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Amendment I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Amendment VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.



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Visit the Action page NOW! <http://www.jbs.org/issues-pages/support-your-local-police>

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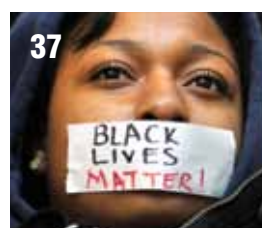
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The New American

Printed in the U.S.A. • ISSN 0885-6540
P.O. Box 8040 • Appleton, WI 54912
920-749-3784 • 920-749-3785 (fax)
www.thenewamerican.com
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Rates are \$49 per year (Canada, add \$9; foreign, add \$27) Copyright ©2015 by American Opinion Publishing, Inc. Periodicals postage paid at Appleton, WI and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send any address changes to THE NEW AMERICAN, P.O. Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54912.

JBS.org

THE NEW AMERICAN is published twice monthly by American Opinion Publishing Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of The John Birch Society.

Peace Officers and the Rule of Law

Have you ever wondered what would happen if there were no government whatsoever, including no police? Would the absence of government allow for greater freedom? Or would it instead have the opposite effect? In fact, could a state of no government — anarchy — even exist for very long before a new government arose?

James Madison, the father of the U.S. Constitution, imagined a hypothetical situation. “If men were angels, no government would be necessary,” he wrote in *The Federalist*. And he added, “If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary.”

Of course, Madison was well aware that men are not angels and that angels do not govern men, as were the other Founding Fathers who gave us the U.S. Constitution, the supreme law of our land. They knew that without law there could be no freedom. Human nature being what it is, the elimination of the rule of law would result in the rule of the jungle and the loss of freedom. They also understood the importance of controlling government, so it does not end up destroying the very freedom it’s supposed to protect.

One of the ways to control government is to divide power — so that it is not all in one pot. Another way is to keep government as close to the people as possible, with the national government given only those powers — for example, national defense — that could not be effectively handled at the local level. Our constitutional system is based on such principles, and in our system, police powers are a local responsibility.

From the standpoint of preserving freedom, this makes perfect sense. The police perform a vital function, protecting us from the lawless element, and they should be as close as possible to the communities they are entrusted to protect and serve.

Yet, as we all know,

some — not just street protesters but powerful voices in the media and government — do not portray the local police this way. Instead, they vilify them as racist brutes. Moreover, rioters have seized upon the accusations to “justify” violence and destruction. And in the name of “justice,” war has been declared on police. That war has included outright assassination.

What is the solution being offered to remedy the alleged police abuse? It is to turn our constitutional system on its head by centralizing police powers in Washington. But common sense and human experience should tell us that this “solution” would ramp up the abuse of power. How could it be otherwise when the police power is consolidated in one pot, and when police are beholden to distant Washington, D.C., rather than to the local communities where they live and work?

If you smell a rat, you are not alone. In the pages that follow, we shed light on the war on police, which is a war not only on the police themselves but on the rule of law and the very fabric of our society. Our police provide a vital line of defense between our homes and families, and the vile elements of society that would do us harm.

Do we claim no policeman has ever abused his position? Of course not! But we do make clear that whatever genuine police brutality does exist is being greatly exaggerated to bring about a gigantic transfer of power on the way to nationalizing police. And this power grab, we show, is being advanced not only by street radicals but by powerful interests who support them.

If such a scheme sounds too fantastic to be true, we ask that you evaluate the evidence assembled herein — and then decide if we are right or wrong. We also encourage all readers who value the rule of law to “Support Your Local Police — and Keep Them Independent!” Our “Last Word” (page 44) summarizes steps you can undertake toward this end.

— GARY BENOIT



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Milwaukee Sheriff David Clarke Sets Record Straight

"If only these faux protesters were asked by media about all the black on black killing or black babies aborted in U.S. every year.... When I hear these things that black lives matter, the only people who really believe that statement are American police officers who go into American ghettos every day to keep people from killing each other.... Look, the abortions? If Black lives — if they really mattered, that's where the outrage would be that's where we'd see protests [at the abortion clinics]."

In an interview with CNN, Milwaukee County Sheriff David A. Clarke, Jr. expressed his hope that the media would question black-lives-matter protesters about whether innocent black lives truly matter to them.



David A. Clarke, Jr.

AP Images

Al Sharpton Pushes Nationalized Police

"Congress must immediately start hearings to deal with laws that will change the jurisdiction threshold for federal cases and policing.... We need federal intervention without delay. The state has already proven that it cannot do the job.... This is an idea whose time has come."

"Reverend" Al Sharpton, in a December 8, 2014 column for the Huffington Post, exploits the deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and other black men.

Congressional Black Caucus Calls for Federal Police "Czar"

"The Administration must appoint a federal Czar, housed in the U.S. Department of Justice, who is specifically tasked with promoting the professionalization of local law enforcement, monitoring egregious law enforcement activities, and adjudicating suspicious actions of local law enforcement agencies that receive federal funding."

The Congressional Black Caucus called on President Obama to nationalize the police, in an August 25, 2014 letter.



Barack Obama

AP Images

Presidential Candidate Obama's "Civilian National Security Force"

"We cannot continue to rely only on our military in order to achieve the national security objectives that we've set. We've got to have a civilian national security force that's just as powerful, just as strong, just as well-funded."

Addressing a Colorado campaign rally on July 2, 2008, then-Senator and presidential aspirant Barack Obama proposed vastly expanding the federal AmeriCorps, Peace Corps, and other programs.

President Obama Funds Police Militarization — While Decrying It

"Since its inception, the [DOD 1033] program has transferred more than \$5.4 billion worth of property. In 2014, \$980 million worth of property ... was transferred to law enforcement agencies.... More than 8,000 law enforcement agencies have enrolled in the program."

The federal Law Enforcement Support Office (LESO) website notes the enormous amounts of military equipment it has assisted in transferring from the Defense Department to local police organizations under the 1033 program.

Thomas Jefferson Opposed Centralization of Police Power

"The way to have a good and safe government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing to everyone exactly the function he is competent to. Let the national government be entrusted with the defense of the nation and its foreign and federal relations; the state governments with the civil rights, laws, police, and administration of what concerns the state generally."

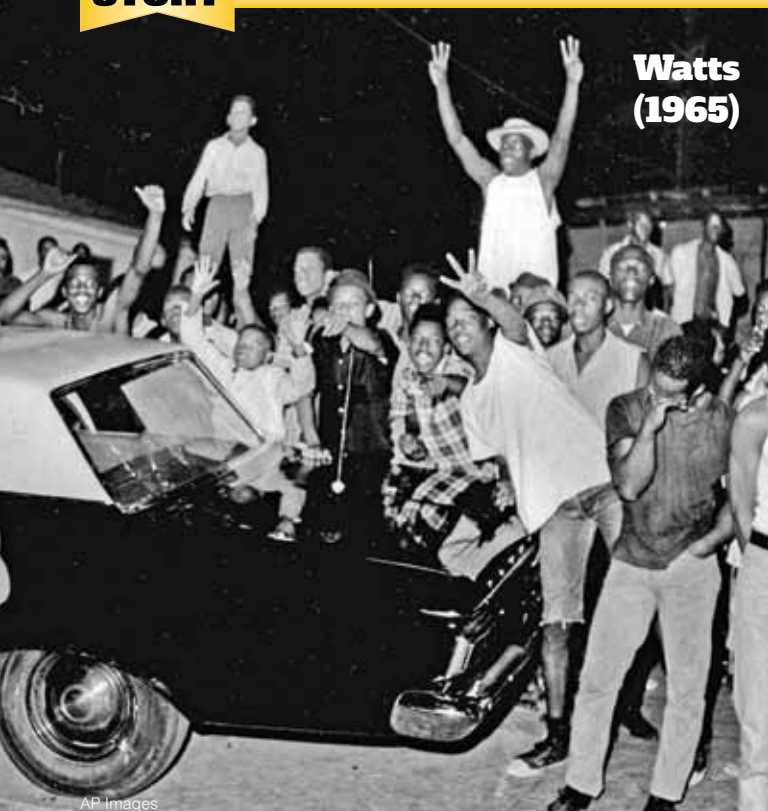
In an 1816 letter, Thomas Jefferson explained that police, as well as many other powers, should not be entrusted to the national government.

Danger Lurks Whenever Federal Aid Is Provided

"It is hardly lack of due process for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes."

In his 1942 ruling dealing with an issue involving agriculture, Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson stated clearly that federal aid will always be followed by federal control. ■

— COMPILED BY JOHN F. MCMANUS

Watts
(1965)Baltimore
(2015)

Are LOCAL POLICE to Blame?

With riots and killings happening in cities in the wake of the deaths of young black men, political elites are calling for nationalizing local police, but what would that actually do?

by William F. Jasper

Harlem (1964). Watts (1965). East Coast, West Coast. A police shooting and an attempted arrest provide the pretexts for days of massive rioting, looting, arson, death, and destruction. Racism and police brutality, say the rioters/looters (and their supporters in political office, the media, and academia), are responsible for the violence and devastation. The Harlem riots provided the spark for additional riots that year in Chicago, Philadelphia, Rochester, and the New Jersey cities of Paterson, Elizabeth, and Jersey City. The war zone-like wreckage of Watts, a black neighborhood in Los Angeles, became the symbol “inspiring” similar rioting in more than 100 cities over

the next three years: 1966 (San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha), 1967 (Detroit, Newark, New York City, Minneapolis, Grand Rapids, Houston, Milwaukee), and 1968 (Chicago, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Detroit, Washington, D.C.).

Fifty years later: Ferguson (2014), Baltimore (2015). Again rioting, looting, arson, and devastation. Racism and police brutality, say the rioters/looters (and their supporters in political office, the media, and academia), are again to blame. “Systemic racism,” “structural racism” — the type that can only be remedied, claim the critics, by overturning the “exploitation” and “inequality” of our capitalist system and the “racist” brutality it perpetuates in our police departments. And this can only be accomplished, they say, by more

government programs and more government spending, especially by the federal government in Washington, D.C. It is also essential, say the protesters and their elite supporters, that the federal government take over the functions of local police, or at least impose national (some are demanding *international*) standards on local law-enforcement agencies.

To those (such as this writer) who are old enough to have lived through the earlier riots (of the 1960s and beyond) this seems — in the words of Yogi Berra — “like déjà vu all over again.” Not only do we have the same revolutionary rhetoric and the same street tactics producing the same deadly results, but we are seeing, once again, the same alliance of radical thugs in the streets and radical suits in

Fifty years of mayhem: Watts riots, 1965 (left); Baltimore riots, 2015. Riot-making hasn't changed; the same tax-exempt foundations (and new ones) are still funding chaos.

the suites. The same tax-exempt foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, etc.) and corporate globalists who funded the incendiary Marxist-Leninist cadres that burned down our cities in the '60s (leaving millions of black Americans in even more desperate straits) are still shoveling billions of dollars to the radical arsonists who are pouring gasoline on the racial embers today. They are also still funding scholarly reports, studies, commissions, and task forces that, not surprisingly, call for nationalizing and "standardizing" our police powers. In a nutshell, we are witnessing both "pressure from above" and "pressure from below" to demonize and paralyze local police, and to promote the idea that federalizing our police will solve the reputed police crises.

But as we will show in this and other articles in this special magazine issue, it is simply not true that the havoc now threatening to tear apart our country is the result of spontaneous outbreaks in response to "systemic racism" or "police brutality." Which is not to say that racism and police brutality do not exist. Indeed, I will readily stipulate (though it should not be necessary to do so) that racism and police brutality do exist in the United States of America — much the same as they exist, along with other sins and social pathologies, in every other country on Earth (although, arguably, the United States comes out far better than most other countries in this regard). The point, however, is that the race agitators — both in the streets and in the suites — are exploiting and exaggerating the racism and police brutality issues (and even outright lying about and inventing race/police horror stories) while offering a "solution" (centralizing power in Washington) that will make genuine abuse worse, not better.

Lethal Lies

The riots and chaos in Ferguson, Missouri, were ignited and stoked by the "Hands up, don't shoot!" mantra. But it was a lie, as we now know. *Three* separate autopsies

Not only do we have the same revolutionary rhetoric and the same street tactics producing the same deadly results, but we are seeing, once again, the same alliance of radical thugs in the streets and radical suits in the suites.

(one by the St. Louis County Office of the Medical Examiner, one by outside expert Dr. Michael Baden, and one by the Department of Defense's Armed Forces Medical Examiner System), as well as an abundance of additional physical evidence presented to the grand jury, supported the claim of Officer Darren Wilson (who is white) that Michael Brown (the "victim," who is black) was reaching inside the police vehicle and attacking Wilson and trying to get Wilson's gun. The forensic evidence also belies the claim that Brown (the "gentle giant" who had only minutes before been caught on video committing strong-arm robbery of a convenience store) was gunned down in cold blood by Officer Wilson while surrendering with his hands up.

The "Hands up, don't shoot!" lie, which went viral and is still often repeated, is feeding the continued violence and racial turmoil. "That lie holds that the police pose a mortal threat to black Americans — indeed that the police are the great-

est threat facing black Americans today," wrote Manhattan Institute scholar Heather Mac Donald in her December 2014 *City Journal* article, "The Big Lie of the Anti-Cop Left Turns Lethal."

In the wake of the grand jury's decision not to indict Officer Wilson, she noted, the "*New York Times* ratcheted up its already stratospheric level of anti-cop polemics. In an editorial justifying the Ferguson riots, the *Times* claimed that 'the killing of young black men by police is a common feature of African-American life and a source of dread for black parents from coast to coast.'"

Mac Donald then offers sobering statistics to demonstrate the mendacity of the *Times* and others making similar claims:

Some facts: Police killings of blacks are an extremely rare feature of black life and are a minute fraction of black homicide deaths. The police could end all killings of civilians tomorrow.



A lie becomes a meme: The "Hands up, don't shoot!" mantra helps turn demonstrations into riots, even though autopsies and forensic evidence disprove the lie that Michael Brown was gunned down while trying to surrender with his hands up.

I will readily stipulate that racism and police brutality do exist in the United States of America — much the same as they exist, along with other sins and social pathologies, in every other country on Earth (although, arguably, the United States comes out far better than most other countries in this regard).

row and it would have no effect on the black homicide risk, which comes overwhelmingly from other blacks. In 2013, there were 6,261 black homicide victims in the U.S. — almost all killed by black civilians — resulting in a death risk in inner cities that is ten times higher for blacks than for whites. None of those killings triggered mass protests; they are deemed normal and beneath notice. The police, by contrast, according to published reports, kill roughly 200 blacks a year, most of them armed and dangerous, out of about 40 million police-civilian contacts a year. Blacks are in fact killed by police at a lower rate than their threat to officers would predict. In 2013, blacks made up 42 percent of all cop killers whose race was known, even though blacks are only 13 percent of the nation's population. The percentage of black suspects killed by the police nationally is 29 percent lower than the percentage of blacks mortally threatening them.

One elected black official who recognizes the lie and the reality of the racism/brutality propaganda is Milwaukee County Sheriff David Clarke. In an interview on Fox News' *Your World With Neil Cavuto*, the outspoken sheriff charged that liberal policies, not the death of accused Baltimore drug dealer Freddie Gray, are responsible for the violence in that city.

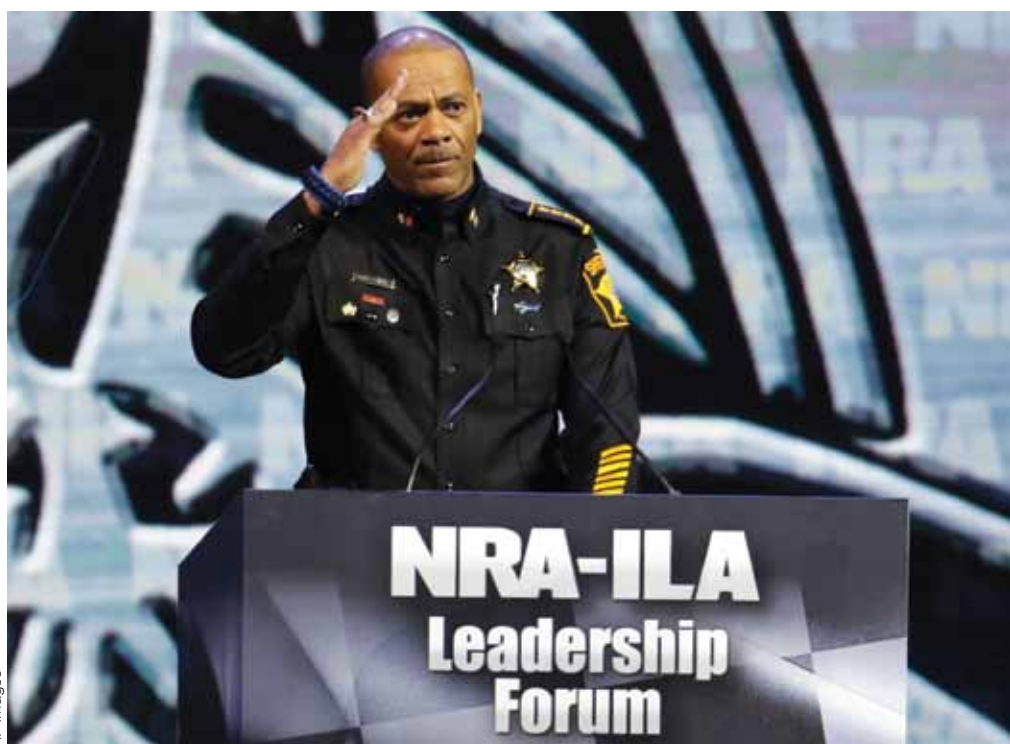
"Like Baltimore, like Ferguson, like New York and many other areas where failed liberal government policies have led to high unemployment, chronic poverty, failing schools," Sheriff Clarke said, "this is what besets the Baltimore area. Ninety percent of the homicide victims in the Baltimore area are black as are ninety percent of the suspects. That's a bigger problem than Freddie Gray."

He added that the rioters were exploiting Gray's death, even though they cared nothing for him. "These individuals that are rioting and looting right now and throwing rocks and bottles do not know Freddie Gray, do not care about Freddie Gray," said the sheriff. "If they were in a nightclub in Baltimore [they] would shoot and kill him for bumping into them on the dance floor."

The following day on Twitter, Sheriff Clarke stated further: "I am tired of this mealy-mouth crap from politicians. They cause the conditions for a permanent underclass in America." In another tweet, he said: "Why are we surprised at this sub-human behavior on display in American ghettos? Lib policies created the conditions."

Sheriff Clarke's comments, of course, stand in stark contrast to inflammatory bloviations from the liberal media. In an April 30, 2015 column for the Huffington Post entitled "Take the Racial Justice Pledge," Donna P. Hall, president and CEO of the Women Donors Network, wrote: "The tragedy of lethal police violence against unarmed black men and women has become all too common. The streets of Baltimore scream with outrage over the death of Freddie Gray.... Was the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson not a wake-up call?" Hall called on "the progressive donor community" to fund the proliferation of "racial justice" organizations that are responding to the "epidemic of racially charged police violence." Hall urged her fellow progressives to fund "Black-led organizing for Black liberation." Interestingly, Hall is white, as are virtually all of her wealthy donor friends; in fact, every one of the "activists" pictured in the photo on the organization's web page appealing for "Black-led organizing for Black liberation" is... lily white.

The Women Donors Network is one of numerous funding coalitions of white



"Black lies matter": Milwaukee County Sheriff David A. Clarke, Jr. blasts black "leaders" for playing the race card while ignoring the real crisis of black-on-black crime and the murder of black babies by abortion providers such as Planned Parenthood.

radicals that are funneling tens of millions of dollars into phony grassroots “black-led” organizations that can be called on to materialize protesters on cue, whether the cause be global warming, minimum wage legislation, abortion rights, homosexual rights, racism, or police brutality. Other funding channels include Bolder Giving, Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training, Neighborhood Funders Group, North Star Fund, Proteus Fund, Resource Generation, Associated Grant Makers, Environmental Grantmakers Association, Grantmakers for Education, Grantmakers for Children, Youth and Families, and Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues.

These groups act as money laundries for directed giving to radical groups by major foundations, corporations, and government agencies. Some of the largest donors — Ford Foundation, Tides Foundation, Open Society Foundation (Soros), the Rockefeller foundations, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, et al. — give directly to the street agitators too, but the full extent of their largess is frequently obscured by these third-party funders they utilize as conduits.

On August 16, 2015, *The Nation* magazine, venerable far-left pipe organ of the establishment, published “The Rebirth of Black Rage,” an op-ed by Mychal Denzel Smith, celebrating the new racial militancy. “As the deaths of young, unarmed black people continue to become headlines, and social media holds more hashtag funerals, the hope has turned to despair, and the despair into rage,” wrote Smith. “That rage consumed the streets of Ferguson when Michael Brown was killed; it set fire to the streets of Baltimore when Freddie Gray was killed.... Black rage is back, cutting to the core of white supremacy and demanding that America change.”

According to Smith and *The Nation*, “The resurgence of black rage in the political sphere is finally ready to make America face its racist past and present. Or burn it down trying.”

Or burn it down trying! This open endorsement and encouragement by the establishment press of mayhem and destruction is hardly unique; the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, CNN, NBC, and other “mainstream” organs have run similar (or worse) fare. It is worth noting that the longtime publisher, editor, and part-owner



Media arsonists: Columnist for *The Nation* Mychal Denzel Smith celebrates “The rebirth of Black rage,” which, he says, will “make America face its racist past and present. Or burn it down trying.”

of *The Nation* is Katrina vanden Heuvel, a member of the ultra-establishment Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the globalist-minded brain trust that has directed much of the media, foundation, and government support for the revolutionary movements that have been rocking our nation for the past five decades.

Smith’s op-ed echoed a much-used theme, one that was also promoted by Ford Foundation president Darren Walker, in a December 12, 2014 column entitled “A pivotal moment for racial justice.” Like *The Nation*’s vanden Heuvel, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, as have been many of the activists heading the big foundations. According to the man who holds Ford’s hefty purse strings, “We are in a pivotal moment, one filled with opportunity for the racial justice field.... We’re seeing broad-based coalitions coalesce around racism targeting blacks. And we’re seeing emerging leadership that is young, multiracial and national in scope, exercising tactics and strategies that are grounded in a deep analysis of systemic racism and prioritize people-centered democracy.”

“They need and deserve our support,” Walker stated. And, of course, the Ford Foundation is well endowed to provide that support — and has been supporting a myriad of the new radical “racial justice” organizations, just as it has been the principal funder of militant racial groups and Marxist activists for more than half a century.

Ford, for instance, played a seminal role in financing key operatives that sparked

and led the 1960s race riots mentioned above, as well as the “student” and “anti-war” riots that erupted on so many college campuses during that same period. One of the main Ford Foundation agents brought in to incite the Harlem riots was virulent black racist Herman B. Ferguson, a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (R.A.M.), a communist terrorist organization. Ferguson and some of his R.A.M. comrades were subsequently arrested and indicted in a plot to assassinate more moderate black leaders, as well as Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Ferguson jumped bail and fled the country — to Marxist Guyana, where he stayed for many years. Turns out he had received at least \$77,000 from the generous Ford folks to fund his incendiary activities.

And before there was a “Reverend” Al Sharpton or Jesse Jackson to stir the “racism/police brutality” pot, there was “Reverend” Milton A. Galamison. A co-founder of the Communist Party’s W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Reverend Galamison, a much-arrested leader of street disorders, had received at least \$160,000 in grant aid from Ford.

Still another riot-maker and Ford acolyte was Leroi Jones (aka Amiri Baraka), a black racist and pornographic “poet/playwright” and Black Power militant. Ford showered him with tens of thousands of dollars. It heaped even more on “former” Communist Party organizer Bayard Rustin, who allegedly broke with the communists, but continued to work with them and their front groups.

The riots and chaos in Ferguson, Missouri, were ignited and stoked by the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” mantra. But it was a lie, as we now know.

And we have not even scratched the surface of the organizations funded by Ford (and the other major foundations) to stir up racial hatred and civil turmoil — which have been detailed in many previous articles in *THE NEW AMERICAN* (as well as our predecessor magazine, *American Opinion*).

Similarly, we can see the “pressure from above and below” operation at work in the “student” riots, the organizers of which also depended on Ford benefactions. Under McGeorge Bundy’s leadership in the 1960s and ’70s, Ford promoted revolutionary activities on college campuses by heavily funding, for instance, the National Student Association, a Soviet intelligence operation that was launched at the Kremlin-sponsored World Student Congress held in 1946, in then-communist Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Or take, for example, the militant Chicano/open borders movement, into which the Ford Foundation has poured many millions of dollars since the 1960s. Consider just one Ford grant (of \$630,000), in July 1968, to the violent revolutionaries at the Southwest Council of La Raza, headed by

Maclovio Barraza, a “former” agitator for the Communist Party. According to Henry Santiestevan, former head of the Southwest Council of La Raza: “It can be said that without the Ford Foundation’s commitment to a strategy of national and local institution-building, the Chicano movement would have withered away in many areas.”

The same can be said for many other AstroTurf “movements.”

With \$11 billion in assets, Ford hands out hundreds of millions of dollars annually to hundreds of radical groups, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); National Lawyers Guild; Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Progressive, Inc.; New World Foundation; Black Church Center for Justice and Equality; Muslim Advocates; Sojourners; Color of Change; Center for Social Inclusion; Neighborhood Funders Group, Inc.; and Funders For Justice.

One of Ford’s most important grant-making operations is its perennial funding of the Tides Foundation and Tides Center, which serve as the conduit to, and incubator, trainer, and manager of, an ever-growing stable of activist organizations.

According to the watchdog group discoverthenetworks.org, “Between 1996 and 2010, the Tides Center served as a fiscal sponsor to some 677 separate projects with combined revenues of \$522.4 million; in 2010 alone, the Center was actively managing nearly 200 projects.” Many of these Ford/Tides-funded groups have been in the forefront of street agitation in Ferguson, Baltimore, and other conflagration spots.

Then there’s the Open Society Foundation projects of billionaire leftist George Soros (a CFR member, CFR corporate funder, and former CFR director) that overlap with Ford and Tides. Soros has fueled the street demonstrations by funding agitators from the Center for Community Change, the Gamaliel Foundation, and Organization for Black Struggle (OBS), among others. (See article on page 19.) OBS, which was organized by hardcore Marxists, such as Jamala Rogers, Montague Simmons, and Bill Fletcher, was one of the key organizations that launched the Hands Up Coalition aimed at getting more angry young black Americans into the streets by emotionally exploiting the lie that Michael Brown was “murdered” by a white cop.

Literally thousands of phony “grass-roots” activist organizations have been, and are being, created and funded by the radical millionaire-billionaire elitists through their tax-exempt foundation networks. Are these elitists unaware that the militants they are funding are causing social, political, moral, and economic havoc that threatens our country with breakdown and collapse? After more than half a century of financing revolution and mayhem, can these supposedly well-intentioned “do-gooders” truly be ignorant of the harm they are doing?

Certainly, the average American is completely unaware that the rioting and agitation that seem to be spontaneously breaking out all over the country — the pressure from below — are actually the result of a well-funded and highly coordinated campaign provided by some of the wealthiest people on the planet.

More Pressure From Above

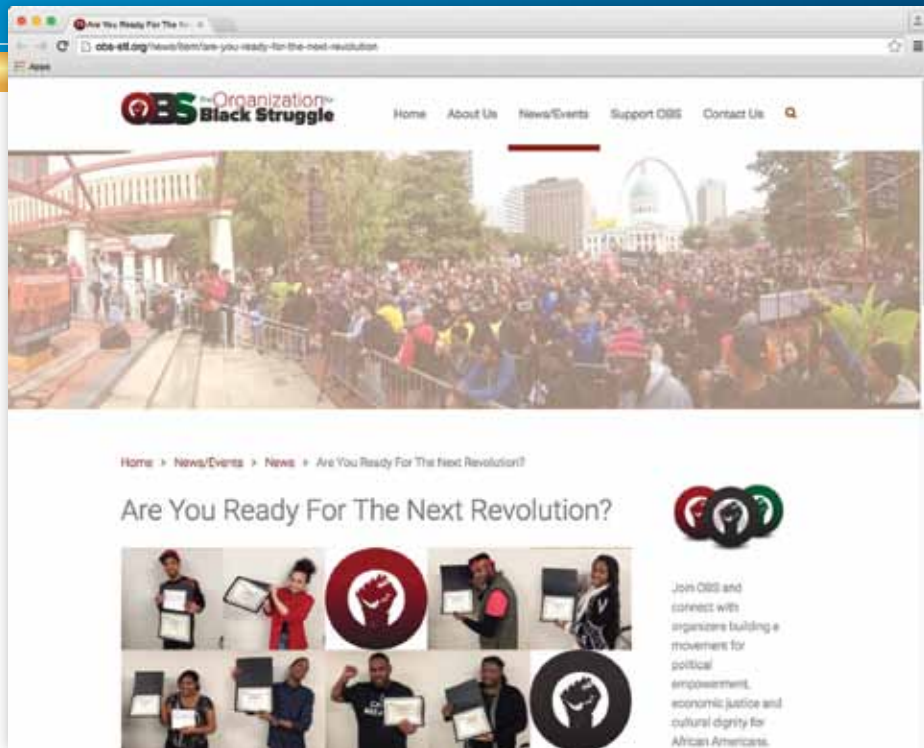
Equally important to providing pressure from below, in the form of demonstrators/rioters, is the pressure from above, in the



AP Images



Funding the revolution: Ford Foundation Presidents McGeorge Bundy (1960s-’70s, left) and Darren Walker (current, right) and other Ford officials have kept a pipeline of cash flowing to revolutionaries and rioters for more than half a century.



Red-on-black crime: The Organization for Black Struggle, which played a key role in the Ferguson riots, is one of many communist-led groups receiving foundation funding. The OBS website features the communist clenched fist and a volunteer canvassing neighborhoods in Ferguson.

form of more “moderate” agents providing “rational” solutions. These agents are frequently politicians, academicians, media commentators, or scholars from think tanks such as the Brookings Institution, Aspen Institute, RAND Corporation, Center for American Progress, and the like. One of the groups that has served the Ford funders and CFR elite very well in this capacity is the Police Foundation.

In 1970, Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy (CFR) announced that the foundation was giving the enormous sum of \$30 million for the creation of a “Police Development Fund.” The *Milwaukee Journal* reported on July 23, 1970, that the fund “will be the largest private agency in the nation concerned exclusively with police work.” Subsequently the fund changed its name to the Police Foundation, but it has certainly retained its preeminence in terms of influence on “police work.”

Police Foundation president Patrick V. Murphy, a former New York City police commissioner, stated in a 1974 interview with *American Opinion* magazine that he had “no fear” of a national police force and believed our police departments must be consolidated to make them more efficient. “I have no fear of a national police force,” said Murphy. “I don’t want one, but crime control is not working, and our 40,000 police departments are not sacred.

The danger is insignificant.... Policing is not effective.” Murphy continued, reflecting the Ford Foundation line:

We worship local government and home rule in this country — I like it too — but the problem must be solved by a higher level of government, like welfare. We must move it up to the state level. The state must say, “These are the standards.” We would save money and get better efficiency, if we consolidate the little police departments in a county.

Murphy’s consolidation spiel was a regurgitation of the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration’s (LEAA) propaganda aimed at convincing Americans that our system of locally controlled police must be replaced with a national model. In a 1971 address to a meeting of police chiefs, LEAA Associate Administrator Clarence Coster presented the nationalization agenda in these terms:

Today, in this country, we have 40,235 law enforcement agencies, ranging from one-man departments to New York City, with more than 40,000 police officers. This many units form a completely ungovernable body.

“A completely ungovernable body?” Ungovernable by whom? Each and every one of those local “ungovernable” bodies is governed by state and local laws, by state constitutions and county and city charters, by state and local elected and/or appointed officials. They are governed by state governors, county commissioners, mayors, city councils, city managers, state and county prosecutors, police chiefs, sheriffs, police commissioners, internal affairs bureaus, state and county grand juries, as well as state and county courts.

Yes, it is an imperfect system, and abuses and corruption are — and always will be — issues to contend with. But would those issues magically disappear, or even ameliorate, if police functions were nationalized? Is there any basis in empirical evidence or sound logic to suggest that centralizing political and bureaucratic control in Washington, D.C., would make our police more efficient, less corrupt, or more accountable? Should we feel more confident and secure with a President George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton — or any other national politician — in charge of our police? Have we not seen enough of the murderous dangers inherent in nationalized police states under Hitler, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, and dozens of lesser dictators and autocrats? Nazi Germany’s Gestapo, the Soviet KGB, Communist China’s Ministry of State Security, Castro’s DGI — every totalitarian police-state apparatus is based on the claim that it is indispensable for national security.

Fortunately for us, our Founding Fathers viewed with great apprehension the dangers of centralized government. As a result, they placed constitutional chains on federal policing powers, reserving the vast majority of those functions to “the States, or to the People.” If we have genuine problems with a local police organization, we must avail ourselves of the local means already extant: the offices of the mayor, city council, county commissioners, county grand jury, local news media, local citizen education groups. If we want our law-enforcement agencies truly “to protect and serve,” we must be sure that they remain the servants, not the masters. And that can only be accomplished by keeping them local — and independent of any controls from national politicians and national government institutions. ■

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Media

Encouraging Riots, Looting

AP Images

With little to no evidence they were correct, and despite the known dangers, mainstream media cultivated riots by blaming white privilege for black problems.

by Alex Newman

In August 2014, in the immediate aftermath of a violent incident wherein police officer Darren Wilson fatally shot a young black man named Michael Brown, outraged and agenda-driven agitators — many from out of town — seized on the news as an excuse to run wild, steal, destroy property, and more. Businesses were burned to the ground and looted. Even a local church was not spared by the frenzied and violent mob. According to news reports, more than 160 gunshots were fired by “protesters,” too. At least one man died amid the chaos. Pictures that emerged after the late 2014 round of rioting and looting revealed an American suburb that looked more like a war zone.

In response to the tragedy, *Time* magazine published a pro-rioting piece by Darlena Cunha, who also serves as a contribu-

tor to a wide array of other establishment media, including the *Washington Post*. “The violent protests in Ferguson, Mo., are part of the American experience,” reads the sub-header for the *Time* “Ideas” column promoting riots and senseless violence as a proper and effective means of achieving political goals. “Peaceful protesting is a luxury only available to those safely in mainstream culture.” Cunha then goes even further: “Riots are a necessary part of the evolution of society.” To defend her thesis, she even cites the Boston Tea Party, equating it with the current mayhem enveloping Ferguson.

Since the grand jury’s decision was announced, Ferguson faced even more violence, which was stirred up by many groups and organizations, although the looting and burning merely makes life more difficult for local residents who the media say are already oppressed. Media,

Egged on by the media, criminal arsonists called “protesters” by the Associated Press burned down and looted much of Ferguson, Missouri, to “protest” the police shooting of Michael Brown.

such as *Time* and the *Washington Post*, that sympathize with and encourage the destruction in majority-black neighborhoods ironically at the same time chastise efforts of political groups that push voter registration initiatives because those initiatives supposedly create hardships for poor minorities, making their lives more difficult. It’s very questionable about whether those initiatives make minority lives harder, but it is undoubtedly a fact that burning local businesses makes minority lives more difficult. Yet the encouragement to loot goes on.

The agenda to foment racial unrest and rioting as a means of achieving “change” is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the establishment press. Recently, more than a few news outlets have dropped every pretense of neutrality and started to openly advocate rioting and looting. And the trend is accelerating.

After months of fomenting strife, hate, and unrest surrounding the fatal shooting of Brown by Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri, for example, *Time* magazine and others took it to the next level. On November 25, *Time* published Cunha's incendiary opinion piece headlined "Ferguson: In Defense of Rioting." As the title suggests, the commentary defends the perpetration of violence following a grand jury's decision not to indict Officer Wilson on charges of murder or manslaughter. But the piece goes even beyond that, calling riots "necessary" to the "evolution" of society.

"Because when you have succeeded, it ceases to be a possibility, in our capitalist society, that anyone else helped you," Cunha continues, dismissing the explanation offered by one critic of the rioting who blamed the violence on the mentality of "blaming everyone else" for one's own failures. "And if no one helped you succeed, then no one is holding anyone else back from succeeding. Except they did help you, and they are holding people back. So that blaming someone else for your failures in the United States may very well be an astute observation of reality, particularly as it comes to white privilege versus black privilege."

Before saying blacks are more apt to

riot, race-obsessed Cunha insists that she is not racist, styling herself a "realist" instead. "Until I have had to walk in a person of color's skin, I will never understand, I will always take things for granted, and I will be inherently privileged," she claimed. "But by ignoring the very real issues this country still faces in terms of race to promote an as-of-yet imaginary colorblind society, we contribute to the problem at hand, which is centuries of abuses lobbied against other humans on no basis but that of their skin color." Nowhere does *Time* or Cunha point out that the allegedly racist American people twice elected Obama, who is half black, to be president.

"I would put forth that peaceful protesting is a luxury of those already in mainstream culture, those who can be assured their voices will be heard without violence, those who can afford to wait for the change they want," Cunha writes in her widely criticized and ridiculed defense of rioting. "Blacks in this country are more apt to riot because they are one of the populations here who still need to. In the case of the 1992 riots, 30 years of black people trying to talk about their struggles of racial profiling and muted, but still vastly unfair, treatment, came to a boil." Of course, countless black Americans

— including many whose businesses were looted and burned down in recent days — would likely take offense at the bizarre notion that their "population," which in Cunha's world is apparently defined solely by melanin content, "need" to riot.

Concluding the bizarre argument, Cunha goes on to defend the individuals involved in the violence, looting, and rioting, suggesting they are merely "angry" at "the system" and that stealing and destroying other people's property while shooting randomly may be justified responses. "Instead of tearing down other human beings who are acting upon decades of pent-up anger at a system decidedly against

them, a system that has told them they are less than human for years, we ought to be reaching out to help them regain the humanity they lost, not when a few set fire to the buildings in Ferguson, but when they were born the wrong color in the post-racial America," she said. It was not immediately clear who told blacks they were "less than human for years" or how having slightly more melanin content made somebody the "wrong color."

Cunha's argument was promptly attacked by critics as absurd. Rick Moran at *American Thinker*, for example, pointed to the business owners ("almost all of them minorities") who watched helplessly as their lifetime dreams went up in smoke. "There are, indeed, justifications for breaking the law. But there is nothing 'political' about destroying property not your own, injuring people, and taking what you want without payment," he wrote, ridiculing the notion that burning, smashing, and looting could be legitimized as some sort of "political statement" that Americans had better submit to.

"Even if you buy into the dubious 'white privilege' sociological crap, you must recognize that when law and order break down, we are left with the rule of the jungle. And in a jungle, only the strong benefit from mayhem. The victims are those who can't or won't fight back," Moran concluded. "So Ms. Cunha is actually supporting jungle law vs. civilization — a civilization that makes possible her freedom to publish nonsensical screeds like this without worrying about anyone setting her house on fire or looting her belongings. Wouldn't that be a 'political' statement, too?"

Cunha was not alone in openly defending rioting. Gawker, a widely read website that largely peddles celebrity gossip, even published a piece purporting to make the "economic case" supposedly justifying wanton destruction of property and violence. "There is, of course, the historical case to be made for rioting: the past is replete with examples where rioting gets the goods," the piece argues. "But there is also, I'd submit, an even more straightforward case for rioting: at the right levels, rioting is economically efficient." According to Gawker's commentary, by rioting and looting, Ferguson residents are teaching authorities a lesson



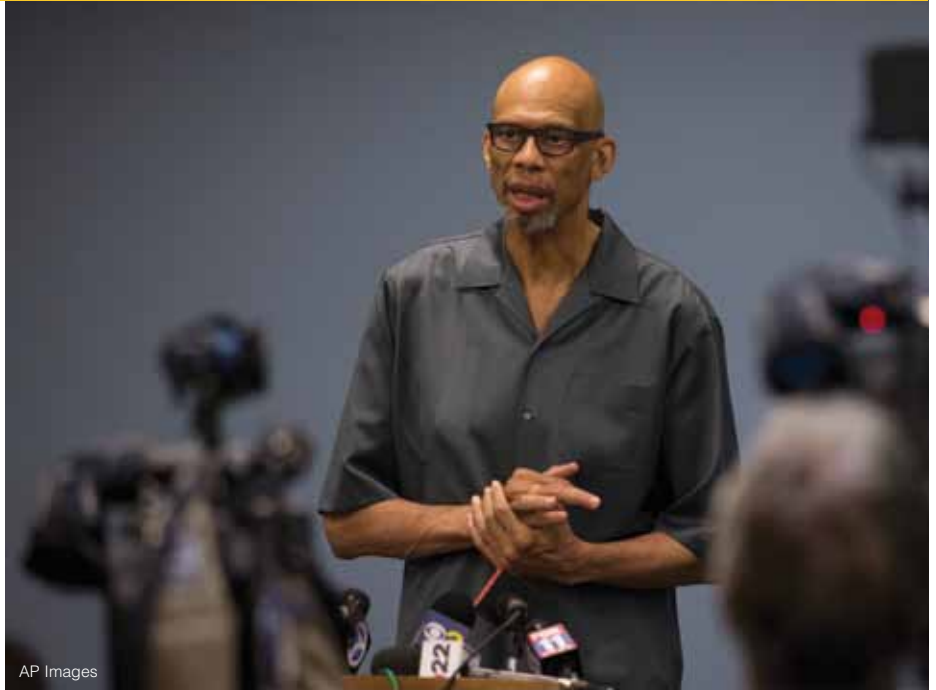
"Parenting" writer Darlena Cunha wrote a piece for *Time*, headlined "Ferguson: In Defense of Rioting," encouraging black Americans to burn down and loot cities as a form of "protest."

while making future shootings of citizens by police less likely through the imposition of heavy “costs” on taxpayers, businesses, and residents.

This May, *Time* was at it again, running a piece by former NBA star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar promising that the anti-police riots this year in Baltimore were “just the beginning,” while comparing the violence and looting to the “Boston Tea Party.” Repeatedly referring to what happened in Baltimore, a city with a black mayor and a black police chief, as an “uprising,” Abdul-Jabbar insisted it was about more than Freddie Gray. It is apparently about “systemic injustice,” which he views as applicable to blacks only. As *THE NEW AMERICAN*’s Selwyn Duke recently documented using objective data, that race-obsessed “blacks as sole victims” narrative fails spectacularly, with more whites being shot by police than blacks, though blacks are far more likely to shoot an officer than whites — yet it continues to be parroted by the press and establishment lukeys with an agenda to push.

Abdul-Jabbar had some colorful analogies, too. “For African Americans, it feels as if we are all gathered together in the path of giant steamroller. We shout up at the driver to put on the brakes, but he keeps shouting for us to get out of the way. But there’s no place to go,” complained multimillionaire Abdul-Jabbar, who was appointed by then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton as “cultural ambassador” for the U.S. government, adding that 70 unarmed blacks had been killed by police over a 15-year period. “We keep backing up and backing up. In Baltimore, it felt as though everyone’s back was against the wall, and there was no place to back up to anymore. If shouting doesn’t get the driver’s attention, maybe something more drastic will.”

Other race-obsessed voices were also given a media platform to promote racial strife and unrest. “More and more urban uprisings will take place in the future as long as political puppets, social opportunists and embedded informants masquerading as leaders call for peace, while the poor, the Black, the denied, the exploited and the oppressed masses are calling for equal rights and justice!” argued Lucius Gantt in the *Florida Courier*, with its motto “Sharing Black Life, Statewide.”



Writing in *Time*, multimillionaire Kareem Abdul-Jabbar bemoaned alleged oppression of black Americans and vowed that Baltimore’s riots were “just the beginning.”

While careful to say he does not think destroying businesses and institutions is a “good idea,” Gantt quickly proceeds to explain why he believes it is. “If you look at past riots in Los Angeles, in Detroit, in Atlanta and urban uprisings in hundreds of other cities, when the skies light up and costs go up, things begin to happen,” Gantt wrote. “Compare Central Florida, New York City, Ferguson and other areas to Baltimore. In those cities, nothing happened after the non-violent marches called by so-called and politically endorsed Negro leaders. But when flames can be seen from miles and miles away, every resource a city has is put into action immediately!” He also suggested people should “die fighting for equal rights and justice” rather than be killed by police.

Even after the flames had died out in Baltimore and Ferguson, the establishment press was whipping up mobs to keep destroying cities to achieve “change.” On August 5, for instance, the far-left media organ Huffington Post was telling readers that their violence had paid off. “The Ferguson Protests Worked,” reads the headline. The sub-header: “Were the riots costly and destructive? Yes. But reform never would have happened without the unrest.” The BBC and other outlets published similar claims, quoting a rap star in the headlines saying “riots work.” Get it? Next time you

think you want some “change,” burn down your city, attack police, loot your neighbors’ businesses, and you’ll get it — all with support from the press.

Since the media pushing this line of thought is left-leaning (Big Government promoting) and their answer to the riots has been calls for more federal control of local police functions, it should at least be considered whether their callous disregard of minority property, livelihoods, and lives in promoting rioting has mainly been little more than a cynical ploy to gain a political objective. While the anti-capitalist screed last year in *Time* defending and promoting rioting drew swift condemnation and ridicule from the alternative and conservative-leaning press, such half-baked agitation and promotion of unrest and division has actually become a staple among the mischaracterized “mainstream” media — though perhaps not quite as openly as Cunha’s piece. From giving respectability and credibility to race-mongers and profiteers to wildly sensationalizing stories that help advance the Big Government/nationalized police agenda, the increasingly discredited establishment press appears to be becoming more and more brazen in its efforts to distort the facts and foment chaos for less-than-idealistic purposes. And it will continue as long as it is effective. ■

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*"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free ...
It expects what never was and never will be."*

— Thomas Jefferson

Soros Provides

Pressure From Above, Below

AP Images



The billionaire progressive has been bankrolling hundreds of activist groups, many of which are inciting racial turmoil and fomenting riots.

by Alex Newman

Billionaire Big Government-partisan and Obama administration ally George Soros provided at least \$33 million in a single year to radical leftist groups orchestrating protests and unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, and nationwide, according to an explosive investigation into filings of the globalist financier's tax-exempt "Open Society" foundations. Dozens of Soros-funded outfits helped lobby the media, bus in AstroTurf protesters and "community organizers," coordinate propaganda messaging, create an "echo chamber," and more, the *Washington Times* revealed. In other words, Soros, a key globalist establishment figure, was helping to provide pressure from above, and pressure from below, in the war on local police. Based on the establishment media's non-stop parroting of the Soros-funded propaganda, the relative success of the strategy was plain to see.

Despite the recent uproar over Soros' giant role in exploiting Ferguson and bankrolling nationwide anti-local police machinations, it is hardly the first time that Soros, a protégé of the Rothschild banking dynasty, has faced scrutiny over his pseudo-

charitable activities. In fact, as *THE NEW AMERICAN* has documented extensively, varied efforts have benefited from the powerful hedge-fund boss' largess, including the anti-market Occupy Wall Street "movement," the Obama election campaign, and deadly revolutions overseas.

In Ferguson and beyond, though, the influence of Soros' billions was felt close to home by millions of Americans. "There's a solitary man at the financial center of the Ferguson protest movement," reported the *Times*' Kelly Riddell, citing financial records and interviews with key players about the Soros role in fueling the manufactured chaos that engulfed Ferguson. "No, it's not victim Michael Brown or Officer Darren Wilson. It's not even the Rev. Al Sharpton, despite his ubiquitous campaign on TV and the streets. Rather, it's liberal billionaire George Soros, who has built a business empire that dominates across the ocean in Europe while forging a political machine powered by nonprofit foundations that impacts American politics and policy."

According to the *Times* story, which garnered headlines worldwide, Soros' organizations helped mobilize demonstrators and build up "coalitions" — oftentimes

coalitions of his own AstroTurf outfits — to drum up hysteria. Some Soros groups developed dubious "academic research" and generated editorials that the establishment press was only too happy to promote and parrot. The Soros-funded organizations "fed off each other," the *Times* reported, creating what the paper described as an "echo chamber" within social media and the mischaracterized "mainstream" press. Even some of the media outlets hyping the Soros-funded "grassroots" schemes are funded by Soros.

Among the radical Soros organizations that descended on Ferguson and participated in the scheming were the Samuel Dewitt Proctor Conference in Chicago, the Drug Policy Alliance, Make the Road New York, Equal Justice USA, Sojourners, the Advancement Project, the Center for Community Change, and net-

works from the Gamaliel Foundation. "All were aimed at keeping the media's attention on the city and to widen the scope of the incident to focus on interrelated causes — not just the overpolicing and racial discrimination narratives that were highlighted by the news media in August," the *Times* reported about the activities of the collection of Soros-funded groups, including more than a few race hatemongers and pseudo-religious outfits with strong ties to the Obama administration.

More than a few critics have referred to Soros' operatives as "racist hate groups." In one column lambasting admitted National Socialist (Nazi) collaborator Soros as "evil," for example, the billionaire financier's activities were described as "paying racist leftists to block roads and harass you." Columnist Daniel Greenfield also suggested that Ferguson victims of Soros-linked rioting, looting, and violence ought to send the bill to the prominent hedge-fund boss. Ben Bullard at *Personal Liberty Digest*, meanwhile, noted that, by the end of the *Times* report, "'echo chamber' begins to seem an inadequate description for a coterie of groups that occupy such a claustrophobic ideological, organizational and financial space."



AP Images

Violent anniversary: Protesters yell as police form a line across West Florissant Avenue on August 9, 2015, in Ferguson, Missouri, before shots were fired near the protest.

Still, despite Soros' giant footprint in Ferguson, the widely criticized billionaire was not entirely alone in fomenting the unrest — his establishment allies and other powerful forces helped too. As our cover story on page 8 points out, the Ford Foundation, Tides Foundation, and other radical tax-exempt "philanthropies" have poured millions of dollars into the activist groups, encouraging the riots and discord.

Amid ongoing anti-police protests in New York and across the nation, analysts dug up a 2010 news story that reported on another Soros funding angle that might have also played a role in building up the "movement" behind the riots. Five years ago, New York schools introduced what was dubbed a "human rights curriculum" for middle- and high-school students. In addition to hyping controversial UN notions of "human rights," the scheme focused heavily on the anti-police work and initiatives of self-described communist revolutionary and Soros beneficiary Van Jones — the radical who served as Obama's "green jobs" czar until his extremist revolutionary background was exposed by the conservative press.

The Obama administration, which benefited from millions of Soros dollars on the campaign trail, was also important — with top officials, including Obama, irresponsibly meddling in and commenting on a local issue with a view to fomenting racial strife. The Justice Department, meanwhile, was recently exposed for having

provided grants to a leftist "community" organization that was involved in producing a rap music video glorifying and encouraging the murder of police officers. The outfit, dubbed "Bronx Defenders," has received at least \$1.5 million in U.S. taxpayer dollars from Obama's Department of Justice, and more than \$100 million from New York taxpayers since 2007!

Obama's "Organizing for Action" outfit is currently involved in training 10,000 "progressive community organizers" to fan out across America and transform the nation. According to the *Washington Post*, OFA "was designed to essentially be the Obama presidential campaign, made eternal." As a 501(c)(4) "social welfare" nonprofit, OFA has taken in millions of dollars for use in political lobbying and organizing, much of it from Soros. Meanwhile, Obama and his allies in the establishment media have made a major issue of the influence of "dark money" contributed to conservative 501(c)(4) organizations for political action.

As THE NEW AMERICAN reported extensively, the dictator-dominated United Nations was also constantly seeking to stir up unrest and attacks on the unalienable rights of the American people by cynically exploiting the deaths of Trayvon Martin in Florida, Michael Brown in Ferguson, and Eric Garner in New York. From attacking gun rights and the U.S. justice system to demanding that local American police departments adhere to "international standards"

and "international law," the UN boss and hordes of his "human rights" bureaucrats were constantly interfering in U.S. affairs. Even after the police officers involved were cleared of criminal wrongdoing by their peers, the UN did not let up — at least until two New York City police officers were murdered amid the Soros-funded and UN-backed hysteria. Soros, of course, is a big fan of the United Nations, and has funded numerous UN reports, commissions, and programs over the years.

Of course, no manufactured statist protests to "transform America" would be complete without communist involvement and "useful idiots" to do the dirty work. And Soros' latest antics from Ferguson to New York aimed at promoting Big Government, radical "change," and nationalized police were no exception. While most of the establishment press never bothered to report it, conservative-leaning websites and sources were quick to point out that the signs held by many of the demonstrators across America were produced and supplied by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA — as the signs themselves admitted, even including an Internet address for the totalitarian party's website. The Communist Party USA was also busy hyping and participating in the alleged "movement."

If the "establishment" media did its job and reported the facts rather than concealing them to advance the cause of "progressivism," none of this would be a surprise to most Americans. In fact, the "coalitions" and campaigns would probably never have happened to begin with. Instead, the wildly mischaracterized "mainstream media" was too busy frothing about the Koch brothers while justifying and glorifying rioting and looting to inform its dwindling readership about the facts. And while the Ferguson hysteria from last year appears to have died down for now — like the Soros-funded "Occupy Wall Street" machinations — the key players and financiers are without a doubt already plotting their next pseudo-"grassroots movement" to "fundamentally transform" the United States and its long constitutional tradition of locally controlled police. Until they are properly exposed, Soros and his allies will continue to effectively provide the pressure from above and the pressure from below. ■

What's Happening to **OUR POLICE?**

Not only are federal agencies such as the Departments of State, Energy, and Agriculture forming police units, Washington is nationalizing our local police.



AP Images

TSA mission creep: Federal Amtrak Police K-9 teams patrol at Penn Station on January 30, 2014 in New York. Local law enforcement is getting “help” from TSA’s Visible Intermodal Prevention and Response (VIPR) teams for “sweeps” at bus and train stations, highways, and ports.

by William F. Jasper and Alex Newman

The federal government has been busy creating unconstitutional agencies co-opting policing while simultaneously using a “carrot and stick” approach — unconstitutional federal aid and federal mandates — to absorb and coerce the local police, transforming them into instruments of an emerging national police force.

This subversive transformation of America’s way of policing has been under way for a long time. The American ideal of local police — locally funded and locally controlled — whose job it is to protect the public against violent and fraudulent criminal elements that will always be found in every society, is being radically changed. Over the past decade, this process has accelerated dramatically, with every terrorist incident, riot, police shooting, or upsurge

in criminal activity serving as an excuse to further nationalize.

All of us who fly have become accustomed (willing or otherwise) to TSA pat-downs, body scans, interrogations, and other indignities and violations. That is part of the political fallout of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks: the birth of another federal agency, the Transportation Security Administration, TSA. But as is always the case with government, it seems, it did not take long for mission creep to set in. Federal Homeland Security officials soon had TSA units in black military gear leading multiple federal and local agencies in police sweeps of Amtrak and Greyhound bus stations, as well as other “transportation infrastructure” nationwide. By 2011, according to TSA chief John Pistole in testimony to Congress, the TSA was carrying out more than 8,000 of these sweeps a year.

But the TSA’s stupendous growth and reach within the span of a decade represents only a fraction of the spiraling federal police state presence. Virtually every federal agency now has its own SWAT-style paramilitary “police” unit to enforce its edicts and “protect the homeland”: the Departments of State, Education, Agriculture, Energy, and Treasury, for instance, and agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, the Social Security Administration, the National Park Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, etc. Not to mention the U.S. Marshals Service, the FBI, the Federal Protective Police Service, U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, and the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives.

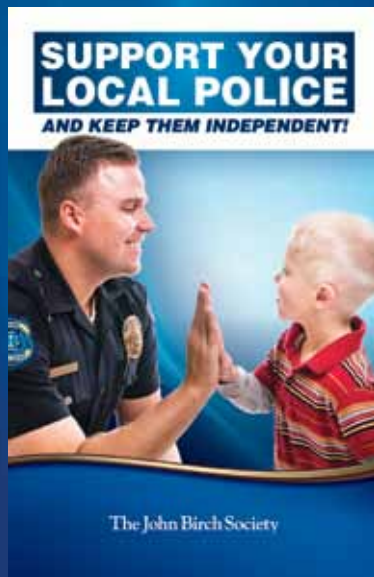
There are now tens of thousands of federal “police” running around in an assortment of uniforms, even though the U.S. Constitution provides no authority for — and in fact prohibits — any such federal police agencies. Congress doesn’t even know how many of these rogue units are out there operating. In an attempt to get some handle on this matter, Representative Chris Stewart (R-Utah) introduced, in 2014, the Regulatory Agency Demilitarization Act (H.R.4934) directing the U.S. Comptroller General to submit an annual report to Congress providing details on the number and description of SWAT-style units of federal regulatory agencies and their weapons, training, and purpose. The bill has 31 cosponsors but has gone nowhere in the GOP-controlled House; Republicans have been as blasé toward the dangers of a national police state as have Democrats.

Just as important as, if not more important than, this burgeoning federal police-state apparatus are the various means by which federal politicians and bureaucrats are transforming our local police into fedgov adjuncts by coopting them with grants, equipment, and training. The FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, for example, trains thousands of local peace officers and law-enforcement executives. Less well known are the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC), which, according to the FLETC website, “provide tuition-free and low cost training to state, local, campus, tribal and territorial

continued on page 24...

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FOR THE "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE" CAMPAIGN



Support Your Local Police — Booklet

This booklet provides detailed information on the essential role locally controlled police play in the preservation of our freedom. It examines signs that we are at risk of losing our freedom due to the ongoing transformation of our system of local police into a national police force. (2012, 21pp, pb booklet, 1/\$2.95; 10-24/\$2.00ea; 25-49/\$1.50ea; 50-99/\$1.00ea; 100-999/\$0.75ea; 1,000+/\$0.50ea) **BKLTSYLP**



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Sheriffs and Legislators — Reprint

Federal government officials, especially President Barack Obama, are working to undo Second Amendment protections, but state and local officials are planning to nullify any anti-gun efforts in their states. (2013, 8pp, 1-99/ \$.05ea; 100+ / \$.03ea) **RPSAL**

Police Under Fire

Police are facing a regular storm: They are accused of being too well armed, too menacing, too abusive, and too deadly. We examine the claims, the underlying problems, and the suggested solutions. (September 21, 2015, 48pp, 1/\$3.95; 10/ \$15.00; 25/\$31.25; Also see card between pages 34 and 35) **TNA150921**

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Who Are Your Local Police? — Pamphlet

Use this pamphlet to inform local police, opinion molders, and voters in general. The pamphlet summarizes the proper role of the local police in our constitutional republic and the need for local police departments to remain independent by rejecting federal funds. It also warns against nationalizing our police. (2015, four color trifold pamphlet, 1/\$0.20; 100-499/\$0.15ea; 500-999/\$0.13ea; 1,000+/\$0.10ea) **PSYLP**



How Can You Keep Your Local Police Independent? — pamphlet

Use this pamphlet to help your community know how to and who to interact with at the local and state levels. (2015, four-color trifold pamphlet, 1/\$0.20; 100-499/\$0.15ea; 500-999/\$0.13ea; 1,000+/\$0.10ea) **PHCKLPI**



SYLP — Fact & Resource Card

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The TSA's stupendous growth and reach within the span of a decade represents only a fraction of the spiraling federal police state presence. Virtually every federal agency now has its own SWAT-style paramilitary "police" unit to enforce its edicts.

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law enforcement agencies. Programs are conducted across the United States and are normally hosted by a local law enforcement agency. Training is also conducted at FLETC facilities located in Glynco (Brunswick), GA; Artesia, NM; Charleston, SC; and Cheltenham, MD."

Although these programs predate his administration, President Obama has been moving full speed ahead for nationalization and militarization of America's local law enforcement. Indeed, he has done more to militarize law enforcement and transferred more weapons and military equipment to local law enforcement than perhaps any other president in U.S. history. When the riots and violence broke out in Ferguson, Missouri, following the police shooting of Michael Brown, many television viewers nationwide were as alarmed by the fearsome images of armored military vehicles and police in military gear as by the scenes of rioting and looting. Incredibly (but true to form, nevertheless), in his August 14, 2014 press conference, President Obama denounced the Ferguson police response. And he warned, "There is a big difference

between our military and our local law enforcement, and we don't want those lines blurred," as though he had had nothing to do with blurring those lines. Likewise, Obama's liberal Democratic sidekick in Missouri, Governor Jay Nixon, claimed he was "thunderstruck" by the sight of police in military gear on the streets of Ferguson. But only a few months earlier, Governor Nixon himself had signed off on delivery of the military equipment to Missouri police.

President's Task Force

At a May 2015 press conference in Camden, New Jersey, President Obama announced plans to implement recommendations laid out by the "President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing," a multi-agency body that he had created by decree to examine law-enforcement issues. Unsurprisingly, the outfit recommended national "standards" for police, and much more, be implemented at state and local government levels, using unconstitutional federal bribes as a primary mechanism.

The new set of rules on military gear endorsed by Obama reportedly does include

rolling back, if only slightly, a 25-year-old federal program established under Section 1033 of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) used to militarize local police with "surplus" war-fighting tools. But his administration has previously used that authority to expand police militarization to unprecedented levels, even while attacking gun rights of American citizens and claiming "weapons of war" do not belong in the hands of civilians.

"We've seen how militarized gear can sometimes give people a feeling like there's an occupying force as opposed to a force that's part of the community that's protecting them and serving them," Obama said at his speech in Camden, which employed a backdrop of police officers in uniform. "It can alienate and intimidate local residents and send the wrong message." But it is the fedgov military gear and the adversarial attitude instilled by fedgov training that are alienating local citizens.

The measures Obama has taken toward reining in federal distribution of certain types of military equipment to local police forces include limiting the dispersal of vehicles that use tank-style tracks instead of wheels, bayonets, weaponized aerial vehicles, certain high-caliber guns, grenade launchers, camouflage uniforms, and more.

But as THE NEW AMERICAN has been reporting for years, even though the federal government has no business militarizing or meddling in local law enforcement to begin with, the feds, and especially the Obama administration, have played a crucial role in transforming and arming America's police departments. Now that cops are addicted to federal aid, the White House plans to use that addiction to close the trap and increase federal control over local departments.

Buried in the details is an element of the Obama rules that has received far less public attention and scrutiny. "There's other equipment that may be needed in certain cases, but only with proper training," Obama said, hinting at the elephant in the room that went mostly unnoticed by the press. In other words, the feds will continue to militarize local law enforcement — provided officers receive additional federally mandated "training" and comply with new "record-keeping" demands and "standards"



President Barack Obama meets with city officials and police in Camden, New Jersey, on May 18, 2015, before announcing new fedgov regulations for military gear transferred to local law enforcement.

AP Images



AP Images

SWAT teams unload from their armored vehicles to go door to door, searching for a suspect in the Boston Marathon bombings in Watertown, Massachusetts, Friday, April 19, 2013.

promulgated by the administration. Police departments that submit to the Obama administration's control will be able to continue receiving armored vehicles, specialized weaponry, manned aircraft, drones, battering rams, and even explosives, a fact most of the media ignored.

If you are concerned that your local police have taken on too much the appearance of Imperial Stormtroopers out of *Star Wars*, do not be misled into believing the new Obama regulations will remedy that disturbing trend; they are aimed more at making sure the Stormtroopers are under the control of a federal Empire, rather than a local governing authority.

In his famous work *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations* (1868), Judge Thomas Cooley, one of America's eminent jurists of the 19th century, noted:

In the American constitutional system the power to establish the ordinary regulations of police has been left to the individual States, and it cannot be taken from them, either wholly or in part, and exercised under legislation by Congress.

Judge Cooley was not expressing sentiments that were out of the mainstream. Indeed, he was merely stating commonly understood and accepted jurisprudence.

In the *The Federalist*, No. 45, James Madison underscored the strict limitations on the proposed new national government.

"The powers delegated by the ... Constitution to the federal government are few and defined," he declared. "Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite," Madison continued. "The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State." The regulation of the "internal order" of communities — that is to say, "police powers" — was clearly understood as among the "unenumerated powers" reserved to the states and the people.

Our Constitution only provides for the federal government to punish three crimes: treason, piracy, and counterfeiting. Yet, today, we have *thousands* of crimes listed in the federal code — from robbery, rape, and arson to mislabeling produce and spray-painting graffiti. This has happened by steady usurpation, without constitutional amendment. It is not unusual now for local police and sheriff departments to assist federal agencies in illegal, warrantless searches/seizures/arrests, such as aiding, for instance, the FDA or the EPA, as their SWAT units swoop down on a farmer who is selling raw milk or whose cows have, allegedly, pooped in a stream.

Why do local police chiefs and sheriffs meekly (or in some cases, enthusiastically) accept this fedgov violation of their con-

stitutionally protected local jurisdiction? Part of the answer is that many have been bought off. Literally. They have received millions of dollars in federal grants and/or equipment and training.

Other federal programs that are coopting and corrupting local police include:

- *The federal war on drugs:* Regardless of one's opinion on what the proper governmental response should be to individual use of "recreational" narcotics, under our Constitution, the federal government's authority is very limited, extending only to interstate commerce in drugs, interdicting drugs entering the United States, drug use by U.S. military personnel, drug possession and use on federal property, and use of the U.S. Mail for drug transport.

Our Constitution leaves to each state the authority to craft the laws and policies on this matter. Yet, federal authorities have usurped this power, and state and local governments have weakly acquiesced.

- *Asset forfeiture, or property confiscation:* A major feature of the "war on drugs," asset forfeiture allows local police to share in the booty confiscated from alleged illegal drug offenders. Not only does this greatly incentivize police corruption, but it has also resulted in the violation of the rights of many innocent citizens, whose properties have been seized even though they have no involvement in the drug trade.

- *Buffer Zone Protection Program (BZPP):* Under the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the BZPP is flooding local jurisdictions with Big Brother surveillance technology: night vision cameras, facial recognition technology, license plate readers, stop light camera video feeds, etc.

- *Fusion centers:* According to the DHS, "Fusion centers conduct analysis and facilitate information sharing, assisting law enforcement and homeland security partners in preventing, protecting against, and responding to crime and terrorism." By the end of 2012, the DHS had marked 1,849 locations scattered throughout the 50 states that would serve as regional surveillance collection centers. The DHS has spent many millions of dollars establishing these federal-local "collaborative" efforts. Yet they have not exhibited a single terrorist caught during the program, though thwarting terrorism served as justification for the program.

Federal Coercion

But fear of losing their welfare dole is not the only reason local police and sheriffs cower before the unconstitutional trespasses of federal authorities. Another reason is the fear of federal prosecution. Over the past two decades, many local law-enforcement organizations have been threatened with lawsuits by the U.S. Department of Justice under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. That legislation, signed into law by then-President Bill Clinton, is most remembered as the so-called “three strikes” law, which, like similar state laws, mandates life imprisonment for three-time offenders. The mass incarceration of African-American men — which is now being decried as evidence of America’s “structural racism” — can be traced to this law, which was written by “liberal” Democrats Representative Jack Brooks of Texas and then-Senator (now Vice President) Joe Biden of Delaware. Another feature of this law was to establish in the DOJ Civil Rights Division the pretended authority to investigate and prosecute

local law-enforcement agencies for an alleged “pattern and practice” of violating the rights of citizens. Usually this has centered on charges by local activists that police use racial profiling or excessive force. To avoid costly legal battles and the prospect of a possible court-ordered “reform” mandate, many cities and counties enter into “consent decrees” with the Justice Department that require the law-enforcement agencies in question to jump through hoops designed by the federal dictocrats. The Obama administration has been especially aggressive in pushing this DOJ takeover of local policing. In a December 4, 2014 press release entitled “Police Reform and Accountability Accomplishments Under Attorney General Eric Holder,” the DOJ boasted: “In the past five fiscal years, the Department of Justice’s Civil Rights Division has opened over 20 investigations into police departments, more than twice as many investigations than were opened in the previous five fiscal years. The department has entered into 15 agreements with law enforcement agencies, including nine consent decrees.”

Those consent decrees cover the police departments of New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), Detroit, Albuquerque, East Haven (Connecticut), Warren (Ohio), Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Eric Holder’s successor, Loretta Lynch, has continued the Obama legacy, using the conflagrations in Ferguson and Baltimore to kick up the DOJ’s activities in this arena even more.

Thus, wielding both the carrot and the stick, the would-be federal overlords are dramatically changing the face of policing in America. However, in using illegal, unconstitutional methods to do so, they are guilty of precisely what they are charging local police with doing, which is violating the law (the Constitution) under the color of law. Americans who mistakenly believe that these “reforms” will yield more accountable, responsive police forces are in for a rude awakening. As alarming trends already show, the centralizing/nationalizing movement will always tend to lead toward a police model that more closely resembles Hitler’s Gestapo or Stalin’s KGB than Andy of Mayberry’s friendly force. ■

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Obama and Allies

Seek to Nationalize Local Police

The federal government, in addition to militarizing police through the dispersal of military hardware, is bribing and coercing departments to follow federal edicts.



Sacramento Mayor Kevin Johnson, Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter, and Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake (seated right) address the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing in Washington, D.C., on January 13, 2015.

by Alex Newman and William F. Jasper

On December 18, 2014, President Obama signed an executive order creating the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. In May 2015, the task force came out with its Final Report, which is commonly given the title "21st Century Policing."

One of the report's recommendations, which the Obama-friendly media fixated on, concerns greater restrictions on transfers of military equipment to local police agencies. However, as we reported in our article on page 21, the new "accountability" rules will not explicitly reduce the flow of war materials to law enforcement, but simply place more federal controls over local police. Moreover, the new Obama rules regarding military gear were just one component of a broader set of recommendations issued by Obama's plan for "21st Century Policing" — the overarching

theme of which was promoting increased federal control over law enforcement. While speaking to a group of police at a carefully stage-managed event in Camden, New Jersey, the president also touted some of his other efforts to exert more control over police — officers who, in accordance with the Constitution, are supposed to serve and be accountable to local communities and the wishes of local citizens, not the mandates of the White House. Among other schemes, Obama boasted of his administration's alleged efforts to "fight crime," improve relations between police departments and the communities they serve, and promote "transparency." He also touted a White House "data initiative" aimed at prodding police departments into following federal "guidelines" on data and body cameras.

Finally, Obama also celebrated federal "grants" created by the administration to promote and fund the implementation of

dubious policies associated with "community policing strategies." Those federal grants, of course, along with others, are at the heart of Obama's efforts to nationalize everything from healthcare and education standards to law enforcement. Among the schemes to be promoted with the new grants are national standards for police departments receiving federal funds. Some critics have started describing the plot as "Common Core for police," a reference to the Obama administration's Department of Education efforts to bribe states into imposing the deeply controversial national K-12 school standards and the associated federal testing regime. The effort also comes just a few months after United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, citing Ferguson, demanded that American police submit to "international standards."

According to a report by Obama's task force released in March, two tentacles of the Department of Justice, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and the Office of Justice Programs, "should provide technical assistance and incentive funding to jurisdictions" that adhere to the White House plan, "in return for receiving federal funds." The report also called for uniform federal standards for data collected by local police departments, and much more.

Even before citing militarization of police as an excuse to usurp more control over local police, Obama was celebrating the recommendations of his task force, and demanding rapid implementation. "I'm going to be asking Eric Holder and the Justice Department and his successor to go through all of these recommendations so that we can start implementing them," he explained. "I know one area that's going to be of great interest is whether we can expand the COPS program that in the past has been very effective, continues to be effective, but is largely underfunded."

The recommendations offered a "great opportunity" to "really transform how we think about community law enforcement relations," Obama said. "We need to seize that opportunity," he continued, echoing the "never let a crisis go to waste" rhetoric of other statist. "This is something that I'm going to stay very focused on in the months to come." He certainly was not kidding.

Just weeks after the report was released, the administration unveiled a list of six

U.S. cities targeted to serve as “pilot sites” to develop and deploy federal guidance for local police — all of it supposedly to create “better procedures, reduce racial bias, and regain citizens’ trust.” The plan, officially dubbed the “National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice,” will use U.S. taxpayer dollars to deploy “experts” and “researchers” charged with training officers to act in a manner that the DOJ deems just — in essence doing the bidding of the Obama administration. Officially, the Justice Department will be helping local officials “fight crime” under the scheme, according to news reports.

Initially, the program, which will cost American taxpayers almost \$5 million, will aim to “assess” the relationship between local police and the communities they serve. Then, the DOJ squads will work to develop plans supposedly aimed at enhancing “procedural justice,” reducing bias, and supporting “reconciliation in communities where trust has been eroded,” the Justice Department said in a statement announcing the plan. With more than two-thirds of Americans saying in a survey that the federal government is “out of control” and a “threat” to their liberties, it was not immediately clear how “trust” would be “restored” by deepening federal involvement.

The first six cities to be targeted as pilot sites will be Birmingham, Alabama; Fort Worth, Texas; Gary, Indiana; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and

Stockton, California. Fort Worth Mayor Betsy Price described the program as “a tool to strengthen our partnership with the justice system.” But other police departments are also in the cross hairs. According to the official announcement, an unspecified number of “police departments and communities that are not pilot sites” will also be targeted for more DOJ “training” and “technical assistance.”

It bears mentioning that the DOJ, which supposedly will guide local law enforcement in proper procedures, has in recent years been exposed training state and local police to view citizens’ speech as potential indicators of terrorism — including among damning public expression mundane matters such as bumper stickers promoting the Bill of Rights or a U.S. withdrawal from the UN. Ironically, at the time of the announcements on pilot cities, the DOJ was being led by disgraced Attorney General Eric Holder, who was held in criminal contempt of Congress for trying to stonewall an investigation into the administration’s “Fast and Furious” scheme to arm Mexican drug cartels.

The efforts to further nationalize and federalize law enforcement are also in line with Obama’s campaign rhetoric about building a “civilian national security force that’s just as powerful, just as strong, just as well-funded” as the U.S. military. And critics say the agenda should be ringing alarm bells nationwide.

“Americans everywhere should be very concerned about oversight of local police agencies,” explained former detective Jim Fitzgerald, the national field director for The John Birch Society, the parent organization of this magazine. The constitutionalist group, which has chapters in all 50 states, has been running a campaign for decades called “Support Your Local Police and Keep Them Independent.” The effort is meant to, among other goals, protect local communities from having their police departments turned into tentacles of an all-powerful federal government.

“These steps to exercise and take control over police departments should raise a red flag among police officials and give deep concern to anyone who understands the history of national police forces,” continued Fitzgerald. “Have we so soon forgotten the Gestapo and the KGB, both national police agencies, that terrorized the citizens of Germany and Russia and led to the imprisonment and deaths of tens of thousands of innocent men and women? Has there ever been a national police force that benefited the citizens who live under it? Never!”

Of course, the nationalization of police did not begin with Obama, and it probably will not end with him. So-called fusion centers, pairing local and state officials with federal bureaucrats under the sprawling “Homeland Security” banner, have been in place since the George W. Bush administration. And a broad range of DOJ offices and programs has been quietly expanding federal control over police for decades. But the trends are accelerating, and the endgame is becoming more clear.

Decentralized government is one of the cornerstones of America’s freedom and its constitutional system of federalism. Even if Obama’s radical plans to nationalize police departments were not unconstitutional, though, history provides numerous examples showing why national policing is not just unwise, but extremely dangerous to liberty. Congress must rein in Obama, and in the meantime, state and local governments should refuse to surrender self-government to an out-of-control White House in exchange for unconstitutional federal bribes. The American people, if they hope to preserve liberty and self-government, should work to support their local police, and keep them independent. ■



Former Attorney General Eric Holder (center) announces six pilot cities for the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, at the Department of Justice on March 12, 2015, in Washington, D.C.

AP Images

SHERIFFS: the key to **LOCAL CONTROL**



County sheriffs backed by informed citizens are a crucial barrier to a national police state.

by Joe Wolverton II, J.D.

As one by one the parchment barricades protecting the people from the destructive growth of government are being attacked and overrun, there is one key group of officials who are stepping into the breach — county sheriffs.

On August 6 of this year, a sheriff with an eye on the Constitution and his fellow citizens stood steadfastly against the federal usurpation in defense of one of the residents of his county.

On that day, about 100 residents in Priest River, Idaho, gathered outside the home of a U.S. Navy veteran to protest an effort by the federal government to confiscate the man's guns.

Idaho state representative Heather Scott said that the veteran, John Arnold,

received a letter from the Veterans Affairs office “warning him that he cannot possess or purchase firearms.”

Remarkably, found among the throng of protesters was Bonner County Sheriff Daryl Wheeler. Wheeler “promised to stand guard against any federal attempts to remove Arnold’s guns,” the Associated Press reported.

“I took an oath to uphold the U.S. Constitution and uphold the laws of Idaho,” Wheeler said, as quoted in the AP story. “This seemed appropriate to show my support. I was going to make sure Mr. Arnold’s rights weren’t going to be breached.”

Earlier this year, the Helena (Montana) *Independent Record* reported on the effort of the state legislature to protect not only the sovereignty of the state, but the

status of sheriff as the highest constitutional law-enforcement authority:

House Bill 274, the “sheriffs first” measure, says federal agents may not make an arrest, search or seizure in the state without the written permission of the sheriff — or risk prosecution by the county attorney for kidnapping, trespass, theft or homicide.

“This bill is well intentioned,” said sponsor Rep. Nancy Ballance, R-Hamilton. “Federal overreach is a real concern. Our people want to know there is a last line of defense when the feds come into their county. And that’s the sheriff.”

Sheriffs nationwide are awakening to the reality of their role as the ultimate constitutionally elected county executive. Once aware of this role and its responsibilities, the lawmen are stepping up in defense of the Constitution.

Elected sheriffs, as the top law-enforcement officers within their counties, work for the citizens and taxpayers in their jurisdictions, not the federal government. This is a critical distinction in the era of rapid federalization (nationalization of local law enforcement).

One group of lawmen in particular has provided inspiration and information to county sheriffs willing to be an impenetrable roadblock on the federal government’s path toward absolutism: the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA).

The CSPOA’s two-fold mission is to save America and to get enough people involved in that fight to make the dream a reality. The organization’s website describes precisely how they propose to achieve this lofty and laudable goal:

The answers lie within our grasp and come from the foundation of our country. The principles are embodied within the Declaration of Independence and outlined in the Constitution.

Yes, America is in deep, deep trouble. The good news is that there is hope and my [CSPOA founder, former Arizona Sheriff Richard Mack’s] victory at the US Supreme Court proves that it only takes a few to stand to make monumental chang-

es. We do not have to stand by and watch while America is destroyed from within. If our counties, cities, and states and all local officers keep their oaths to protect us from tyranny, we can win this battle to take our country back.

This is our plan, our goal and our quest. We are forming the Constitutional Peace Officers Association which will unite all public servants and sheriffs, to keep their word to uphold, defend, protect, preserve, and obey the Constitution of the United States of America. We already have hundreds of police, sheriffs, and other officials who have expressed a desire to be a part of this Holy Cause of Liberty.

We are going to train and vet them all, state by state, to understand and enforce the constitutionally protected Rights of the people they serve, with an emphasis on State Sovereignty and local autonomy. Then these local governments will issue our new Declaration to the Federal Government regarding the abuses that we will no longer tolerate or accept. Said declaration will be enforced by our Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers. In short, the CSPOA will be the army to set our nation free. This will guarantee this movement remains both peaceful and effective.

The history presented by the constitutional sheriffs is sound.

Although police officers are the most visible components of today's law-enforcement apparatus, it wasn't always this way. In fact, for most of the early history of the United States, the investigation of crime and the arresting of suspects was not carried out by a professional cadre of full-time police officers at all.

Before the creation of the modern police force, the members of society believed that they themselves were endowed by natural law with very broad law-enforcement power. In fact, it was only the so-called executive functions of the law (issuing warrants, carrying out judicial orders, delivering summons) that were carried out by lawmen.

In the early days of the Republic, these duties were assigned by the people to sheriffs or constables, who would be chosen from among the people themselves. They were chosen (elected, often, but sometimes appointed) by the people and thus were accountable to them. No one would have imagined being a sheriff for life. Acting as a county sheriff was seen as an act of public service, not as a career. One would leave his profession when called upon by his fellow citizens and then, once the prescribed term of his public service was over, the sheriff would return to his former profession, living among those he recently served.

This arrangement continued to be common practice even as late as the 1830s

when the renowned Alexis de Tocqueville visited America. De Tocqueville found that in America the "means available to the authorities for the discovery of crimes and arrest of criminals [are] very few." To his surprise, however, he found that there was likely no country on Earth where "crime so seldom escapes punishment."

How did we manage? How is it that in an era when the people themselves assumed most of the burden of investigating crimes and bringing lawbreakers to justice, the streets were safer and the cities more well-ordered?

The answer is found in the wisdom of our Founders. Men and women who desire to live in a peaceful, safe society should be responsible for making it so. Sheriffs elected or appointed by the people should be tasked with carrying out the executive functions of law enforcement, but it is the responsibility of the people themselves to watch, warn, and weed out.

Much of the growth of the police state, then, is a result of a dereliction of duty on the part of the American people. We have allowed a law-enforcement bureaucracy to grow up as an alternative to our own participation in the policing of our towns, and now we are reaping the whirlwind of increased violence by and against the professional police.

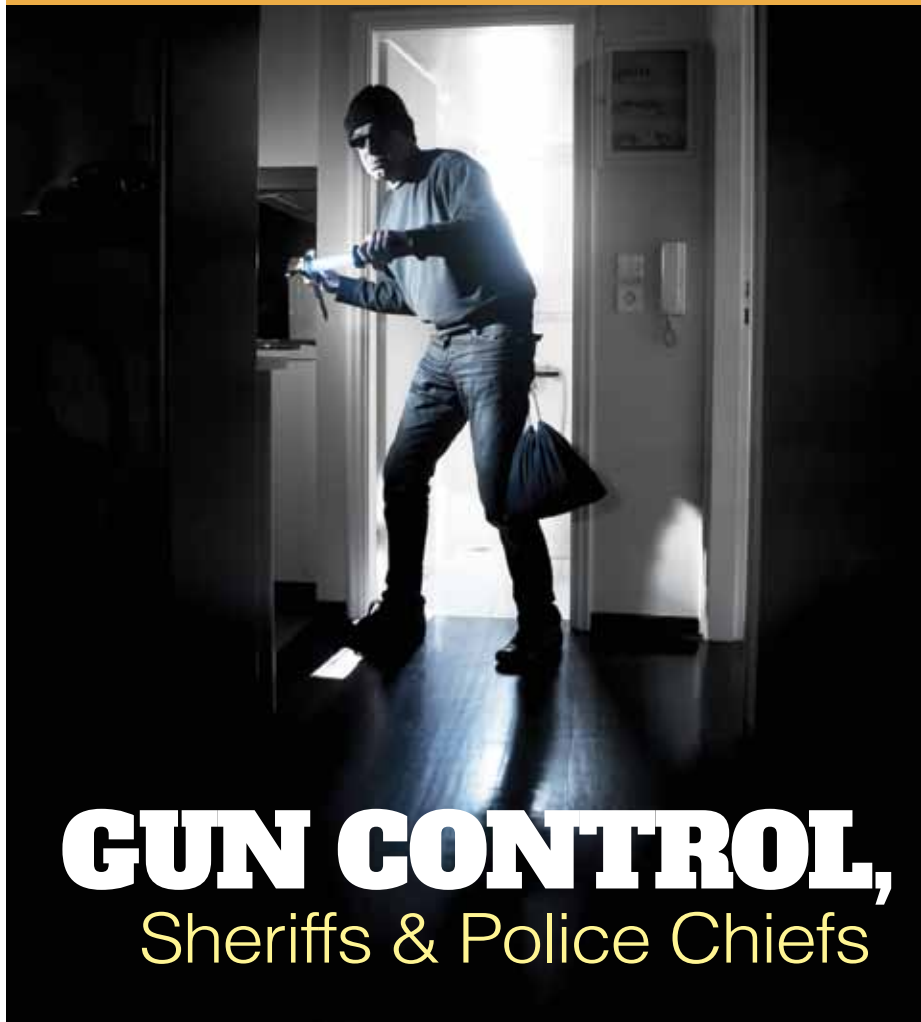
As in so many other areas where we have seen government and the agents of government transformed from servants into masters, law enforcement will only grow as onerous as we allow it to.

We can prevent the federal government from using grant money and fusion centers to stealthily grow a national police force — a sixth branch of the armed forces — right under our noses, by insisting that those entrusted with protecting and serving be chosen by us and accountable to us for any abuses of that trust. We must return to the concept of citizen-sheriff embraced by our Founders and others for generations.

By electing courageous and constitutionally minded sheriffs, citizens of the 3,007 counties in the United States can clearly communicate to Washington, D.C., their determination to protect themselves from the "swarms of officers" sent "to harass our people and eat out their substance," and we can return to the days of peaceful, well-ordered cities that were once the pride of the United States. ■



The Founding Fathers gave us a free government that requires citizens to assume responsibility for their own safety. The people fulfill this obligation by electing sheriffs who are committed to protecting the rights of the people against encroachment. The people themselves, however, must retain substantial police powers if they are to remain safe and free.



GUN CONTROL,

Sheriffs & Police Chiefs

It's a simple fact that police can't always be where they're needed. Most officers not only acknowledge that fact, but support the right of Americans to defend themselves.

by Larry Pratt

It's 2 a.m. and you awaken to the sound of shattering glass. You are about to be the victim of a home invasion/rape/robbery. Do you do the politically correct thing and dial 911 — then simply hope that the police arrive in the next 90 seconds, before the invader(s) gets to you and your family? On the other hand, do you dial 911 (if you have time) or have a family member do so, *and* pick up your pistol or shotgun and let the thugs learn a Constitutionalism 101 lesson on the Second Amendment?

The calculation and recording of police

Larry Pratt is the executive director of Gun Owners of America.

“response time” varies widely from one jurisdiction to the next, but various studies show it may be anywhere from four minutes to an hour before police come to the rescue. When every second counts, depending on 911 as your lifeline could leave you (and your family) as a chalk outline and a crime victim statistic. There are plenty of actual, real-life 911 recordings you can listen to on the Internet of crime victims being brutalized and murdered while on the phone with 911, waiting for police help. There are calls such as the one last year from a man in New Port Richey, Florida, who called 911 when his home was invaded by four thugs. On the call's recording, a woman screams in the background as the 911 voicemail states “If this is an emergency, hang up and dial 911.

Thank you for calling”! The invaders viciously beat the homeowner and his wife and mother-in-law, and even threatened to shoot the couple's baby. Fortunately, the homeowner was able to get to his gun and shoot one of the attackers, putting the criminals to flight. The thugs were caught later by police, but it was the victim's decision to fight that kept him and his family from becoming *crime fatality* statistics.

“Progressive” commentators went into full apoplexy mode in 2013 when Milwaukee County Sheriff David A. Clarke, Jr. ran a radio advertisement that warned county residents that “simply calling 911 and waiting is no longer your best option.” “You could beg for mercy from a violent criminal, hide under the bed, or you can fight back,” Clarke said. The outspoken sheriff, who is black, urged listeners to take a firearm safety course and get a firearm “so you can defend yourself until we get there.”

“You have a duty to protect yourself and your family,” Sheriff Clarke advised.

Yes, you have a *duty*, as well as a *natural right*, to defend yourself and your family. Depending solely on uniformed agents of the collective (police officers or sheriff's deputies of the city, county, or state governments) is not only dangerous to one's immediate safety, but is also antithetical to the philosophical foundations of the natural rights of the individual upon which our constitutional government is based. By creating a police force to protect you and your family, you are by no means surrendering your right to self-defense.

The simple fact of the matter is this: When criminals decide to strike you, you're on your own. The police *may* arrive in time to prevent harm — or, as is more often the case, in time to preserve the crime scene and take notes from survivors or neighborhood witnesses.

Like Sheriff Clarke, Detroit Police Chief James Craig has liberaldom up in arms (pardon the pun) over his calls urging more law-abiding citizens to take up arms in self-defense. “The message should be,” he told WDIV Channel 4 News in a March 2014 interview, “that people are going to protect themselves. They're tired, they've been dealing with this epidemic of violence, they're afraid, and they have a right to protect themselves.”

As a general matter, police chiefs tend

to be rather more supportive of gun control and less sympathetic to the Second Amendment than are sheriffs. This is especially true of the big-city police chiefs of cities dominated by Democratic Party politicians. Police chiefs are appointed, whereas sheriffs are elected by the people, which often explains the differences among them.

In January of 2013, President Obama was pushing a range of gun-control measures, from banning semi-automatic firearms, to banning magazines over 10 rounds, to background checks for all sales. The president wanted to prohibit access to firearms “that aren’t necessary for hunters and sportsmen.”

Obama was hoping to lay down a definition of the Second Amendment totally excluding its main purpose, which is to ensure that the people retain the means to resist tyranny in government.

The president was hopeful that he could mobilize police and sheriffs to support his gun-control agenda. He had cherry-picked law-enforcement officials to attend a January 28, 2013 meeting at the White House for the purpose of getting behind his agenda.

But it turns out the two national groups representing police and sheriffs at the 2013 White House meeting — the Major Cities Chiefs Association and the Major County Sheriffs Association — disagreed

on the initiative. The chiefs backed it, while the sheriffs opposed it.

There was a lack of support for banning semi-automatic firearms and magazines, so the focus among the law-enforcement officers tended to move toward mental health issues as a supposed justification for doing background checks of gun buyers.

The good news is that significant opposition has sprung up in Connecticut and New York to the draconian gun-control laws passed in 2013. Sheriffs, some police chiefs, and many gun owners have simply said they will not enforce or comply with these laws. The good news to take away from this is that in addition to elected sheriffs in New York, many police chiefs in Connecticut and New York also indicated they would not enforce their states’ new gun-control laws; New York’s law is known as the SAFE Act.

It is estimated that upwards of 300,000 owners of semi-automatic firearms in Connecticut have refused to re-register their guns. Refusal to comply with the New York SAFE Act seems also widespread. So far there has been no effort by police or sheriffs to pursue those not complying.

With the exception of a few police officers and officials, it has been sheriffs engaging in interposition. For example, Wicomico County, Maryland, Sheriff Mike Lewis warned the feds that there would be serious consequences if they attempted

to violate the Second Amendment in his county. Gun-control advocates heads’ exploded when Sheriff Lewis said this: “As long as I’m the sheriff in this county, I will not allow the federal government to come in here and strip my citizens of their right to bear arms. I can tell you this, if they attempt to do that, it would be an all-out civil war, no question about it.”

The vast majority of rank-and-file cops do not support the gun-control agendas of their political overlords. In a March 2013 survey of more than 16,000 current and former police officers by Police One, some interesting results were obtained. Over 91 percent of those surveyed favored citizens carrying firearms. Nearly half said that if they were to become chief or sheriff, they would not enforce more restrictive gun-control laws. Seventy percent of the respondents opposed a national registry of firearms owners.

In the same 2013 survey by Police One, well over 40 percent did not support requiring training to carry a gun — a key feature of the laws in seven states that do not require a government permit to carry a concealed firearm. The survey also found that about 85 percent of officers say the passage of the White House’s 2013 proposed legislation would have a zero or negative effect on their safety, with just over 10 percent saying it would have a moderate or significantly positive effect.

A survey of police officers by the National Association of Chiefs of Police in 2011 found that 98 percent of those polled think “any law-abiding citizen [should] be able to purchase a firearm for sport and self-defense.”

In summary, a significant number of police officers are supportive of the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms in very specific ways. Detroit Police Chief James Craig, who once accepted the “progressive” dogma on restricting civilian access to firearms, now urges citizens to arm themselves. With encouragement from voters, more police chiefs and sheriffs are likely move in that direction. They may even adopt the attitude of Sheriff Clarke, who said in his address to the NRA in 2014: “If you’re going to stand with me, you have to be willing to resist any attempt by government to disarm law-abiding people by fighting with the ferociousness of a junkyard dog.” ■



Gun-rights advocates in New York demonstrate at the Capitol in Albany, in 2013, to protest the recently legislated New York SAFE Act and other measures that infringe on the constitutionally protected right to bear arms.



What About **POLICE BRUTALITY?**

Police brutality happens. False charges about police abuses happen more often — and provide fodder for bad elements to exploit. Yet the abuse and the lies can be minimized.

by Joe Wolverton II, J.D.

On July 11, 2015, Madison County, Indiana, sheriff's deputies pulled over Ewart Kenneth Johnson, a 51-year-old black man. Johnson's blood alcohol level at the time of his arrest was five times the legal limit. Later that night, while being booked into the Madison County jail, Johnson claims, four deputies beat him, resulting in a gash on his head and a severely swollen face.

Stories such as Johnson's seem to surface every day. Headlines from coast to coast report cases of police brutality (often involving white police officers and black victims). This case has a different ending, however, one that doesn't make it to the front page.

Video Vanquishes Lies

Rather than jump blindly to the defense of his deputies, Madison County Sheriff Scott Mellinger handled Johnson's

accusations in a way that should be followed by his fellow sheriffs throughout the country.

"We all know that nationally, there's been all kinds of police-community antagonistic situations, and I wanted to get to the bottom of it," Mellinger said, as reported in local Indianapolis media. "We need to go the extra yard and show people that number one, we have nothing to hide, and number two, as sheriff, I want transparency."

Transparency. Going the extra yard. These are not the type of actions that will attract the rabid anti-cop crusaders, but they are exactly the type of responsible reactions to charges of police brutality that should be reported as widely as are those of the less reasonable sort.

True to his word, Mellinger handed over the investigation of the case to the Indiana State Police, completely removing his own department from the matter, thus heading off potential claims of pro-

police bias or partiality. During the investigation, surveillance video was released that showed that, contrary to Johnson's claims, the injuries he claimed were inflicted by the arresting officers were already clearly visible before Johnson was booked. When confronted with the video revealing his pre-arrest appearance, Johnson said he "must have dreamt" that he was beaten by deputies and he "made a big mistake."

In the current socially combustible climate, this is the sort of "mistake" that could end careers and ignite potentially lethal protests. Had Sheriff Mellinger jumped to the blind defense of his officers, the firestorm could have flared and the facts would have been obscured by the tear-gas smoke.

Perhaps the most widely reported incident of a police officer exonerated of misuse of deadly force was that of Ferguson, Missouri, Officer Darren Wilson. In March, the Justice Department cleared

When confronted with the video revealing his pre-arrest appearance, Johnson said he “must have dreamt” that he was beaten by deputies and he “made a big mistake.”

Wilson of charges that he violated the civil rights of Michael Brown, who was killed last August. The *New York Times* reported that the 86-page report issued by the Justice Department

detailed and evaluated the testimony of more than 40 witnesses, the Justice Department largely corroborated or found little credible evidence to contradict the account of the officer, Darren Wilson, who is white.

Versions of events that sharply conflicted with Mr. Wilson’s were largely inconsistent with forensic evidence or with the witnesses’ previous statements, the report said. And in some cases, witnesses whose accounts supported Mr. Wilson said they had been afraid to come forth or tell the truth because they feared reprisals from the enraged community.

Though the dismissal of charges against Wilson didn’t go unchallenged, and the agitators didn’t go away quietly, content with the clearing of Wilson’s name, the situation demonstrates the difficulty of clearly discerning guilt and innocence in this volatile climate where acquittal and conviction can create combustible interactions between public servants and members of the public.

While Madison County deserves credit for its professionalism and transparency, too often the charges of police brutality aren’t so easily disproved and aren’t the result of “dreams,” but are nightmares that have become very real.

In Denver, Colorado, for example, a video not only didn’t exonerate police accused of beating a citizen, but revealed that their

brutality was worse than expected. In July 2009, police subdued and handcuffed four women. Later, the women claimed the cops roughly threw them to the ground, sprayed them with mace, and continued beating them once they were down. The women, insisting they did nothing to deserve such savagery, filed a formal complaint with the Denver Police Department, accusing the officers of using excessive

force. The officers adamantly denied the charges and a believing public backed them all the way.

That is until a video surfaced two years later revealing the truth of victims’ allegations and showing the officers lied about their treatment of the women they arrested. Before the video came to light, the officers accused of brutality claimed that the women attacked them and that they were quickly surrounded by a mob. None of that appeared on the video, however.

The city awarded the women \$360,000, but the policemen who beat them and then lied about it were put back on the streets after the furor died down, this time as agents of the Denver Civil Service Commission.

Remarkably, this betrayal of the public trust went unnoticed until August 2015, when the women pushed back again, resulting in the dismissal of one of the officers. The other attacker had quit in 2013.

Despite the right resolution of this case, many other cases of police brutality go unpunished and, on the other hand, many false charges of police-inflicted injury are accepted without appropriate inquiry.

One of the most notorious examples of verifiable violence committed by cops against those undeserving of any level of abuse happened in Cornelia, Georgia, and left a toddler near death, horribly injured, and disfigured. Bounkham Phonesavanh was 19 months old and asleep in his crib when a sheriff’s SWAT team broke open the front door in the early morning hours on May 28, 2014 and threw a flash-bang grenade into the front room. His mother, father, and three sisters were in the room as well. The grenade attack came during the execution of a “no-knock” warrant, supposedly based on an anonymous tip regarding an alleged \$50 drug deal.

“Everyone’s sleeping. There’s a loud bang and a bright light,” the boy’s mother, Alecia Phonesavanh, told local news station



Exonerated: Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson during his medical examination after he fatally shot Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri.

AP Images

WSB-TV. “The cops threw that grenade in the door without looking first, and it landed right in the playpen and exploded on his pillow right in his face.”

As a result of injuries from the SWAT team’s tactics, Bounkham was placed in a medically induced coma. “It blew open his face and his chest,” the boy’s mother told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* outside Grady Memorial Hospital. “Everybody was asleep. It’s not like anyone was trying to fight.”

According to an article in the U.K. *Daily Mail*, Bounkham Phonesavanh has endured some 10 surgeries costing more than a million dollars, “His nerve endings are dead around his mouth and chest, so they will not be able to properly develop as they are supposed to, so they [surgeons] will have to go in and do stretching and grafts.” He’ll likely need surgery at least every other year as he grows.

Do’s and Don’ts of Intervention

While public outcry against abuses of power by those carrying guns and charged with “serving and protecting” their fellow citizens is understandable and often justified, too often those demanding punishment of offending officers also demand that the federal government get involved to crack down on the rogue cops.

On the other side, the segment of society sympathetic to the perceived plight of police and hostile to those claiming abuse at their hands also petition the federal government, demanding that they send local law enforcement more powerful weapons to help them fight the foes of law and order and keep police on the street safe from rocks thrown by rioters.

Constitutionalists on either side of the issue should recognize the problem with both reactions: increased federal control over local law enforcement.

Of course, the federal government gets what it wants regardless of who wins the fight for “safer streets.”

A key plank of the Obama administration platform seems to be the conversion of the local police into a sixth branch of the U.S. armed forces, and all the attention paid to charges of police brutality and the riots that so often erupt is pushing that agenda forward at breakneck speed.

Cash-strapped local law enforcement



Candid camera: Eugene, Oregon, Police Sergeant Larry Compton displays his body camera.

gobbles up the federal “grants,” purchasing military-grade vehicles, weapons, ammunition, and surveillance technology that would make the National Security Agency (NSA) proud. In December 2014, President Obama proposed \$263 million in federal funding for local law enforcement, which includes \$75 million for body-worn video cameras for police officers, the latest panacea for police abuse. Budgetary considerations and the constitutional federalism issues aside, the body cam, like the dashcams mounted in many police cruisers and the audio recorders already worn by many peace officers, can offer some measure of accountability — both for the peace officers *and* those who accuse them of abuse. It is worth noting that available evidence indicates that more often than not, dash-cam and body-cam videos exculpate, rather than convict, officers of wrongdoing.

The recent case of liberal Connecticut activist Professor Minati Roychoudhuri, who falsely accused a state trooper of racial profiling, is one of many in which video/audio recordings have shown accusations of police misconduct to be totally false. The recordings show Trooper John Such was courteous and professional, and the professor’s public accusations were false and malicious. Roychoudhuri is being prosecuted for her demonstrably false charges against the trooper. In other similar recent examples, police videos have exonerated officers in “celebrity” racism/brutality accusation cases, such as these: in Texas, Democratic state repre-

sentative Garnet Coleman; California, actress Taraji Henson; Kansas, activist John Sherman; and California, actress Daniele Watts. Many additional cases have shown that ideologues with a political agenda, as well as opportunists attempting to avoid the consequences of their criminal activities, have adopted the practice of hollering “racism” and “brutality” at the first contact with police officers.

While the campaigns for body cams is relatively new, the campaign for establishing “civilian review boards” has been underway since the 1930s — when it was launched by the Communist Party. The term “civilian review” is deceptively appealing, and we already have it in the form of civilian officials elected by the people and other civilian appointees and institutions established under state constitutions and county/city charters: state and county grand juries, county commissions, city councils, mayors, county sheriffs, etc. The Communist Party and its fellow travelers intended to undermine this constitutional civilian process by inserting over the police and sheriffs an unelected board of activists (whom they intended to control). Unfortunately, this subversive program has now been instituted in more than 100 U.S. cities.

As it stands now, the multi-pronged war against locally-controlled police is dangerously advanced. Unless citizens awaken to this fact and reverse the trend, we will find ourselves accelerating faster down the trail to tyranny. ■



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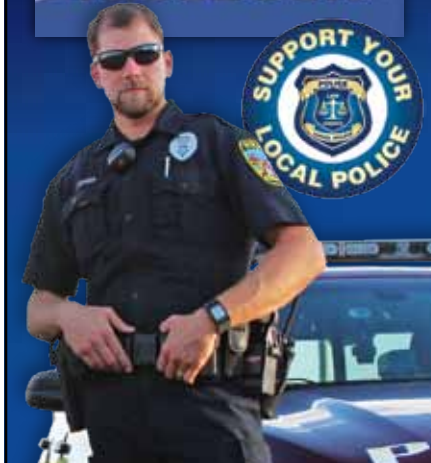
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What Killed Black Progress?

The Left chants “Black lives matter,” while instituting policies that often result in resentful, downtrodden black Americans. One cannot both care and continue on the same path.



AP Images

This Penn State student was among the protesters in the college’s HUB building. With the words “Black Lives Matter” taped to their mouths, they dressed in black and laid on the floor to protest the shooting of Michael Brown by a Ferguson, Missouri, police officer.

by Steve Byas

The Left is fond of saying, “Black lives matter.” Of course they do! But implicit in the statement is that modern victimization of blacks is a “legacy of slavery” extending to the present day, and that America’s continuing racism is what is blocking the path of black progress, with local police as a key exponent of the alleged white racist power structure supposedly suppressing blacks.

Reality is actually quite different. Upon the abolition of chattel slavery, accomplished by the 13th Amendment in 1865, emancipated blacks had limited skills; were without homes, savings, and education; and were often victimized by overt discrimination. Despite the legacy of slavery, with its dehumanizing effects, and the prospect of intense hostility on the part of much of the surrounding majority white population, blacks persevered over the next several decades, making steady progress. This progress was accomplished not only without governmental aid, but in spite of government, with its multiple legal roadblocks.

Walter E. Williams, an economist from George Mason University and a best-selling author, noted: “There is no question, though it’s not acknowledged enough, that black Americans have made greater gains, over some of the highest hurdles and in a very short span of time, than any other racial group in mankind’s history.”

In his famous autobiography *Up From Slavery*, famed black educator Booker T. Washington recounted not only his own amazing emergence from slavery, but showed the way for other former slaves and their descendants to overcome prejudice and achieve greatness. “The whole future of the Negro rested largely upon the question as to whether or not he should make himself, through his skill, intelligence, and character, of such undeniable value to the community in which he lived that the community could not dispense with his presence,” Washington wrote.

“I said that any individual who learned to do something better than anybody else — learned to do a common thing in an uncommon manner — had solved his problem, regardless of the color of his skin, and

that in proportion as the Negro learned to produce what other people wanted and must have, in the same proportion would he be respected.”

As the years passed, blacks worked in all manner of jobs, slowly elevating their economic status, dramatically illustrating the wisdom of Washington’s sage advice. As segregation was established by law, blacks responded by carving out of their own community an economically vibrant society, with their own lawyers, doctors, businesses, and social life. They certainly did *not* look to the government for a handout, but usually did their best to stay out of its way. Most charity was provided by either private mutual aid societies or black churches. David Belto, in his book *After the Welfare State*, noted, “In 1920, about eighteen million Americans belonged to fraternal societies, i.e. nearly 30 percent of all adults.”

The breaking of baseball’s “color line” by Jackie Robinson in 1945 also demonstrates Washington’s point, as his success was the embodiment of the strategy of making oneself “valuable” to society. When given the opportunity to play for the Brooklyn Dodgers, Robinson played the game so well that fans wanted to watch him play, and his personal conduct — not treating prejudice in kind — as well his outstanding baseball skills won him the admiration of whites and blacks alike, including even many of the whites who had opposed the integration of baseball. In so doing, he blazed the trail for other great black athletes to follow. And he accomplished this feat without court orders or other government intervention of any kind to force the integration.

Washington and Robinson were of different generations and possessed different talents, but in their own ways they were exemplary role models who inspired millions to achieve greatness through hard work and initiative. Washington, through Tuskegee University, which he established, also provided the education many poor blacks so desperately needed to start

climbing up the economic ladder and achieve their part in the American dream.

But what happened to stall this upward climb? Liberal programs claiming to help black Americans, such as the so-called War on Poverty launched in the early 1960s, have had the opposite effect. In particular, the black family, once strong, has been undermined by government programs.

Dinesh D'Souza wrote in *The End of Racism*, "More black males are in prison than in college," and that 65 percent of black children are born out of wedlock. Sister Souljah, an author and liberal black activist, contends that the unenviable state of black families, black crimes, and black employment is all about "racism," which she said "has turned our communities into war zones." Liberal politicians and opinion-makers generally agree with her.

But if racism were the primary problem facing the black community, then the multitude of problems they are suffering from should have been much worse before 1960. After all, the election of a person of black African ancestry as president of the United States would have been unthinkable 50 years ago, and even more so 100 years ago, when racism and discrimination were far more intense.

However, black problems weren't worse prior to the 1960s. Most of the problems encountered by blacks today can be traced to government, mostly the federal government. At one time, blacks had a lower unemployment rate than whites, but then minimum-wage laws often prevented young black men from getting jobs. Walter Williams explained that early work experience teaches youths "things like ... you come to work on time, you respect the supervisors, you dress in a certain way." Yet, the minimum wage creates a situation in which the potential employee costs more to hire than what that person can possibly earn for the business.

Other government policies affected blacks equally perniciously. If a young black person wished to offer taxicab service, for example, government poli-



Jackie Robinson broke the "color line" of major league baseball, and won "rookie of the year" honors in 1947.

cies effectively made that impossible. Most cities still require license fees of many thousands of dollars. Other types of businesses were closed to most blacks because of insurmountable permit fees, as well, shutting the door to a person of limited financial resources from launching a small business.

Then there's that "family thing." Today, fewer black children grow up in a two-parent family than under slavery. In 1925 New York City, Walter Williams noted, 85 percent of black households were two-parent. "As late as 1950, only 18 percent of black households were single-parent. From 1890 to 1940, a slightly higher percentage of black adults had married than white adults. In 1940, black illegitimacy was about 14 percent."

Now black illegitimacy is 75 percent.

This has a definite correlation to poverty. As Williams noted, "Among married families it [the poverty rate] has been in the single digits for more than two decades." And children raised by single parents are likelier to use drugs and become involved in criminal behavior.

According to FBI statistics, more than

6,000 blacks are murdered on an annual basis, with the murderer being another black person 93 percent of the time.

As mentioned previously, many have traced the present dilemma of black poverty, crime, and disintegration of the family to the Great Society of President Lyndon Johnson, which declared "war" on poverty in the 1960s. Since this massive expansion of the welfare state, there has been a three-fold increase in the number of children growing up in single-parent families.

In their article for the Heritage Foundation entitled "How Welfare Harms Kids," Patrick Fagan and Robert Rector explained how this accelerating trend has affected the incidence of violent crime and burglary. They found that growing up in a single-parent family on welfare triples the probability that a young black man will engage in criminal activity. It is instructive that the explosion of

illegitimacy and single-parent homes has occurred since 1960. It was in 1964 that President Johnson led Congress to enact his bundle of reforms dubbed the Great Society.

According to Fagan and Rector, welfare "has made marriage economically irrational for most low-income parents. It has transformed marriage from a legal institution designed to protect and nurture children into an institution that financially penalizes nearly all low-income parents who enter into it." Welfare pays for non-work and non-marriage — and thus, not surprisingly, we get more of both.

Urban gangs in large cities have often replaced the male role model of the father in the home, leading young men into tragic confrontations with the local police. Yet without the police, these cities would be even more dangerous for their inhabitants — black and white alike.

Sadly, more federal control of local law enforcement is the rallying cry of liberal black activists and progressives in general, once again offering the creator of many of these problems — the federal government — as the solution. ■

Police Perspective

Is it possible to truly understand the inherent difficulties and dangers of police work without looking at it through the eyes of those who wear a badge?



John Slater

by C. Mitchell Shaw

In 1992, patrolman John Slater of the Henrico County, Virginia, Police Department was working a midnight shift when he made a traffic stop in the city of Richmond. In the car were two men. Something in their behavior seemed suspicious, so after writing the driver a ticket, Slater asked for permission to search the car. The driver said it would be all right. As Slater's backup approached the passenger side door, Slater looked up just for a moment. As he looked back into the car, his flashlight illuminated the passenger reaching under his shirt for a gun.

Slater instinctively drew his sidearm. As he did, the passenger pulled the gearshift into drive and yelled for the driver to go. With his left hand, which was still holding the flashlight, Slater reached into the car and pushed the gearshift back into park. But the driver and passenger both put their weight into pulling the gearshift back into drive, trapping Slater's hand. As the car pulled onto the road and began to accel-

erate, Slater was snatched off his feet and found himself being dragged beside the car.

It had only been a split second since he had looked up at his backup. In that split second, everything had changed. What began as a routine traffic stop was now a life-and-death struggle as Slater was pulled along beside the car for 150 feet. Because both the driver and the passenger were holding his hand against the gearshift, Slater could not pull free as the car continued to speed up. Over and over, he yelled for the driver to stop. As he told *THE NEW AMERICAN*, "Fortunately, there were no cars on the opposite side of the road. If that had been the case, it would have sheared me off."

Because his life was in danger, Slater — who still had his sidearm in his right hand — "fired until [his] gun was dry," hitting both men in the car. Only then was he able to break free. "I pushed myself away from the car," Slater said, adding that because he did not know how much damage he had done, and because he knew the passenger was armed, "I had to take my chances with

the street." When the car finally came to a stop, Slater and his backup approached the car. One man was injured. The other was dead. Both were armed.

Often horrific interactions with citizens happen just that fast, and the potential for imminent violence is a fact that police officers never forget and that citizens don't generally understand — along with the incredible restraint that officers exercise on a daily basis and the effects that police work can have on officers' personal lives.

Slater began his career in law enforcement as a state game warden in 1983. He joined the Henrico County Police Department in 1989 and worked there until retiring in May of 2015. During that time, he was promoted to sergeant, with up to 14 officers reporting to him. Even as a supervisor, Slater never lost his patrolman's spirit. He often went on patrol with his officers.

After the events of that fateful midnight shift in 1992, Slater did briefly consider leaving the job. He knows what most will never know: the weight of having taken a life. It impacted him as a person. It impacted his family. He called it "a very difficult thing that changes one's definition of normal," adding, "It's something that — having been down that road — I wouldn't wish on anyone."

Slater also says the very nature of the job is something that has "a cost." As he put it:

There is a cost to doing this. The majority of police officers, on a day-in day-out basis, especially in urban and suburban law enforcement, deal with what I would characterize as the underbelly of society. I would go so far as to say that it is impossible to deal with the criminal element, that oftentimes is intent on inflicting harm on someone or will do whatever they need to do to get away — including killing you — it's impossible to deal with that on a day-in day-out basis and not have it have some effect on [you as a] person.

Thankfully, Slater did not leave his chosen career. Though suffering from depression for a while, his family and his faith helped him through it. He said, "I decided that I did not want this to become my identity

and I pulled myself up.” His wife continued to support him, but the shooting was a turning point for her, as well. The dangers of police work — which had been ethereal — became real to her.

In the following weeks and months, there were visits to see doctors and counselors. There was a departmental investigation and, as per state law, a criminal investigation to determine whether Slater had acted appropriately. He was cleared by both investigations and returned to work.

Slater’s story is significant not because it is abnormal, but because it reminds those of us who are not in law enforcement that police officers are real people with real families and that they have real struggles dealing with things that most of us will never experience. True, few police officers and deputies will ever fire their sidearms in the line of duty and fewer will ever take a life. But as Slater points out, many of them do deal on a day-to-day basis with a criminal element of society, which lacks the morality that keeps the rest of us in check. In the absence of that moral check, it is good that there are police officers and sheriff’s deputies willing to stand in the gap.

Winneconne is a village in Winnebago County, Wisconsin, and is about as far removed from the metropolitan environment of Richmond, Virginia, as one can get. The population of the village is less than 2,400 and officers there, such as Ben Sauriol, often depend on neighboring towns, villages, and counties for their backup. While Winneconne does not have the gang problems and violent crime of a big city, officers there still face some pretty intense situations that call for level heads and good training.

Officer Ben Sauriol, who has been at Winneconne for 12 of his 15 years in law enforcement, says officers in his area often know as friends and neighbors the people they interact with professionally. They see these people during work hours and during the rest of the week. They go to church with them. They see them at the grocery store. Their kids go to school together. It is important to maintain that “neighborliness” both for the job’s sake and for the community’s sake.

The effectiveness of the training that officers in his department receive can be witnessed during a “welfare check,” in which



officers are called to a location to check on someone’s well-being, Sauriol related to *THE NEW AMERICAN*. On one particular call, things escalated very quickly, and Sauriol’s training and level head kept the situation under control. When he arrived at the location of the call and approached the man he was there to check on, he could tell something wasn’t right.

“He was in the backyard of his brother’s house. His parents called him in [to the police] because he has post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) — he’s former military — and he had been drinking,” Sauriol said, adding, “He was quite upset about a few things and his parents couldn’t calm him down. They called the police because they were concerned for his safety.”

When Sauriol asked if everything was OK, the man gave him “a thousand yard stare and just said, ‘no,’” Sauriol said. When Sauriol asked the man if he wanted to hurt himself, he said he did. The man then backed up to a detached garage and reached up to the eave of the roof with his left hand. When he brought his hand back down, he was holding a gun case — the type that holds a handgun. “I told him several times to drop the case and he was giving me that look and he said ‘no.’ At this point, I had my Taser on him and I told him, ‘If you don’t drop the case I’m going to have to Tase you,’” Sauriol said. Instead of dropping the case, the man turned his back on Sauriol and reached with his right hand to open the case. Sauriol Tased him, and when he fell, he dropped the case. A .45-caliber pistol fell out.

While lying on the ground, the PTSD-fueled former soldier continued to reach for the gun despite Sauriol’s warnings that unless he stopped, Sauriol would have to shock him again. After one more jolt of a few thousand volts, he finally gave up and was taken into custody. When the handgun was examined, it was found to be fully loaded with a round already chambered.

When asked why he chose his Taser instead of his sidearm, Sauriol said,

Because I didn’t see the gun in there and until you see an actual weapon — now granted, I knew there was most likely a gun in there — but until you see it, you can’t assume. Imagine if I would have shot him, and then there was not a gun in there. What would that have looked like? So you have to show great restraint until you actually have a situation where you are in great danger of death or serious bodily harm.

When asked if he had been afraid for his safety during the ordeal, Sauriol said, “No. I just relied on my training.” His backup on that call was Officer Luke Luther from neighboring Omro, Wisconsin. Omro has a population of about 3,500, and the departments often provide backup for each other. Luther says there are times when he is concerned for his safety, but it doesn’t keep him from doing his job. He also says his training is a great comfort in that regard, because he believes that he is prepared to handle situations as they arise.



Luke Luther
with his three
daughters

So how do these officers view the balance between doing their jobs and making sure people's rights are not abused? Officer Sauriol said there is no question there; rights come first:

Our job is not to infringe on people's rights; a law enforcement officer's job is actually to protect people's rights. If we pull someone over for a valid, lawful stop, it is not our job to push the envelope and try to search the car to see if they have anything illegal in the car. I've always said the ends don't justify the means and the process matters. We take an oath to defend and uphold the Constitution and it's our responsibility — as law-enforcement officers — to make sure we understand what that oath means. The Fourth Amendment is the main amendment we deal with in our jobs — dealing with unreasonable searches and seizures — and if we infringe on somebody's rights because of drugs or whatever, yeah you might get the drugs off the street or the illegal weapons off the street, but you need to do so in the proper manner. And if you don't do it in the proper manner, then you do yourself an injustice, you do the community an injustice, and you're quite frankly doing the badge an injustice because you're not upholding the principles of the Constitution.

Luther said, "In many of our training sessions, we cover constitutional law and

training, and there are many situations where in the back of my mind I know there's more than meets the eye, but I know I can't go there because I don't have the right to trump someone else's rights. I take that seriously, and I believe all of our officers take that seriously."

Sergeant Slater agreed. He said that on many occasions he has stopped cars along Interstate 95 — a known drug corridor through Richmond — and just *known*, because of his experience, that there were drugs in the car, but had no proof. He has asked if he can search these cars and had the drivers refuse. His response? Give the driver the ticket for the offense that caused the stop and send him on his way. "I know I allowed drugs to stay on the street," he said, "but if the alternative is to violate the Constitution and people's rights, it's not worth it."

Deputy Chief of Police Tracy Basterrechea in Meridian, Idaho, near Boise, has been in law enforcement for 20 years and has spent all of that time at Meridian. He started out as a patrolman and worked his way up through the ranks. As Sergeant Slater did until he retired, Basterrechea goes out on patrol. He sees the people and the way they interact with his officers, and he is careful to communicate a message of police protecting people's rights, because as he says, the power to police "comes from the citizenry."

One of the things our Founding Fathers did is that they abdicated a lot of control to [local] police and that

power comes from the citizenry. And we will stop being the police when the citizens tell us, "We're not going to allow you to police us anymore." The way to [maintain that relationship] is to be professional and realize the Constitution applies to everybody and that the Constitution is what everything the police do is derived from.

As the second largest city in Idaho with a population of about 85,000 people, Meridian has a good mix of people. And it has its crime, but Basterrechea says police work is so much more than just going out and arresting the bad guys. "We are public servants who are problem solvers," he said, adding, "The vast majority of work we do really isn't enforcement." When asked for an example of the non-enforcement service provided by Meridian's officers, Basterrechea couldn't give just one:

We've had officers go on shoplifting calls and the store owner is demanding that this female is to be arrested or at least cited. And she was stealing baby food to feed her kids because they had no food. And I know of an officer who wrote the citation because the shop owner demanded it but then the officer paid for the food because she had no food at home.

We've had officers who have gone to calls to check on the welfare of kids and realize there's hardly any food in the house and have gone — and with their own money — bought groceries and gone back and put food in the house. Officers who have bought gas for people when they've run out of gas, changed tires on the side of the road, I mean they do this every day and they don't ever come back and say, "Hey, you know what I did?" We usually find out about it much later when somebody picks up the phone and calls us and then the officer's embarrassed. Because they didn't do it for the recognition.

On the other side of Idaho, in the sparsely populated Adams County, Chris Green works as a sergeant for the Adams County Sheriff's Office in the same community where he grew up. The people he polices

are his neighbors, his high-school teachers, and his boyhood friends. “You get to know the people here so you get a good rapport with everybody and I try to treat everybody with the respect I want from them,” he told *THE NEW AMERICAN*. He recognizes that encounters with police are not usually positive events. He said, “Usually when we run into somebody they’re having their worst day of their lives. We are not there to be bullies, we’re just there to do our job. We’re people just like you.”

Where protecting citizens’ rights is concerned, Green says he thinks it is an important part of all police work. There are times when officers need to remember that, “just because you can do something, it doesn’t mean you should. If there’s a fine line, I’d rather not step on it.”

But are Slater, Sauriol, Luther, Basterrechea, and Green anomalies, or do most police care about people and the Constitution? What about all the YouTube videos of police officers abusing, assaulting, and violating people?

Slater said there were many occasions where citizens would use a smartphone to video what was happening with police. He said, “I would approach them and identify myself and give my badge number and tell them that I was glad to see what they were doing. I’d tell them, ‘You have every right to do this. I’m glad you’re doing it. If you don’t exercise this right, you may lose it.’ Most of the time, they would put the phone away, which isn’t what I wanted, but they aren’t going to get a bunch of hits on their video if someone isn’t getting their rights violated.”

Slater makes a real point there. How reliable is the perception that people draw from the videos of police brutality and heavy handedness? Are those videos an accurate reflection of day-to-day reality, or are they just the extreme exception that get shown simply because it *is* extreme. How many YouTube videos could be made of officers unlocking cars or changing tires for people, or searching for lost children, or spending their own money buying groceries for families in need?



Tracy
Basterrechea

Because the narrative is so skewed — particularly in the post-Ferguson world — there is the very real danger that police officers are second-guessing themselves at times when milliseconds may mean the officer is “the second one to pull the trigger,” as Slater put it. He said in his last few months before retiring in May 2015, he had officers under his command who told him their reflexes and reactions were slower because they feared being accused of acting wrongly. Even though they are following department policies and doing their jobs properly, they do have concerns that they could be the next leading story because of either a misunderstanding or a false accusation. Or both.

Sergeant Green says he believes the Ferguson factor is creating an officer safety issue. He said the deputies who report to him have told him they are concerned about being accused of using too much force and that it causes them to question themselves before using force even when it may be needed.

Officer Luther said in the aftermath of Ferguson, he feels like “a lot of people may have jumped to conclusions before all the facts were known. A lot of them believed ‘facts’ that weren’t actually facts. It definitely makes me think a little more, and it might slow me down in certain things.” He was quick to add that his community — because it is smaller and the police department

has such a “stake in the community” — would hopefully react differently. “I would think that the people here wouldn’t overreact without all the facts if something were to happen,” he said.

Basterrechea said he has discussed this issue with his command staff and the officers in Meridian. His message to them? “You have to do your job. The rest will sort itself out. If you are doing things the right way for the right reasons, we’re going to back you. We understand that video is sometimes edited. When you see the whole video, from the police officer’s perspective, it can change everything.” That is one reason his department has body cameras for its officers.

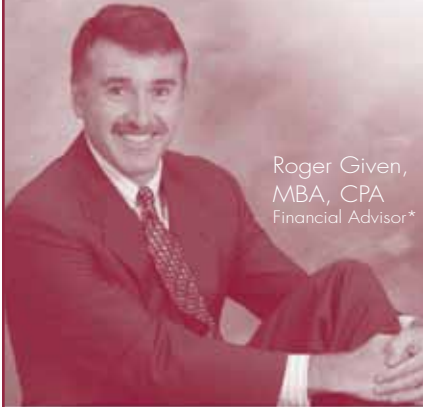
As he points out, “You have to try to get the [complete] information out first because when the misinformation gets out, that’s the information that sticks. That is what happened in the Ferguson shooting. The misinformation got out and was the first thing people saw and so it became ‘the Gospel.’”

Basterrechea knows what it is like to be put in a bad place with few options. Years ago, while serving a search warrant, he had to draw his weapon when he saw one of the men in the house walking toward a shotgun. After ordering the man to stop, Basterrechea drew his weapon and continued to tell him to stop. The man did eventually stop and no shots were fired, but Basterrechea said that in that moment, “I was just thinking, ‘Please don’t grab that shotgun. Please don’t make me do something I don’t want to do.’ Because no officer wants to take someone’s life.” It may be a good thing he didn’t hesitate to draw his weapon that day, since his action may have saved lives — his own and those of his fellow officers on the scene.

Hopefully as more and more people realize that most police officers and deputies are not villains but fellow citizens protecting and serving their local communities, the Ferguson factor will fade into the background. Then perhaps fewer officers and deputies will waste precious milliseconds second-guessing themselves before they act. Because as Sergeant John Slater knows, things happen fast. ■



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What You Can Do **to Maintain Your Local Police**

Becoming informed about the American system of local law enforcement and the forces arrayed to nationalize local police is insufficient without action. It is as if you see that a cloudburst has filled your street with water, and it will begin to come into your garage and then your living room if you do nothing.

You may study the effects of water, the damage that water can do to rugs and dry-wall, even your freedom to live in your home, but what good is it if you do nothing with that knowledge? What good is that knowledge if you do not learn how to stop the flooding and begin the task of doing so?

So it is with the ongoing transformation of our system of local police, that is beholden to local citizens, into a national police force beholden to the federal government. If you have read this magazine, you understand the problem. But what do you do about it?

Since the local police merely reflect a desire of local citizens to maintain a local government and law-enforcement agency, the solution begins with you and like-minded citizens in your local area.

Restoring and preserving local control over your local police means that hard decisions must be made by your city council and county government as to how much law enforcement local citizens really want and are willing to pay for in local budgets. Outside money brings outside control.

Maintaining local control over your local police department means educating as many other citizens as you can about the problem of the federal government nationalizing our local police and how citizens have a responsibility to prevent this from happening. Such educational efforts are especially necessary for informing your local officials and community opinion molders. This special issue of *THE NEW AMERICAN* would make an excellent educational tool for this purpose.

Although you and a group of like-minded citizens may be able to accomplish much along the lines just discussed above, you can greatly multiply your effectiveness by joining a “Support Your Local Police — and Keep Them Independent!” (SYLP) committee and becoming part of a nationwide network of such committees under the organizational leadership of The John Birch Society. If there is no SYLP committee in your area, contact the Birch Society field coordinator for your area at 1-800-JBS-USA1 and learn how a committee can be started up.

As part of such a committee, you will be able to implement the national SYLP educational initiatives in your community



using professionally produced educational tools. You will also be helped to expand your educational reach, aiming at your state legislators and congressmen. Many of these elected officials do not realize the danger represented by federal subsidizing, training, and regulating of local police departments and the resultant long-range problems for freedom.

The Founding Fathers wisely refrained from granting local law-enforcement power to the federal govern-

ment. In accordance with the 10th Amendment, local law-enforcement power is reserved to the states and local government. Seen in this light, the fight to preserve the independence of our local police is an essential part of the larger fight to preserve the Constitution and secure our God-given rights from usurpation by a tyrannical federal government.

It will be up to you and your SYLP committee to:

- Help your community and county resist the temptation to accept federal government funding for, and power over, your local police and sheriff, regardless of the crisis;
- Help your community oppose existing or proposed police review boards, because they have the potential to hamper local law enforcement by replacing police management by elected officials with police management by unaccountable, appointed officials;
- Help your community influence the county sheriff to interpose between the federal government’s attempts to enforce unconstitutional laws and local citizens;
- Help influence state legislators to nullify all federal programs that subsidize, train, regulate, and otherwise tend to nationalize your local police; and
- Help change the political climate in your community and local area so that congressmen are nominated and elected who will vote to stop the funding of all federal programs that would lead to the nationalization of local police.

Finally, help your Support Your Local Police committee to establish as close a relationship between the community and your police as possible. A separation in many cities has occurred producing a “them and us” mentality among the citizens and the police. You are all neighbors, including the police who serve you. Let them see that you appreciate them, and you will be amazed at the change in community attitude it will produce. This will serve as a platform for moving a “Support Your Local Police — and Keep Them Independent!” agenda forward rapidly. ■

Arthur R. Thompson is chief executive officer of The John Birch Society.



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