

TRANSCRIPT: *Blueprint for Accountability: NYPD's Stop and Frisk Policy*
Monday, May 21, 2012 at Culture Project

Featuring special guest Rha Goddess (RG)- Hip-hop artist, playwright and social entrepreneur

Moderated By:

asha bandele (AB) - Award-winning author and journalist; Director, Advocacy Grants Program at Drug Policy Alliance

Panelists and Speakers:

Jayashri Wyatt (JW) - Introduction- Director of Productions at Culture Project

Chris Bilal (CB) - Advocate for social and economic justice and campaign staff for Streetwise and Safe (SAS)

Chino Hardin (CH) - Lead know-your-rights trainer for the Institute for Juvenile Justice Reform and Alternatives (IJJRA)

gabriel sayegh (GS) - Director of the Drug Policy Alliance's New York Policy Office

Vince Warren (VW) - Executive Director at the Center for Constitutional Rights

Start: 00:00

JW: Good evening everyone and welcome to this evening's conversation about NYPD's Stop and Frisk Policy. This evening's program is presented by the Drug Policy Alliance, The Center for Constitutional Rights, and Culture Project. This is the Culture Project theater here and if you're old friends of Culture Project: welcome back. It's really nice to see a lot of friendly faces. And if this is your first time in the Culture Project space, we really warmly welcome you. I wanted to point out my boss Allan Buchman who's the producing artistic director of Culture Project. Are you here somewhere? It's really hard for me to see. In the back? Okay there he is. The producing artistic Director of Culture Project.

Alan Buchman: Thank you.

JW: You're welcome. He had the vision in the '90s to build these theaters. We have this upstairs theater space and a downstairs theater space. And our vision here at culture Project is to shine an artistic spotlight on injustice and that is exactly what we are here to do this evening. So welcome everyone here to our theater and welcome to everybody who is streaming live on Fora TV. We also want to welcome WBAI who are taping tonight and hopefully you'll hear segments of this later on the radio, so thank you WBAI for being here tonight as well. We have an incredible program for you here tonight. And

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our moderator for this evening is asha bandele and she hardly needs any introduction. She is so fabulous. But I just want to say a couple of words about her. She is the author of five books, including a book called... A Best selling book called *The Prisoner's Wife*. She also works for the Drug Policy Alliance and I hope you will join me in warmly welcoming asha bandele.

End: 00:2:15

Start: 00:2:20

AB: Don't let her leave this stage. Jayashri Wyatt has done so much to make sure that this program happened. Just as much as you've done to come out on this rainy Monday night. And I want to acknowledge her. Please join me in thanking her for doing everything to put this together. And if we can turn the house lights up for just one second. The staff of CCR, DPA and Culture Project, will you just stand for a moment? Because these people have put their whole heart and soul into not just this, but to ensure and let you know what is happening in New York. Thank you so much. Thank you so much. In your seats you will see either yellow... I think they are mostly yellow. But you will see something that looks like this. Some of you might be in green. No pun intended around the weed issue we'll talk about tonight. But this is for you to get more involved with the event. If you want to get more involved you can fill it out. And there is... Meghan is sneaking in over here on the side. Can you raise your hand Meghan? You do so much. And you can give your card to her. You can leave it out on the table if you want to get more involved. It's coalition of CCR, DPA and 26 other organizations looking to end this despicable, horrible policy that exists here in what is often called a liberal city. Although I don't know how liberal it feels when you're on the wrong end of a pair of handcuffs or the wrong end of a policeman's gun. For any number of simple reasons.

And so this crisis that we are here to talk about and open a conversation up about is one that we really want people to understand how deep it goes. It's one that destroys families. It takes mothers away from their children. It disallows parents to be able to enter school grounds sometimes. It stops young, mostly men of color from being able to get loans so they can go to school. It does all matter of things to destroy people's lives and elevate no one's. And for those of us who don't feel directly affected by it, then it's not a personal crisis, it's a collective crisis of conscious. And that's what we're here to change tonight. And what we're talking about... yeah we call it "stop-and-frisk" but I'm not one prone to euphemism. It's racial profiling. It's the most vulgar thing that's really out there. It's determining that one set of people don't have a right to live as freely as a whole other set of people. And I want to say too and it's really important that these numbers are deeply driven by a law that isn't even a law. It's mostly driven my marijuana arrest. How many people know that in 1977 they decriminalized marijuana possession in New York? So while they're stopping people... And I think it constitutes – and maybe gabriel will speak later about this – I think it constitutes something like 70% of the arrests it may be more than that. Of that, most of the people under 30, of that maybe 84% are either Black or Latino. That's more than 140 people daily arrested just for simple possession of low level marijuana. The details, of which, are even worse when you get into them. So we want to talk tonight with you about why this policy exists. Who benefits from it? Somebody benefits from this bad policy, right? And we want to talk about who

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suffers and more importantly how they suffer and what are the long-term collateral consequences for those of us who are living in this city, this liberal city. What are the long-term consequences... for we may not think we are affected by them. So I want you to join me in welcoming this very, very esteemed panel. Let me call first up Bilal. Chino Hardin come to the stage please. gabriel sayegh come to the stage please. Vince Warren come to the stage please.

So I'm going to take a second and actually just read to you your bios. I was telling folks I could do my own asha version since I know everyone. But they are so accomplished I'd rather just read this to you straight out. It's also in your program. So Bilal who is over here in the black. Treyvon Martin. He is a 24 year-old writer from Bed-Stuy. Do or die. He's from Brooklyn. Are there people from Brooklyn in the house? Yeah, you know you got to do that. So he's from Bed-Stuy. That's how real it is. He said that he just moved to a similarly policed section of the South Bronx, two of the seven distinct neighborhoods in New York City where the majority of prisoners in New York State come from, right. There was research conducted by brothers in prison in Green Haden some 25 years ago. But he is an advocate for social and economic justice who currently works as campaign staffer, for Streetwise and Safe Streets a New York City based grassroots organization that empowers LGBTQ youth of color who've experienced homelessness, policing, and criminalization and who's voices are not often heard in conversations about policing know your rights education, organizing, advocacy and other widely criminalized communities. SAS serves on the steering committee of communities united for police reform and works to raise the profile of LGBTQ experiences of policing and criminalization. So this is brother Bilal. I wanted you to know.

Chino Hardin. My sister. We've been working together for a number of years at DPA but she was born and raised in East Flatbush. Where's that at? Where's that at? That's right Brooklyn number 1. I ask you where you at, you tell them where you from. And she's worked in many other youth development and gang prevention and intervention for seven years. Chino is committed to developing an elevating leadership in civic engagement in youth and communities that are hardest hit by crime, violence and incarceration. She's appeared in many renowned publications and media outlets including the Village Voice, City Limits, the Ave Magazine, BET and the Caribbean Life, Chino's journey is truly an inspiring one. She is serving as a model for youth inspiring in turning their lives around. She is a firm believer in becoming the change she wants to see for the future. Never measuring... I love this. Never measuring one success by marshal possessions but how to continuously become a better person. That's Chino Hardin.

My friend Vince, Vincent Warren. I still think of you as the ED of CCR. I don't think that's fair. Because that really goes to speak about how old I am, that's what that really says. But a national and legal and education organization dedicated to advancing and defending the rights guaranteed by the United States constitution and the universal declaration of human rights. Vince oversees CCR's groundbreaking litigation advocacy work, which includes using international and domestic law to hold corporations and government officials accountable for human rights abuses. They challenge racial, gender, LGBTQ injustice and combat a legal expansion of the U.S presidential power and policies like the illegal detention at Guantanamo bay, rendition and torture. Prior to

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his tenure at CCR, Vince was a National Senior Staff attorney with the ACLU where he litigated civil rights cases focusing on affirmative action, racial profiling, and criminal justice. Prior to that, Vince monitored South Africa's...this is the big one... truth and reconciliation commission hearings and worked as a criminal defense attorney for a legal aid society. That's Vince Warren!

Of all the people on the stage the person I have worked the closest with...I'm standing here looking for his bio, which I really don't need. He's probably been my closest colleague. He can really bring me to tears of the last seven years much of the work that we've done. gabriel says... just a multi talented director of our New York state policy office. He was behind... I'm not going to look at the paper. I joined DPA because of much of the work that he was doing. When we saw the historical reforms to the Rockefeller drug laws that was gabriel out there leading the charge along with a platoon of other people. "Good Sam" laws in New York, stopping overdose, really working to bring together diverse communities and ensuring that everybody did have a voice at the table. And he is now...he really has been working so hard in this office, 8 o'clock at night sometimes and 10 o'clock on the phone with me, which is a long conversation. Trust me. I could talk. Really working to build out the question around stop-and-frisk and where it intersects with Marijuana laws. I just don't know someone who I've worked closer with over the last seven years or someone who I love more. This is my colleague, my dear friend gabriel sayegh.

So we're just going to... let me move this because its hard to see everybody. Let me move this around. We're just going to get into it. I'm going to ask the panelists all the same question first so we can kind of locate ourselves. And then I'm going to ask them all individual questions. And then after an incredible performance that I'll be telling you about later and hearing from some folks who were here, we'll open it up for some Q & A. I want to talk... I'd like to start with you Bilal, is that alright? Okay. I want everyone to talk about their own personal or political experience with New York stop-and-frisk policy and why you think it's something that we all need to be involved in and what the kind of consequences are for this policy or for the people you advocate for.

End: 00:12:50

Start: 00:12:51

CB: Alright. I'm Chris Bilal, I'm 24 and I work for Streetwise and Safe as it was mentioned earlier and I'm pretty much motivated to be a part of this conversation because of the effect on the LGBT community. The LGBT community, specifically people of color, are invisible amongst the discussion of the 685 000 stop-and-frisk incidents last year. And it's an issue that is very real for us. Stop-and-frisk and harassment. It looks like stop-and-frisk and cope. It looks like stop and frisk and deportation. It looks like stop-and-frisk and rape in some cases. This is an issue that is not really framed from an LGBT perspective but we are so a part of the 685 000 stops. We are so part of the 88% of people who are stopped and frisked and let go without any summons or any arrests. We are a big part of the people stopped and our experiences are rather undocumented in this debate. So that's what motivates me first because the impact is very real. I moved here from Baltimore 2 years ago and I'm young, I'm black, and I'm gay. So I have this

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vision of New York City, which is on every advertisement and every movie: this haven for art and for people who write. The tradition of Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, people who I really love and admire. And so I came here for that sense of hardworking unanimity and artistic freedom and economic freedom. And all of that. And instead I found something else.

You know, not shortly after I came here. I came here in June and in October, on Halloween, I was having fun with my friend riding my bike around Brooklyn and I got stop-and-frisked. And we got stop-and-frisked not because we posed a threat, not because we had any weapons, but because of broken window policing and I could understand that. But then a few hours later I got stop-and-frisked again in my own neighborhood. This was in Bed-Stuy Brooklyn. A lot of stuff going on right there... gentrification. Just a lot of issues. A lot of intersections of police and in criminality. Coming out of the laundry mat I had a pretty clear bag and I'm stopped by police officers who seriously, like laughably, thought I had drugs and weapons in my laundry bag so they stopped me for that. And again, I chalked it up as a right of passage: you know, I'm in Brooklyn, I'm an African American young man. Eventually you're going to be stopped. Eventually someone is going to challenge you for your ID. It's really bad but it's a right of passage in Brooklyn. I understood that.

But then there was a third time and the third time was a charm. Is that...I was in Harlem with my friends after work. It's January. You know January was feeling really good this year, a little unseasonable weather and I'm stop-and-frisked again. You know my friends and I we're in the park, we're dancing to Beyoncé: "Girls Own the World." Because girls really do own the world. And shortly thereafter we're stopped by police officers. They made reference to our sexuality. They asked if we were going to have sex. And it seems like even though we are dancing, to them it's like we're up to no good. And they suspect us of deviant sexual behavior. And the third time is what really motivates me and what really bothers me and what really motivates and drives my work at Streetwise and Safe. Again, a lot of people come to the city to be free and express their sexuality and live here without being judged and what happens is you have police officers, who are particularly stop-and-frisking LGBT people of color who are doing nothing but dancing to Beyoncé. And you know, again, this happens in Harlem and I say, I can't stress this enough: how much I admire and love James Baldwin. How much I love Audrey Lorde and so many former people of the Harlem Renaissance who did the Civil Rights movement. And throughout history if you look at their writing you can see James Baldwin he describes being stop-and-frisked at the age of 10 in Harlem. He describes being stopped going to the public library on 42nd street. You can hear Audrey Lorde talking about gender policing, about how the police would go around making sure that women were dressed like women dressed back in the day. That they weren't wearing pants and that they weren't like going away from gender norms. And you see that still happening today.

I see that everyday at my work at Streetwise and Safe where this is an organization that does political advocacy for LGBT youth of color in the City. They have the most... I'll say "we" because I'm a part of that too. We have really horrible, overwhelming experiences with police officers, which was just recently documented in a CUNY study, which says that we have overwhelming negative experiences with police officers. There was a research study that Streetwise Safe also participated in that focused on condoms, where

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police officers use condoms as evidence against LGBT people to say that they are engaging in loitering for the purpose of prostitution when they are literally just going to the village to hang out with their friends. But because of discriminatory policing practices like stop-and-frisk they are being charged with prostitution. This is one of the parts of the issue that has so real an impact on my community. It makes us afraid to talk to police officers. It makes us even afraid to come out and tell our stories for fear of police violence. And you know, there is this whole argument that stop-and-frisk is going to where the crime is, but honestly it's just going to where the people of color are, its going to where the gay people are, its going to where people who don't conform to society's standards are, and arresting them. So that's why I'm here and I would really love to just promote and really get out the stories of many, many courageous LGBT individuals of color, not of color, you know, even straight people. Everyone. The way that this policy is really affecting us. It's saying that it's guaranteeing our safety but in the end it's really denying our civil rights. Thank You.

End: 00:19:00

Start: 00:19:07

AB: In the best tradition of our leaders and our Ancestors when we speak, we are afraid our words will not be heard nor welcomed but when we are silent we are still afraid so it's better to speak remembering we were never meant to survive. Thank you for raising the name Audrey Lorde, who was my mentor. I try to get through these things without crying, it usually doesn't happen so be prepared; I got a lot of makeup on. Let me turn, on that note, to my brother Vince Warren to talk about from your vantage point as a leader, a long time community organizer, why you're involved in this issue, how you see it.

End: 00:19:41

Start: 00:19:43

VW: Yeah. Chris really laid it out. I'm with the Center for Constitutional Rights, we are a legal and education organization, as asha told you, but what makes us different from a lot of other legal organizations is that our work really does stem from and move towards the communities that are affected. And so our piece of this stop-and-frisk, and you're right, we used to call it racial profiling back in the day. We started doing this work in the 1990s after the Amadou Diallo shooting and we were the organization that brought the first lawsuit that shut down the unit that was terrorizing communities, particularly in the Bronx and in Brooklyn. This lawsuit that we have now is another stop and frisk lawsuit, which I'll tell you a little bit more about. But the point there with the stop-and-frisk policy, it really is about accountability and transparency and the question is accountability to whom and transparency for whom. And the answer is: it's to the people. And we are here, and what motivates me and CCR to be a part of this case is hearing the stories and being in connection with the people who are most affected by these policies and using our power and our ability to litigate these cases to advance the causes and the freedom that Chris was just telling you about.

End: 00:20:59

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Start: 00:21:00

AB: Thank you. Thank you so much Vince. Chino, my comrade, my sister.

CH: I hate using mics.

AB: You can yell.

CH: Okay. So, well I'm Chino Hardin. I'm from an organization called the Center for NuLeadership, which is the only organization that is ran for and by formally incarcerated people. It's a policy think tank. We do advocacy; we do a lot of stuff. We are really putting our new leadership into effect. And actually Eddie was one of the brothers that did that study that came on in Green Haven think tank who is one of the co-founders and President of Center for NuLeadership.

So what brings me to this work? I mean, how much time we got? You know? I want to say first: I was brought to this work before, way before I became an organizer. And my first experience with horrible police practices... I'm going to get real personal with everybody since I can't see most of you anyway because of this light. I'm a product of rape. So my father, who was an NYPD officer, raped my mother because she was addicted to drugs. So this affected me, even before I was conceived. Which means also, I'm third generation incarcerated. So that means, my mother was in jail, my grandmother was in jail and I've been to prison myself. Why do I do this work? I do this work for every other reason that Bilal said and other people are going to say because it is a fu...

AB: It is that too. It is that too.

CD: It is a messed up policy. It's racial profiling, and what it really does is dehumanize every single person who is forced to turn out their pockets, be thrown up against the wall just for being brown and black and living in low-income communities of color. Because I am a firm believer that at the end of the day no matter what color you are, not matter what sexual orientation you come from, the words will never ring true that an injustice for one is an injustice for all. That's why I do this work.

End: 00:23:11

Start: 00: 23:19

AB: As I introduced gabriel I neglected to say... I should have said this first. He is also my very close neighbor in where?

Audience: Brooklyn!

AB: On that note gabriel, the mic is yours.

GS: So I worked at the Drug Policy Alliance now for almost nine years and we worked for a long time on the Rockefeller drug laws. How many people here have heard about the Rockefeller drug laws, and clap since I can't actually see you. So I will presume by the fact that you are at an event like this that if you will know about those laws that you agree that they were racially biased, unjust and they didn't increase safety in our

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communities. Those laws were sold in 1973 to New York and the country as a means to reach an end that was never reached. They said this is going to make our community safer, it's going to make us healthier, it's going to rid our communities of drugs. And of course that never happened. It led to disastrous outcomes on almost every level that you can measure. When those reforms happened in 2009, it left an open question about, not just what to do now, how to make sure things change here in New York so that we have more effective drug policies, but when are we going to start talking about the front end of the system? As my colleague Ki Young Ji, who is here somewhere, hopefully, likes to say that policing is where you have the mouth of the system. And if you care about the Rockefeller laws or mass incarceration more generally, you can't help but look at the mouth of the system, which is the police. So that's one part about why I'm concerned with this issue and why we've gotten involved in it.

The second part is deeply personal. I grew up in rural California, I am not from New York. I grew up in a place that was...you've probably seen these things in news magazines or whatnot. You know when they talk about rural wide America that's devastated, quote-unquote, by "meth amphetamine?" That's where I'm from. That's where I originated out of, that's what I was born into. And I made it to New York with a set of experiences that really highlighted for me 1) how devastating the current approach to drug policy is, but 2) how lucky it is that I am to have made it through that without having to be subjected to the kind of racial profiling and racial biased that many of my friends, and colleagues, and family members have been subjected to. And so for me, the third thing I think about this issue is that anybody paying attention to this cannot help but to be outraged. Because what we are being told: that we can help to achieve safety in New York if we agree and believe in what is otherwise would be viewed and will be viewed in history, as an attempt to create an apartheid system. And I reject that, and my humanity, and for the sake of my own humanity reject it and it keeps me engaged in this work.

End: 00:25:57

Start: 00:25:59

AB: Thank you gabriel. Thank you so much. It's a crisis of conscious. This is the Blueprint for Accountability. And I'm going to turn now to each one of the panelists. I'm going to start with you Vince and ask you if you would begin us off by discussing the developments of last week with regards to stop-and-frisk. Talk to us about the class action lawsuit, the response to it, what you see as next steps and should we believe Ray Kelly's apparent support for the ending of stop-and-frisk. I'm just asking, I'm just the moderator!

End: 00:26:33

Start: 00:26:34

VW: Inquiring minds want to know. Thank you, asha. Unless you all have been under a rock for the last week, the Center for Constitutional Rights was successful in getting a judge. Thank you. Okay that's it for me I'm out! No, the Center for Constitutional Rights was successful in getting a federal judge to certify a class action in a lawsuit that we had

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pending challenging the stop-and-frisk policy. And what that means to real people is that our lawsuit, up until this point, had been on behalf of four plaintiffs, four individuals that typified the types of stop-and-frisks that the New York City police department was doing. By making this a class action, it then allows all people within New York, who have been stopped without suspicion, and also people who are black and brown, who have been stopped based on the color of their skin, to join the lawsuit. So we now have a lawsuit where literally hundreds of thousands of people can join in and push back as we are all doing tonight against this police policy.

What's significant about this and the reason why the lawsuit is important...and I'm going to do something that no one has actually done here on the stage yet: I'm going to talk about Brooklyn. One of our plaintiffs named David Floyd... and this sort of typifies: A.) how the police practice works and B.) why the court system plays a role in this particularly challenging stop-and-frisk. David Floyd lives in Brooklyn and he came out of his house and one of the neighbors who lives in the downstairs apartment had locked himself out of the house. David's relative owns the building, so the neighbor went to David and said: "David can you help me get back in?" He even went upstairs and got the key ring and they were trying to figure out which key was the master key to this apartment. Meanwhile the cops roll up. Now all the cops see are two African American men (one's older, one's younger) trying to get into this apartment. Now for those of you who live in neighborhood particularly that have upstairs and downstairs apartments you have supers...there are a million explanations as to why these people are trying to get into their apartment but that's not what the police saw. That's not what the police saw. They saw: two African American men trying to bust into a building. So they stopped them, they put them up against the wall. They tossed them down. So now we go to the lawsuit. David filled the lawsuit based on this. When the police officers are testifying in the context of the lawsuit giving the reasons for why they stopped David what they said was that in this neighborhood there has been a history of break-ins. A history of burglaries. So it was very reasonable for the police men to see these men in there in the middle of the day trying to get into the building and to go there and see what was going on because of this history of burglaries. Well, we have an expert witness who is a Columbia Law school professor named Jeff Fagan. And Jeff Fagan's legal team said: "lets put this to the test." And they looked at all of the police reports in that neighborhood for one month going forward and going back a couple of months. And what they found was, in the evidence that we presented to the court, there was one burglary in the prior two months. Yet, virtually every police officer said: "we believe that there is a pattern of burglaries." And what this exemplifies...I mean it's not going to be a surprise to you that police officers lie. Everybody that has had a connection with a police officer... I used to be a criminal defense lawyer and in one of my cases the judge said that if it was a lying contest I think the police officer would win in that particular case. So we don't have any doubt about that but what's significant is that based on the case that we have, we now have some evidence, objective evidence to put forward to the judge. It's not just the police telling us this is how we keep neighborhoods safe, "so you got to trust us" "we're keeping you guys safe. It's really putting the evidence to the test. The judge in that particular circumstance found it very hard to believe that this was a legitimate stop based on the data that we were able to collect.

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So that data becomes very important in this discussion. I want to talk a little bit about the data. I know you have all read about it. But in 2002, mayor Bloomberg started as mayor, and in 2002 the police stopped 97 thousand people a year. Now for my money, 97 thousand, that's a lot of people. But by the time 2011 rolled around, the police department was stopping 685 thousand people. It was a 600% increase since 2002. And what does that tell you? Maybe what they're doing is maybe they're actually getting guns off the street, right? That could be a legitimate thing. Well what do we know? We know that 9 out of 10 people over this period of time according to the NYCLU news report, according to our data: innocent. 9 out of 10 people, they don't get arrested, they don't get a summons. Now of the people that are stopped 84% of the people are African American and Latino. We don't make up that much of the New York City population, right? But maybe they are getting the guns off the street because that's what Ray Kelly is always telling us "we are being safe, we're getting the guns off the street." What we found in our analysis is that they found guns in less than 1% of the stops that they made. Less than 1%. What's a half a gun? You know what I'm saying? Little pieces of a gun. So why are we talking about this? Why is this really significant because the policy is entrenched and its been entrenched for years. One of the things that we cannot do in this particular moment, particularly with this victory, is that we can't rely on the police department to fix itself.

So Ray Kelly....right? The day that that report came out Mayor Bloomberg said: "Ray Kelly and I have nothing to apologize for." They said: "We have nothing to apologize for because we saved 6 thousand 500 lives. That's what he said. Now what he was talking about was a drop in the murder rate. He's making a connection between their racist stop-and-frisk policy and the drop in the murder rate. There is no connection whatsoever. We know that the crime rate has been dropping around the country for years. It was dropping even before the stop-and-frisk policy started ramping up. We know that it's dropping in neighborhoods and in cities where there is no stop and frisk policy. So what makes mayor Bloomberg that he doesn't need to apologize? So I said to mayor Bloomberg: "We don't need an apology from you, we need to fix the damn problem."

AB: That's right.

VW: That's what we need to do.

End: 00:33:14

Start: 00:33:20

AB: Just briefly. I forgot to do a little housekeeping as I normally do at the very beginning of this program. First, you know that we're live shooting and we're being filmed. For those of you who are sometimes not as comfortable with that just know that nobody in the audience in being filmed so your privacy is not being aggregated by us. Make sure everybody's cellphones are off and the bathrooms are here to my right. With that said, Bilal I wanted to talk to you. Again about, you know, with the kind of nonsense they're talking about how this doesn't make for safe streets, it doesn't make for safe policies. If you were to create a policy that really served all of the people, what would your safe streets policy look like? What would have to be the bench marks for that?

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End: 00:34:05

Start: 00:34:06

CB: That's a good question. I think that first a safe street is a street where, I don't know; gay men can walk down the street in the village without being harassed or stopped and frisked by cops because of their sexuality. I think that maybe a safe street will look like a street where a trans woman can walk down the street without being stopped and frisked by a police officer and have her condoms being checked and say: "you have a condom and therefore you are engaging in prostitution." I think that a safe street...see that word is so hard to say because I really don't know what a safe street looks like. That's the perfect illustration of that. I think that a safe street really looks like a street where I can just walk down the street and say: "good morning police officer." And kids could walk down the street and say the same thing and actually have respect for police officers and that we are not afraid of them.

And this is a problem in the LGBT community where, you know, you call on a police officer for help and you're in a domestic violence situation: someone has attacked you that you love. And a police officer can come into the situation and because of their bias, because of their beliefs about gender norms and patriarchy, and who's dominant and who's masculine, who's feminine that many cases the victimizer, I mean the victim can become the victimizer in the eyes of the police. You have someone who is being attacked going to jail simply because she is a butch lesbian, you know, or someone who is going to jail because she is a strong looking transgender woman. So I think that one of the first things we need to do, is we need to start at the community level by building trust with police officers. And I think, again, that's by stopping stop-and-frisk when police officers actually stop people because they reasonably believe that they have weapons. I mean you look at the NYCLU report right now and only 10% of the stops are based on suspicions of violent activity but the whole premise of this program is stopping violence. It's not that the premise is stopping violence, it's the premise is stopping people of color who many times happen to be LGBT in this situation.

And then another thing that we have to combat as a community, not only just the LGBT community but as a community of residents in New York City, is the myth that kind of was established after September 11th, that the police force is exceptional, that they are safeguarding us everyday, that they are doing everything they can to us, I mean everything they can to everyone else, to make them safer. Again, this is the same rhetoric of that is happening in the '60s and the '70s. Just like gabriel said that there is this whole lie about disorder, there is a lie that broken window policing works, and there is this new climate where you can take away everyone's rights and adamantly do so and say that you're doing it in the name of public safety. So I think that as a community we first have to actually think of scenarios that don't involve police intervention. Specifically in the LGBT community where police intervention can be police violence, where police intervention can be police brutality and where police intervention can leave an indelible stain and make you never want to call the police again.

So that's at the community level. And then, just at a major level, at a bigger level is the legislative level. Again SAS, Streetwise and Safe, is a part of the starting community of

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Communities United for Police Reform which is a coalition of thirty organizations which are trying to tackle stop-and-frisk in a legislative approach and in an electoral approach and in at a judicial approach. And right now we have the Community Safety Act, which is being pushed through the city council right now that wants to expand, you know, the definition of racial profiling but not to just include race but to include factors like gender, immigration status, social economic status. Because a lot of times police are going into the neighborhoods of lower economic status and just arresting who they can because they have little political representation they have little money and they are going to be stuck in the courts forever. So I think that what we should do is get behind the Community Safety Act because it expands it from racial profiling from black and white people to everyone who is affected by stop-and-frisk and also accesses police officers...

There is a part of the bill that says that police officers should tell you that you have a right not consent to a search. Because as Chino alluded to earlier and gabriel at the drug policy that a lot of people are stopped and doing unlawful search they uncover marijuana. You have 50 000 people a year who are in jail, mostly African American men of color, because they simply didn't know that they didn't have to turn their pockets out. If the officer wanted the pockets out and he didn't consent to a search then he would get charged not with...he would have a lower charge. That starts with educating people, and I think that's another part, that's what we do at SAS, we educate young and gays of color that "no, you don't have a right to consent to a search, you can actually exercise your right to remain silent." So I think that by teaching people their rights, by pushing for legislative packages, by holding our elected officials accountable for our safety and for the protection of our civil rights as people and as LGBT individuals. That that's what a safe street looks like because after a while they will back off and stop messing with us because we are gay. Community Safety Act! Communities United for Police Reform!

End: 00:39:42

Start: 00:39:44

AB: Chino I want to drill down a little bit on that and think about it from the vantage point of often politicians of color. Well you know, you can't get a good school in our communities, you can't get more green space, but you can certainly get more cops. Right? Get more money for cops. And often the argument I've heard used is that, you know, they are thinking about the grandmother who is sitting sort of in the cross fire of drug violence. And I think that this has a lot of resonance certainty for those of us who lived in Brooklyn at the height at the crack wars and that had a lot of weight and people took that to heart even the people who were most victimized by the police. So I wonder why that isn't a valid argument, if in fact it isn't. If you would just drill down on that, please.

End: 0:40: 30

Start: 0:40:31

CH: That's not a valid argument. You know, I was raised by one of those little old ladies who are born in 1917 and she experienced first-hand what it meant to rely on police for family problems and safety. And her experience was taking her daughter to the hospital

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after being raped because NYPD came to the door and said they had a call. So that argument is invalid.

And even if there are a little old lady somewhere who is probably living in a community that might have young people in the building smoking marijuana or things like that... I mean we have been almost bamboozled or developed some kind of Stockholm syndrome where we rely on NYPD for safety because NYPD does not equate safety. NYPD equates a lot of things that we are saying here on the stage, you know: brutalization, rape, murder, dehumanization... All these other things and then there is no space to talk about what safety really means, right? How can someone... an entity that doesn't want to have a conversation with us and say good morning to us on the street know what safety would look like for us? Maybe if we had conversations within our communities about safety, it probably wouldn't look like somebody being arrested for possession of marijuana when they should be given a summons or violation. Maybe it wouldn't look like if you broke into somebody's house you get sentenced to three years. Maybe it would look like restoring justice. Maybe it would look like community accountability. Maybe it would look like us not locking up 16, 17 year olds and citing them with criminal convictions that they will have for their life for doing something that a lot of people in this room did in their adolescence like: throwing a rock through a window, picking up a joint. That's not to condone those things but that's to say that locking them up definitely doesn't fix the problem.

And in terms of, you know, what community safety looks like... I mean I can give you some of the good ideas that I have but it's not for Chino Hardin to figure out what community safety looks like. It's for everybody who's living in Flatbush, Brownsville, South Jamaica, the Bronx, everywhere. Even in suburbia to figure out what community safety looks like, right. Because as we know that the community watchman doesn't always equal community safety especially if you are brown and wearing a hoodie, right?

So I mean these conversations that we're having here are very important and when the mayor or commissioner Kelly always comes on stage and the little old grandma wants police, she wants police. My rebuttal to that is that: "when's the last time you talked to that little old grandma? When's the last time you came to our communities? You know what I'm saying? When's the last time you were stopped and frisked? Or you had your loved ones stopped and frisked? Or you were thrown up against the wall? And in terms of the little old lady? Listen, she's at risk too. Let's not talk about no knock warrants but in give me a heart attack at 2 o'clock in the morning when you think there are drugs in my community. Let's talk about the fact that you're going to frisk little old ladies too because if you are brown... I mean the fastest growing population in prison right now are women. We'll talk about the fact that sometimes victims call NYPD for help and they are being victimized themselves. Or end up being arrested with no... because of whatever, because they, they, you know was too strong or not feminine enough or whatever might have you. I mean, these kinds of arguments that we'll continue to have, this is what NYPD does as a ploy to keep us kind of like running around in the maze, looking for a piece of cheese.

So what we need to do when we hear these kinds of conversations from Ray Kelly and Bloomberg is just stop wherever you are. And listen. And get all the little old ladies

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together because once you have a conversation with them and you lay out what's going on, the responses are different. I did a two-hour training in 4 Rockaway, nothing but senior citizens. All little old ladies. And I purposely had my pants sagging off my butt just to make a point, right? And I told them just to get their attention, out of respect for my elders, I want to pull this off only for respect of my elders. And we sat there for two and a half hours and these little old ladies went from – because they were trying to build an INS facility out in 4 Rockaway – they went from “not in my backyard” to “not in anyone's backyard” to “yeah, you know what, bring the Bloods and Crypts, bring the people that sell drugs, we want to have conversations with them.” Now these little old ladies, who are little old ladies, who are homeowners, who have worked all their life to have these same conversations, who is to say that our communities in Brownsville, in East Flatbush can have these conversations? We got to start being the ones who solve our own problems and stop looking for NYPD to solve our problems because they solving problems looks like: prison, it looks like murder, it looks like rape, it looks like brutalization, it looks like taking away of all your natural human rights.

End: 00:45:27

Start: 00:45:28

AB: Truth tellers on the stage. I don't know about you but I'm going to take a pause because you hear all this...let me know how somebody feels. Somebody angry up in here tonight? Is somebody angry about this nonsense tonight? Is somebody going to do something today? Somebody going to do something tomorrow? Let me just turn your attention before I reintroduce my colleague to the program. If you turn to the middle of the program it says get informed, get involved, and take action. So there are ways that you can connect with your legislatures in Albany, help pass New York City council legislation to implement reforms. So I wanted to mention that. Can we turn up the houselights for a second? Just really briefly. I want to point out...Cassandra? Where you at? So Cassandra's been integral to this and she's who you can contact about doing some of this work along with . And the last question for this part of it...I want to bring it back to where marijuana plays an issue in this. I want you to please speak with us to that. And I also want you to talk a bit more about why is it such a moral imperative. As we travel beyond the race and class demographics where this policy plays at and what are our next steps?

End: 0:46:46

Start: 0:46:47

GS: So last year was the anniversary of the freedom riders. People here know the freedom riders? It's the folks that went down to Alabama in the South during Jim Crow to challenge the legal apparatus of Jim Crow. And Bull Connor who was the sheriff of Birmingham at that time and the governor of Alabama at that time said that what they were doing was enforcing the law. And in fact, they were doing just that, they were enforcing Alabama law. That's what they were doing and that's what they argued that they are doing. And they went on to argue that they would not heed by what the federal government told them to do. What we have here in New York City today right now is

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Michael Bloomberg and Ray Kelly telling us that what they are doing is following the law to keep us safe. And I would put forth that this is no different in many respects than what was happening under Bull Connor back then in Birmingham, Alabama. What we are being asked to participate in then, particularly white folks, is a system in wherein safety means Jim Crow.

And the reason I pull white folks out to say that is we did an action last week or about a week and a half ago where we went to NYPD's door step and we had a courageous group of young white folks who agreed to do civil disobedience to block the entrance to NYPD. We had 150 people there, CCR was there Safe Street, New Leadership... we had a lot of people there it was really fun; it was a beautiful day. The March of the Falun Gong, folks, was much bigger than ours; they had 10 000 people. We only had 150, so we had to move our rally but... So we went right to NYPD and we had asked a lot of City Council folks to come out and speak and we could not get white city council members to come out and speak that day. Now there are supporting legislation on the city and state level to change marijuana arrest practice, which I'll note here briefly. But we had put this protest together explicitly to call out the racial disparities associated with NYPD practices with stop-and-frisk and with the rest and we could not get white elected officials to come out. Now for all of us who are white folks, particularly if you live in districts that are represented by white elected officials we have a responsibility to be talking about race and racial injustice. It cannot just be left up to folks of color to raise up these problems.

Let me talk briefly about the marijuana arrest issue and its connection here. We have a deeper set of questions to ask ourselves, I think. And one of the things that interest me about drugs so much is how quickly we are willing to allow for those people who are caught up with drugs legitimately or illegitimately to be thrown under the bus. And I am going to speak very frankly here and with all due respect to my colleagues who I work with. Even those folks who are working on stop-and-frisk now do this even though I don't think it is intentional or malicious. When we talk about 90% of the people who are stopped, are not given a violation or nor are they arrested. That actually does not mean that the 10 % who are arrested or given a violation are guilty. Let me tell you why that is: The number one arrest in the city of New York is for marijuana possession. I will say this again. The number one arrest in the city of New York is for marijuana possession. When they changed the law in 1977, from that point when they decriminalized marijuana possession until today it's noted the increase in stops. There has been a 5 000% increase in marijuana possession arrest. 5 000 percent. There is 50 000 people arrested in this city for marijuana. One out of 7 arrests, one out of every four misdemeanors. The vast majority of people arrested for marijuana possession didn't actually commit the crime for which they are charged which is marijuana in public view. Now that's a problem onto itself as we all noted. That it's not just happening with marijuana offenses, it's happening with a lot of other offenses where people are being given a citation or criminal offense and they didn't actually commit that crime. We know this to be true. People from Brooklyn know about the special narcotics enforcement squads that are planting drugs on people. This is not secret conspiracy stuff this is stuff that we know is happening. Why is it then that its so hard to get elected officials on the city and state level who will happily come out and say let's not stop hundreds and thousands of people when there is

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no reasonable suspicion that they've committed a crime but they seem to be quiet if somebody has been charged with a crime.

So this raises a couple of questions. One is if we know that NYPD is racially biased that their practices lead to these horrendous outcomes, that there is violence that what they are doing is not allowing our communities to be safe then why aren't we speaking up against those practices when they are arresting somebody and charging them with a crime that the person didn't commit, and the person is in fact innocent even though they're being arrested. And even when the person is guilty do we think that this is the kind of system that is going to intact justice, that is going to make us all safer and better or realize a form of accountability.

But we don't like that question because what it means is that when somebody gets stopped and arrested for robbing me on the train if its at gunpoint...am I then going to thank NYPD for arresting that person and processing them through a system that I know to be racist. This is a larger set of problems that we are not going to solve overnight nor are we going to solve through legislation. Part of it has to be solved with each other and I am not suggesting to you that I know the way to do that. I am just suggesting to you that we have to do it. Because otherwise what we'll do is hold NYPD accountable for the stop-and-frisk practices while we say that the other things that they do are just A-Okay even if we don't say that explicitly. Most of the things that go on are done because of our tacit consent. So if we want to have a city that does not look like Birmingham 1955, which is what this city looks like right now, then we all have to ask ourselves what we want to do about that. And white folks in particular, as white folks in Birmingham in 1955 did, have to ask: "is this the kind of community that I want to be a part of and if not than what am I going to do to change it?" And not what am I going to do to change it just by coming to an event like this, although I am glad you're all here. Is the "what am I going to do as a white person to talk with other white people about the fact that when we're talking about racial injustice, when we are talking about racism, white folks have to be a part of the conversation. We have to talk about not just what it means at a policy level but what it means for our humanity.

End: 00:52:55

Start: 00:52:57

AB: The reason that I'm shortening her bio is that this is just real talk for those of us who grew up in New York, who performed on these stages, who did our best to drop a little estrogen on the mic. There came a point where it seemed like some people were more interested in getting applause rather than working on expressing themselves in the best tradition of those who came before us. And I started to loose a lot of faith. And I didn't want to go... I had people say to me: "asha, how can I get a book published, I have books out there." I said: "well it would be good to read, you know, and really be a part of the literary community." They said: well I just want to get my book of poetry published, I actually don't like poetry." Real talk, I swear to God, that happened. You sit there dumbfounded by someone...I'm dating myself again – I'm trying to remember where I was – it may have been at the New Year weekend. This gorgeous and I'm going to tell you, I mean fine woman...picked up a microphone about 15 years ago in my presence.

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And when I tell you... this sister rocked the mic. When I said: "she dropped it like it was hot." Then you will know that it's true when you see and hear my sister, my love, the cultural entrepreneur: Rha goddess. Come on out baby. Come on.

End: 0:54:24

Start: 0:54:32

RG: Good afternoon. Darrell Johnson, 32 years old. Born and raised in Harlem. Good to meet you, too. I got a lot of experience, I worked in food service, maintenance and janitorial, plumbing and heating, a little bit of electrical. I've done shipping and receiving, painting, sheet wire you name it. My strengths? I'm dependable. Hardworking, good with people. I take pride in my work. Oh and I'm a team player too? My biggest weakness? Well, I can be very outspoken sometimes and that ain't good, you know? But I'm working on it. Like figuring out when it's appropriate to speak up or when I just need to, you know...chill. That means be quiet. Oh you knew that already? Okay. It's just that I have a really strong sense of fairness, you know. Well, life ain't always fair. I tell my son Tariq that all the time. He just thinks he can do what he wants, like he's a grown man. He doesn't understand that things are really bad out here and he can't afford to slip. You know what I mean? He just think he could do crazy sh...and it won't catch up to him. I'm like: "son, you ain't got it like that. I know you think you're a player but you ain't. Go to school, keep your head up, do what your teacher tells you to do. Make something of yourself. How old is my son? He's 14 going on 35 and I'm just trying to keep him from the streets, you know? From making the same mistakes I...I'm sorry. You wanna talk about the job right? My conviction? I was convicted of a criminal possession of a controlled substance with intent to sell. You wanna know what happened? I don't know how you grew up but in my house, in my neighborhood things was very difficult. My woman was a good woman and she worked hard to keep me and my brother off the streets. She had this boyfriend who lived with us who was very abusive, he was very caught up in drugs and did everything he could to make our life a living nightmare. Like he'd bring all kinds of crazy people to the house when my mother was at work and they'd be sittin' around getting high and crashing up the place. I remember barricading me and my little brother in the bedroom so that we would be safe cuz we never really knew if something would get out of hand or someone was packin'. We crouched up in the corner behind the bed for hours. We'd be starvin' and I'd wanna go in the kitchen and make us somethin' to eat but I was just too scared to move. And my mother would come home to see the place destroyed and they'd start arguing. One thing would lead to another and he'd start beatin' on her. I remember the night he slashed her face. She said it was an accident. That was it for me. I started working on my mom, tryin' to convince her to leave and finally she agreed. For the next two years we moved from one house in the projects to another, tryin' to stay two steps ahead. But somehow he would always find us. He even showed up at my mother's job and tore her up bad, that she'd be fired or'd be too embarrassed to go back.

So I tried to find a job to help out but no one would hire me. It's like they were afraid I was gonna rob them or kill them or something. So finally, I just had to do what I had to do. A kid from around my way connected me. Started running with the fast crowd. Hustlin'. Weed mostly, and a few other things. Eventually, I got arrested. Honestly, back

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then I didn't give a damn about the law, I was just trying to feed my family. My girlfriend at the time, now my wife, was pregnant. But the Rockefeller thing,..yeah, well... because this was my second offense, they threw the book at me. They charged me as an adult and gave me the maximum sentence. I was only 17. Because I got arrested, I missed the birth of my son. They gave me fifteen years. But while I was incarcerated I got my GED. I got a certificate in food service. I learned how to paint and sheet wire. Taught other inmates how to read and got certified as a job training and readiness coach. So now I'm out. I've been looking for a job for the last 8 months. It's been really hard you know. I've responded to 68 inquiries. Filled out 39 applications and only gotten calls for 3 interviews. All of which has come through this program. Everybody is looking for work right now so it's real competitive. People go right to the conviction section of the application...and won't even see me. That's all? Well, thank you for the opportunity of the interview. I believe I can do a really good job for you if given a chance.

RG: Our nation is on the brink and we've been terrorized into opposition by being spoon fed a perpetual state of uncertainty.

We've been waiting for someone to ring the alarm.

Too many missiles pointed in the wrong direction.

Too many innocent bystanders intoxicated from a steady diet of Kool-Aid.

Drunk at a series of underground bootlegged tea parties.

Too many persuasions, intimidated by the complexities of the analysis intentionally drafted in lexicon unintelligible to the non-insider, which is most of us.

Too many oblivious who never got the memo that the ISH was going down but catching more fire on the ground just trying to make it to the corner bodega.

Just trying to make it across the Arizona border to New Mexico.

Just trying to make it to the collective bargaining table, to the free healthcare clinic, to the next mortgage payment.

Just trying to make it.

And while they all stagger in and weave ceremoniously to the distorted national anthem remixed with the golden oldies like "Oh Mississippi."

I wish that I was in Dixie, and while our esteemed colleagues assessing the situation apply the appropriate formula for profiting from a disaster to recovering economy. Then collect the necessary media sound bites to justify the number of casualties.

Our roof, our roof, our roof is on fire and we are running through the houses our blazing temper falls, screaming, texting on our blackberries: "Yo!" Wake the hell up and get out!"

This is what it means to be a freedom fighter in the 21st century.

And we are unraveling the tightly woven unwelcome nights of apathy.

We are bursting through the door hurdling over the bureaucratic coaching of rhetoric and resignation.

We are dodging the fallen beams of skewed statistical analysis. Then retaliating with homegrown metrics of our own like blahow! Do that math.

We are in the scorching kitchen, crafting up loftier and more flavorful media sounds bits that not only taste good, but actually make sense when you swallow them.

We are bounding over the threshold, dousing the flames of the politics of this is how it's done son!

And they can't touch we because our eyes have seen too many citizens on the outside looking in at their own country.

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Too many citizens downgraded to subprime refugees.
Too many citizens renegaded to the land of chronic unemployees.
Too many last class passengers stranded in endless cycles of violence and poverty.
While our esteemed up in the bedroom engrossed in a greedy ménage trying to stimulate Mr. Economy. His lady love, True Democracy, has yet to get open and come because she knows the difference between a one night stand and true love.
In the climb next to the side crumbles.
She's pinned between false hope and inspiration.
Between platitudes and real conversation.
Between photo ops and authentic engagement.
Between campaign slogans and genuine legislation.
And in between all of those in between she is calling out and we are hurling the remains of broken hopes and dreams.
We are thrashing through the devastation of history. Bound to repeating itself.
We grab her by the hand and we tell her to hold on.
We tell the young father who is breaking the cycle of incarceration and poverty to hold on.
We tell the uprooted middle class wife who is leaning on the power of faith and community to hold on.
We tell the grandmother ignited who is opening the gate way for greater respect and nobility: hold on.
Weave a way through the broken glass to find you, sift through the wreckage to reach you.
Move heaven and earth to show you.
But what will you do when we finally meet?
Our moment is now!
End: 1:03:20

Start: 1:03:35

AB: Did I lie? Did I lie? Come on, come on, one more time. Doesn't get any better than that. And we're going to ask for the house lights to be turned up and ask our esteemed panelists to join us back on the stage. gabriel, chino, Bilal, Vince, come on back. We ain't done with you yet. Come one. Come on. Meghan, let the folks see you with the mic. I want to open this up and I'm going to try to see everyone's hand. I am going to do moderator's privilege and ask the first question. Though it's not mine. This was a real question that was written on several pieces of paper by a twelve year old who says...I'm going to turn this to the audience. Try to keep my composure:

"Last weekend in my Brooklyn middle school two students, a sixth grader and a seventh grader, who are older than us, tried to start a business of their own by selling illegal substances. A seventh grader sold some to a sixth grader, then she tried to sell it to other six grade boys who denied her offer, which made her mad. She threw all of her drugs, which was weed, at them some of which she had already lit. The boys got scared and went to one of the good and trusted eighth grade friends and asked her for perfume to remove the smell. She decided to tell many eighth graders and the message was sent around. It finally got to the dean and involved the cops. And now four of my friends who are like brothers to me could maybe go to jail. I'm very scared."

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How can I help them, she wants to ask you. What do you do when things like this happen? And why are the boys who were being told to buy it in so much trouble? This was last Thursday in Brooklyn. So I'm going to open it up if someone would like to respond to that and then I'm going to open it up to the audience.

End: 1:06:20

Start: 1:06:38

CH: People laugh but so many of our talented brothers and sisters who get caught up in this awful, awful drug massacre because it's beyond a war now. This drug genocide because that's what it is. Who get lost...because I mean, you know, mathematicians, brilliant people, right? The first thing I would have done...I would have approached the situation if I was the principal, I would have gave her something to sell that wasn't drugs. T-shirts, cookies, something. You know what I'm saying? If she is going to go get her hustle on, hustle for the school, break me off a piece and you eat too, right? So I mean... unfortunately that we treat our young people with...we treat our young people like they're not our future. We treat our young people like they are disposable garbage bags and we can go to the supermarket and get another box every time we get it ready. At New York state we charge a young person at 16 years old. Can you imagine being 16 years old and being charged as an adult? And facing time like 25 years to life? You can't even conceptualize what it's going to be when you're 21 and you can drink and go to the club let alone what you're doing right now is going to get you 25 years to life. So this speaks to the broken system. And the one thing that the young woman can do is become that freedom fighter and make sure that things like this no longer happen to her, or her brothers and sister, or her classmates.

Another thing we should do in our community: this calls for healing. This sister is tormented. This sister is becoming broken because we're dealing with a broken system. So it's not so much what she can do, its what are we going to do for her and what are we going to do for the young men who are getting caught up in this crazy cycle, right? You know what I'm saying. Who get's caught up in and out of this door, right? One of the things might be, oh well, you know, let's help break the cycle. And my thing is: forget that, it's not about breaking cycles, it's about creating new ones. Viable ones. Ones that lead our young people into college, entrepreneurship, and self-determination. And not into prison, not into the grave, and not into the point of despair. Not to a point where they are jumping off the George Washington Bridge or they're putting needles in their arms. So it's on us to help our communities and make sure we keep them safe. And one of the ways that we can that besides speaking out is, you know, being involved in our schools. You ain't got to have a kid in school to be involved in that school. You know what I'm saying? You don't have to necessarily live in that community for 30 years, you live there now? You are a part of that community. Go to the community board meetings, go to your council meetings, contact the Center for NuLeadership and let us come in and do a notarized workshop so that when that young woman or somebody like her gets approached with "what's in you pocket" she says: "I do not consent to this search."

End: 1:09:22

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Start: 1:09:23

AB: That's right! Chino! Thank you so much and thank you, just to the universe, to the 12-year-old who found out I was going to be here and asked me to ask that question. So I am going to start on this side because I've had my back to you for so much of the night. The gentleman over here...We'll move it around.

End: 1:09:43

Start: 1:09:46

Audience member: My name is Scott Kaplan and I would ask: is civil liability against the City of New York enough when the city has deep pockets. Shouldn't we be demanding criminal liability against abusive police officers? Shouldn't we be demanding that the five district attorneys stop acting as rubber stamps for the NYPD? And case in point: whistle blowing cop Adrian Schoolcraft 81st precinct in Brooklyn who's secret tapes were the subject of five cover stories in the Village Voice. Shouldn't the 12 police officers that kidnapped him and who took him to a mental wing of a hospital against his will, shouldn't those police officers be prosecuted and shouldn't we be demanding that from local district attorneys?

AB: Thank you so much. Vince you want to start us off on that and anybody who wants to answer...

End: 1:10:47

Start: 1:10:48

VW: Yeah I'll start. The answer to the first question is civil liability enough? And just so you know civil liability is different from criminal liability. In civil liability you deal with damages. And so when you win the case you can change the policy. You can also get damages, which means that the city will have to pay the victims of the crime. But it is not enough as you were pointing out. But it is something. And it is something that the city understands. And it is a way to hear what people are saying up here on this platform.

The other thing that I would say is that criminal liability is hard because of course you realize that the cops are the ones who give the district attorneys the information from which the district attorneys prosecute people. And there has been a long-standing discussion and debate about having independent prosecutors precisely for those reasons. We have a police system that attempts to police itself, it never works. So the important piece here is that as long as we can't have the police policing themselves, particularly when there are whistle blowers...and I know from our work on Guantanamo, in terms of the military, the whistle blowers are the people that have the most to lose and the least to gain by standing up. Those are the people we should be supporting, those are the people that we should be out there applauding, these are heroic human beings. Just like we are, but they are putting it out on the line.

End: 1:12:10

Start: 1:12:12

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AB: Thank you so much. I saw a brother in the center, did you have your hand up? With a cop watch shirt on.

Audience member: I actually have a two part question. My question is that there is a brother out there...(sound is cut)

AB: gabriel let me ask you because I know you mentioned mass incarceration and I also know that there was some organizing out of your office around Ramarley.

End: 1:13:45

Start: 1:13:46

GS: With respect to Ramarley Graham...for those who don't know, Ramarley Graham was a young man who was chased down by NYPD. They broke into his home and murdered him in front of his grandmother and young brother. And then they charged that Mr. Graham had a weapon and that he was running from the NYPD or they thought that he did. When it fact, surveillance cameras showed quite clearly that the young man walked into his home as calmly as anybody would walk into their home. And that the NYPD special narcotics enforcement unit chased him down and broke into the home and shot him dead. This is an excellent question, I'm glad you raised his name. Thank you.

With respect to this, I mean I can't speak for the other folks here...there is a lot, as you know, you're wearing a cop-watch shirt, so you know. There is a lot going on here around the city around policing issues very broadly. With our partners at the Center for NuLeadership and Vocal New York we've been doing this campaign around the marijuana arrests issue. We decided that the best thing that we – and again, speaking for us – the best thing that we can do is seeing about winning on this issue to the extent that it exposes the lies and hypocrisy of what NYPD is doing, understanding that that is not going to solve or bring back Ramarley Graham or solve the immediate problem of the special narcotics enforcement units. But it's a thing that we are doing that we think if we keep doing and we actually win it, it can contribute to the larger effort. That's why we are working on legislation in Albany. Legislation is not sexy and ever fun, but it does provide a target. It allows for people to talk about a thing. So for people who are outside of events like this, who don't attend them, for whom these issues maybe new, it's provided us with an interesting vehicle to talk about that.

On the mass incarceration piece we've had the same frustration that you just raised here about the cost. We had a study commissioned by Doctor Harry Levine that identified the cost of these marijuana possession arrests. Is that each arrest, conservative of the estimate, it cost 1 500. You got 50 000 of them last year that's 75 000 000 dollars. We went around and in talking to groups around the city we just asked them: "What would you like to see done with 75 000 000 dollars?" And we've been talking to city council members and others saying: "How are you going to shut down a hospital and eliminate..." The thing that really gets my goat, one of the things, is that they shut down the summer youth employment program for young people. 14 to 24 years old. They've been cutting this program, year after year, after year. It's not over, but they keep cutting it. And what happens...the very same people who attend those programs, are the very same ones who are targeted under the broader stop-and-frisk practices.

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And so...marijuana arrests are not going to, we addressed that, are not going to solve these whole problems, we're not suggesting that. What we try to do is use that particular scenario and outcome as a way to demonstrate and shine a light on the broader problem. So those are some of the things that we have done. And you know...this to me only works if there is this other stuff that's being done in concert at the same time. And if we are all talking to each other and have a sense of actually building up what we hopefully can call a movement. So this is some of the things.

Audience member: I don't mean to interrupt...

AB: Let me move to someone else and we'll just circle back because there is a lot of people...

Audience member: Is it possible that you can bring this same forum to the Bronx. No disrespect to the crowd that's here. There's not a lot of people here who are affected...

AB: Go ahead...

GS: Can I say one thing about this here? I'm sorry. Now you're asking a very good question. I can't speak for Culture Project and other folks. As DPA and I think for our coalition, we'll come. Any time.

CH: I'll come to the BX any time.

GS: I'll tell you this, when Mr. Graham was murdered, we reached out to Bronx elected officials and we've been doing this to folks across the city. We reach out to the elected officials, we say: "we want you to support these legis...you're a law maker? Make some laws that will help this. We will come to your community. You can sponsor a Know your Rights Training. Chino's has been leading these, we'll come talk to your constituents. We will be at your service." We called a lot of the Bronx elected officials and we just haven't gotten the invite to come up. Right. And I don't mean that that's the only place to get the invite. I just point this out to say that this is a thing that's been part of the campaign, right. So we've had that area of like "okay we know we have to do the community work." So, we'd love to talk with you afterwards and if there is something that we can do, we'll come up and do it.

End: 1:17:46

Start: 1:17:47

AB: Thank you so much. There is a brother back here in a black hat. I want to see a sister on the mic. Are there no women up in here that got a hand up? No women at all, only a twelve year old girl? That's what I'm talking about. So let me hear the brother in the hat and there is a sister over here in the corner and then we'll circle back around. I got you. I got you.

Audience member: Great! Alright, what's up everybody, I'm the brother in the hat. But seriously my name is Jamal Mims and I'm with the Stop Mass Incarceration Network. And on October 21st we actually lost a campaign to specifically target the stop and frisk policy as a way of taking on the entire problem of mass incarceration and to really drive

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a rivet into creating and inspiring a national movement. So on October 21st, myself, my brother right here, José, and a number of us were arrested in front of the doors of the 28 Precinct for nonviolently blocking the doors. Among us was Debra Sweet of World Can't Wait, Carl Dicks of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and Cornell West. Just recently we actually faced charged and faced five days of full court rooms and were rendered a guilty verdict in what was the most political case in New York since...since the 70s actually. And also the largest political case in New York since the '70s. So as far as...and I'm getting to the question in a bit, but I just wanted to give it a proper framing. Because my question really has to do a lot with this thing of going forward. And what are our steps going forward. There is talk in the room around the areas of reform. And there is talk in the room around the areas of how we make police more accountable and how do we derive more accountability from the NYPD. But simply put, I think that this is a thing, and as our demonstration on the street and the climate around the stop-and-frisk that is ensued as a result and from our decision to carry that forward onto the courtroom. This is not a process that is not going to be legislated out of existence. New terms will be reset and that, you know, this is not something that will be swiftly ended by the pin stroke of a politician. I mean, let's look at the stop-and-frisk policy itself...

AB: Can you just tell me what the question is so I can direct it properly. Thank You.

Audience Member: Okay. The stop-and-frisk policy itself is a reform policy. How do we avoid...in fighting this, how do we avoid just having this be reduced down to another reform policy with even worse circumstances?

AB: That's a great question, that's a great question. Thank you so much. Bilal, can I ask you to take that on?

End: 1:20:19

Start: 1:20:20

CB: Yeah, again, I think for me... and I guess I've been timid about my approach here, but I want to take it back to the Ramarley thing and connect it to a lot of stuff is: I think that what is requires is activism. I totally work with CPR, I worked with a bunch of organizations. But like this guy said there is a point when you realize...I mean if you look throughout history: if you look at Martin Luther King, if you look at Civil Rights leaders, if you look at political prisoners because that is a political trial. You look at the Angela Davises and you look at the Eldridge Clevers and stuff like that. They always talk about how we cannot really rely on, you know, the American construct of getting things done. How we can't really rely through the court system, we can't really rely on the legislative process and that, you know, the signature of John F. Kennedy does not end the debate about segregation. So I think that what it requires is people-power and I think a really important part about that is solidarity.

Again going back to Know Your Rights part about what SAS does is that first of all you need to literally educate the people. You have to, like Stop Mass Incarceration does, is realize the importance between stop-and-frisk and mass incarceration. I mean one thing that we are recently working on in Street Wise and Safe is S-Comm which is Securing Communities, which is a program from the federal government that basically forces New

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York to when any arrest case, to process...to give the finger prints to the ICE, which is immigration. And that scheme right there will be the creation of a large, rapid deportation scheme in the United States and specifically New York.

And so just like educating people about that and saying: "Alright, we have to go against things like stop-and-frisk." And the way that we can beat stop and frisk and S-Comm is by saying: "The experiences of the gays is the same as the experiences of African Americans of color which is the same thing as the experiences of the trans, which is the same experiences of white people." We have to connect, we have to make these logical connections about how crime and how mass incarceration, how marijuana, how sexism, how the policing of bodies, how the policing of gay people, how the policing of African American men, is all a part of the mass incarceration network.

And so what we have to do is recognize that we have people who are tone-deaf. That we literally have a Bull Connor back in office again in the name of Ray Kelly. That we have all these systems from the '60s and '70s again and we have to really, you know, do the same thing. We have to sit-in, we have to do judicial activism where people who are 90% African Americans in cases aren't just pleading guiltily that they are actually getting representation and taking those cases to the court. That's a form of judicial activism. That when people are in Brooklyn going to summons court, that they are just not taking the summons that they are actually going there for lawyers so that all these cases are being processed through the court system. To actually test the court system as Vince was talking about earlier. We need to test the court system, we need to test Ray Kelly and say, you know, that "this isn't working." That this argument isn't good. And we are going to round up together, we are going to bind up, we are going to collectivize as people, put aside our differences. Because again I am Trayvon Martin, I am Ramarley Graham, I am Jatiek Reed, I am and anybody who has been attacked. I am the people at Occupy Wall Street. And those are the same people and the same generation in the tradition of sitting in and fighting for people's rights. And why I'm here, once again, it's because of the LGBT community, because of people like James Baldwin, because of people like Audrey Lorde, because so many people in the movement, from Stonewall to stop-and-frisk have been speaking about this. So if I can connect that my issue is the same as a black brother in the audience, which is the same as the Latino sister in the audience, which is the same as white person, which is the same as a trans person. And that we can all use this and say: "Hey, we're going to march for this, we are going to sit-in, we're going to demonstrate, and we are actually prepared to fight this and actually work together, and actually call for an end." Because basically this is rooted in classism, in homophobia, in racism. Until as a culture that we acknowledge that these are traits that we have, until we...we have to expect this in a way to be a part of policing if this is what our culture is about. If our culture is about homophobia then expect a police officer to attack me because I'm gay. If our culture is about trans phobia then, you know, we have to expect the police to attack people because they are trans. So we have to change these attitudes within ourselves and within the police department. That's the only way we are going to do it. So we have to start it in the community and like within ourselves. That's all I can say. That's all that James Baldwin says too: it's about ourselves.

End: 1:24:41

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Start: 1:24:42

AB: Just real briefly, did you want to speak to that? I want to know, we have roughly 15 minutes left. I think I've seen everyone who's raised their hands. I'm going to ask everyone in the audience...Ah! Now! Now you want to raise your hand. Okay, but to really capsule your questions so we can get to as many. If I don't get to you tonight then please do remember that we are supposed to be continuing this conversation. It is a beginning, and not an ending, an opening and not a close. So Chino I know you wanted to say something real briefly.

End: 1:25:09

Start: 1:25:10

CH: Quick. I believe, I agree with everything Bilal said and the only thing I will add to that is that we have to make sure that the transfer of our leadership happens with our children. Teach them so that they will never forget. And if they never forget then it won't repeat itself.

End: 1:25:21

Start: 1:25:24

AB: So I'm going to try to do this. Yell at me or make the little ice grill like the brother over here did a minute ago. I ain't scared! So the sister over here with the blue head thing on.

Audience Member: My name is Kathy Abelson and I'm a now retired midwife and former union organizer. I know this is all about the macro, but I am a little concerned with the micro and this 12-year-old kid. And I remember being 12 and 13, God, it's the age of stupidity and stupid acts. And that's what they got embroiled in. And something she can do organizationally is talk with the parents of these 8 boys that got wrapped up in this whole thing, who were charged for having refused to buy any marijuana. And... I'm sure they're furious, and they would probably have relatives and friends who are furious and organize parents who might be very angry at the principal for treating this incident as a criminal thing when you have a bunch of really appropriately stupid aged kids. You know. And there isn't a parent who can't identify with a kid being stupid. You know, it just boggles the mind that there isn't some organization here that could get the school involved, that could demonstrate...

AB: I have a meeting with the principal at 3 o'clock tomorrow.

Audience Member: Great.

AB: I got the appointment today, meeting's at 3 o'clock tomorrow in Fort Greene, Brooklyn. We're going to shut that down. Wrong parent to mess with. For those of you who know me. So...gentlemen right here in another black hat.

End: 1:27:19

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Start: 1:27:36

Audience Member: I'm José, I'm one of the organizers for the stop-and-frisk campaign that the brother spoke about. One thing that we've been doing a lot is that we basically...like me, I believe more being in the street than being sitting in any panel... You know it's great to have a panel but I believe more in being in the street dealing with the people, educating them, and letting them know what's going on. So we are basically out there every single day doing that. The only question...the question that I wanted to ask here is how to ya'll feel that what ya'll doing through this panel is going to be able to reach the community which is not here today. You know what I'm saying? I mean, you know, how can we get this message along to the point where, you know what I'm saying...Not just by being recorded because not everybody is going to get it, but to the point that the people in the community could reach and understand what's going on...Especially with the stop-and-frisk factor that's taking place. And another thing is dealing with the Bellagio, I was down there when they were having a meeting and everything, you know with the stop-and-frisk. He made a comment about the Comstop. I mean that's been around but all of a sudden now its going to be something that the mayor and Ray Kelly is going to be talking about a lot, so I mean what can ya'll elaborate on that.

End: 1:28:48

Start: 1:28:49

AB: Let me break this in two ways, then, Jose. Rha let me let you take the first part of it because you're really a... you're a cultural activist. You're an organizer on these issues. You've been around the world talking about this. So I want you to talk a little bit about ways that we expand what we're saying around different communities. And then I'm going to turn back to you, Vince, and pick up around the issue around Ray Kelly.

End: 1:29:11

Start: 1:29:15

RG: Hey ya'll first I want to thank you so much for being here tonight and your commitment. You know we, and I heard gabriel saying earlier, we have to touch people. And in the context of the work that we do, whether its front line organizing, whether its working on policy, when we get to our humanity for some reason we stop the conversation. And it has to do with the resignation that we've been conditioned to hold in believing that people cannot transform. And they can. And we have to lean in. And that is place often where we don't lean in. We go to the structures, we go to the streets, you know, we go to maintenance, we go to damage control, we go to, right, harm reduction, right? But we don't talk about how do we become very committed and very intentional about transforming people's hearts. Because I'm going to to tell you, there are people who move those systems. And if we do not address the people factor, we're not going to have sustainable change. We just will not. We will have the changing of the guards and then we will start all over again. Anybody know what I'm talking about? You know what I'm saying. So for me because my commitment in the work that I do is about transformation and it's about igniting the souls, and the spirits, and the hearts of people.

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We do have to look at the role that cultural strategies have to play in supporting the re-humanizing process and the re-humanizing work that is begging to happen in this country. The fact that we would even consider putting a 12-year-old in hand cuffs...that we even begin to believe that that's normal... that we even begin to...you feel what I'm saying? So there is something about recognizing the disease the lives at the heart of the culture and how do we do the cultural work of being able to transform the belief that somehow these are not all our children. They don't belong to just their parents, they belong to all of us. This is happening on all of our watches, right? So for me the two bodies of work that I will add to the incredible work that is being done in the context of policy, and in the context of organizing is that we must, we must work on the human front. We must get on the frontlines of our humanity and we must go to work with one another. And that is about being willing to sit in conversations that are uncomfortable. Being willing to look at the part of you that wants to close the door and not hear the conversation. Ya'll feel me? And in what part of you that wants to give up because somebody here doesn't look like you here look or they don't live where your neighborhood is or they don't understand your reality. Pain is pain, trauma is trauma. We don't know looking at a person what they've been through. We got to find those human connections in each other. And I don't care how far you think the distance is we've got to be willing to walk it with each other. That's the only thing I really believe it's from the mental that is really going to shift this thing.

End: 1:32:31

Start: 1:32:32

AB: Thank you Rha. Here's where we are, here's where we are, let me just tell you... we have five minutes left. There is a sister over here, a sister over here and she was one of the first people in here today so I can't miss you. I know I'm missing a lot of folks. I know. Please forgive me. It's not my fault, I didn't set the time. So I'm going to have Vince answer the question, I'm going to go to these two sisters and I'm going to hope that the conversation has been opened up enough that you don't only have to speak when there is a mic, that you actually speak to each other. That's the prayer. Vince.

End: 1:33:01

Start: 1:33:01

VW: Alright, thank you asha. Talking about opening up the conversation, we've heard a lot of different perspectives from this community that we've created here, right? We've heard about direct action, we've heard about litigation pieces, we've heard about the micro level, we've heard about systemic change. And the thing...the point that I want to make is that please do not let us fall into the same problem that we on the left fall into, which is: "ya'll are talking about this, but your not talking about that." Right? What we are, is we are a community of people...and the people on this... And the other thing I want to tell the brother is that the people on this panel, right, we're doing a lot of talking, but everyone here is a worker for change. And the key is change, and the key is work. Everybody is actualizing, everybody is in the communities, everybody is moving for policy change and speaking truth to power, and speaking truth and hearing truth from the

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people. And these are the things that we all need to bring together. So here's a reframe that I want...When we have these conversations with folks, when we have them in different communities...here is the reframe. How do we take the various pieces that we've been hearing today, which are all extremely important, none of which will be solved on this panel, none of them will be solved this week and that we will all be struggling with for the next 200 years, like we've been struggling for the last 200 years. But what's different about this moment for us? What do we want to change as a result of this conversation? That's what I want to put out to you guys. I will join folks going up to the Bronx to talk about this. CCR is a dedicated member of the CPU coalition, there is a lot of information about what the coalition is doing, which will give you a broad range of the different things that the 30 groups around New York City are trying to do to address this problem.

End: 1:34:36

Start: 1:34:36

AB: Thank you Vince. I'm going to come over here. We're going to come over here and these are going to be the last two questions that we can do tonight. We'll do announcements at the end. So just....capsule.

End: 1:34:48

Start: 1:34:50

Audience Member: Yeah I just want to ask you what do you think of the new system where guilty children were originally sent upstate to prisons. Now they want to bring them down into communities and set up residential homes, which are like, essentially like prisons too. Looking back a few weeks ago there was one child killed in a residential home by a staff. So what do you think of the new system, you think that will work?

AB: Chino?

End: 1:35:13

Start: 1:35:17

Chino: I could have broke my mic. I was playing with it. Sorry. Oh it's not broken, they turned it off. So that's called realignment. It's a couple of things, right? It's a Catch-22. While they're building residences that are effectively prisons within a community, at the same time these young people are actually stationed in the communities where they come from and their families are going to have way more better access. Does that solve the lingering issue of the broken Juvenal justice system? Absolutely not. Do I think that it's a miniature stop in the right direction? Absolutely. I way more prefer that our brothers and sisters, since they are going to come back to this community, already be placed in this community, get help from the community-based organizations within this community. And not have their families traveling 6 and 8 hours upstate to see their young people. Do I think that solves the problem? No. We got a long road ahead of us and I think that

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might just open up a crack in the window so we can bust through the door and fix what's rest...the rest of the situation that we got to deal with.

End: 1:36:23

Start: 1:36:23

AB: Thank you so much. Sister?

Audience Member: Hi. My name is Camille Britten. I work for the Center for NuLeadership; I'm the Development Associate out there and I guess my question is dual purpose. I'm very new to this work and there is a lot of internalized anger that I've had. I'm a woman of color as you can clearly see. And, you know, Walking through the streets of New York, I'm new to this city...it's very disheartening for me to see or rather to know that there are people of privilege who are walking around and I see this they are not affected or I feel as though they are not affected by stop-and-frisk and what's going on. And it bothers me because even when we come to events like this I see what the room looks like but my question is: will there really be change? Now, you know, I'm educated so I can say "of course." And I can give you the answer that I think everyone will want to hear. It's I...I guess I'm having a deep rooted internalized anger...

AB: What's the change you can believe in?

Audience Member: Is there?

AB: Is there change? gabriel?

End: 1:37:27

Start: 1:37:38

GS: I work in an organization that does policy reform work and it's...it can be a mixed experience because you can win a set of policy reforms but not realize freedom or justice. And I think that sometimes the things that happen happen in inches. So I'll share a personal experience here to try to contextualize this. Because I think the basic take-away is I think it happens in small steps until it doesn't. But none of us unfortunately, at least I haven't met anyone who is able to say: "this is when the big leap is going to occur." Because if we could do that more often we would all probably trying to be doing that thing to get to that big leap. But instead most of us take the small steps that we can take. But I've had family members who have been incarcerated and as a prison abolitionist it really transformed my thinking about reform work.

To go to this brother's question up here...because while my, while visiting family members in prison...I do work around drug policy and mass incarceration and can't keep my own family members from being incarcerated, which is its own, that's its own challenge as you could imagine. But if inside that prison I could do something like write the warden a letter so that my brother would get transferred out of a hole. I would do that. Is that realizing victory? For us it was. A very small one but a critically important one. And I've personalized my political work in this respect, that a lot of the work that I do happens like that. That there are these small steps that we take that have to be

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understood in a bigger context, like he wasn't free, I wrote no letter that got him out and none of the laws that I helped change have made him free either. But we've done a lot of things that helped move things forward.

So I wish I had a more inspirational answer. But I think...there is change, it happens all the time. I think what ends... in my opinion, its partly our responsibility to figure out what are the small things that we can actually change that are going to help contribute to that larger river of change. Because if each one of us is a little tributary or stream we're all going to...if we can all feed into the same thing, I think this is what Vince was getting at, then we can build a bigger power, a bigger power to realize transformation. And that's I think some of the direct action stuff that's going on around this city, some of the other activities. All these things, as my colleague Tony Newman likes to say: put five fingers into a fist, right? So if all of us are a finger, we have to figure out how to bring ourselves into a fist and then throw one hell of a punch. I think we're going to win. And like Vince said, I think that that victory is going to happen in a way that we are going to have hundreds of other years of other problems that we have to transform. In my world view that's part of being alive and on the plant. But in so far as we're with each other now, we have to struggle together to realize the kind of justice and humanity that we can with one another as best as we can.

End: 1:40:28

Start: 1:40:30

AB: Vince do you have 60 seconds on that for us?

VW: I'm going to take 32 because it took be two seconds to turn my mic on. You know, one of the things that I wanted to say and we think a lot about this at the Center for Constitutional Rights. You have to believe that justice is possible. You have to believe that justice is possible. And just as gabriel was saying, you don't know when and you don't know where but you have to believe it. I was reading an article just recently roughly 60 or some odd percent, or the majority of Americans now think that gay marriage is a good thing. Just read that. It wasn't until 1997 that the majority of Americans thought that interracial marriage was a good thing. My point there being is a.) don't ever believe anything the polls say because polls really don't tell you what's going on but b.) that the struggle is long and it builds on each other. And Frederick Douglass...the thing that we have at the Center for Constitutional Rights that we are always focused on...Frederick Douglass said that power concedes nothing without a demand. It never has, and it never will. Our job is to demand, it's to demand in the streets, to demand in the courts, to demand in the communities. And by the act of that demanding, and demanding jointly, is the only way that we are going to see change happen.

End: 1:41:45

Start: 1:41:46

AB: Thank you Vincent. As we come to a close...And in the name of the people, in Ramarley's name, in Treyvon Martin's name. Right? Because that's all they're talking about, that's how they are trying to criminalize him now. Is there a young man in the

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audience tonight who is part of that 84%, who is under 25 and who has not been heard tonight? Okay let me let you have the last word and then we're going to bring it to a close.

End: 1:42:37

Audience Member: Post traumatic slave syndrome needs to be recognized as a medical condition. A legitimate condition. I think those judges who are convicting those people of the open marijuana...they need to be able to be sued. I know there is absolute immunity but a judge that actually convinces somebody who knows that there is no law that the person is breaking needs to be able to be sued. When it comes to the stop-and-frisk, you know, they always have an excuse. They say furtive eye movements, tugging at the waist. There actually needs to be a law that takes away the furtive eye movement because you can just make that up. The tugging of the waist. If a cop don't see a gun and shoots, that needs to be a crime. It needs to be a crime. Because they are using that as an excuse to murder black people. You know who it isn't happening to. My last thing was because I was stop-and-frisked and he said he's investigating a burglary is... in your studies have you ever seen a definitive criteria with the police department defining what is a high crime area or not? Because I did a foil and they wouldn't give me mine but they gave you yours.

End: 1:44:13

Start: 1:44:13

AB: Has anybody ever seen that? A definitive study that defines what a high crime area is. The brother makes an important point. If you go on to the campuses of the most Ivy League schools...I tell you, I'm a former Columbia student. I'm here to let you know. Right? So what defines as high crime area and also we take from that the very salient point about posttraumatic slave syndrome and posttraumatic slave disorder, which is eventually how it leaves people, right? The girl who started out this conversation talking about she's scared. She's scared. School is not a place of safety. It's not a sanctuary. Our children are scared. It is our work to make safe streets. It is our work to continue to engage one another. It is our work to continue this conversation. It is our work to be a fist against the bullshit. Let's go and give it up for Rha Goddess. gabriel sayegh. Chino Hardin. Brother Bilal, Vince Warren. All the staff of CCR, Culture Project and Drug Policy Alliance who worked so hard to put this together.

End: 1:45:33