

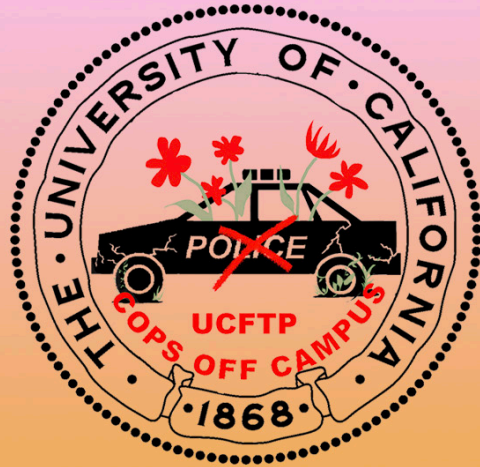
**COPS OFF
CAMPUS
ABOLISH
POLICE**

UCFTP

(for the people)(fuck the patriarchy)(free the prisoners)

*Police and student protesters at University of California, Riverside.
Photo: Dylan Rodriguez*

COPS OFF CAMPUS COALITION



The Cops off Campus coalition has emerged amidst a global pandemic, relentless state and vigilante violence against Black, Brown, and Indigenous people, and national calls for abolition. The movement to get cops off campus is led by BIPOC community members, students, graduate and other workers across UC and CSU campuses. Our coalition's goal is the abolition of policing: this starts with a call to imagine all of our campuses without police by Fall 2021.



UCFTP Zine Publication #1

JOIN US!



The Morrill Act gave 19,461 parcels of Indigenous lands, totaling about 10,700,000 acres, to 52 land-grant universities (LGUs) to fund their endowments.

UNIVERSITIES ON STOLEN LAND

We teach in universities on stolen land. Imagining campuses without racialized state violence also means imagining repatriation for the California Indigenous communities whose land our universities occupy.

In 1863, President Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act, providing each state in the U.S. with so-called public lands to sell for the establishment of university endowments. This act is often credited and celebrated as making education accessible to middle-class Americans. However, these “public” lands comprised 11 million acres of land expropriated from tribal nations.¹

The creation of our public University system, in other words, was part and parcel of the settler colonialism that created our nation.

Indigenous lands claimed by the U.S. through treaty, land cession or seizure

Individual parcels given to land-grant universities under the Morrill Act

SOURCES: Andrews 1918; GLO, BLM; Royce 1896-1897; USFS; USGS; Natural Earth.

¹ For a two-part conference on the University of California system and its landgrabs, and current university initiatives with tribes, see: “The University of California Land Grab,” <https://cejce.berkeley.edu/uc-land-grab?fbclid=IwAR2SaOCNffcUFSXbnET2ACIUvZzebga9y96GR1qfCKZhdIA6sNi0OW9sFXc>

Image: Map by Margaret Pearce for High Country News, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>

WHAT DO UNIVERSITIES HAVE TO DO WITH SETTLER COLONIALISM*?

Westward expansion and colonial settlement in California was contingent on policing. In the mid-19th century, state-sanctioned and extrajudicial violence enacted by law enforcement facilitated the expropriation of native land, the solidification of U.S. territorial borders, and the consolidation of white economic interests.²

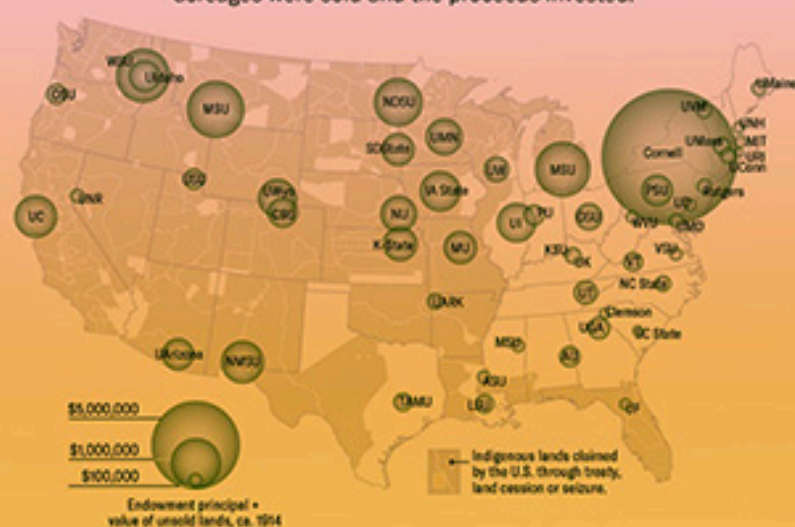
*In the words of Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, “settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there. Within settler colonialism, it is exploitation of land that yields supreme value.” (“Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy,” *Feminist Formations* 25:1 (Spring 2013): 12) Drawing from Patrick Wolfe, who described settler colonialism as both “destroying to replace” and as a “structure and not an event,” they emphasize that central to settler colonial structures is the disappearing of the indigenous population, the overwriting of their places, names, and communities, and the theft of their land.

² Kelly Lytle Hernandez has written about the role of policing in securing land, particularly in California, in *Migra: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010) and *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*,

Image: Trustees from the College of California meet at Founders' Rock in 1860 and name their future campus site Berkeley after 18th-century philosopher George Berkeley, taken from 150.Berkeley.edu

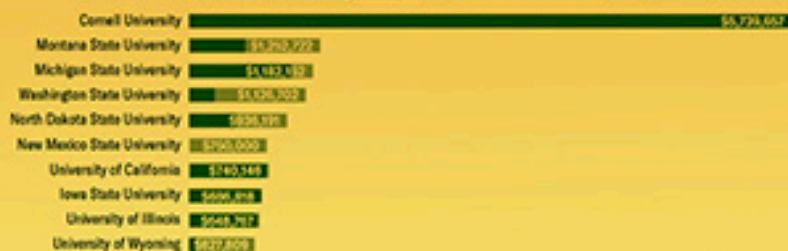
HOW DOES THE UC SYSTEM CONTINUE TO BENEFIT FROM SETTLER COLONIALISM?

Land-grant university **endowments benefited** when their acreages were sold and the proceeds invested.



SOURCES: U.S. Office of Education 1909; Andrews 1918; GLO, BLM; Royce 1895-1897; USFS; USGS; Natural Earth.

Whose endowment raised the most from Indigenous land?
Top 10 beneficiaries by **principal** and **percentage of endowment** ca. 1914



The UC, among other universities, played a central role in this expropriation, with the use of force—and the law to justify it—as a tactic of settler accumulation. In order to capitalize on these expropriated acres, the UC ran a real estate operation that sold plots on installment plans; the result was a lucrative combination of principal and interest payments that covered as much as a third of the system's operating expenses in the late 19th century. California Indian land went to 32 land-grant universities, totaling \$3.6 million raised over 1.7 million acres. The Miwok, Yokuts, Gabrieleño, Maidu, Pomo, and many more California Indigenous communities got nearly nothing in return.³

³ Lee and Ahtone, "Land Grab Universities," High Country News, March 30, 2020, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>.

WHY ARE THERE COPS ON CAMPUS?

College police forces are increasingly militarized, and the UC has a history of using its police departments to brutalize students and to surveil and assault activists, in addition to the violent past and present role of the UC in global U.S. policing projects. UC also has a history of using its research and prestige to lend academic credibility to racialized policing and incarceration regimes off campus and around the world. Like all policing, policing on UC campuses protects colonial structures, capital, and the status quo. It is violent by design and cannot be reformed.

⁴ As one example of many, see the UC's investment in the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) on Mauna Kea, sacred native land in Hawai'i, and the violent policing of Indigenous activists protecting the site. For more on the movement to protect Mauna Kea, see: <https://www.protect-maunakea.net/>. Future zines in this series will explicitly take up the question of the UC's role in global U.S. policing projects .

What is ABOLITION?

Abolition is an assemblage of diverse, revolutionary left political practices that enact the democratic world we want, now.



"Abolition is a theory of change, it's a theory of social life. It's about making things."
- Dr. Ruth Wilson Gilmore

"Abolition is about "building a world without" prisons, police, military bases, and detention centers, and it is about "building a world with" community safety, healthcare, guaranteed jobs, (and so forth)." --Critical Resistance.

♥ mutual aid ♥ housing & healthcare for all ♥ transformative justice ♥
♥ access ♥ community defense ♥ education for liberation ♥

LISTEN:



[Listen: Ruth Wilson Gilmore Makes the Case for Abolition \(Part 1\), Intercepted, 54 minutes.](https://theintercept.com/2020/06/10/ruth-wilson-gilmore-makes-the-case-for-abolition/)
<https://theintercept.com/2020/06/10/ruth-wilson-gilmore-makes-the-case-for-abolition/>

**“When Black lives matter,
all lives matter.”**



Abolition centers

the needs of survivors of harm.

Image: Kaitlynn Radloff


What are the historical precedents of the modern police in the U.S?



Slave Patrols were one of the first police forces. They were formed to enforce slave laws, to apprehend fugitives, to contain where black people went, to punish, threaten, and harass those who were suspected of not complying with the slave system.

In other words, slave patrols were a crucial means of white nation-building, of white collective control over a black population in order to secure white people's property and even as a form of white upward mobility.

LISTEN:





Bettmann/Bettmann Archive

npr

throughline

LISTEN TO THE STORY
FROM "AMERICAN POLICE"

 listen 

1:04:29

share

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[NPR, Throughline, "American Police,"
https://www.npr.org/player/embed/869046127/869251991](https://www.npr.org/player/embed/869046127/869251991)

But wasn't that a long time ago?

From the enforcement of slave codes to the use of racial terror to enforce the post-1865 “black codes” to the professionalization of police forces “where professionalization and academic research legitimate racist notions of black people as a race of criminals” saying that “those are the only real criminals we have to worry about,”⁵ modern police regimes draw on the techniques of the slave patrol:

- Stop and frisk
- the “arrest” / deprivation of movement
- racial surveillance
- racial identification, not criminal identification

“From a police perspective, they don’t deal with law. They deal with threats. This means that law will never hold police accountable because the police are meant neither to be accountable or enforce the law.”⁶



Photo: Seth Wenig/Associated Press

⁵ Khalil Gibran Muhammad, “American Police” <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/869046127>

⁶ “On the Road With Abolition” from *Critical Resistance Resources on Policing*, <http://criticalresistance.org/abolish-policing/>

But University of California Police are different, right?

The UCPD has used force over 200 times on its ten campuses since 2004, but despite a legal requirement to publicly release information on use of force incidents, the UC has done so in only two of these cases.

Like all police forces, UCPD contributes to anti-black violence in UC public spaces and residences. UCPD serves as a mechanism for enforcing the boundaries of the university—in other words, who should, and should not, be there in accordance to the colonial foundations upon which it was built.



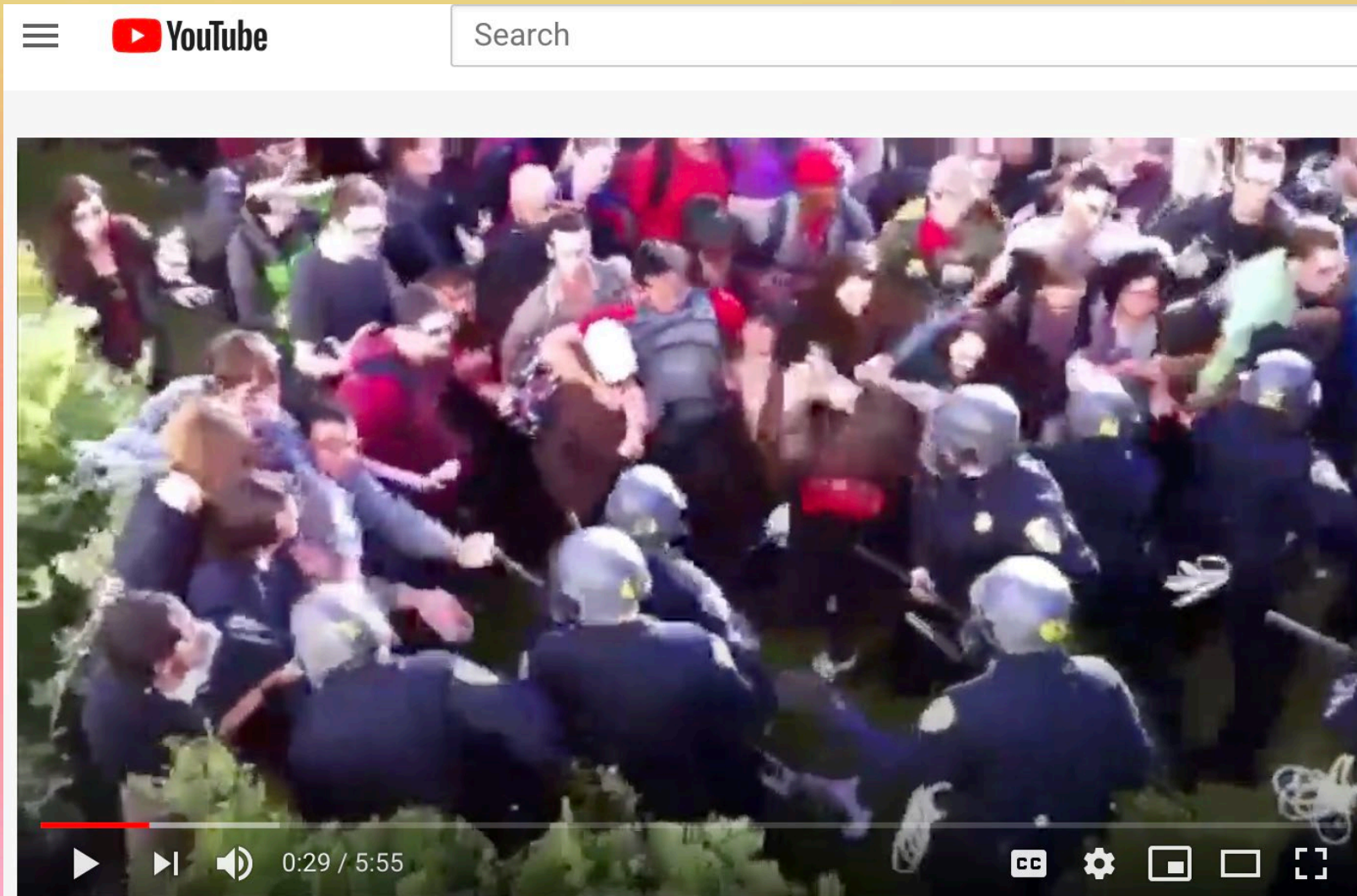
Image: Irina Gliudza



Lt. John Pike pepper spraying UC Davis Students, 2011

UCPD has certainly gained a reputation for its heavy-handed responses to student protests, which have frequently erupted across campuses over the past decade in response to tuition increases and labor conflict. After a photo of a UC Davis police officer casually pepper-spraying seated demonstrators went viral during the 2011 protests, then UC Davis Chancellor Linda Katehi allocated \$15,000/month to a communications firm to eradicate the content from Google searches. Katehi left a footprint in policing abroad by sitting on the international advisory committee that counseled the Greek government in overturning a four-decade-long law banning police from college campuses in that country.

WATCH



[Protest and Policing in the UC System and Beyond, 5 minutes 55 seconds](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcZAvTbRCBs)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcZAvTbRCBs>

UC RIVERSIDE

The same wave of anti-austerity protests drew students to converge on a UC Regents meeting in 2012, where UCPD fired rubber bullets into the crowd.



Then Chancellor Timothy White commented to faculty that he instructed the police to “shoot below the knees.”



Photos: Carrie Rosema

UC IRVINE



The trial of ten of the eleven UCI and UC Riverside Muslim at the Orange County Superior Court. Sam Gangwer/ZUMA Press/Newscom

In January 2010, UC Irvine PD arrested 11 students who interrupted a speech by Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren to denounce the recent Operation Cast Lead, an Israeli bombing offensive on the Gaza Strip that claimed over 300 lives.

The “Irvine 11” were charged with misdemeanor crimes and sentenced to probation and community service. Now UC President Michael Drake, then Chancellor of UCI, labeled the students’ behavior “intolerable” and oversaw a short-term ban and 2-year probation of the UCI Muslim Student Union.

UC SANTA CRUZ



Photo by Dan Coyro, Santa Cruz Sentinel

In Winter 2020, UC Santa Cruz PD responded to a graduate student TA strike with excessive force leading to 17 detentions. Officers collaborated with the National Guard, who lended military surveillance equipment to monitor the strike.¹

An August 2020 Freedom of Information Act request found that UCPD shared information across the state regarding mounting strikes at UCSD, UCSB, UCD, and UCB. They even surveilled meetings and workshops to gather content.²

¹ and ² https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/7kppna/california-police-used-military-surveillance-tech-at-grad-student-strike

LET US REIMAGINE OUR CAMPUSES WITH CARE NOT COPS

We invite you to use the resources compiled here to imagine your campus (and beyond!) without cops. Ask questions, brainstorm, share information, have a discussion:

- *Whose land is your campus occupying?
- *What are the demands of the Indigenous communities whose land your university stole?
- *For whom is the University "public"?
- *Who do campus police protect?
- *What keeps you feeling safe? What keeps your community safe?
- *When you hear words like "defund" and "abolition," what comes to mind? What questions or concerns arise?
- *What about public safety?
- *Can the system really change? Is abolition really possible?

**ALL COPS OFF CAMPUS BY FALL 2021. ABOLISH POLICING.
RETURN NATIVE LANDS TO CALIFORNIA INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES.**

LEARN. ASK QUESTIONS

Isn't it unrealistic? Can abolition of policing really happen?

The United States has the largest prison system that has ever existed on earth, and it is a very recent invention. The contemporary world and the history of humanity are filled with nothing but alternatives to this system. It is easy to believe that any system we have lived under and been fed propaganda about is permanent and essential, but human history shows that systems of state control are constantly collapsing and being invented and reinvented. It is actually unrealistic to believe that the current wildly harmful, resource-intensive aberrant, unpopular system of caging large numbers of humans will continue.

Bottom Line: If it can be built, it can be dismantled.

What about public safety?

Safety derives from healthy relationships with other people. Prisons and police are focused on isolation and coercion and therefore on fostering violence rather than safety. People are safe when they have what they need, when they are not desperate, when they have spaces to heal from trauma, and when traumas are prevented.

Bottom Line: We do need to build safety, and we can do that through making sure people have what they need and building connective relationships and communities, not cops and cages.

Further Abolition Resources here:

<https://challengeinequality.luskin.ucla.edu/abolition-repository/>

More questions/responses at Dean Spade and Mariame Kaba's "Common Questions about Police and Prison Abolition and Responses," <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dean-spade-common-question-about-police-and-prison-abolition-and-responses>

Dean Spade (with feedback from Mariame Kaba), "Common Questions about Police and Prison Abolition and Responses."
<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dean-spade-common-question-about-police-and-prison-abolition-and-responses>.



HAVE A DISCUSSION



What about the rapists?

Most sexual assault happens between people who know each other rather than the stranger serial rapist portrayed on TV. Most sexual assault is not reported, and most people who engage in it are not in prison, so ending prisons will not flood society with predators. Further, the power given to law enforcement agents, and the situations created by imprisoning people, produce high rates of sexual assault. Policing/prison is a source of sexual assault and not a solution. Because of the high rate of sexual violence in prisons, we are essentially sentencing people to judicial rape when we incarcerate them. **Bottom line:** there are some rapists in prison, more rapists outside of prison. The prison is not a way to stop rape, the prison is the rapist.

What about the murderers?

Most people murder people they know well, often as part of complex family and relationship violence dynamics. TV makes us think prisons are full of murderers who would go on killing sprees if released. That is an inaccurate portrayal of how violence most commonly happens, and who is in prison right now. What we know is the people who commit murders are actually the LEAST likely to do it again. They have the lowest recidivism rates. Prisons kill people through medical neglect and nutritional deprivation. Police murder people of color with impunity. **Bottom line:** Prisons and policing do not stop murder, the prisons and police are the murderers.

What about the dangerous people?

TV cop shows make it seem like prisons are full of the serial killers, but prisons are full of people from vulnerable communities who were in desperate situations and engaged with drugs, property crimes or conflict with their friends, lovers or family. These people had a small impact, compared to CEO's, bankers, law enforcement agencies, corporate polluters and politicians whose actions shorten the lives of thousands or millions of people. Are the people in prison the "dangerous people"? Being in prison has less correlation to dangerousness and more to race, poverty, and disability. **Bottom Line:** People in prisons aren't the dangerous people, people running racist, anti-poor, Earth-destroying systems for profit are.

GET INVOLVED

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RETURN NATIVE LANDS TO CALIFORNIA INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES.**

STAY TUNED:

In upcoming powerpoints, we'll talk more deeply about alternatives to policing, why reform doesn't work (reform vs. abolition), how university budgets could be restructured to center care, and the UC's role in global U.S. policing projects.

JOIN US!



To join UCFTP (faculty collective in Cops off Campus): https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdpj0n236ZC-ybX_DkNz62e99CHw5ugm-ksv_3jyquAvalhLQ/viewform

To join All-Coalition (student collective in Cops off Campus): https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfjwhIGK0xflWEEOCsNHSc_Nqye76-6USFlvr5ETvEqFroeLA/viewform