

White Jaw:

WHITE JAW:

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MADISON, WISCONSIN

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CW

This poem is an erasure of prominent and frequently embraced white voices and institutions in the United States. Text in italics has been excerpted from source documents spanning from August of 1761 to August of 2017 (see “Source Notes”); the erasure was done primarily in 2016.

These canonical voices center white supremacy; the poem describes white supremacist actions. As such, the poem is violent. It includes court and news documents about sexual assault, and references torture.

It was written for other white readers.

To fighting re-articulations of these voices (including any of my own that may show up here), and to the death of white supremacist ideologies. To the centering of Black, brown, and Indigenous women and queer people. You make the world.

I. Fear of

After work, a young investment banker
laced up, took her usual route
past locust, cherry, larch
sky a dark and pinholed vault
high honey bulb each hundred yards

According to reports
teens swarmed the grounds
in loose constellations
sweat-stuck, roving

Felled from behind
then pulled past sycamores to the ravine
her skull fractured with a rock
Stripped, shirt a ligature gag
Left in her own sap
three quarters of it seeped to soil

At the hospital
priest performed viaticum

Next day, the *Times* reported

*Teen-agers began marauding after 9 PM
with the robbery of a 52-year-old man
Youths got away with a sandwich
In the next hour, threw rocks at a taxicab
chased a man and woman riding a tandem
attacked a 40-year-old jogger
attacked a woman on the bridle*

*At 10 o'clock, came upon the female jogger
running on a desolate transverse
the youths numbered as many as 20*

Detectives held five, 14 to 16 years
one developmentally disabled

interrogated each between 14 to 30 hours
gave one a Coke, and one milk

Each boy believed
if they said what the questioners wanted
they could go home

Elsewhere in 1989
fraternity brothers spend two days rioting, looting
at a Virginia Beach Greekfest
The Exxon Valdez rupture guts
1,000 miles of coast
DeKlerk, out of no good heart, out of Mandela's
lion mouth, begins to relinquish apartheid
Bernhard Goetz, of Queens, is sentenced
to one year in prison, a \$5,000 fine
for shooting four people in the subway
The Berlin Wall falls
The Cold War roils on

—

BRING BACK PENALTY BRING BACK POLICE

*by Donald J. Trump, May 1, 1989; full-page advertisements taken out
in The New York Times, The Daily News, The New York Post, New York Newsday*

*What has happened to law and order
the neighborhood cop we all trusted
to guard our homes*

*Cop who had power under law
to keep prey distorted
What has happened to respect
for authority, retribution*

What has happened is complete breakdown

*At what point did we cross the line from noble pursuit
of genuine civil liberties*

*to the reckless permissive which allows
every age to rape women laugh*

*because they face
no personal risk to themselves*

*They should be forced to suffer
when they kill should be
executed as examples
I want to hate and always will
I want to punish I want them afraid*

*When I was young I sat
in a diner with my father
witnessed two young bullies cursing a waitress
Cops rushed in, lifted up thugs, threw them out*

I miss feeling New York's finest

*Let politicians give back our police power
unshackle them from the chant "police brutality"
cease pandering to the criminal population
Send message loud to terrorize
Bring back the death
Bring back police*

—

Numbers:

5 completed sentences

Raymond Santana, 14, imprisoned 7
Kharey Wise, 16, imprisoned 13
Kevin Richardson, 14, imprisoned 7
Antron McCray, 15, imprisoned 7
Yusef Sallam, 15, imprisoned 7

Trisha Meili, 28, 6 weeks in a coma
Her eyes placed back in their sockets

Harm unquantifiable, outside of time

The week of April 19th in NYC
29 first degree rapes reported
ages ranges 8 to 51
In NYC, 1989, 6,249 reports of sexual assault

Police estimated the count
as one tenth of what occurred

Violence done to children and by children
Wrong children

—

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK AGAINST KHAREY WISE, KEVIN RICHARDSON, ANTRON MCCRAY, YUSEF SALAAM, RAYMOND SANTANA, DEFENDANTS. INDICTMENT NO. 4762/89. AFFIRMATION IN RESPONSE TO MOTION TO VACATE JUDGEMENT OF CONVICTION

*In February 2002 the District Attorney's Office was notified
an inmate had come forward with a claim
he attacked the Central Park jogger alone
Matias Reyes, serving sentences for
three rapes/robberies, one rape/murder
committed between June 11 and August 5, 1989
He has provided samples of blood, head, pubic hair
Information provided has been extensively investigated
included interviews with police corrections inmates civilians
all records pertaining to Reyes personal criminal psychological*

*Reyes account of the attack and rape is corroborated by
independent evidence. Further, investigators have been unable
to find evidence that, as of 1989
Reyes knew or associated with defendants*

*Reyes decision to come forward was prompted by
a chance encounter with Kharey Wise
in Auburn Correctional Facility
and the realization Wise was incarcerated
in connection with the attack on the jogger*

*Interviews with Corrections employees, volunteers, inmates confirmed
Reyes told them he committed a crime for which
another person had been convicted
and wanted to rectify*

*Reyes does not attribute his decision
to having "found God"
though he stated he has found religious services helpful*

*He has explained himself in terms of
fear of retribution*

*In 1989 Reyes was living on his own across from the 23rd precinct
Slept in a van; occasionally with a family who felt for him*

*On June 11, 1989, Reyes stalked, raped, robbed, stabbed
twenty-four year old woman in her apartment
stole the victim's Walkman*

*June 14, 1989, Reyes raped, robbed, stabbed to death
a twenty-four year old woman in an apartment
used a knife from victim's kitchen
[She was pregnant; her three children were home]*

*July 19th, 1989, Reyes stalked, raped, robbed, cut
twenty year old woman in apartment
took ATM card and PIN
Tied her in a fashion
which parallels the Central Park jogger
Called 911 to summon help for her*

*July 27, 1989 Reyes stalked, robbed, punched
twenty-eight year old woman
in the hallway of her apartment
The crime interrupted by neighbors*

*August 5, 1989 Reyes stalked, raped, robbed
a twenty four year old woman in her apartment
took bank card, PIN
She escaped*

*Reyes volunteered information
about other sex crimes he committed
for which he hadn't been arrested
One was in Central Park
He had in fact
beaten raped robbed twenty-six year old woman
exercising near Lasker rink and pool
Bystander intervened
Reyes left, calmly, taking the victim's property
The incident occurred April 17, 1989
two days before the attack on the jogger*

*Reyes disclosed information
about a sexual assault in a church
Dragged down the staircase
Church of Heavenly Rest*

The following summarizes Reyes attack on the jogger:

He left work, headed for Central Park

*It was likely he would commit some kind of crime, not necessarily rape
He first saw the jogger as she proceeded north on East Drive
wearing long black jogging tights
Reyes said he was
attracted to her
because*

[his account highly detailed, so we end it]

*Reyes says when he left the jogger she was bloody and unconscious but still alive
He could hear her making some kind of hard sound in her throat
as though something had been broken*

*When he reached the roadway
he saw the jogger's headset
put it on*

—

*The question has always been
whose body is the property
of whom
This is still their question*

—

*Ms. Winfrey (April, 2002): When I first heard about you, I thought
why were you running alone in Central Park at night*

*Ms. Meili: You're not the first person to say that
I have every right to run where I want, when I want*

*Ms. Winfrey: The idea of running alone
is a foreign concept to me
You had to be the kind of person*

*who either thought you were invincible
or who was just nuts*

Ms. Meili: *I wouldn't say I was nuts*

Ms. Couric (April, 2003): *When this happened, some people said:
"Running alone in Central Park at night? That girl must be crazy"*

Ms. Meili: *That question bothers me*

Ms. Couric: *Do you ever look back and say
"No you shouldn't have been doing that"*

Mr. King (May, 2003): *Were you a frequent jogger*

Ms. Meili: *I was*

Mr. King: *Liked to jog at night, too*

Ms. Meili: *because of the schedule, because I worked
late and had to get to work early
I could only do it after work
And that's what I did*

Mr. King: *Any fears about running in a park
with a reputation*

Ms. Meili: *I had concerns. I had rules for myself*

Mr. King: *Like*

Ms. Meili: *I wouldn't go running after 9:30 at night
I didn't go to the most northern part of the park
I didn't run around the reservoir*

Mr. King: *You do run again*

Ms. Meili: *I do*

Mr. King: *But you didn't have
the psychological impact of rape
because you didn't remember the rape
So you can't describe what is it like
forced entry*

So did it cause you any kind of hang ups

Ms. Meili: Having a head injury caused me hang ups

*Mr. King: How are you living? Why are you living
Why didn't you die that day*

Ms. Meili: Prayers from all over the world

*Mr. King: We're going to take a break,
but when we come back, Jim Schwarz will join us*

Mr. King: You still use Meili

Ms. Meili: I do

Mr. King: Not Schwarz

Ms. Meili: Not Schwarz

Mr. King: Independent

*Mr. King: Trisha Meili's our guest
We are joined now by her husband
It has to be asked, Jim
Did it bother you that the girl
you were falling for was raped
All men who have had this face it*

Mr. Schwartz: It didn't. It didn't

Mr. King: You have children

Ms. Meili: No

Mr. King: Can you have children

Ms. Meili: Yes

*Mr. King: The assailant did almost
everything to you, didn't he*

I mean, to be honest about it, right

Are you angry

—

PRESS CONFERENCE AT CITY HALL AFTER SETTLEMENT ANNOUNCED, JUNE 27,
2014

*Mr. Omowale Clay: after 25 years of injustice
the case of the Central Park Five comes to a just conclusion
Although no amount of time of money can repay
we see the settlement as reparations*

Mr. Kevin Richardson: *You all don't understand
what we went through. You tried to dehumanize us
People called us animals [weeping] wolfpack
I have four sisters and a mother I would never
do anything to a woman I was raised better
All we wanted is to tell you
we didn't*

Mr. Raymond Santana: *Today's supposed to be a day of victory
My childhood was taken from me. The ability to become
a productive man was taken. Instead you gave me prison
and aggression. Never given a transitional program
nobody ever sat us down to walk through these steps
so you can get a job. Even after exoneration
they just dropped us off, said
you fend for yourself*

Mr. Yusef Salaam: *I used to call this
the criminal system of injustice
For everyone else
this is a historical moment*

But this is our lives

—

Ms. Meili: *I'm working on these exercises
and they seem to be getting better
maybe just a little bit, maybe
I'm taking two more steps*

Mr. King: *What hurt the most*

Ms. Meili: *I wondered how could someone do this*

*But outpouring of support, tremendous kindness
It was an extraordinary level of violence*

—

*My Opinion on the Settlement of the Central Park Jogger Case
by Donald Trump, New York Daily News, June 21, 2014*

is a disgrace

*A detective who has followed it
calls it the heist of the century*

*Settling doesn't mean innocence
it indicates incompetence
politics at its lowest and worst form*

*What about the other people who were brutalized that night
in addition to the jogger*

*One thing we know
the amount of time, energy and money that has been spent
on this case is unacceptable
Forty million dollars is a lot*

*The recipients must be laughing
at the incompetence of the city*

*These young men do not have the pasts
of angels*

II. The fathers

Washington (Founder, 1st)

*Advertisement for Runaway Slaves, Fairfax County (Virginia) August 11, 1761.
Ran away from a Plantation on Sunday the 9th, the following Negroes*

*Peros, 35 or 40 Years, a well-set Fellow, of about 5 Feet 8 Inches
yellowish and full black Beard, his Speech something slow and broken*

*Jack, 30 Years (or thereabouts), a slim, black, well made Fellow, of near 6 Feet
small Face, Cuts down each Cheek, being his Country Marks
his Feet are large for he requires a great Shoe*

*Neptune, aged 25 or 30, well set, and of about 5 Feet 8 or 9 Inches
thin jaw'd, his Teeth stragling and fil'd sharp, his Back has small Marks
running from both Shoulders to his Waistband*

*Cupid, 23 or 25 Years old, a black well made Fellow, 5 Feet 8 or 9 Inches
round and full faced, the Skin coarse, and inclined to pimple*

*The two last of these Negroes were bought from an African Ship
August 1759 and talk unintelligible English, the second one, Jack
speaks good English, having been several Years in the Country
The other, Peros, speaks much better than either, indeed has little
of his Country left, is esteemed a sensible judicious Negro*

*As they went off without the least Suspicion, Provocation, or Difference
with any Body, or the least angry Word or Abuse from their Overseers
tis supposed they will hardly lurk about the Neighbourhood, but steer
some direct Course in Hopes of Escape*

*Whoever apprehends the Negroes, so that the Subscriber may get them
shall have, if taken up in this County, Forty Shillings Reward
beside what the Law allows*

—

Jefferson (Founder, Declaration Drafter, 3rd)

Martha Jefferson (nee Wayles) was daughter of John, slave trader, and of a mother who died when Martha was six days. Her mother owned a person, Betty Hemmings; her father owned many. Her father buried two other wives and after the last raped Betty across twelve years and to six children, the youngest being Sally. Martha grew up, inherited 135 people upon her father's death, including Betty Hemmings and her children, Martha's half-siblings. Sally Hemmings then an infant. Martha and Thomas had six children, two of which lived to adulthood. Martha died months after birthing their last. Martha's siblings grew, forced to labor at Monticello. After Martha's death, Jefferson raped Sally Hemmings, fifteen to his forty-five, as she served as nursemaid to Jefferson's daughter during a stay in France; he continued across forty years and to five children. Sally Hemmings returned from France, where the government saw her as her own person, only when Jefferson promised their future children freed at 21. She and her surviving children were forced to labor under Jefferson until his death; in his will he released them, four of the seven (all Hemmings) freed of 600 people he owned across his life. He did not free Sally Hemmings. In 1941, her bedroom, steps from Jefferson's own, renovated to a men's bathroom

Jefferson, 1788: *Nobody wishes more ardently to see abolition not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object*

Jefferson, 1820: *I consider a woman who brings a child every two years as more profitable than the best man of the farm. What she produces is an addition to the capital while his labors disappear in consumption*

Jefferson, 1825: *Notes on the State of Virginia, Chapter 13, Laws: The plan of the revival was [lists five topics, including] to emancipate slaves born after passing the act. An amendment was offered that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up to tillage, arts or sciences*

till the females should be eighteen, the males twenty-one, when they should be colonized to such place as most proper to declare them a free and independant people, and extend to them alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength It will probably be asked, why not incorporate blacks into the state and thus save

the expence of supplying, by importation of white settlers, vacancies they will leave Deep prejudices entertained by whites, ten thousand recollections by blacks of injuries sustained, distinctions which nature made, will divide us, produce convulsions which will end in the extermination of the one or the other

The first difference which strikes is that of colour. Whether the black resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf-skin or in the scarf-skin itself; whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is fixed

[Then pages of white claims about Black people's spiritual intellectual artistic capacities. Account like a rape highly detailed, so we end it

Then a passage on slavery under the Romans, where the institution fell short and where it excelled, freeman who evolved in part because]

the slaves of which Homer speaks were whites. And is this difference of no importance. To justify a general conclusion requires observations even where the subject may be submitted to the Anatomical knife to Optical glasses, to analysis by fire or solvents

I advance it therefore, as suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to whites in endowments of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose that different species of the same genus

or varieties of the same species possess different qualifications. Will not a lover of natural history, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them? This unfortunate difference of colour

and perhaps of faculty a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people Among the Romans emancipation required one effort. The slave, when made free might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed

—

Emerson (Essayist, Abolitionist)

In his journal mid-1840's: *If the black man carries in his bosom
an indispensable element of a new & coming civilization
no wrong nor strength nor circumstance can hurt him
he will survive and play his part. If the black man is feeble
& not important to the existing races, not on a par*

*with the best race, the black man must serve & be sold
& exterminated.* In his journal in 1851, parsing his opposition
to the Fugitive Slave Act: *The absence of moral feeling
in the ~~country~~ whiteman is the calamity I deplore. The loss
captivity of a thousand Negroes is nothing to me*

—

Lincoln (Great Emancipator, 16th)

*Reply to Horace Greeley, 1862. As to the policy I “seem to be pursuing”
I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union
I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution
If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could*

*at the same time save Slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those
who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy
Slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle
is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery*

*If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it
and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it
and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone
I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race*

*I do because I believe it helps to save this Union, and what I forbear
I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union
I shall do less whenever I believe what I am doing hurts the cause
I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause*

*I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, I shall
adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views
I have stated my purpose according to my view of official duty
and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish*

that all men, everywhere, could be free

—

J. Marion Sims (Father of Gynecology)

Sims' *The Story of My Life*, published 1884:

Chapter I. My antecedents —Life and death of my father and mother

Chapter III. My early school experience and first love—My first lie—The story of the crooked pin

Chapter IV. I start to college and get homesick—My first experience with wine not a success

Chapter V. College days continued—A midnight serenade—Almost a murder

Chapter XIII. Successful treatment of a hare-lip—I write a description of the case for the "Dental Journal" —My dislike for compositions at college

Chapter XIV. An interesting case of trismus nascentium—Case of vesico-vaginal fistula

A series of experimental operations—Disappointments and final success

Who founded the Women's Hospital in New York City which memorialized him in bronze, as did Columbia, South Carolina and Montgomery, Alabama, praising his service to suffering women. *Empress and slave alike*

Who experimented on enslaved babies, used an awl to move their skull bones, out of "curiosity," moves they did not survive; experimented on at least twelve enslaved women multiple surgeries on each; one, Anarcha, held down and opened thirty-three times. Without the anesthesia he used for whites *This went on he wrote not one year, but for three, even four Her agony was extreme*

—

Federal Housing Authority (Father of American Middle Class, Underwriter of 47 Million Home Loans)

FHA Underwriting Manual, 1934-1962, instructed lenders to consider factors which afford preservation of desirable characteristics

Influences can so change characteristics that the neighborhood will become undesirable for residential purposes. Important adverse influences:

infiltration of inharmonious racial groups

*the presence of smoke, odors, fog
noisy traffic arteries, railroads*

*All mortgages in neighborhoods protected against unfavorable influences
obtain higher rating. Such influences cause disqualification*

*Handbook instructed FHA Valuers to investigate
surrounding areas, determine whether incompatible racial groups
are present, to the end that an intelligent prediction may be
the possibility or probability of the location being invaded*

*Handbook recommended supplementing racial segregation
with deed restrictions and zoning ordinances. To be really effective
recommend prohibition of occupancy except by the race
for which they are intended. Recommend provisions for enforcement
[eviction from purchased home, rented apartment]*

*Recommended as a model of restrictive covenant:
No persons of any race other than [race to be inserted] shall use or occupy
any building or lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent
occupancy by domestic servants
of a different race*

–

Robert F. Kennedy (Attorney General)

In May, 1963, asked James Baldwin to organize quiet, off-the-record, unpublicized get-together of prominent Negroes to discuss race relations on a day's notice. Hansberry, Horne, Belafonte, King's lawyer, local and national civil rights activists, and Jerome Smith, Freedom Rider, who'd been assaulted, jailed in Mississippi. Hosted in Kennedy family apartment, overlooking Central Park. Kennedy told them of his family's accomplishments, despite discrimination against the Irish, detailed John's work for African Americans, asked why their leaders couldn't quell protests. Elections were coming, voters anxious. Kennedy described the Justice Department's support of activists; Jerome Smith began weeping, said *I've seen you guys stand around and do*

nothing more than take notes while we're being beaten. Said, Mr. Kennedy, I want you to understand I don't care anything about you and your brother. I don't know what I'm doing here, listening to cocktail party patter. Said he did not know how much more nonviolence he could muster. Kennedy terse, by all accounts uninterested in critique. Hansberry stood, left before Kennedy adjourned, followed by the other intellectuals, lawyer, psychologist, civil rights veterans.

Kennedy: They seemed possessed. They reacted as a unit. They don't know what the laws are—they don't know what the facts are—they don't know what we've been doing or what we're trying to do. You can't talk to them the way you can talk to Martin Luther King or Roy Wilkins. It was all emotion, hysteria—they stood up—orated—cursed—wept and left the room

—

Federal Bureau of Investigation (Father of Federal Law Enforcement)

Under directives of J. Edgar Hoover (tenure 1924—1972) bureau conducted surveillance, covert operations to disrupt lawful activities of civil rights leaders through “Racial Matters” program, COINTELPRO Hoover requested/was granted permission from Kennedy to wiretap King in 1963; in 1964 Hoover mailed a typewritten letter and audio recording of extra-marital affairs to King’s home:

King, in view of your low grade, abnormal personal behavior I will not dignify your name with a Mr. or Reverend or Dr. You know you are a complete fraud a liability to all of us Negroes. White people have frauds but I am sure they don't have one anywhere near your equal. Vicious, evil Like all frauds your end is approaching. You are done I repeat, you are done. Lend your sexually psychotic ear to the enclosure. You will find all your dirt, filth moronic talk exposed on the record. Your hideous abnormalities, you filthy, abnormal animal The American public, church organizations

*will know you for what you are—a beast
You are done. There is only one thing left
for you to do. You know what it is
There is but one way out. Take it*

—

John Wayne (Archetype)
(in interview with Playboy, 1971)

*Wayne: With blacks, there's resentment along with dissent,
but we can't all of a sudden get down on our knees
and turn everything over. I believe in white supremacy
until the blacks are educated to responsibility*

*I don't feel guilty about the fact that five or 10 generations ago
these people were slaves. It's just a fact of life, like the kid
who gets infantile paralysis and has to wear braces
so he can't play football with the rest of us*

*I will say this: I think any black who can compete with a white
can get a better break than a white man. I wish they'd tell me
where in the world they have it better than right here in America
I've directed two pictures and I gave the blacks*

*their proper position. I had a black slave in The Alamo
a correct number of blacks in The Green Berets*

*Playboy: For years American Indians have played a subordinate
role in your Westerns. Do you feel empathy with them*

*Wayne: I don't feel we did wrong in taking this great country
from them, if that's what you're asking. Our so-called stealing
of this country was a matter of survival. There were great numbers
of people who needed new land the Indians were selfishly*

*trying to keep for themselves. Look, I'm sure there have been
inequalities. If those inequalities are presently affecting any
of the Indians now alive they have a right to a court hearing
I wasn't alive when reservations were created. I have no idea*

*the best method of dealing with the Indians in the 1800s
Our forefathers thought they were doing the right thing*

*I've gone without a meal or two in my life, and I don't expect
the government to turn over any of its territory to me. Years ago*

*I didn't have all the opportunities, either. But you can't bellyache
'cause somebody else got a good break and you didn't
That's what we're doing. We allow dirty loudmouths to publicly
call policemen pigs; we let a fella make a speech to the Black Panthers*

*saying that the ghetto is theirs, and that if police come into it
they have a right to shoot them. That dirty, no-good son of a bitch
And when they start shooting policemen, the time has come
to knock them off, far as I'm concerned. I'd sure as hell shoot back*

*I think we should break up those organizations make 'em illegal
The American public is getting sick and tired of these people
We're remembering that the past can't be so bad. We built
a nation on it. We must also look always to the future. Tomorrow*

*is one of many things that are wonderful in life. So's a good horse
Or the only campfire for miles around. Or a quiet night and a nice
soft hunk of ground to sleep on. Or church bells sending out
their invitations. A mother meeting her first-born. Tomorrow*

*is the most important thing. Comes in to us at midnight very clean
puts itself in our hands. It hopes we've learned something from yesterday
Playboy: The America you grew up in and the America of today, has it changed
Wayne: The only difference I see is that we have an enemy within*

*Playboy: What legacy do you hope to leave behind
Wayne: Well, you're going to think I'm being corny, but
I hope my family and my friends will be able to say
I was an honest, kind and decent man*

—

Reagan (the "Great Communicator," 40th)

Opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, called it
a bad piece of legislation

Opposed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, called it
humiliating to the South

In 1966, assisted California Real Estate Association
in drafting proposition to block California's Fair Housing Act

If an individual wants to discriminate against Negroes in selling or renting his house, it is his right to do so

Opposed the Fair Housing Act of 1968

Referred to Black neighborhoods as *jungles*
men receiving food stamps as *young bucks*

Opposed legislation to create Martin Luther King Jr. Day until it garnered overwhelming support in house, senate public. Writing to former New Hampshire Governor Meldrim Thompson, who'd urged him not to sign it as Thompson believed King a communist
Reagan responded, *I have the same reservations*

—

Lee Atwater (Republican Party Political Strategist)

*Race didn't become an issue in the South, again, until 1954
Everyone was operating within a segregated society. From 1954 to 1966, race was the issue. Goldwater (in other words, the South in 1964) was considered reactionary, Neanderthalic, because we weren't mainstream on the race thing. What happens is Reagan who campaigns in 1980*

*on a 1964 Goldwater platform, minus the Voting Rights Act, all that bullshit
But the South went from being behind the times to being the mainstream
The Southern strategy was based on coded racism. The whole thing. Bussing
Anything could be traced back to race. So the Southern strategy, you start in 1954 by saying 'nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968 you can't say 'nigger,' that hurts you*

*backfires, so you say stuff like 'forced bussing, states rights' and you're getting so abstract. Now you're talking about cutting taxes. You're talking about economic things, and the byproduct is Blacks get hurt worse than whites
Because sitting around saying, 'we want to cut taxes' is much more abstract than even the bussing thing, and a hell of lot more abstract than, 'nigger, nigger'*

—

Donald Trump (Real Estate Developer, 45th)

On Native Americans, while building his casinos
[while attempting to block Native gaming, telling the US House of Representatives Committee on Natural Resources

that Native casinos were ethically bankrupt, as well as not Native]: *They don't look like Indians to me. I have more Indian blood than these Indians opening up so-called reservations.*
Ads placed by Trump in New York papers, with pictures of hypodermic needles, lines of cocaine, asking *Are these the neighbors we want? Mohawk Indian record of criminal activity well documented*

On African Americans, Jewish Americans working in casinos:
Black guys counting my money! I hate it. The only kind of people I want counting my money are short guys that wear yarmulkes
Laziness a trait in blacks

On Mexico and its citizens, while campaigning for president:
When Mexico sends its people, they're bringing drugs, crime. They're rapists

On our 44th :
Why doesn't he show his birth certificate? Something on that certificate he doesn't like / Somebody told me where it says 'religion,' might have 'Muslim' / I have people studying it, they cannot believe what they're finding. If he wasn't born in this country, a real possibility, he has pulled one of the great cons in history / His grandmother in Kenya said, 'he was born in Kenya I was there I witnessed the birth.' She's on tape that tape's going to be produced soon. / [Obama releases long-form certificate; short-form released prior to presidency] Many people do not think it was authentic. His mother was not in the hospital. There are many other things / An extremely credible source called my office told me @BarackObama's birth certificate a fraud / Was it a birth certificate? You tell me. Some people say not. I'm saying I don't know. Nobody knows / How amazing, the State Health Director who verified copies of Obama's "birth certificate" died in plane crash today. All others lived / There are three things that could happen. One of them did happen. He was perhaps born in Kenya. He was perhaps born in this country. But said he was born in Kenya because if you say you were born in Kenya, you got aid and you got into colleges / Attention all hackers: You are hacking everything else so please hack Obama's college records (destroyed? check "place of birth." / Who knows about Obama? Who cares? I have my own theory. Someday I will write a book, and it will do very successfully

On himself:
I can never apologize for the truth. I'm not a racist. I don't have a racist bone in my body. I'm the least racist person

On women:
I cherish women. I want to help women

*I'm going to be able to do things for women
no other would be able to*

Come here; where are you from? A nice smile

*You know, I'm automatically attracted to beautiful
I just start kissing. It's like a magnet
I understand beauty. I own Miss Universe
I own Miss USA. I did try and fuck her
Moved on her like a bitch but I couldn't get there
You know, it really doesn't matter
what the media write as long as you've got
a young, and beautiful, piece of ass
Heidi Klum. Sadly, no longer a 10
Rosie's a loser. A real loser
I look forward to taking lots of money
from my nice fat little Rosie
She is a dog who wrongfully comments on me
She was an eating machine
You could see blood coming out of her
I heard poorly rated low-IQ crazy
came to Mar-a-Lago bleeding badly
from a face-lift I said no
I'm not saying she's unattractive
but she's no beauty
And now she's, like, a representative
of the United Nations and world peace
on hunger all of this crap—it's called
give me a break. I understand why
her husband left her for a man
A person who's flat-chested
is very hard to be a 10
If Hillary Clinton
can't satisfy her husband
what makes her think
she can satisfy America*

You know what? The women get it better than we do

*I have days where, when I come home and dinner's not ready
I go through the roof. I think that putting a wife to work*

*is dangerous. After they're a star, the fun is over
It's a creation process*

You have to treat 'em like shit

*I am going to be dating [references ten year old girl, ascending
mall escalator] in ten years. Can you believe it
I better use some Tic Tacs just in case. You know
I just start kissing. I don't even wait. And when you're a star
they let you. You can do anything. Grab them by the pussy*

*Pretty picture, you dropping to your knees
I have always treated women with great respect
I understand beauty I own*

III. Their weapons

DONALD J. TRUMP'S LAW AND ORDER CAMPAIGN SPEECH, DELIVERED IN WEST BEND, WISCONSIN, AUGUST 16, 2016

*Tonight, I am going to talk about how
to make our communities safe again
from crime and lawlessness*

*Let me begin by thanking
the law enforcement officers
Law and order
[™ George Wallace, '68]
must be restored*

*Crime and violence is an attack on the poor
The problem in our poorest communities
is that there are not enough police*

*Those peddling the narrative of cops as racist force
share directly in the responsibility
for the unrest in Milwaukee*

[protests in progress over the killing
of Syville Smith, shot by Milwaukee officer
four days prior, layered over three other
killings in past five years (Derek Williams,
James Perry, Dontre Hamilton); layered over
suit against City settled January with seventy-four
Black men, victims of illegal and repeated body cavity
searches by police, formally described as sexual assaults]

*Everytime we rush to judgment with false facts
whether in Ferguson or Baltimore
and foment unrest
we do a direct disservice
to poor African-American residents
hurt by high crime
in inner city communities*

[64% of Black Americans live
in suburbs small towns rural areas]

*How are we serving these American victims
by attacking law enforcement
War on police must end*

*I am asking for the vote of every African-American
struggling in our country
Democratic policies have produced
crime broken homes poverty Obama*

*I am going to give the people
my voice*

*Inner cities of America
here is what I am proposing*

*On trade, I am going
to renegotiate America*

*On taxes, I am going to give
a massive cut to companies*

*I am going to reform regulations
bring in wealth and curry favor*

*To every lawbreaker I say
your free reign come crashing*

I am going to restore honor

*I am going to enforce all laws
concerning the protection
of classified information*

*This is just the beginning
We will once again be*

a country of law and order

[1953, *Law and Order*, film,
starring Ronald Reagan;

law and order, response
to 1963 Birmingham Movement

(in city King called *most thoroughly
segregated city in the United States*
in city known for white bombings
of Black churches, in state that
banned the NAACP)—whose actions
included libraries and eatery sit-ins
church kneel-ins, nonviolent protests
boycotts, thousands of children, six to
18 years, singing freedom songs, marching
like a flood from 16th Street Baptist
children who studied for jail stays, dogs
high-pressure hoses, which Connor's forces
set against their bodies, transported to cells
by a Mobius strip of yellow buses

to protests in Milwaukee, 1958, when Officer
Thomas Grady shot unarmed Daniel Bellin
in the back after pulling him over for a broken
tail light, then planted a knife in his right hand
Last breath face down in the snow. 20 years later
his partner reported Grady planned to *arrest some n___*
At the inquest the city prevented Daniel Bell's family
from testifying he was left-handed

response to protests over murder
by bomb, later that year, of four
girls in Sunday dress, pressed under
blown bricks of 16th Street Baptist;

response to civil unrest summers
sparked in Harlem 1964 with murder
of James Powell, 9th grader, by off-duty
Police Lieutenant Gilligan who shot
a 122 pound boy three times, said he had
a pocket knife, and 8,000 people rose against;

response to Milwaukee 1967 protest
after City Council shot down for the 4th time
Vel Phillips' fair housing ordinance to outlaw

racial discrimination (as 90% of subdivisions
had restrictive covenants blocking sale or rent

to Black people, as city officials demolished
Black churches, businesses, gardens, homes
full communities, building behemoth highways
to suburbs they could not enter);
protest left three dead, 100 injured, 1,700 jailed;

response to Holy Week uprisings after
His '68 assassination, 120 cities
across the U.S. lit with rending

response to resistance after FBI and Chicago PD
in '69 murdered Fred Hampton in his sleep
fiancée 8 ½ months pregnant at his side, on
Hoover's explicit orders to prevent
the rise of a "Black Messiah;"

response to 20 years protesting brutality
(‘64-’84) under Chief Harold A. Breier
who condemned integration, directed unlawful
detainment, assault of Black people, including
in 1981, Earnest Lacy, as he walked to buy a snack
at the corner store, was detained and beaten
by three officers, denied medical treatment
left to die the back of the MPD van; who set up
surveillance of NAACP Youth Council
and Father Groppi, instructed officers to harass
arrest for the smallest infractions, jaywalking

response to protests of CPD
commander Jon Burge ('72-'91)
who tortured hundreds of Black
men (electric shock, suffocation
burning), eliciting false confessions
and response to protests against
his colleague, CPD Detective Zuley
who tortured ('77- '02), eliciting
false confessions, then led "extended
interrogation techniques" at GTMO;

response to protests of continued

disproportionate killings of women
men queer people children of color
by police, response to each rising like
clockwork, in rhetoric and in artillery
of war, installed in anterior chambers
and streets of each city, bedrock
of party appeal:
law and order law and order]

—

REMARKS ON THE NBC RADIO NETWORK: "A COMMITMENT TO ORDER,"
RICHARD NIXON, MARCH 7, 1968

*Tonight I would like to talk with you
about the number one issue of 1968*

*We have been amply warned
we face the prospect
of war-making in our own
have seen the gathering hate
heard threats to burn and bomb and destroy
in Watts and Harlem and Detroit and Newark
have had a foretaste of what the organizers
of insurrection are planning*

*President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
cautions "in the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities
a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless
none of us shall escape the consequences"*

*We have lived for a generation
with the abrasive tension of war
threat of nuclear weapons
instabilities of a rapid dismantling
of colonial empire. Have fought
World War II, Korea, Vietnam*

*Are we to be divided forever into warring
And here at home to become two nations
one black, irrepressible*

*The peace we want in our cities
is not the peace of abdication of authority*

*Survey the prospects of our cities
Fire is licking at the window-sills
This is not a time for Pollyannas
The first responsibility of leadership
is to gain mastery*

*We should not for a moment underestimate
the threat to our safety
We should make clear to those who threaten
we have been learning the uses of power*

*First lesson
best time to display both power and the will to use it
is before trouble starts*

*Second lesson
force alone is not enough
Only if we can light hope in the ghetto
can we have peace in the ghetto
not on expectation of being given
on the chance to do*

*In the case of our threatened cities
1968 can see a cooler summer
Among responsible Negro leaders
there is resistance to the extremists
The great, quiet majority of America's Negroes
live by the law, it was their neighborhoods
destroyed, their homes ravaged, their lives
made hostage to terror. Now Negro leadership
recognizes the only way to progress
is the peaceful way*

*It could be a cooler summer as
this is a Presidential election year
which provides a peaceful focus*

*But we can expect a cooler summer only
if we do two things*

*prepare to meet force with force
bring the American dream to the ghetto*

*The apostles of violence
are testing their doctrines
At home, it may masquerade
as "civil disobedience"
"freedom," it sometimes marches
Abroad, violence calls itself
a "war of national liberation"*

*The war in Vietnam is not a war to end war
but a war to make a larger peace possible*

*If we are to achieve peace at home
we must make crystal clear
whether the cry comes from extremists
in the Black Power Movement or the New Left
the message is hate*

*These mounting threats of violence come
when there has never been
less cause for violence, less excuse for rebellion*

*Never have we been so close
to a just and abundant society*

*There are injustices
but also a massive popular will
to right those injustices
in a peaceful and orderly fashion*

*This points to a major deficiency
in the recent report of the President's riot commission
The commission rightly pictured the task
in the cities' slums as massive*

*But it would be a disservice
to suggest to the dwellers in those slums
that they need only wait for Federal housing
Federal jobs, a Federally guaranteed income*

More than almost any of the great issues facing America today

*the tortured problem of race requires
careful balance and a clear perspective*

*The riots shook the nation to awareness
of how deep were Negro resentments
That lesson has been learned*

*There can be no progress without order
no freedom without order, no justice without order
Our first commitment as a nation
must be a commitment to order*

—

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders; authored by Johnson-appointed Kerner Commission, comprised of Senators (2), Congressmen (2), Governor (IL), Mayor (NYC), Police Chief (ATL), founder of a defense contractor (Litton Industries), Executive Director of NAACP, Commissioner of Commerce (KY), President of United Steel Workers of America; released February 28, 1968

*Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white
separate and unequal*

*Reaction to last summer's disorders has deepened the division
Discrimination and segregation permeate American life*

*This deepening racial division is not inevitable. Choice is possible
To pursue our present course will involve destruction of basic democratic values*

*The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness
It is the realization of common opportunities within a single society*

*This alternative will require national action—compassionate, massive, sustained
backed by resources of the richest nation on earth*

*From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding
and, if necessary, new taxes*

*Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto an environment
unknown to most white Americans*

*What white Americans never fully understood but the Negro can never forget
is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto*

*White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it
white society condones it*

[Chapters 1-17, omitted here, include detailed analysis, Recommendations for National Action, which King called *physician's warning of approaching death with a prescription for life*, which still apply, and have not been]

One of the first witnesses invited to appear before this Commission was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, scholar. Referring to the reports of earlier riot commissions:

I read report of 1919 riot in Chicago as if I were reading the report on the Harlem riot of '35, the report on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland, the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, same recommendations the same inaction

One month after publication, King assassinated

After publication, Johnson defunds the commission
refuses to meet with commissioners
allows their terms to expire

–

Interview with All-Knowing Father

AKF: You may begin

Q: Why

A: Order. There are laws, divine and earthly, latter from the former

A: There are roles, to keep us to those laws, save us from drowning

A: The hierarchy of roles is intractable, natural, as follows: Lord
angels (and crystal spheres), select men, select women, children
to nine years, vagrants and degenerates, animals, earth

A: The laws are numerous, and the obedient do not need a spelling out
Broadly, as I am good natured in instruction: obey bodies
above you, as they are closer to divine in intellect and morality
depending on your place in hierarchy, make yourself smaller
or take up more space; perceive and treat others as their station

A: I would like to see deregulation of my hand
so I may more strongly guide

Q: Why

A: Without order we are mortal, skittering ground. We remake the
Kingdom

A: Punishment is sacred. The charge of emissary courses. Binaries sacred
They uphold the ladder. Deviation by sloth, insolence, making oneself
audible or visible, must be extinguished for the greater good. We are
Western. Abrahamic. Roman. Rational. This job is thankless
You fault the father, despite how ceaselessly he must corral
We hold up the world. If I eat pieces of your flesh, call it
tithing. I have provided the roof, toothed borders, life
which occupies your womb. I make and make what is Right
Your complaints have no substantiation. No one
of worth heard them

Q: Do you see me

A:

Q: What brings you joy

A: Symmetry. Under me.

–

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SEPTEMBER 2014 REPORT, INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE
ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, UNITED NATIONS

*The Committee remains concerned
that the definition of racial discrimination used
is not in line with article 1, which requires States to eliminate
discrimination
including practices and legislation discriminatory not in intent but
in effect*

*Committee expresses further concern
at lack of progress in article 2, prohibiting
discriminatory acts perpetrated by individuals, groups*

*While welcoming acknowledgement by the State
that racial or ethnic profiling*

*is not effective law enforcement
is inconsistent with commitment to justice
the Committee remains concerned at the practice*

*The Committee reiterates its concern
at the lack of prohibition of racist hate speech
The Committee is concerned
at the underreporting of hate crimes by law enforcement officials*

*The Committee is concerned
that racial and ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples
disproportionately affected by pollution
caused by extractive, manufacturing industries
It also reiterates concern regarding
exploitation of natural resources
by transnational corporations registered in the State*

*The Committee is concerned
at obstacles faced by individuals belonging to racial
ethnic minorities indigenous peoples to effectively exercise their right
to vote*

*The Committee is concerned
at the high number of homeless persons, disproportionately
African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans
and at criminalization of homelessness through laws that prohibit
loitering, camping, lying down in public spaces*

*The Committee remains concerned
at persistence of discrimination [in housing] on the basis of race
the high degree of segregation and concentrated poverty
in neighbourhoods, sub-standard conditions and services, limited
employment
opportunities, inadequate access to health-care, underresourced
schools*

*The Committee remains concerned
that students from racial and ethnic minorities
disproportionately attend segregated schools with unequal facilities,
and even those
enrolled in racially diverse schools frequently assigned to “single-
race” classes*

disciplined unfairly and disproportionately, including referral to criminal justice

The Committee reiterates concern at the persistence of racial disparities in health particularly high maternal and infant mortality

The Committee reiterates its concern at the brutality and excessive use of force by law enforcement officials against members of racial and ethnic minorities, unarmed individuals

It remains concerned that impunity a widespread problem

The Committee remains concerned at the disproportionate number of women from racial and ethnic minorities subjected to violence, including rape

The Committee remains concerned that members of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly African Americans disproportionately arrested, incarcerated, subjected to harsher sentences including life imprisonment, death penalty

The Committee remains concerned that non-citizens continue to be arbitrarily detained without access to the ordinary criminal justice system and at risk of torture

The Committee remains concerned at the lack of free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples in policy-making the ongoing removal of indigenous children from their families through the United States child welfare system

The Committee requests the State to provide in its next periodic report, detailed information on (a) the rate at which African American children in foster care are prescribed psychotropic drugs, (b) the use of nonconsensual psychiatric treatment on racial and ethnic minorities (c) the current status of political activists from the Civil Rights era who continue to be incarcerated

—
Law/order withheld

Police Chiefs' orders to officers to delay arrival, stand down as whites assaulted, killed those marching, boycotting, enfranchising. FBI silence on the murder of girls in 16th Street Baptist though they knew bombers' identities. Media withholding focus until a mother demands her 14 year old boy's tortured, drowned body returned in an open casket, calls every local, national outlet, provides location, arrival time for the train carrying his body which no longer resembles his body; until a woman films her partner's murder, recording because they're a Black family at a traffic stop, her four year old daughter pinned in the back seat; until thousands of people place the faces of their dead kin in front of us, us who wrote law to see their bodies as challenge to order, as *order* means *ours*

IV. Our justice

NOMINATION OF JEFFERSON B. SESSIONS III, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA; HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (1986)

Hon. Strom Thurmond (Chairman) and Hon. Jeremiah Denton presiding. Also present: Senators Biden, Kennedy, Simon, Heflin, Specter, DeConcini, McConnell, and Metzenbaum.

(Opening Statement of Senator Edward M. Kennedy)

*The confirmation of nominees
one of the most important responsibilities of the Senate
mandated by the U.S. Constitution
the last opportunity to determine
whether the candidate possesses education, experience, skills
most importantly commitment to equal justice*

*Once confirmed, a Federal judge
has life and death authority over citizens
limited review of his decisions
Mr. Sessions, U.S. attorney
for the Southern District of Alabama
comes with a record which, regrettably*

*includes presiding over
the infamous so-called Perry County
voting fraud prosecutions
Government indicted three highly respected
black civil rights activists
on charges of voter fraud in assisting
elderly black voters
to vote absentee*

*On more than one occasion characterized
the ACLU as un-American,
Communist-inspired*

*organization trying to force
civil rights down throats*

*Suggested a white civil rights lawyer
who litigated voting rights
a disgrace to his race*

*It is inconceivable that a person of this attitude
is qualified to be a U.S. attorney,
let alone a Federal judge.*

*Mr. Sessions is a disgrace
to the Justice Department
should withdraw his nomination
resign his position*

(Opening Statement of Senator Howell Heflin)

Mr. Sessions is a native Alabamian

*I approach these confirmation hearings
with the theory and presumption
that the President is entitled
to have his nominees confirmed*

*Mr. Sessions, I am here to listen
with an open mind
and wish you best of luck*

*Denton: in light of my friend
from Massachusetts' opening statement
the main point I would like to make
to my colleagues is that
each one of these allegations has been prefaced
by a great deal of journalistic reporting, marches*

*Certain individuals from outside Alabama
suggested the administration and Reagan
the Justice Department and FBI
this Senator
are engaged in a conspiracy
to deprive black voters of their right to vote*

*We have voluminous examples of that journalism
which we will make available for the record*

*Charges characterize me
as behind some sort of conspiracy*

*I believe no one in this room believes that
Certainly no one in Alabama believes that
I never knew that Perry County things was going on
until I read it in the news*

*We will examine all that during the trial
I mean hearing [Laughter]*

*Not one black voter, Mr. Chairman
not one gave any indication whatsoever
of intimidation*

*Chairman Thurmond [who conducted longest filibuster
by lone senator, 24 hours 18 minutes, in opposition
to Civil Rights Act of 1957]: Mr. Sessions
would you summarize your background and experience?*

*Sessions: I graduated University of Alabama Law School
Began the practice in Russellville
With a very fine smalltown firm
We had one of the best law libraries*

*I participated in a case in the supreme court
that involved a car race accident with a guy from Freedom Hills
Then joined the U.S. attorney's office in Mobile
defended a wrongful death case, civil cases, but primarily
criminal litigation of a very heavy nature*

*As U.S. attorney I have probably carried
the heaviest trial load of any in the country
Although I have not tried any civil cases
in my office civil attorneys
come and discuss strategy and so forth*

*The most painful thing that has ever been said
to me at any time*

*was when Senator Kennedy
said I was a disgrace to the office*

*Chairman: Mr. Sessions, there have been concerns
regarding prosecuting voter fraud*

*Sessions: The district attorney conducted grand jury investigation
in Perry County, which I am informed had
a black foreman majority black composition
Report said "We are convinced election is being denied
Primary problem appears to be tampering
of the right to vote of black citizens
Problems are intimidation at the polls, abuse and interference
with absentee balloting process
We encourage vigorous prosecution of all voting laws and request assistance"*

*It was the conclusion of our office
that probably there would not be any more fraud
And we just decided not
to do anything about it*

*We had no idea we might conduct investigation
in Perry until days before the September 4 primary
I'd really forgotten about the county*

[Submitted letter inserted here addressed to Mr. Jeff Sessions
United States Attorney, from Gerald McDowell,
Chief, Public Integrity Section, Criminal Division]:

*We understand information came to your attention
from a source you considered reliable
that Albert Turner, local political activist, and associates
intended to manipulate absentee ballots
mail the ballots at the post office
You requested surveillance
Turner and associate arrived with ballots
proceeded to the place them in the mail
Several contained indicia that they had been opened
Pursuant to _____ you are authorized to conduct
a federal criminal investigation*

*Kennedy: Just for the point of the record
are these the defendants that were found not guilty
that we are referring to?*

Sessions: Yes, Sir; but—

Chairman Thurmond: *Go ahead and answer; you have a right
Do not drop your voice
Speak out so we all hear you*

Sessions: *She said her vote for Billingslea had been crossed out
She voted for Eddie Perry not John Ward she voted for Warren Kinard
not Wilbert Turner, she voted for Ann Nichols not Tululah Nelson
and all those had been changed she testified*

Chairman: *As district attorney, was it your obligation
to go forward and prosecute?*

Sessions: *It certainly was. It was something we had been requested to do
by an official grand jury in that county, too
two years ago*

Chairman: *Mr. Sessions, certain comments have been attributed to you
“The National Council or Churches, NAACP, SCLC and PUSH
are un-American organizations with anti-traditional American values”*

Sessions: *Best I can recall, my former assistant
[Thomas Figures] who is black
Office across the hall from mine
I went over I chatted I philosophized
was over there regaling about
National Council of Churches, barreled on said
NAACP and other civil rights organizations
leave basic discriminatory questions, start getting
to matters of foreign policy, political issues
I did not mean any harm by it*

Chairman: *Now here is another “I thought those guys ok
until I learned they smoked pot”*

Sessions: *That was a silly comment*

*We were investigating the hanging death of a young black man
Klansmen stopped him, drove him out in the woods
Brutally murdered him, cut his throat
Reading the report, I saw the Klan left the meeting
and gone out and smoked pot*

*To analogize it
I was saying I do not like Pol Pot
because he wears alligator shoes*

It could not have meant anything else

*Chairman: Another is
“you ought to be careful what you say to white folks”*

Sessions: What you say to folks

*Chairman: “You know the NAACP hates white people
That is why they bring these lawsuits, and they are
a commie group and pinko as well”*

*Sessions: I do not recall
I will admit I am pretty
loose with my tongue on occasion
I may have said something similar*

*Chairman Thurmond: You have referred to the Voting Rights Act
as an intrusive piece of legislation*

*Sessions: I do believe the Voting Rights Act is an intrusive piece of legislation
The Federal courts, Federal government
forced progress*

*Chairman: You stated a prominent civil rights attorney
was a disgrace to his race*

*Sessions: I understand that a statement has been made
I recall a conversation in which that was mentioned
I may have said maybe he is
I do not know why I would have said that*

*Biden: Mr. Sessions, we may be nitpicking
as to whether or not you use the word “nigger”
suggested the NAACP less than reputable*

*When you said “those bastards; I used to think
they were OK but they’re pot smokers”
I could see how someone could say that
humorously. Do you think it was insensitive*

*to say that in front of a black man
after a black man had been beaten and hung*

*It is suggested you stated to Mr. Wiley [former
Mobile County commissioner] “do not worry
John will be watching the nigger,” referring
to the only black commissioner*

*Metzenbaum: How many people did you hire
while you were U.S. attorney
And how many were black?*

*Sessions: No blacks. With attorneys, we never passed
over a black for a white below a black and I do not recall
having a black that qualified*

*Metzenbaum: You do not hire blacks
You refer to the NAACP and ACLU
which bring civil rights cases in your area
as pinko or un-American
you prosecute blacks for vote fraud, lose
Suppose you are a black person. Would you like
to submit a case to Judge Sessions, or would you
not feel you could get justice*

(Sessions): They certainly can, they would get justice

*Metzenbaum: That is not my question
My question to you is not
whether you are a racist
My question is could any black person
come into your court
and feel they had a chance*

*Sessions: You make them feel they are going to get justice
by treating them with respect*

*Metzenbaum: We have people around Washington
who are extremely polite, but that does not mean
I would want to submit a case with a black person
I know black people are here very much concerned*

Heflin: I want to ask you about a reference

*to one of the white lawyers for being a disgrace
to his race, for representing, I suppose, blacks
What is the context*

*Sessions: I was sitting as I recall in our library
Jerry Herbert from the Department of Justice came in
mentioned something about Jim Blacksher, great lawyer,
he mentioned something about disgrace to his race
I guess I would have said that
I guess I will not disagree with him
I do not know why I would make that comment*

*Heflin: According to the deposition, Mr. Herbert is saying
he heard one of the judges referred to the white lawyers
as disgrace to his race. Mr. Herbert has you replying
“well, maybe he is”
Is it your best recollection that you made that statement*

*Sessions: I was busy
As I recall trying to recollect on it best I could recall was
it would have been a passing comment*

*Simon: Let me read one statement
Mr. Herbert: “the general impression I get when we talk
about racial questions is he is not sensitive to race relations
I have gotten the impression
he thinks gerrymandering
for racially discriminatory reasons
is a definite way
that you can harm black voters”
Mr. Herbert: “He said he thought [the NAACP and ACLU]
did more harm than good
were trying to force civil rights down the throats of people
trying to put problems behind them”*

Sessions: I do not feel that I can say I concur in these statements

Kennedy: Was that a no or yes

*Sessions: Some of that, I do not believe I said
In the context that he stated, as stated
I like to discuss things*

*One time Jerry and I have a conversation
about civil rights situation
how it stood, I made the comment
the fundamental legal barriers to minorities
had been knocked down
in many areas blacks dominate
what the civil rights organizations, ACLU
participate in asking for is
beyond what they're justified in asking*

*Kennedy: What sort of actions are you talking about
that warrant un-American Communist*

*Sessions: As I stated
we were talking about the National Council of Churches
I said the NAACP does the same stuff gets outside of
legitimate civil rights issues
It is un-American to support the Sandinistas, say
third-world revolutionary theology*

*As I have stated earlier on that question
I had conversation with Mr. Hebert
and we discussed the general civil rights situation
in our country and area
and I enjoyed very much talking with him in a very relaxed manner*

[a brief recess was taken]

*Testimony of J. Gerald Hebert, Senior Trial Attorney, Civil Rights Division, U.S.
Department of Justice*

*Hebert: I have, Senator, very mixed feelings about my testimony today
I have prosecuted cases that are sensitive and unpopular in the southern district
I have needed Mr. Sessions' help and he has provided every step
I consider him a friend*

Denton: Do you think he has prejudice?

*Hebert: I am not in a position
I do not know
He is a man of his word*

Biden: Based on the comments Mr. Sessions has made

In jest or challenge or seriousness, whatever the collection of contexts, if you left the Justice Department and were handling a case for the NAACP, and it came before Judge Sessions would you not make a motion to recuse?

Hebert: *Absolutely*

[end of Herbert's testimony]

Heflin: *Mr. Sessions, we have mentioned Mr. Thomas Figures worked in your office for years. When he left was there unpleasant*

Sessions: *Mr. Figures is a fine attorney argues a case beautifully, prepares thoroughly to a fault, perhaps, meticulous is not an easy person to work with, in all honesty He severed all communications after he left We were in Selma, trying the case when I heard he was quitting It was quite a shock*

Heflin: *It has come to my attention you remarked to Mr. Figures you wish you could decline all civil rights cases*

Sessions: *No, sir*

Heflin: *I understand that on four occasions you turned over Mr. Figures cases of investigation asked Mr. Figures to recommend declination when Mr. Figures concluded cases warranted reinvestigation assigned the cases to another attorney who recommended declining*

Sessions: *I may have said "I do not know that you need more investigation" Told him one time "Sure, the FBI gets tired, they do not want you to call up ask for more and say 'I have done all this investigation and now interview five or six more witnesses'" I told him "You make them work"*

Heflin: *I understand, too, one case involving the lynching of a young black man Michael Donald by Ku Klux Klan members*

*Mr. Sessions repeatedly urged Mr. Figures
to drop the case, only supported the investigation
when Mr. Figures refused to agree*

Sessions: No, sir; that is not true

*Heflin: There have been charges that in Conecuh County
the Department of Justice directed Mobile office to investigate
black voters harassed. It is alleged you countermanded the investigation*

*Sessions: It is possible I said "Don't proceed on this case"
I had only been in a couple of months
may not have known policies*

*Biden: Mr. Sessions, you have been here a long time
I have more questions*

*But would you like a cup of coffee
A break*

Sessions: a Coke might perk me up a bit

*Biden: You have got two Cokes now
One from the minority and one from the majority*

Sessions: Would you like one? You should be tired too

*Biden: No. I should not kid. As you observed
kidding can get you in trouble. We will make a judgement
as to whether or not you come back*

*Denton: Mr. Sessions has shown endurance, perseverance
Mr. Sessions, you are prepared to come back
You are subject to future discussion*

—

*WRITTEN TESTIMONY OF J. GERALD HEBERT ON THE NOMINATION OF JEFFERSON
BEAUREGARD SESSIONS III FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
JANUARY 9, 2016*

*Thank you Mr. Chairman
This testimony presents my views as to the nomination*

*of Senator Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III
to Attorney General of the United States*

*In 1986, I testified before this Committee
when it considered, and rejected Mr. Sessions' nomination
to the United States District Court
Shortly before the Sessions confirmation hearings
the Senate Judiciary Committee requested testimony
DOJ leadership directed us to do so
The sworn statements I made were the focus
of several Senators' questions*

*When I arrived to attend the hearing, Senator Denton
and a Senate staffer to Chairman Strom Thurmond
took me into a back room. They told me to repair the damage
I had done to Mr. Sessions' nomination
or my job would be in jeopardy*

*I would love nothing more than to be able to tell you
the man I considered a friendly acquaintance
has since proven himself to be a champion, even friend
for minorities in this country. I cannot
Everything in Mr. Sessions' record since 1986
reinforces what was clear three decades ago
Jeff Sessions is a danger to civil rights*

*Mr. Sessions opposed efforts to ensure equal
protection of the law for women, voting against
equal pay, against reauthorizing the Violence
Against Women Act; opposed efforts to ensure
equal protection for LGBT Americans, voting
against the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd
Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act; opposed efforts
to ensure equal protection for impoverished and
disabled Americans, fighting as Alabama
Attorney General to stop poor school districts
from getting the funding needed to teach their
children; has lied about his civil rights record to
portray himself as a civil rights champion and
head off legitimate criticism; has repeatedly
taken credit for work he did not do*

These are serious accusations, but supported by facts

of which I have personal knowledge. In the questionnaire Mr. Sessions filed to support his confirmation he listed three voting rights cases and one school desegregation case among the ten most significant cases he claims to have litigated I categorically state that Mr. Sessions had no involvement in any of these cases

Three decades ago, I testified before this Committee. I have watched as his actions confirmed my worst rather than best suspicions about his character Mr. Sessions' history of racial insensitivity his disdain for civil rights and voting rights his belated attempt to paint himself as a civil rights hero by taking credit for others' work all demonstrate that he is unqualified to be Attorney General of the United States

February 8, 2017, over the censure
of Coretta Scott King's letter
Sessions confirmed as Attorney General
of the Department of Justice

V. Fruits

AUGUST 11-12, 2017: "UNITE THE RIGHT" RALLY, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

1,500 white supremacists, white nationalists, neo-Nazis
(in polo shirts and pressed khakis, in camo and military accessories
in KKK glory suits, unmasked) flood UVa's campus, Lee Park, roam
streets they've charted the most Black residents, lift torches, assault rifles

stars and bars, arms in salute, chanting *You will not replace us*
Jew will not replace us Blood and soil To counter-protesters
I hope a n___ rapes you (UVa the school where students heralded
a recent Valentine's by plastering fliers printed TJ <3 Sally)
Witness: *Counter-protesters were occupying Lee Park*
some alt-right people, too. Skirmishes started breaking
out and state police in riot gear clearing everyone
The alt-right people chanting 'Heil Trump!'

I was ten feet away when the car came. Had joined
a group from Downtown Mall—anti-fascists, Black Lives
Matter folks—marching by Friendship Court
We saw other counter-protesters down Second Street

We all were cheering together clapping and chanting
No one else around. No standoff. We were peaceful
I was with five people, locals, on this one-lane road
I still don't know how a car got down there

I heard shouts and this sound like hitting traffic cones
This hollow, horrible sound. And I saw bodies fly up
We were all running. Someone told me a person was dead
People were wailing. Wailing in a way I've never heard

It was horrible. It was horrible. It was horrible

—

AUGUST 12 SPEECH, WHILE SIGNING EXTENSION OF VETERANS HEALTH BILL, IN
NEW JERSEY

Trump: We condemn in the strongest terms this display of hatred bigotry violence on many sides. On many sides It's been going on for a long time. Not Donald Trump Long long time. What is vital now is a swift restoration

of law and order and the protection of innocent lives No child should ever be afraid to go outside and play or be with their parents and have a good time I just got off the phone with the governor of Virginia

and we agreed that we must come together as Americans with true affection. Our country is doing well. Unemployment so low. Companies pouring into our country, coming back We're renegotiating trade deals. Great for the American worker

So when I watch Charlottesville, it's sad. I want to salute the great work of the state and local police in Virginia law enforcement, incredible people. Federal authorities also providing tremendous support to the governor

he thanked me for that. Above all else we must remember no matter our color creed political party we love our country god flag we're proud of our country we're proud of who we are. We want to get

the situation straightened in Charlottesville My administration is restoring sacred bonds of loyalty between this nation and its citizens We must cherish our history together

—

STATEMENT RELEASED ON AUGUST 12 BY U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL:

We stand united behind the President in condemning violence and any message of hate and intolerance. This violence contrary to American values

—

AUGUST 15, PRESS CONFERENCE, TRUMP TOWER

Q: Was it terrorism?

President: Now, here's the thing –

Q: *(Inaudible)* many sides

President: *Excuse me. Excuse me. Take it nice and easy Before I make a statement, I need the facts. I don't rush Making the statement when I made it was excellent. In fact the young woman, her mother, wrote me through Twitter the nicest things. I appreciated that. Her mother thanked me*

Q: *Was it terrorism?*

President: *I've created over a million jobs since I'm President The country is booming. The stock market setting records We have the highest employment numbers we've ever had in the history of our country. We're doing record business We have the highest levels of enthusiasm*

Q: *Nazis were there. David Duke was there*

President: *I didn't know David Duke was there. I wanted to see facts. And the facts were very well stated. In fact, everybody said "His statement was beautiful"*

Q: *Was this terrorism?*

President: *I think the driver of the car is a disgrace. You can call it terrorism. You can call it murder. Call it whatever you want. Is it murder? Is it terrorism? Legal semantics*

Q: *Senator McCain said that the alt-right is behind these attacks*

President: *Define alt-right to me. You define it. What about the alt-left that came charging? Do they have any semblance of guilt?*

Q: *Sir, you're not putting protestors on the same level as neo-Nazis*

President: *I watched much more closely than you people You had a group on one side that was bad, and you had a group on the other side very violent. The other side came charging without a permit, and they were very, very violent*

Q: *As bad as Nazis?*

President: *Excuse me, not all were neo-Nazis. Not all white supremacists People wanted to protest the taking down of a statue of Robert E. Lee I noticed Stonewall Jackson is coming down. George Washington next week? Thomas Jefferson the week after?*

Q: *How concerned are you about race relations in America?*

President: *They've gotten better or the same. They've been frayed*

for a long time. Ask President Obama. We're spending a lot of money on the inner cities. We're fixing inner cities We're doing far more than anybody has done to inner cities

Q: Mr. President, are you putting what you're calling the alt-left and white supremacists on the same moral plane?

President: Excuse me, excuse me. You had people in that group there to protest the taking down of a very, very important statue and the renaming of a park from Robert E. Lee to another name [Emancipation]

Q: George Washington and Robert E. Lee are not the same

President: George Washington was a slave owner How about Jefferson? You like him?

Q: Love

President: Good. We going to take down the statue? Major slave owner. You're changing history Changing culture. There are two sides to a story There are two sides to the country

Q: Mr. President, have you spoken to the family of the victim of the car attack?

President: No, I'll be reaching out

Q: When?

President: the mother's statement was something I really appreciated Under the kind of stress that she's under and the heartache putting out that statement to me was something. I won't forget it

Q: Will you go to Charlottesville?

President: I own a house in Charlottesville. Does anyone know I own a house in Charlottesville?

Q: Is it a winery?

President: It is

VI. Attestants

OCCLUDED MOTHER'S INTERNAL Q & A

It is not his fault It's in God's hands
He is God's hands
He is of the times
He did his best
He knows who has worked hardest. It is him
He has sacrificed for Greater Good
therefore sacrifices others
His wisdom, message is different now
[but the echo]
No, it is different

It is not my fault I was in his hands
trusted them as guidance
was turned bloody by them
was tired from being opened
did not understand the project
had little power, so leveraged
It was not my business; was private
as ownership makes all things private
I have done my best; give me peace

Can it be your fault
(this would give me peace)

If it is your fault he and I can be human
can build life anew without
these complications

share power equally
over, and righteous

I have meditated on this with my palepure heart
Our hands not at fault

Your body

—

MONOLOGUE OF MUTE DAUGHTER

You have given me your name
a tool I use by simply moving

You have taken my body, stripped skin and organs, earlier than early
It is a the
It is an it
has been weaponized against

Even after reprinting Your words, from Your own hand
I fear I am unbalanced, full of imagining, weak, as we fear
in relationships that kill us, partner claiming
your fault you're made of flesh
which is to say *for tearing*

After a life of long watching
I wish to name myself

as rage. All these our bodies defaced
As rage. That I extended your reach.

—

OYEZ OYEZ OYEZ OF THE TOWN CRIER

One eye: looking at my hands

my fathers'-mothers' hands, their work here all the way back
their stories of *what* and *why* not as truth but human artifact
look until I know them backward forward backward forward

First eye clearer, could see patterns and interrupt story; derail

First eye clearer, could see not sheep but wolf
cast off my claw and callback

With the second eye

sponge-watching, mum-mouthed and watching
the hands, acts, of the nation's protagonists

White jaw culpable for terror and its corrosions
for the technology of race and its wielding

but the central story

by and of Black and brown people, Indigenous people
their resistances, survivals, their tending each other, their making worlds
We must attempt repair by hearing, doing
what they demand, have been demanding

We who are manifestations of the first racial fiction
whose lapsed memory remakes the murder pact
can be the jaw or smash it. Two choices

If we plead our reckoning down
our doors off hinges us stripped
from land & open, as
reckoning the only water

If we do not

—

LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE FATHER

Q: Were you a child once

A: No

Q: Honesty

A: Violence. I had little choice. Then violence. I had a choice

Q: Honesty

A: I fear. Wish to thief til my death knocks. It staves to believe
myself deserving any flesh, deserving the highest palace
If nearer the gods, I require a ladder under. I require you
my rungs. Need your bones. Need to desecrate the body
to believe I am not a body

Q: Why do I not leave you

A: You believe I made you. Even your impulse
to set me on fire is a paean

Q: Honesty. I am beyond you, despite you

A: My life's work: dismembering alternatives to me

Q: Do you know this leads to our death

A: Your fault, as with others who refuse me

Q: Do you know this leads to yours also

A: Enough power over renders the holder immortal

A: In the last battle, I go out with my hands, my teeth
stuffed with greased meat and gold

A: Yes

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