew V. Johnson, Jr.; Introduction by Joy James
(*Logos*, June 14, 2023)

<https://logosjournal.com/2023/a-letter-of-concern-to-black-clergy-regarding-cop-city/>

Introduction

Last March, I spoke at a University of Michigan conference, titled “Insurgent Research: Practice and Theory,” organized by Comp Lit doctoral students. The conference flyer showed a photograph of Atlanta protests against “Cop City” and a banner with the image of Tortuguita (Manuel Paez Teran), who was assassinated by Georgia state troopers in January 2023, while they sat unarmed with their hands in the air. After police forces slandered Tortuguita, falsely stating that they had shot a trooper in the leg, the traumatized family released the private autopsy: Troopers shot the meditating forest protector/communal caretaker **57** times. (People registered their concerns with Georgia State Patrol <https://dps.georgia.gov/divisions/georgia-state-patrol>.) My talk in Ann Arbor focused on resistance to (proto)fascism, from Mao’s 1941 statement on the “united front against fascism” through the Black Panther Party and Students for a Democratic Society 1969 attempts to fashion a united front against US fascism and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to the Black communities’ rights to self-defense today. As local police forces increased their use of lethal force and assassinations to derail freedom movements, a student conference table offered diverse literature and postcards for those swept up in mass arrests during and after the Atlanta music festival where police and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) levied unsubstantiated “terrorism” charges against activists and advocates enjoying cultural events.



Several weeks after the conference, I travelled to Atlanta for an In Pursuit of Revolutionary Love book talk with beloved comrades working with ARC on reproductive rights and protections for LGBTQIA+ communities. In Atlanta, I met with forest protectors who knew Michigan students. At a café, over tea, Reverend Matthew (whose brilliant missive appears below), a young Black (fe)male anarchist, and I reflected how best to cope with and minimize tragedies inflicted by state violence.

During the conversation, I asked about security strategies for forest/community protectors and war resisters. I wondered aloud how to magnify concentric circles to protect the epicenter where risk-taking and Agape-driven actors hold space to shield Black working-class communities adjacent to the forest and gardens from a former prison farm and plantation (one would think that reparations due would allow the community to keep its communal lands). Activists are routinely brut-

alized or disappeared by predatory city/ county/state/federal police forces. While those devoted organizers hold the core, how might we as local, national, international communities and organizers increase our capacity to build rings of concentric circles that mobilize medical, legal, media and security to deflect state violence. Working to cushion the blows of predatory policing, how can I and my kin in outer rings deliver encompassing care and forms of security that radiate from the local community through the city, state, nation and international communities in ways that aid war resisters and deter predatory police forces. The proverbial ripples from the pebble thrown into the pond make legible movements that radiate beyond the spot in which the pebble drops.

Dishonor and torture by state violence will continue; so, we must provide security rings to deflect blows. We best face the predatory state by committing to encircle each other in care. Those who take the most risks to resist war should receive the most resources for self-defense. Conventional politicians— mayors and city councils— dishonor and endanger our lives, lands, and loved ones. Their mammon-like appetites for prestige and power— from payouts to pulpits and presidential politics —must be contained. Our devotion to the Beloved Community, despite our fears, will align with Agape — love as political will. We have capacity for struggles in diverse zones that interconnect caretaking, protests, movements, marronage, and war resistance.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote in his August 1963 “Letter from Birmingham Jail”: “I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” Just as King saw it sixty years ago, this is an international struggle. The militarization of forests and gentrification of Black working-class communities reflect corporate and colonial ambitions. Police violence, arrests and executions disproportionately target Black/brown poor and working-classes. The militarization of society strips public funding for decent housing, education, food, employment, and culture and redirects funds towards entities such as the police foundations, and corporate entities. Black/brown compradors will continue to cash in on the colonization of cities until they are forced to stop their exploitation and greed. A securi-

ty apparatus can protect not only lives but also international boycotts, recalls, referendums, primarying incumbents bought by corporations and military industries. Increasingly forced into marronage, with the theft of lands, waters and collective reparations, we mutate to better figure out how political kin and communities build concentric care and security. Officialdom marches the mass and communal caretakers into muddy waters. Through agency as Captive Maternals, we retain capacity to wade and evade the cesspools created by corporate donors and compradors. — Joy James



A Letter of Concern to Black Clergy

Dear Siblings in the Faith,

I write to you during this Lenten season from my home in Atlanta. I write with a heavy heart, having lost friends to jail under false charges and one to murder, covered up poorly by police. I pray without ceasing for those who are still under arrest, denied bail, deemed a threat to the community for no good reason. I pray that the mother of the slain, Belkis Terán, a devout Catholic, know who her child truly was, despite the misinformation swirling around their death. Tortuguita was murdered, shot over a dozen times with their hands raised and their legs crossed. May the bullet holes through their palms, holy stigmata, be a reminder that their child was a servant of God.



In Atlanta, we find ourselves in a struggle at the intersection of climate change, police militarization, racialized police violence, and environmental racism: The movement to Defend the Atlanta Forest and to Stop Cop City. I have never been so certain that Jesus is guiding my path, but that path has most often been far from the church. That is certainly not Jesus's problem, nor do I believe that it is a me-problem. After much reflection and patience, I have come to believe that it is Atlanta's well-established Black Churches that ought to examine themselves. After two years of protest, a year and a half of a forest occupation, over forty people arrested for domestic terrorism without one injury to a living being, and a murder by police, the only thing that stirred respectable Black Clergy to mumble a word was the destruction of property being used to flout the will of the people most affected. Many others remain silent.

In order to curry favor and privilege with corporate interests and Black faces in high places, Atlanta's Black churches have been silent for decades of iniquity. Whatever they have gained is miniscule in comparison to the amount of wealth, opportunity, and life chances expropriated from the Black masses who continue to build this city. The time for silence in the face of systemic injustice in exchange for a few sterling examples of Black Excellence is over. I have been back home in Atlanta since 2019 before I chose to say one word of criticism.

Atlanta's racial consciousness exists with a profound cognitive dissonance. On one hand, we are proud to elect politicians, appoint government officials, and promote some corporate leaders from Atlanta's Black population. On the other hand, we are not blind to the fact that these immense efforts failed to stem the tide of inequality and systemic injustice that maintain the largest racial income gap of a major city in the United States. While we do not want to call out our folk who "made it", we begin to wonder whether these leaders are unable or unwilling to make the changes we need. While we hoped they would bring us closer to liberation, it too often appears that these Black leaders' position, power, and status is predicated on their ability and willingness to keep the rest of us in line.

Greater disparities in wealth and increasing state violence show cracks in this façade of peace and raise questions about the veracity of this oft-repeated claim of Atlanta as the Black Mecca. The long-standing

unwillingness at the national, state, and local level to allocate resources to social programs now provide the justification for another policy decision that makes our world more violent. The wealthy and corporations see the development of a militarized police training facility as the only means to keep themselves and their wealth safe. The false scarcity and unresponsiveness to the needs of the people created by corporate greed necessitates the state violence required to maintain itself. This is the role that the police are being trained to fulfill. Continued investment in this cycle of violence will only perpetuate violence and the widening gap between have's and have-not's.



In order to push forward these widely unpopular ideas, the wealthy and powerful send the Black Political Class and a host of pre-approved community leaders who are ingratiated to them. Whether it is for wealth, power, status, or for continued patronage of valuable community work, Black leaders often make political compromises deleterious to the Black masses in order to, at best, benefit a small segment of our people. After watching the Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta mobilize so quickly on March 10th, following interfaith leaders gathering on March 6th in front of City Hall, and a Black activist-led mobilization on March 9th, it was dreadfully obvious what their role was. They came to stamp out opposition to a militarized police training facility in a Black neighborhood already feeling disproportionate impact of environmental degradation.

Let's be clear: no matter how many Black clergy or politicians they put in front of this project, the wealthy private citizens, ownership of the corporations, and decision-makers of foundations that support this project are **overwhelmingly White**; they simply have the resources to buy off more influential Black people to put out front to mislead others. We cannot allow our elders to invoke the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960's to disparage the struggles and tactics of a completely different

time without scrutiny in the name of respectability. It is time we ask our heroes of yesteryear what they are doing now if they continue to act as representatives of our people in the present.

We often find a subtle contradiction among such senior clergy: while they speak about how long they have been involved in activism, they talk about the need for forging new relationships to transform the system. If you have been so deeply involved and connected to the system, how on Earth did things get so bad? If you have been so deeply involved for so long with things getting so bad, why on Earth should we believe that you are the people that will be able to do a new thing? My journey leads me to question the fitness of past generations to speak to the popular struggles of the past decade.

2 Timothy 2:15

I do not come to ministry lightly. By virtue of the assignment, being ordained implies that you accepted a calling to speak on behalf of the most powerful being in the universe, the most expansive being and thought that any being could ever conceive of. In order to take such an assignment you must be certain, arrogant beyond belief, out of your mind, or not believe that God exists. I am certain of that call, and I know that God Exists (I am open to arguments). I fully understand the assignment. I have worked for some time to prepare myself for it as best as I could.

I am no “outside agitator”. I attended Morehouse College where I was President of the debate team and a coach of Grady High School’s speech and debate team years before God called me. My basis for understanding the world around me was firmly grounded in reason. When God spoke to me, I examined every other possibility of my experience. I spent years learning about the world around me and learning skills outside of church walls before graduate education to prepare for ministry. I received a Master of Divinity from the University of Chicago and returned to Atlanta in the Summer of 2019.

By January 2019, in Hyde Park, performing my morning prayers facing south, I knew God was calling me back to Atlanta. I faced significant harassment when I was in Chicago. This was not simply for political and theological beliefs; my real offence was my commitment to learning

the requisite skills and competencies to actualize societal changes. I have been all too familiar with ministers who spoke to the concerns of Black people but lacked interest, capacity, will, skill, or knowledge to enact the changes they talked about. These people are not a threat to the system; they say all the right things but cannot execute any of them. I resolved to prepare as best I could to build a world in line with the vision of societal transformation Jesus cast. I have continued to learn, prepare, and practice in ways that are reflective of the world I want to see. I have tried my best to understand who Jesus was and find out how to follow his example; too many co-laborers spent more time building a platform to reach people without the foundation to know what to say.

When I returned to Atlanta in the summer of 2019, a local Pastor of a well-established Black Church, whom I knew from family connections, asked me to preach for him. He explained to me that a member whom he never knew to have means gave \$25,000 on the Sunday I visited in the Spring. I sat by the man and we spoke that Sunday, and the pastor said that he saw me as a “good luck charm”. Although I was not yet convinced that this was where I should stay, I decided that it was where I would plant my feet as I discerned next steps in ministry.

I began to seek pastorate positions in February 2020. The pandemic quickly paused that search, and I spent the next few months diligently supporting my current church community in many ways, including but not limited to teaching weekly bible studies. I also deepened my support of an organization primarily comprised of “far left” activists who were delivering food to families that were primarily working-class Black folks. This group did not have resources from the city or any other large organizations as many other churches did, but we delivered more groceries at the height of the pandemic lockdown than churches with much greater capacity. Meanwhile, the church I worked with shut down its food distribution program during this same period.

I remember the Sunday after the George Floyd Rebellions started and I attempted to explain what I saw near the CNN Center. I saw police firing pepper spray indiscriminately, using violence disproportionately with no adequate response to people emboldened to protest their treatment en masse. Even if the reader believes that arbitrary violence against people is a reasonable response to property destruction, I left

that evening before any police cars were set on fire. What I saw was wrong done by police that were panicked, but unlike other people who use violence when they are panicked, law enforcement officers are protected by the state and do not lose years of their lives in prison when they make such mistakes.

I never got time to explain what I saw that day. As I began to explain, the Pastor quickly interjected in our Zoom service, and he messaged me that he would address the protests later. The only thing that he said in the moment was “people seem most worried about property destruction, but should be worried about the value of human life”. That was it. In the face of the largest demonstrations against state violence in recorded history, my pastor gave a quippy one-liner and moved on with his sermon as if the world was not burning all around him. Although I had been teaching Wednesday night Bible studies almost every week for the past two months of the pandemic, those weekly invitations disappeared. Perhaps we both knew that my assignment and this well-established church would not align.

Shortly after Rayshard Brooks was murdered by Atlanta police officer Garrett Rolfe, I met a young activist that was only armed with a megaphone at a protest that was headed toward APD’s Third Precinct. I gave him a respirator since the police liberally used tear gas during protests in those days, and told him that he could reach me if he ever needed support. We stayed in touch, and he asked me to come to Rayshard Brooks’ funeral along with him. As we sat in Ebenezer Baptist Church and watched speaker after speaker give their respects and proceed through the program, the young activist looked over to me and said, “Do you think they would have ever welcomed Rayshard here if he weren’t killed by the police?” He understood the deep class divide that existed in Atlanta’s most internationally known church, the spiritual home of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Such events were politically expedient while Rev. Dr. Warnock was running for office as a progressive, but his critiques of police brutality and militarism faded as Senator Warnock settled into office. That young activist named Antonio Lewis that spoke boldly against police brutality and Cop City on the campaign trail said nothing when he became Councilman Antonio Lewis. Garret Rolfe, the officer that shot Rayshard Brooks in the back, received backpay and was reinstated as an APD officer on his watch. Now Councilman Lewis spouts conspiracy theories about protestors sabotaging critical infrastructure as he supports Cop City, pads the po-

ckets of police officers, and funds APF projects that further the surveillance of Black Communities.

While Warnock and Lewis claimed that they would change things from the inside, they are the ones who changed. Police killings across America, the murder rate in Atlanta, and the Atlanta Police budget disproportionately were rising since 2020. Our communities are no safer, but Sen. Warnock and Councilman Lewis gained notoriety. I expect little from politicians, especially without strong checks from community voices that hold politicians accountable to what they said they would do before they got in office. I expect the most ardent advocacy from those who commit to the ultimate reality beyond this plane of existence, yet the clergy have let us down yet again in the fight against America's modern, militarized policing apparatus.



Many of the people whom I have organized with over the past three years only learned that I am ordained Baptist clergy in the past few months. Over the past three years, I did not offer unsolicited feedback; I did not tell people how things should be done based on how things were once done; I did not rush to podiums or seek out interviews; I did not assume that I knew the answers simply because I was in a position of influence. Over the past three years, I helped and listened where I saw worthwhile work being done. I asked questions where I did not understand the situation. I waited to speak until we were facing unprecedented repression; I voiced internal criticism and encouraged holistic, critical thinking about our predicament when disagreements on tactics and strategy arose. This order of operations, based on discernment, empathy, and introspection is more in keeping with the Gospel of Jesus Christ than an approach characterized by bolstering the credibility of worldly power, rash judgement of a movement with little to no research on policing or environmental impact, and a lack of scrutiny or calls for tangible policy change to advance systemic justice.

The latter approach is the common characterization of clergy many activists held, informed by their personal experiences.

The ministers who gathered on March 10th in reaction to the Faith Coalition of Forest Defenders and the prior night's Black-led protest to Stop Cop City should be embarrassed to only raise their voices about policing in the United States at this juncture. Atlanta's Black leadership class became so obsessed with maintaining relationships with people in power, that they were willing to sacrifice their responsibility to speak truth to those powers. Thus, you end up with the Blackest city in America having the largest racial income disparity in the country, continually contaminated water supply, widespread displacement of legacy residents, and corporate outside agitators, bringing employees from elsewhere at far higher salaries with no tangible benefits to the neighborhoods they settle in, driving up the cost of everything. It appears outsiders only become agitating to our government when they are questioning the power structures that legitimate racialized capitalism.

Do not expect me to publicly condemn property destruction of equipment being used to destroy public property against the will of the public. Furthermore, the destruction of this publicly owned land builds capacity for law enforcement that fails to respect the sanctity of human life and a commitment to nonviolence. Police routinely destroy and confiscate protestor-owned property and dole out unreciprocated violence as we wage the fight to Stop Cop City. However, many have deluded themselves into believing that this asymmetrical warfare against the public is justice, and this is reinforced in multiple facets of our society.

People fighting for a better tomorrow with no sanctioned power to defend themselves are consistently faced with moral purity tests in the media while people who have a state-sanctioned monopoly on violence are never asked to commit to non-violent strategies. The people who have no protection under the law are expected to act with unflinching pacifism while militarized police forces, each receiving millions of dollars to learn to not use excessive force, are constantly given the benefit of the doubt when they do. We are accustomed to the asymmetry of asking people who are part of decentralized movements to justify the tactics of people whom they have no control over, while

politicians such as Andre Dickens and Antonio Lewis go without questioning on Garret Rolfe being rehired and receiving backpay from APD after being elected to their current offices. Both supported measures to reallocate police funding and condemned the murder of Rayshard Brooks when it was politically expedient. A government, corporate, media, or clerical apparatus that reinforces such asymmetry has no moral authority to condemn the Movement to Defend the Atlanta Forest and Stop Cop City.

When we see Atlanta City Council and consecutive mayors vote in favor of this training facility and/or refuse to speak out, despite widespread opposition, I have no empirical evidence that the electoral process will reflect the will of the people rather than monied private and corporate influence. When we have seen Ryan Millsap continue work on contested public land after a Dekalb County Stop Work Order, David Wilkinson push forward with a land disturbance permit despite an appeal to Dekalb County, and judges deny bond to protestors with no evidence to deem them a threat to the community, I have no empirical evidence that our judicial system will protect the will of the people. I have personally dealt with police harassment and repression without committing one crime. I have no empirical evidence to tell activists and organizers that widely accepted means of protest or their innovative strategies will shield them from excessive force or repression. It is not reason, it is not faith, but a failure of nerve, delusion, or preservation of privileged access that leads clergy to mention systemic injustice in general but condemn individual “sins” of protesters in particular. Such rhetorical strategies work to discredit movements that contain multitudes, while people called to be mouthpieces of God use their moral authority to ingratiate themselves to worldly powers, failing to speak truth to them as they were called to do.

Ecclesiastes 4:13

Despite deep concern with the patterns of engagement I have seen with clergy cozying up to power and privilege rather than investigating these facets of society with a critical eye, I have not directly criticized clergy, especially our elders, affording grace and patience in things that I may not see. Granted, there are many things that I may still not understand, but I have seen enough to know that many of our elders

speak out of a lack of knowledge and desire to be associated with power and prestige. I will focus here on conversations I had with Rev Dr. Gerald Durley and the speech I watched Rev. Timothy McDonald give on March 10. Both are well-esteemed members of the community and members of the Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta, and from their comments, I believe that these elders could benefit from research and self-reflection.

I have spoken with Rev. Dr. Gerald Durley three times in the past year or so. Once at a fundraiser in Spring 2022, once shortly before the March 4-11 Week of Action, and once on March 25th. I initiated the conversation each time. In the first conversation, I explained to him the importance of supporting local, grassroots organizing to instill a sense of agency in everyday people to effectively create political change, the second conversation I just listened, and the third time I explained the environmental impact and racism that the Cop City project furthered. The first time Rev. Durley explained to me how he was working with Rev. Warnock's campaign, the second time we spoke he told me of how the Mayor came to speak with the Concerned Black Clergy and mentioned his recent engagement with President Biden and Rev Warnock, and in the last conversation he spoke to me about his association with important people who were also in support of Cop City as he called claims I made from credible research "erroneous". I think it worth mentioning that the one common thread in the conversations is Rev. Dr. Durley emphasizing his relationship with important people rather than what these relationships yield for the people. I hypothesize that he confused the means as the end in political relationships: rather than using esteem with political power to provide access for the people, it seemed that Dr. Durley has leveraged esteem with the people to access political power as the end goal.

I was not sure whether or not he knew it, so I explained that I had been involved with the movement to Stop Cop City. I noted that I was not able to watch the entire press conference, only a portion that was primarily Rev. McDonald speaking. I noted that there were some things he said that I did not find disagreeable at all. I noted that I would like to have a deeper conversation with the Concerned Black Clergy, because if we cannot have a reasoned dialogue based on the information, who can? He did not respond to this request but instead questioned me on why I opposed the project. I explained to him the environmental impact

and the history of the court cases with the Stop Cop City and Stop the Swap coalitions. He asked where I got my information from. Before I could go into detail about the research I have been doing for two years, he cut me off to tell me the claims I made were “erroneous”. He then explained how he worked with groups such as the Sierra Club and GreenPeace. I then explained to him that both groups publicly supported the movement to Stop Cop City. He then mentioned other respectable individuals that are supporting the project to which I responded, “I am not a respecter of persons, but I do my research”. He then explained that he had to go after he initiated a conversation that I only hoped to schedule for the future.

As it turns out, Rev. Dr. Gerald Durley accepted a seat on the new Advisory Committee for Cop City before we had this conversation. Also, I understand why Dr. Durley would be so quick to dismiss the claims of environmental degradation. The same EPA administrator, Daniel Blackman, who was unresponsive to the South River Watershed Alliance’s demand that the Clean Water Act be enforced is on the Board of the Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta. The future of a city and Black People are at stake. I have the impression that Dr. Durley has not done his research. When an honest man is faced with the truth, he must change or cease to be honest.

Rev. Timothy McDonald’s speech reflect talking points that the City of Atlanta has brought forth without ever being subject to scrutiny. There are also some points that Rev. McDonald brings up that are in line with the values of the people protesting Cop City, however, there are some preconceived notions that the Reverend holds that are inaccurate. I quote Rev. McDonald from March 10— “Rev James Orange would always say Look out for Antifa. . .” — to raise questions about the premises of these arguments. Rev. McDonald explained his unwillingness to stand up for the people that have been arrested under domestic terrorism charges, painting them with a broad, uninformed brush. Antifa means Antifascist. He fails to acknowledge that there has been virtually no evidence tying any jailed individual to violent crime or property destruction. Given his stance on Cop City, Rev. McDonald does not hold local and state law enforcement and government to the same moral standard whereas they have destroyed evidence, property, and have a long-standing history of assaulting and disappearing

activists. People identifying themselves as Antifa have been most active protecting Civil Rights protests, far-right counter protests, and LGBTQIA events. This caution from Rev. Orange is a bit out of place. Rev James Orange, God rest his soul, died in 2008. If this is the most recent example that Rev. McDonald can think to reference clergy concerns during street protests, he should cede the microphone to clergy better in touch with organizers and activists from the past 15 years.

“I see [the training facility] as an opportunity for the community to make a template of how we can do law enforcement. Imagine, if you will, the city of Atlanta working with the faith community, working with community organizers, with community leaders, sitting down with law enforcement, and talking about how training ought to look!”

What have the Concerned Black Clergy been doing when sitting down with the City of Atlanta thus far? Why should we believe that a training facility whose infrastructure is geared toward militarized training in real-world cityscapes is needed in order to have conversations with community stakeholders? And if there is already a blueprint for the facility made, what leads Rev. McDonald to believe that they have not already determined what the priorities for training are? That’s like having a discussion of what you envision for your home after the blueprint and layout is finalized. Furthermore, community organizers and voices of opposition have never been invited to these conversations. The major point of contention is whether this project should move forward, and the conversation is presupposing that it should and will happen. In other words, the only conversation that the Mayor and the City are willing to have inherently rejects the majority opinion.

“You do not need a gun in every situation.”

This statement calls for reforms to public safety. However, police literally bring a gun in every situation. This statement is precisely what people have been saying about overinvestment in police. Police are consistently asked to involve themselves in situations that have nothing to do with their training. We need groups of people with training in other fields to handle these situations, rather than someone with a gun and the threat of force as their primary means of engagement.

“The God that we serve is getting ready to do a new thing.”

Rev. McDonald, I could not agree more. However, all the things that Rev. McDonald mentions are piecemeal reforms that many people with close ties to government officials from the Black Community promised before, and it never amounts to anything. Meanwhile, police budgets have ballooned, the equipment has become more militarized and expensive while we are no safer. Spending more and more money on policing is not a new thing. Investing in communities and new and creative ways to keep our communities safe is new. That is precisely what we are proposing. Rev. McDonald, is supporting the old system that continues to fail us while promoting reforms people have been promised around the country to no avail.

“This is not just about the police. Our fire training facility has been condemned.”

Is anyone arguing against the fire department having a new training facility? No. The lion’s share of Cop City is allocated to the police. If the fire facility building is condemned, then why can’t a new facility just be built where the previous one is condemned? Why do we need this tacked on to the wildly unpopular training facility proposed for the police? It’s called Cop City for a reason. The mock city that will be used for urban warfare drills is larger than the entire facility that will serve the needs for the fire department.

“How are you going to have people come in internationally and tell us Atlanta, tax payers, what to do?”

This is a statement regarding two people arrested under domestic terrorism charges from outside the US. However, this is precisely what happens with international corporations in Atlanta, endangering our natural resources for their profits. Atlanta was named the most overpriced housing market in the country, prices driven up by investor-owned rental companies, extracting wealth where Black Families could be building it. Their aggressive strategies to buy up real estate in Atlanta has increased the burden on the taxpayers in Atlanta, but these issues that do harm to Atlantans are not what Rev. McDonald holds a press conference to address. These corporate interests have undue influence in our legislation, maintain flat wages for working class Black

families, and pump money into law enforcement foundations that invest in a more punitive, surveillance state rather than social services, receiving tax credits for doing so. International corporations continually work to undercut our social safety net and efforts to secure livable wages while patting themselves on the back for donating a pittance of what they have pilfered through policy back into well-meaning nonprofit organizations. In fact, the most common form of theft in the United States is wage theft by employers, but that is not treated as a serious criminal offense.

Police are the frontliners to reinforce these social injustices that rich and powerful private interests reify by expenditure in government and law enforcement. Eliminating basic scarcity of community resources proves a far more effective crime reduction strategy than militarized policing, but that is not as profitable as cheap labor and imprisonment of the poor. The reason why people have such hostile feelings toward the police is an understanding that they are not being mobilized to keep people safe but more so to protect ill-gotten private property and enforce a legal system that devours the poor, setting them up for continued exploitation.

“These men and women are not afraid to stand for justice, to stand for truth, and stand against the powers that be. . . . I’m glad we got a mayor that listens, and we’re going to make sure that he listens, he has a faith liaison that’s a part of us that’s going to make sure that he listens. . . .”

Rev. McDonald, my brother in Christ, you are accommodating the powers that be. The mayor listens because the Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta are telling him what he wants to hear. Despite the immense social problems aforementioned in Atlanta, the most significant mobilization from this group was called to shout down dissent against Cop City. The Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta are supporting a project that increases capacity for militarized police training while they give no tangible reason to believe that they will impact the curriculum for police training. Furthermore, Rev. McDonald’s speech failed to address any of the systemic issues that lead to so many of our Black Children getting stuck in the system from their teenage years. The Atlanta Police department uses a point system to evaluate job performance in which answering service calls c-

ount for a quarter of a point while arresting a juvenile counts for five points. Why on Earth would clergy want people to support a facility that will better train police in a system that heavily incentivizes incarcerating children over arriving orderly where people actually ask for police presence? Georgia incarcerates a higher percentage of its people than any democracy on the face of the earth, and before any policy changes, the people who represent God blindly say: “Yes, we need more resources for the people doing that!” Essentially, these clergy are assuring the community that the bullet wound that is policing in America will heal because the Mayor promised them a band aid.

Rev. McDonald cites the mayor’s advisory committee, which is the second iteration of a committee that presupposes the continued development of a project whose very existence is the contentious issue. In the initial Community Stakeholder’s Advisory Committee (CSAC). The one person with qualifications to assess the environmental impact of the militarized training facility, Lily Ponitz, left the committee because of her concerns with the project. Another person who remained on the committee, Amy Taylor, filed the appeal for Dekalb County’s Land Disturbance Permit. Yet, the project continues to move forward. There is no reason to believe that their recommendations or outcry will make a difference in the Atlanta Police Foundation’s decisions for the project. We have heard these empty promises for police accountability that are rarely pursued at all by committees packed with folks that would choose acquiescence rather than risk their status by holding powerful people accountable.

Matthew 6:21

The questions still remain: How did things get this bad with these same ministers being so cozy with power? I will give them the benefit of the doubt and say that it is a lack of knowledge that inhibits them from speaking truth to power. Perhaps they do not know how derelict the government has been in its duties. On the other hand, it may be to maintain their own positions and institutional benefits. Many organizations and churches receive benefits from the city, foundations, and corporations because of their willingness to turn a blind eye to rampant corruption. Or perhaps our leaders are so enamored with having a seat at the table they dare not make any demands, lest they

will lose their dinner invitation. I have often witnessed pastors speak far outside of their depth and fail to do the research necessary to speak wisely. There is danger in pastors using their pulpit to address wide-ranging issues without broad based study and understanding. This is what I encountered speaking to Rev. Dr. Durley and listening to Rev. McDonald. This is not to disparage the ways that they contribute to the community otherwise. This is to address where they spoke without the requisite information to have an informed opinion, and they were too proud to listen to other voices. If they had previous knowledge about the project, why did they wait until now to say a word? It was not when people were being charged for domestic terrorism for nonviolent existence in a public park, it was not when there was a murder at the hands of police, but when people set fire to private property of corporations.

What should this lead me to believe about their values?

If the March 4-11 Week of action was the first time they heard about Cop City, it is simply more evidence of how out of touch they are in the first place. If they heard and stayed silent, which I will not assume, it is damning to their moral fiber. I can no longer mince words. Seniority in the church does not exempt you from criticism. It was the elders who killed Jesus in his thirties because he was too disruptive to their cozy existence in Roman-occupied Palestine, and we should never forget that.

The ultimate concern I have is not the disappointing engagement of the Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta; they are indicative of a wider trend. Many of the most esteemed and well-established Black pulpits across the country cannot discern the Gospel of Jesus Christ from Mainstream Democratic (and sometimes Republican) talking points. They believe that this accommodation to the powers of this world is wisdom when it is akin to idolatry. Overcoming the current conditions of Black America requires astute political analysis. We must determine our own political goals rather than doing what is comfortable or advantageous for short-term resources and political positioning. The Realm of God on Earth will not have a Cop City. The ultimate aim of our work ought to be creating a world less dependent on militarized policing or policing of any kind to keep one another safe. Cop City is a step in the wrong direction. We must protect the environment in Black

Communities for the generations to come. Cop City is a step in the wrong direction. We cannot fly the blood-stained banner of Jesus Christ (or any prophet or deity I have ever heard of!) to support a project that goes against all generations of social justice organizers and activists who have fought for the past decade. Cop City is a step in the wrong direction.

Engagement in the real world requires nuance. However, the world's systems of power and distribution of resources isare too far out of balance to think that furthering the capacity for state violence will address our problems. We must seek new ways to address social problems. If more gear and more money for police were the answer, we would have solved the problems by now. Many pastors are afraid to speak out because of ties to the criminal justice system and law enforcement that sustain their church. However, if a pastor is qualifying what he/she/they say about injustice to accommodate the powers that be from the pulpit, they already lost their moral authority. Continued accommodation simply leads to the Church becoming a well-meaning organization with compromised interests just like so many other nonprofit organizations without a commitment to one of the most radical thinkers of a new society that ever walked this Earth: Jesus Christ of Nazareth.

If someone wants to run a nonprofit organization that is able to provide resources to the Black community because they do not offend the powers-that-be, be my guest! Just don't call it a church. To invoke the legacy of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Gospel of Jesus Christ to advocate for a training facility that allocates an inordinate proportion of its space for further militarization of police is a mockery of the pursuit of the Beloved Community. Let us honor Atlanta's Prophet and the Savior of the World by joining the fight to Stop Cop City.

Your Brother in Christ,
Rev. Matthew V. Johnson Jr.

Matthew Johnson is a minister and organizer in Atlanta, GA. He received a Bachelor's degree in Sociology from Morehouse College in 2011 and a Master of Divinity from the University of Chicago before returning to Atlanta in 2019. Currently, Matthew serves as a minister for the Church of the Common Ground, serving Atlanta's houseless population in the City Center, and Interim Executive Director of Beloved Community Ministries.

NOTES

Zedong, Mao. ON THE INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. June 23, 1941.
https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_04.htm

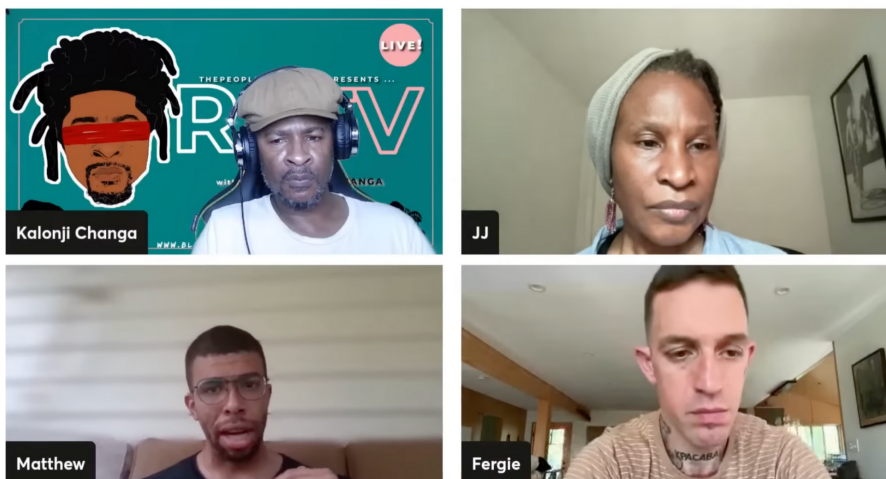
James, Joy. In Pursuit of Revolutionary Love, February 6, 2023.

"King, Martin Luther, Jr.. Letter from Birmingham Jail. London: Penguin Books, 2018.

RESISTING COP CITY CORPORATE AND CLERGY COLONIZERS

Reverend Matthew Johnson and Fergie Chambers join Black Power Media's #RSTV Host Kalonji Changa and Dr. Joy James.

(RSTV, July 18, 2023)



WATCH HERE



[https://www.youtube.com/watch?
v=31Fe4g5lu54&t=2773s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31Fe4g5lu54&t=2773s)

SCALAWAG'S "WEEK OF WRITING: #STOPCOPCITY"

Da'Shaun Harrison, Editor-at-Large at *Scalawag*, curated select readings from their May 2023 "Week of Writing: #STOPCOPCITY."
<https://scalawagmagazine.org/stopcopcity/>

Forever, I Love(d) Atlanta
Tea Troutman



This is the Atlanta Way: A Primer on Cop City
Micah Herskind



The Taking of Peachtree-Pine and the
Dawning of Cop City
Ariana Brazier



How To Build The End Of The World
Miliaku Nwabueze



Making State Enemies
Julian Rose



SCALAWAG



STAY IN TOUCH:
 @weelauneedefense_oakland
 on instagram

the potential to host threatened species like salmon and California red-legged frog. Uprooting this lot will cause irreparable damage to the non-human entities around it. The gun range inside the new facility would be used to train police officers in how to disproportionately shoot Black, Brown, and poor community members, and terrorize neighbors in the immediate vicinity of Cop Campus. The vision for this training compound emerged after the George Floyd uprisings and the calls to defund the police – Cop Campus is an effort to boost police morale and teach officers how to use military equipment across the region.

Proposed address:
 1050 Gateway Ave, San Pablo
 Occupied Ohlone land



The fight against Cop Campus is one of the several movements spurred by the struggle to stop building "Cop City," a proposed 85-acre, \$90,000,000 police training compound, including a large film soundstage for Blackhall Studios, in the Weelaunee Forest of Atlanta, Georgia that has been ongoing since activists first learned about the projects in April 2021. Residents in the Bay Area recognize the devastating consequences such an expansion of police power in Atlanta will have for communities across the country, and have held several solidarity actions and events to support the movement. The campaign in Atlanta has gone national over the last two years with supporters across the country taking action against the project partners' local offices. The most powerful way activists can support the movement to end police expansion in Atlanta is to stop it here in San Pablo.

SHUT IT DOWN:

STOP COP CAMPUS

Residents, youth, workers, and community organizations from across the Bay Area are rallying to prevent the start of construction on Cop Campus, the San Pablo Police Department's new headquarters, gun range, and Regional Police Training Facility.

Despite the Bay Area's long history of opposition to police expansion and recent demands across the country to cut department funding, the City of San Pablo has quietly planned the Cop Campus project since 2021. In its November 4 pre-bidding meeting, the City estimated total costs for construction at \$30,000,000. The selected project manager, mack5, puts the expected total cost at \$42,000,000. The City plans to pay for the project through a combination of general fund and lease revenue bonds, but no details in city records document the budgeted expenditures.

In order to build the training facility, which would train cops from around the region in militarized police tactics, the police department and local government plans to use a 42,000 square foot lot next to City Hall. This lot sits next to the Wildcat Creek, the ecological lifeblood of the county. Wildcat Creek supports native wildlife, controls flooding, improves water quality, and offers recreation opportunities. It even has

We envision a world free of police and prisons, and we are building towards a world where no cop cities exist – nor can be imagined. Any cop city expansion is a threat to that vision, and taking the needed action to stop that encroachment is justified.

SAVE THE DATE:
 Coalition Meeting
 August 24, 2023 at 7pm

On August 10, dozens of community members rallied at the proposed site of Cop Campus to shut down the project. The action was originally intended to stop the San Pablo Police Department's groundbreaking ceremony – but, just days after activists publicly launched a movement to Stop Cop Campus, the city canceled its long-awaited ceremony with no plans to reschedule. This was no coincidence. We know that stopping Cop Campus will require a sustained movement, and a growing coalition plans for more actions soon. Cop Campus will never be built!

COP CAMPUS WILL NEVER BE BUILT

PROPOSED BALTIMORE POLICE AND FIRE TRAINING FACILITY HAS HEFTY PRICE TAG: \$330 MILLION

By Justin Fenton and Ben Conarck

(*The Baltimore Banner*, August 35, 2023)

<https://www.thebaltimorebanner.com/community/criminal-justice/baltimore-police-department-fire-department-training-facility-M6N7PW4YN5H6FN3YYNQLD6C74Y/>



One of two proposed plans for a new Baltimore police and fire training facility, to be built on the Coppin State University campus, is shown in this rendering. (Manns Woodward Studios)

A proposal for a new joint training facility for Baltimore’s police and fire departments on the Coppin State University campus has come back with a whopping price tag of \$330 million.

A preliminary design report was posted to the Maryland Stadium Authority website Aug. 17, and it outlines two possible sites on the campus of the historically Black university in West Baltimore that would offer classroom and training space for the city’s two public safety agencies.

The Coppin project, pushed for nearly a decade and more formally explored starting in 2021, received renewed attention this week when a top Police Department official described it as a “tactical village,” drawing comparisons to the so-called “Cop City” project in Atlanta that has been the subject of protests.

But the controversial Atlanta project cost \$90 million, a fraction of the proposed plans for the Baltimore facility. About \$30 million of the Atlanta facility came from taxpayer funds, with the rest cobbled together from private donations.

The mayor's office told The Baltimore Banner the proposals "remain in a very conceptual phase, with initial feasibility studies just beginning to be assessed."

"The city is confronted with a number of serious challenges with its training facilities for both the police and fire departments, and as is required by the consent decree, we are continuing to look at innovative ways to address them and upgrade facilities," the office said in a statement. "Mayor Scott has always prioritized providing adequate facilities for all city employees and these proposals are part of that work."

City Council President Nick Mosby has championed the project for nearly a decade. In a phone call Friday afternoon, Mosby reiterated his support for a police training facility in West Baltimore but declined to comment on the costs outlined by the Maryland Stadium Authority because he said he wasn't familiar with the report.

Only \$450,000 for the study has been expended thus far for the Coppin project. The design report addresses possible funding sources, including the suggestion of a possible "sunsetting public safety income tax" on residents. It also cites the Atlanta project as a "case study" in courting public support.

"The cost of this facility is a significant investment. However, the cost of doing nothing is exponentially more," the report from architects Manns Woodward Studios concludes.

Gary McGuigan, an executive vice president with the Maryland Stadium Authority, said it was asked by Baltimore Mayor Brandon M. Scott to secure the project study and that it's up to the city to figure out next steps.

“We put appropriate contingencies and escalation into these numbers, and, yeah, it’s a big number, but it’s a big building,” McGuigan said.

At Thursday’s quarterly meeting on the Baltimore Police consent decree, Deputy Commissioner Eric Melancon said officials are trying to determine funding sources. He described the project as a “tactical village,” which drew ire online.

Atlanta’s plans drew national attention and local protests, with activists saying the plans would further militarize police. Demonstrators occupied a campground on its site, and a protester was shot and killed by police as they moved in to make arrests. Other concerns include the destruction of forests to make way for the facility.

“Baltimore and Maryland leaders have seen all the controversy around Atlanta’s #StopCopCity and decided we need one too, at the expense of investing in prevention & roots causes of violence,” Nick Wilson, a former city public safety official now with the Center for American Progress, wrote on X, formerly known as Twitter.

Discussion of the Coppin facility dates to at least 2015, when Mosby, at the time a councilman representing West Baltimore, expressed a desire to see such a facility and sponsored a resolution calling for a feasibility study that passed easily through the council. Mosby said then that “a “state-of-the-art academy in West Baltimore that leverages Coppin’s current criminal justice school is a win-win situation.”

Then-Senate President Mike Miller and then-Mayor Catherine Pugh also threw their support behind it in 2018. “We’re working with Coppin State University because I’m going to double train police officers,” Pugh said while speaking at a community event. “I have got to have another training facility.”

U.S. District Judge James K. Bredar, who is overseeing the police consent decree reforms, also said in 2019 that building a new police training facility should be a top priority of city leaders and that the state should pitch in.

The Police Department training academy was located at a former school building just north of Pimlico Race Course. In 2019, amid discussion about moving the facility to Coppin, the city announced plans to relocate the academy to the University of Baltimore, at a cost of \$6.8 million over five years, in addition to what The Baltimore Sun described at the time as “hundreds of thousands of dollars for parking and other fees associated with the move.”

Elected leaders including Antonio Hayes said at the time that they feared the University of Baltimore arrangement could come at the expense of the Coppin project, which he supported.

“It’s troubling to me, and it’s troubling to the community,” he said.

In May 2021, the Maryland Stadium Authority’s board of directors approved a memorandum of understanding to conduct a preliminary design of a new proposed Public Safety Building at Coppin State University.

Coppin State fully funded the design cost of \$450,000 through a state grant. The stadium authority says the General Assembly has identified the new proposed Public Safety Building as a “priority project.”

Manns Woodward Studios won the contract to conduct the study in April 2022.

Their plan includes an indoor firing range and a “practical training village” that “combines the typical street widths found in Baltimore (alley, street, avenue) with the building typologies that the first responders will typically experience in Baltimore, such as two-story rowhomes, liquor stores, garden apartments, and a convenience store.”

“These buildings are modeled after real-world scenarios, enabling Fire and Police recruits to train independently and together,” the design plan says.

Also included is a community plaza where “local residents and university personnel can experience purposeful, positive interactions with first responders and alter preconceived perceptions.

“One of the significant challenges associated with this project will be to design an ‘Accessible Fortress’ that engages the community and keeps public safety personnel safe,” the study says.

*Banner reporter Adam Willis contributed to this article.
justin.fenton@thebaltimorebanner.com*

NOTES

Anderson, Jessica. “Judge Overseeing Baltimore Consent Decree Calls for New Police Training Academy.” Baltimore Sun, January 24, 2019.
<https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-consent-decree-hearing-20190123-story.html>.

“Baltimore City Police Academy at Coppin State University.” City of Baltimore, December 10, 2015.
<https://baltimore.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=2406910&GUID=03DC7BB0-F29B-419B-94DB-56F389496DB6&Options=&Search=&FullText=1>.

“MD Studios Preliminary Design Report .” Maryland Stadium Authority, August 17, 2023.
<https://mdstad.com/sites/default/files/2023-07-05%20CSU%20PSF%20-%20Preliminary%20Design%20Report.pdf>.

THE ALCHEMY OF ABOLITIONISMS

When academics are read more than incarcerated thinkers, it becomes possible to forget the movement's radical roots.

By Joy James (*Inquest*, March 28, 2023)

"When academics dominate abolitionist print culture, it becomes possible to forget the alchemical lineage of radical street and prison movements. Books on incarceration and abolitionism written by academics are at times more popular and celebrated than the memoirs and analyses of incarcerated radicals. The under-acknowledged schism between the worldviews of abolitionist academics and radical imprisoned abolitionists creates a blind spot that obscures radical agency from within prisons and jails."



<https://inquest.org/the-alchemy-of-abolitionisms/>



SLAVE REBEL OR CITIZEN?

Abolitionist Ruchell Cinqué Magee is the country's longest-held political prisoner.

By Joy James & Kalonji Jama Changa (*Inquest*, May 2, 2023)

"...Incarcerated for more than sixty years, politicized in prison, Magee self-identifies as a political prisoner railroaded by law into captivity...For his part, Magee was never convicted of aggravated kidnapping in a fair trial, nor was he convicted of murder—though, even if he had been, most state sentences for murder permit parole after fourteen years. And so, under a predatory economy of violence, one that is often racially fashioned, Magee and other imprisoned politicized rebels call themselves 'slaves.'"



<https://inquest.org/slave-rebel-or-citizen/>

March 10-12
CLIFF Conference 2023

Fri 3-10 Haven Hall 5570
Sat 3-11 Rackham Assembly Hall
Sun 3-12 Tisch Hall 2028

INSURGENT RESEARCH: PRACTICE AND THEORY



M RACKHAM GRADUATE SCHOOL

M IRWG RESEARCH FOR WOMEN & GENDER

M LSA COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

M LSA COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

AMERICAN CULTURE ARMENIAN STUDIES CLASSICAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES EISENHARTZ INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE HISTORY HISTORY OF ART INSTITUTE FOR THE HUMANITIES MIDDLE EAST STUDIES POLITICAL SCIENCES PSYCHOLOGY ROMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES WEIGER CENTER FOR EMERGING DEMOCRACIES

Black August



GIU logo design: A.S./Mae