

Gardner Newsletter

Vol. 23
Issue 91
Summer 2020

FEATURED INSIDE

3 ZOOM IN - L.A. RIOTS

5 ZOOM OUT - SLAVERY

10 ZOOM IN - MLK'S DREAM

10 ZOOM IN - MS. DIANGELO

12 ZOOM IN - PAUL BUTLER

16 FINAL THOUGHTS



LOS ANGELES BURNS DURING THE 1992 RODNEY KING RIOTS

ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT

By: Paul Gardner

(This issue expresses the thoughts and opinions of your editor, Paul Gardner, and does not represent the opinions of the subscribers nor those of the families and friends of the Gardner Newsletter. If you disagree with any or all parts of this content, please send in a rebuttal piece. We will publish all responses to anything mentioned in this editorial.)

There is no denying the fact that we in America are enduring dual crises – the coronavirus pandemic and the social unrest caused by police brutality.

In my quest to find articles I could use for this Summer 2020 issue to help comfort everyone and to assuage the feelings of helplessness, anger, uncertainty, and panic that we are all feeling, I first thought that I would turn to the pastors in our

newsletter community. Pastors Greg and Geri Rosser and Pastors Dan and Nancy Whitney have already blessed us with so many uplifting and encouraging words, - especially Dan, whose many Christmas homilies to the Gardner family and friends over the years have forced the faithful among us to focus on the Divine and rediscover the true meaning of the Nativity.

Then I thought I would consult Cousin Ron Gardner. I said to myself, "Well, he's a lawyer. Perhaps he could give us some special insight into the legal aspects surrounding police brutality as well as reasons why, legal or otherwise, American society is weighted against persons of color. Surely, he would have valuable opinions! And he could share the social, political, demographic, and legal ramifications that have brought us all to this chasm of mistrust and anxiety that





PASTORS GREG AND GERI ROSSER



PASTORS NANCY AND DAN WHITNEY



DR. CHRIS COVE



yawns ominously among the diverse factions that make up the citizenry of this country. He might even offer some practical “solutions” borne from his Grandma and Grandpa Gardner’s late 19th-early 20th century sensibilities so indelibly instilled in their rearing of the ‘Original Gang of Ten.’”

Then my mind focused on Cousin Dr. Chris Cove, Director of Medicine at the University of Rochester Medical Center (URMC) in New York. “Wow,” I thought, “here’s a guy who can really advise us and give us unimpeachable information on the coronavirus and how to deal with it! He could be our *Gardner Newsletter* community’s own personal Dr. Fauci dispensing hope and sharing vital information on how to proceed through these troubled waters. I think I’ll contact Chris and see if he would like to contribute a few lines to the newsletter.”

My own “light bulb moment” finally switched on. *No, I have to do this myself!* To properly honor the sacrifice of George Floyd and his family, I must use my platform, the *Gardner Newsletter*, to humbly express how I feel and share it with others. The page you are reading at this very moment is part of the 91st issue since publication began in the Winter of 1998. We are fast approaching the 100th issue. Who knows what the country will look like by

then!? Are there things we can do to make sure that we don’t devolve even more? I want to be optimistic and hopeful, so I will say “yes.” But exactly what? As we examine the following content, perhaps what we can do will become more obvious. Perhaps not. Even so, it should be important to all of us that we arrive on the right side of history concerning these issues.



RONALD GARDNER, ESQ.

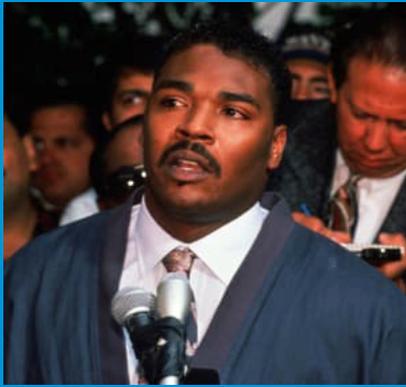
Let’s get back to Cousin Dr. Chris for a moment. You probably already know that he is an award-winning photographer in addition to being recognized as a world-renowned heart surgeon. Many of his photographs adorn the walls of the URMC and he has posted many of his awe-inspiring photo studies of birds to Facebook. (See the *Gardner Newsletter*, Summer 2017 issue.) To be a photographer of Chris’s

caliber, you have to know a lot about cameras. I’m sure Chris has some very sophisticated ones. I’m guessing that a good photographer will want a camera that has the capability to zoom in and zoom out – zooming in to watch a hummingbird sipping nectar from a flower or zooming out to capture the stunning breadth and depth of the Grand Canyon. Let’s use the metaphor of the zoom features of a good camera to examine some important themes.

The first person I thought about after the senseless and macabre death of George Floyd was Rodney King. Alas, there are many, many more Black murder victims including Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, Freddie Gray, Eric Garner, Dontre Hamilton, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, to name just a few. It’s a never-ending encyclopedia of heart-break.



Let’s ZOOM-IN to Los Angeles during that crucial time 29 years ago. Here is an article written by Anjuli Sastry and Karen Grigsby Bates taken from the NPR website that captures in vivid detail what transpired in the Rodney King case.



RODNEY KING - BEFORE

Twenty-eight years ago, four Los Angeles policemen — three of them White — were acquitted of the savage beating of Rodney King, an African-American man. Caught on camera by a bystander, graphic video of the attack was broadcast into homes across the nation and worldwide.

Fury over the acquittal — stoked by years of racial and economic inequality in the city — spilled over into the streets, resulting in five days of rioting in Los Angeles. It ignited a national conversation about racial and economic disparity and police use of force that continues today.

“When the verdict came out, it was a stunner for people coast to coast. My jaw dropped,” says Jody David Armour, a criminal justice and law professor at the University of Southern California.

“There was ocular proof of what happened. It seemed compelling,” he says of the videotape. “And yet, we saw a verdict that told us we couldn’t trust our lying eyes. That what we thought was open and shut was really ‘a reasonable expression of police control toward a Black motorist.’”

A year earlier, in March 1991, King — who was on parole for robbery — had led police on a high-speed



RODNEY KING - AFTER

chase through Los Angeles; later, he was charged with driving under the influence.

When police finally stopped him, King was ordered out of the car. Los Angeles Police Department officers then kicked him repeatedly and beat him with batons for a reported 15 minutes. The video showed that more than a dozen cops stood by, watching and commenting on the beating.

King’s injuries resulted in skull fractures, broken bones and teeth, and permanent brain damage.

Ultimately, four officers were charged with excessive use of force. A year later, on April 29, 1992, a jury consisting of 12 residents from the distant suburbs of Ventura County — nine white, one Latino, one biracial, one Asian — found the four officers not guilty. The acquittals were announced around 3 p.m.; less than three hours later, the unrest began.

Residents set fires, looted and destroyed liquor stores, grocery stores, retail shops and fast food restaurants. Light-skinned motorists — both white and Latino — were targeted; some were pulled out of their cars and beaten.

The reaction to the acquittal in South Central Los Angeles — now known just as South Los Angeles — was particularly violent. At the



time, more than half of the population there was Black. Tension had already been mounting in the neighborhood in the years leading up to the riots: the unemployment rate was about 50 percent, a drug epidemic was ravaging the area, and gang activity and violent crime were high.

Another contributing factor: The same month as Rodney King’s beating, a Korean store owner in South Los Angeles shot and killed a 15-year-old African-American girl named Latasha Harlins, who was accused of trying to steal orange juice. It was later discovered Harlins was clutching money to pay for the juice when she was killed. The store owner received probation and a \$500 fine. The incident heightened tensions between Koreans and African-Americans, and intensified the Black community’s frustration with the criminal justice system.

At the same time, the community’s anger was also deepening against Los Angeles police. African-Americans said they did not feel protected during times of need, but instead reported being harassed without cause. Bystander Terri Barnett was at Florence and Normandie that first night and remembers watching the cops drive right by rioters without stopping.

She and her boyfriend — along with two other strangers, all African-American — helped rescue a White truck driver named Reginald Denny, who was beaten viciously by gang members who were rioting and had pulled Denny out of his truck at about 6:45 p.m. Barnett, her boyfriend and the two strangers shoved Denny back into his truck and drove him to the hospital, which saved his life.

“There were four cops in each car that passed by,” Barnett told NPR in 1992. “They saw us. They looked right through us.”

ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

When 911 calls about the violence started coming in, police were not deployed immediately. Though LAPD Chief Darryl Gates announced early in the afternoon of April 29 that his officers had the situation under control, it would later be reported that the city was not adequately prepared for the riots. In fact, there was no anticipation of — or official plan at the department for — major social unrest on this scale.

“One of the most astounding things about the 1992 Los Angeles riots was the response of the LAPD, which is to say no response at all,” says author Joe Domanick, who has studied and written about the riots.

That night, Gates went to speak at a fundraiser in West Los Angeles and reportedly ordered cops to retreat. Police did not respond to incidents of looting and violence around the city until almost three hours after the original rioting broke out.

For the rest of the night, the scene at

Florence and Normandie repeated itself with rioters across the city. Just before 9 p.m. that night, Mayor Tom Bradley called for a state of emergency, and California Gov. Pete Wilson ordered 2,000 National Guard troops to report to the city.

On May 1, the third day of the riots, Rodney King himself attempted to publicly appeal to Los Angeles residents to stop fighting. He stood outside a Beverly Hills courthouse with his lawyer and asked “People, I just want to say, you know, can we all get along? Can we get along?”

During the five days of unrest, there were more than 50 riot-related deaths — including 10 people who were shot and killed by LAPD officers and National Guardsmen. More than 2,000 people were injured, and nearly 6,000 alleged looters and arsonists were arrested. Of those arrested during the riots, 36 percent were African-Americans and 51 percent were Latinos, according to

the Rand Corp.

The riots also disrupted daily life: A city curfew from sunset to sunrise was announced, mail delivery stopped, and most residents couldn’t go to work and school. More than 1,000 buildings were damaged or destroyed, and approximately 2,000 Korean-run businesses were also damaged or destroyed. In all, approximately \$1 billion worth of property was destroyed.

The city curfew was ultimately lifted on the morning of May 4. Most schools, banks and businesses were allowed to reopen. Slowly, residents returned to their everyday routines. But the Rodney King beating and the Los Angeles riots exploded out of social issues that still have not been resolved. That shocking, grainy video of his beating would be just the first of a long line of police brutality videos to go viral.

That and issues such as racial profiling are as evident now — in places such as Baltimore, Ferguson and other inner cities — as they were in 1992 Los Angeles, says Armour, the USC professor and author of a book about what

he calls the 1992 “uprising.” “Ain’t nothing changed but the year it is,” he says.

After the civil trial, Rodney King was awarded a settlement. He bought a modest house for his mother and one for himself in the LA suburb of Rialto, and occasionally spoke with at-risk kids at the request of local police. King, the son of an alcoholic father, continued to struggle with his own alcohol use after his beating. He told NPR in April 2012 that his sobriety was a work in progress. He was engaged to be married when he died that June. A skilled swimmer and surfer, King was found unconscious at the bottom of his swimming pool. His autopsy reported drugs and alcohol were in his system at his time of death. He was 47.

In 1993, Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, two of the four officers in the King case, were found guilty of violating King’s civil rights. They both served 30 months in prison and did not return to the police force. They no longer live in California.

The other two officers, Timothy Wind and Theodore Briseno, were both fired by the LAPD and also no longer live in California.

Tom Bradley — the first African-American mayor of Los Angeles — died in 1998 at age 80. He served 20 years as the city’s leader.

After 14 years as chief of LA police, Daryl Gates was forced to resign in June 1992. He died in 2010 at age 83.

After extensive surgery and therapy, Reginald Denny— whose skull was fractured on April 29 when a rioter threw a brick at his head, among other injuries — regained his ability to walk and talk. He now lives in Arizona.

It’s easy to see from the re-telling of the preceding horrific events that the answer to Rodney King’s plaintive question, “Can we all get along?” is a resounding “NO!” And America’s original sin of slavery

is to blame and it is the basic cause and underlying reason why “we all *cannot* get along.”



Now, let’s ZOOM-OUT - way far back in history - to Before Christ even - and then with our camera pan around and focus up into modern times. Here is a disturbingly long list detailing the history of slavery and of “man’s inhumanity to man” as well as – believe it or not – instances of hopeful and positive events that have taken place around the world.

Slavery’s Roots: War and Economic Domination

- 6800 B.C. The world’s first city-state emerges in Mesopotamia. Land ownership and the early stages of technology bring war—in which enemies are captured and forced to work: slavery.
- 2575 B.C. Temple art celebrates the capture of slaves in battle. Egyptians capture slaves by sending special expeditions up the Nile River.
- 550 B.C. The city-state of Athens uses as many as 30,000 slaves in its silver mines.
- 120 A.D. Roman military campaigns capture slaves by the thousands. Some estimate the population of Rome is more than half slave.
- 500 Anglo-Saxons enslave the native Britons after invading England.
- 1000 Slavery is a normal practice in England’s rural, agricultural economy, as destitute workers place themselves and their families in a form of debt bondage to landowners.
- 1380 In the aftermath of the Black Plague, Europe’s slave trade thrives in response to a labor shortage. Slaves pour in from all over the continent, the Middle East, and North Africa.
- 1444 Portuguese traders bring the first large cargo of slaves from West Africa to Europe by

ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

- sea—establishing the Atlantic slave trade.
- 1526 Spanish explorers bring the first African slaves to settlements in what would become the United States. These first African-Americans stage the first known slave revolt in the Americas.
- 1550 Slaves are depicted as objects of conspicuous consumption in much Renaissance art.
- 1619 A Dutch trading ship, in need of food and supplies, docked at Point Comfort, Va., and traded 20 African slaves in return for goods. To many historians, this is the starting point of the institution of slavery in the British colonies.
- 1641 Massachusetts becomes the first British colony to legalize slavery.

The Age of Abolition

- 1781 Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II abolishes serfdom in the Austrian Habsburg dominions.
- 1787 The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade is founded in Britain.
- 1789 During the French Revolution, the National Assembly adopts the Declaration of the Rights of Man, one of the fundamental charters of human liberties. The first of 17 articles states: “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.”
- 1803 Denmark-Norway becomes the first country in Europe to ban the African slave trade, forbidding trading in slaves and ending the importation of slaves into Danish dominions.
- 1807 The British Parliament makes it illegal for British ships to transport slaves and for British colonies to import them. U.S. President Thomas Jefferson signs into law the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves, forbidding the importation of African slaves into the United States.
- 1811-1867 Operating off the Atlantic coast of Africa, the British Navy’s Anti-Slavery Squadron liberates 160,000 slaves.
- 1813 Sweden, a nation that never authorized slave traffic, consents to ban the African slave trade.
- 1814 The king of the Netherlands officially terminates Dutch participation in the African slave trade. At the Congress of Vienna, the assembled powers proclaim that the slave trade should be abolished as soon as possible but do not stipulate an actual effective date for abolition.
- 1820 The government of Spain abolishes the slave trade south of the Equator—but it continues in Cuba until 1888.
- 1833 The Factory Act in Britain establishes a working day in textile manufacture, provides for government inspection of working conditions, bans the employment of children under age 9, and limits the workday of children between 13 and 18 years of age to 12 hours.
- 1834 The Abolition Act abolishes slavery throughout the



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

British Empire, including British colonies in North America. The bill emancipates slaves in all British colonies and appropriates nearly \$100 million in today's money to compensate slave owners for their losses.

- 1840 The new British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society calls the first World Anti-Slavery Convention in London to mobilize reformers and assist post-emancipation efforts throughout the world. A group of U.S. abolitionists attends, but Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, as well as several male supporters, leave the meeting in protest when women are excluded from seating on the convention floor.
- 1845 The British Navy assigns 36 ships to its Anti-Slavery Squadron, making it one of the largest fleets in the world.
- 1848 The government of France abolishes slavery in all French colonies.
- 1850 The government of Brazil ends the country's participation in the slave trade and declares slave traffic to be a form of piracy.
- 1861 Alexander II emancipates all Russian serfs, numbering about 50 million. His decree begins the Great Reform in Russia and earns him the title "Czar Liberator."
- 1863 President Abraham Lincoln issues The Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all U.S. slaves in states that had seceded from the Union, except for those in Confederate areas already controlled by the Union army.
- 1863 The government of the Netherlands takes official action to abolish slavery in all Dutch colonies.
- 1865 Congress gives final passage to, and a sufficient number of states ratify, the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to outlaw slavery. The amendment reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."
- 1888 The Lei Aurea, or Golden Law, ends slavery in South America when the legislature of Brazil frees the country's 725,000 slaves.
- 1865-1920 Following the American Civil War, hundreds of thousands of African Americans are re-enslaved in an abusive manipulation of the legal system called "peonage." Across the Deep South, African-American men and women are falsely arrested and convicted of crimes, then "leased" to coal and iron mines, brick factories, plantations, and other danger-

ous workplaces. The formal peonage system slows down after World War I but doesn't fully end until the 1940s. However, in recent years, activists have noted that the 13 Amendment to the U.S. Constitution does not outlaw prison slavery, and that requiring inmates to work in prison industries today constitutes a continuing form of modern slavery.

Abolition Spreads Worldwide

- 1909 The Congo Reform Association, founded in Britain, ends forced labor in the Congo Free State, today the Democratic Republic of the Congo. After years of anti-slavery activism, the association's Red Rubber Campaign stops the brutal system of Belgium's King Leopold II, whose officials forced local people to produce rubber for sale in Europe and terrorized those who refused, cutting off their hands and burning down their houses.
- 1910 The International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade, signed in Paris, is the first of its kind, obligating parties to punish anyone who recruits a woman or girl under age into prostitution, even if she consents.
- 1913 After a public outcry galvanized by media reports and subsequent peoples' petition, the British Parliament shuts down the Peruvian Amazon Company, a British entity that was torturing and exploiting indigenous Indians in Peru.
- 1915 The colonial government of Malaya officially abolishes slavery.
- 1918 The British governor of Hong Kong estimates that the majority of households that could afford it keep a young child as a household slave.
- 1919 The International Labor Organization (ILO) is founded to establish a code of global labor standards. Headquartered in Geneva, the ILO unites government, labor, and management to make recommendations concerning pay, working conditions, trade union rights, safety, woman and child labor, and social security.
- 1923 The British colonial government in Hong Kong bans the selling of little girls as domestic slaves.
- 1926 The League of Nations approves the Slavery Convention, which defines slavery as "status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." More than 30 governments sign the document, which charges all member



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

nations to work to suppress all forms of slavery.

- 1926 Burma abolishes legal slavery.
- 1927 Slavery is legally abolished in Sierra Leone, a country founded as a colony by the British in the 18th century to serve as a homeland for freed slaves.
- 1930 The U.S. Tariff Act prohibits the importation of products made with “forced or indentured labor.” (In 1997, the Sanders Amendment clarified that this applies to products made with “forced or indentured child labor.”)
- 1936 The King of Saudi Arabia issues a decree that ends the importation of new slaves, regulates the conditions of existing slaves, and provides for manumission—the act of slave owners freeing their slaves—under some conditions.
- 1938 The Japanese military establishes “comfort stations”—actually brothels—for Japanese troops. Thousands of Korean and Chinese women are forced into sex slavery during World War II as military “comfort women.”
- 1939-1945 The German Nazi government uses widespread slave labor in farming and industry. Up to nine million people are forced to work to absolute exhaustion—then they are sent to concentration camps.
- 1941 The Adoption of Children Ordinance Law in Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, requires the registration of all children who are adopted and regular inspections to prevent adopted children from working as slaves.
- 1948 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, created by the United Nations, provides: “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be

prohibited in all their forms.”

- 1949 The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others prohibits any person from procuring, enticing, or leading away another person for the purposes of prostitution, even with the other person’s consent. This forms the legal basis for international protections against traffic in people still used today.

Abolition in Recent Times

- 1950-1989 International anti-slavery work slows during the Cold War, as the Soviet Block argues that slavery can only exist in capitalist societies, and the Western Block argues that all people living under communism are slaves. Both new and traditional forms of slavery in the developing world receive little attention.
- 1954 China passes the State Regulation on Reform through Labor, allowing prisoners to be used for labor in the laogai prison camps.
- 1956 The Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery regulates practices involving serfdom, debt bondage, the sale of wives, and child servitude.
- 1962 Slavery is abolished in Saudi Arabia and Yemen.
- 1964 The sixth World Muslim Congress, the world’s oldest Muslim organization, pledges global support for all anti-slavery movements.
- 1973 The U.N. General Assembly adopts the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which outlaws a number of inhuman acts, including forced labor, committed for the purposes

of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group over another.

- 1974 Mauritania’s emancipated slaves form the El Hor (“freedom”) movement to oppose slavery, which continues to this day. El Hor leaders insist that emancipation is impossible without realistic means of enforcing anti-slavery laws and giving former slaves the means of achieving economic independence. El Hor demands land reform and encourages the formation of agricultural cooperatives.
- 1975 The U.N. Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery is founded to collect information and make recommendations on slavery and slavery-like practices around the world.
- 1976 India passes a law banning bonded labor.
- 1980 Slavery is abolished for the fourth time in the Islamic republic of Mauritania, but the situation is not fundamentally changed. Although the law decrees that “slavery” no longer exists, the ban does not address how masters are to be compensated or how slaves are to gain property.
- 1989 The National Islamic Front takes over the government of Sudan and begins to arm Baggara tribesmen to fight the Dinka and Nuer tribes in the south. These new militias raid villages, capturing and enslaving inhabitants.
- 1989 The U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child promotes basic health care, education, and protection for the young from abuse, exploitation, or neglect at home, at work, and in armed conflicts. All countries ratify it except Somalia and the United States.
- 1990 After adoption by 54



countries in the 1980s, the 19th Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference formally adopts the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which states that “human beings are born free, and no one has the right to enslave, humiliate, oppress, or exploit them.”

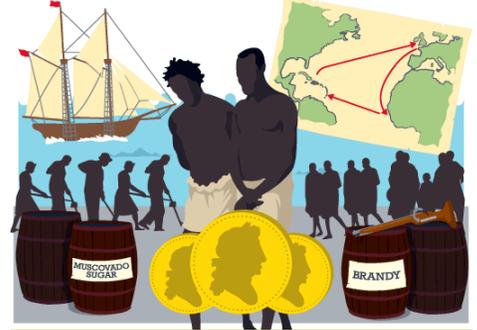
- 1992 The Pakistan National Assembly enacts the Bonded Labor Act, which abolishes indentured servitude and the peshgi, or bonded money, system. However, the government fails to provide for the implementation and enforcement of the law’s provisions.
- 1995 The U.S. government issues the Model Business Principles, which urges all businesses to adopt and implement voluntary codes of conduct, including the avoidance of child and forced labor, as well as discrimination based on race, gender, national origin, or religious beliefs.
- 1995 Christian Solidarity International, a Swiss-based charity, begins to liberate slaves in Southern Sudan by buying them back. The policy ignites widespread controversy—many international agencies argue that buying back slaves supports the market in human beings and feeds resources to slaveholders.
- 1996 The RugMark campaign is established in Germany to ensure that handwoven rugs are not made with slave or child labor. In 2010, RugMark changes its name to GoodWeave.
- 1996 The World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children is held.
- 1997 The U.N. establishes a commission of inquiry to investigate reports of the widespread enslavement of people by the Burmese government.
- 1997 The United States bans imported goods made by child-bonded labor.
- 1998 The Global March against Child Labor is established to coordinate worldwide demonstrations against child labor and to call for a U.N. Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor.
- 1999 Despite being barred from entering Burma, the U.N. collects sufficient evidence to publicly condemn government-sponsored slavery, including unpaid forced labor and a brutal political system built on the use of force and intimidation to deny democracy and the rule of law.
- 1999 The ILO passes the Convention Against the Worst Forms of Child Labor, which establishes widely recognized international standards protecting children against forced or indentured labor, child prostitution and pornography, their use in drug trafficking, and other harmful work.
- 1999 The first global analysis of modern slavery and its role in the global economy, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, estimates that there are 27 million people in slavery worldwide.

Abolition in the 21st Century

- 2000 Free the Slaves is formed, originally as the sister organization of Anti-Slavery International in the U.K. Today Free the Slaves is an independent organization.
- 2000 The government of Nepal bans all forms of debt bondage after a lengthy campaign by human rights organizations and freed laborers.
- 2000 The U.S. Congress passes the Trafficking Victims

Protection Act to combat the trafficking of persons as a form of modern slavery. The legislation increases penalties for traffickers, provides social services for trafficking victims, and helps victims remain in the country.

- 2000 The U.N. passes the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons as part of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The trafficking protocol is the first global legally binding instrument with an internationally agreed-upon definition on trafficking in persons.
- 2001 *Slavery: A Global Investigation*—the first major documentary film about modern slavery—is released in the U.S. and Europe. The film tells the story of slavery and forced child labor in the cocoa and chocolate industry and wins a Peabody Award and two Emmy Awards.
- 2002 The countries of the Economic Community of Western African States agree on an action plan to confront slavery and human trafficking in the region.
- 2002 The International Cocoa Initiative is established as a joint effort of anti-slavery groups and major chocolate companies—marking the first time an entire industry has banded together to address slavery in its supply chain.
- 2004 Brazil launches the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor, which combines the efforts of civil organizations, businesses, and the government to get companies to commit to the prevention and eradication of forced labor within their supply chains, as well as to be monitored and placed on a “dirty list” if the products they sell are tainted by



slavery.

- 2004 The U.N. appoints a Special Rapporteur (Reporter) on Human Trafficking.
- 2005 The U.N. International Labor Organization's first Global Report on Forced Labor puts the number of slaves worldwide at 12.3 million. The organization's 2012 update increases the number to 20.9 million people.
- 2007 Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves is published. Written by Free the Slaves co-founder Kevin Bales, it is the first plan for the global eradication of modern slavery, estimating the total cost of worldwide abolition at \$10.8 billion over 25 years. President Bill Clinton highlights the plan at the Clinton Global Initiative. The book receives the 2011 University of Louisville Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order.
- 2008 The Special Court for Sierra Leone judges forced marriage "a crime against humanity" and convicts three officers in the Revolutionary United Front of forced marriage—the first convictions of their kind within an international criminal tribunal.
- 2008 The U.N. International Labor Organization estimates that annual profits generated from trafficking in human be-

ings are as high as \$32 billion. In 2014 the organization increases that estimate to \$150 billion in the report Profits and Poverty: The Economics of Forced Labor.

- 2010 Free the Slaves publishes Slavery, featuring images of slaves and survivors taken by humanitarian photographer Lisa Kristine and a foreword by South African Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu. Kristine receives a 2013 Humanitarian Photographer of the Year Award from the Lucie foundation based in large part on her work with Free the Slaves.
- 2011 California enacts the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act, requiring major manufacturing and retail firms to publicly disclose what efforts, if any, they are taking to eliminate forced labor and human trafficking from their product supply chains.
- 2012 The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission passes the Conflict Minerals Rule, requiring major publicly-held corporations to disclose if their products contain certain metals mined in the eastern Congo or an adjoining country and if payment for these minerals supports armed conflict in the region. The rule was required as part of the

2010 Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. Free the Slaves has documented that slavery is widespread at mining sites covered by this corporate disclosure requirement.

- 2013 The first Walk Free Global Slavery Index is released with country-by-country estimates for slavery worldwide. The research team estimates that 29.8 million people are enslaved today. The 2014 index increases that estimate to 35.8 million. The 2016 index increases that estimate to 45.8 million.
- 2015 Free the Slaves marks its 15th birthday by announcing that the organization has reached a historic benchmark—liberating more than 10,000 people from slavery.
- 2015 The U.N. adopts 17 Sustainable Development Goals, with 169 targets that include an end to slavery: "Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its forms."
- 2017 A research consortium including the U.N. International Labor Organization, the

ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)



group Walk Free, and the U.N. International Organization for Migration release a combined global study indicating that 40 million people are trapped in modern forms of slavery worldwide: 50 percent in forced labor in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, mining, fishing and other physical-labor industries; 12.5 percent in sex slavery, and 37.5 percent in forced marriage slavery.

this is the root of implicit racism." Buried within the hidden recesses of our hearts and souls resides the notion that it is BETTER to be White than Black. We may sympathize with African-Americans and feel sorry for them for how poorly they've been treated throughout the country's history; and we may even become friends with them, and develop and express deep feelings for certain individuals. But, way deep down, we're glad we're NOT them. We would never admit it. Instead we say, "I haven't got a racist bone in my body." Or, "My faith teaches me to love everyone equally." We may even feel their pain when we actually see injustices perpetrated on Black Americans. But, "Thank god I'm White!" We give lip service to the ideals of "liberty and justice for all" but do nothing to *ensure* that it actually happens.

Whew! That certainly was an exhausting, comprehensive, and revealing ZOOM OUT!



We're going to ZOOM IN again. This time we're going to ZOOM IN to the early 1990's and zero in on something my own mother said. Sadly, my mother passed in 2004, the very same year Aunt Nita died, and it might not be fair to quote her when she can't defend herself, but I'll try to put everything in context. I never thought of my mother as particularly racist, but she often felt the need to articulate statements that she felt evoked "shock and awe." I, too, have been guilty of making statements – true or not – for shock value in order to solicit a laugh, but inevitably the comments turned out to be, instead, very politically incorrect and perhaps not-so-funny.

Quite a few years ago, my mother made this statement hoping to evince jocularly from her audience while poking fun at Dr. Martin Luther King's sweeping gestures and soaring voice during his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. She announced very dramatically in a faux King voice, "He had a dream all right! He dreamt he was White!" Cue laughter.

I've pondered this line over and over again these many years since her passing. I thought, "Perhaps

This reminds me of a mother who has several children. One of them asks her, "Which one of us do you like the best?" She always replies, "I love you all the same because each of you is my child." How can White people grow and nurture an instinctive bond of "sameness" and love for Black people? In our natural world, we observe with our eyes the various properties of the colors black and white; in our emotional world, can White America ever learn to *not distinguish between and not fear* the presence of color?

Now we segueway into Robin DiAngelo's book *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk about Racism*. It refers to the defensive moves that White people make when challenged racially. White fragility is characterized by emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and by noticeable behaviors. In *The New York Times* best-selling book, she explores the counterproductive reactions White people have when their assumptions about race are challenged, and how these reactions maintain racial inequality.

It's time to ZOOM IN yet again to a 2018 National Public Radio interview between Jennifer Ludden and Robin DiAngelo, the author of *White Fragility*.

JENNIFER LUDDEN, HOST:

Why is it so hard for White people to talk about racism? That's the question author Robin DiAngelo tries to answer in her latest book *White Fragility*. For more than two decades, she's delved into issues of social and racial justice as an academic, trainer and consul-



tant. And she joins us now. Welcome.

ROBIN DIANGELO: Thank you.

LUDDEN: First, since we are on radio here - no one can see us - let's just point out that you, Robin, are a White woman.

DIANGELO: I am very clearly a White woman.

LUDDEN: As am I. OK, you actually - in the book, you have a list of these predictable responses that you said you got over and over in these diversity training workshops. Can you give us an example of a few?

DIANGELO: Yeah. And I think of them as the evidence that White people will give when the topic of racism comes up to basically establish that we're not racist.

So, the evidence - probably the classic one is "I was taught to treat everyone the same. I don't see color. It's focusing on race that divides us. Oh, I'm not racist. I marched in the '60s. I was in the Peace Corps. I was in Teach for America. I took a trip to Costa Rica. I have multiracial grandchildren."

You know, the list goes on. And as you noticed, some of those I think of as colorblind - *I don't see it*. And some color-celebrate - *I embrace it*. And all of them basically exempt the person from any further engagement and close the conversation - take racism off the table.

LUDDEN: So, they're like, "This doesn't apply to me. I don't need what you're here to..."

DIANGELO: "Nothing to see here, let's move on." And let's take that number-one narrative, which is "I was taught to treat everyone the same." You know, actually no one was - or could be taught to treat everyone the same. We can't do it. We don't do it. We don't even want to do it in the sense that people have different needs.

And I can tell you, though, when people of color hear White people say, "I was taught to treat everyone the same," when racism comes up, they're usually rolling their eyes. And they're definitely not thinking, "Oh, right, I'm talking to a woke White person right now." They're usually thinking, "This is a dangerous White person. This is a White person who has no self-awareness and is not

going to be able to hold and affirm my reality," which is fundamentally different than theirs in a society which is deeply separate and unequal by race.

LUDDEN: And you actually, in this book, very specifically target White progressives. You say that White progressives cause the most daily damage to people of color. What do you mean?

DIANGELO: Yeah. First, let's define what a White progressive is. In my mind, it's any White person who thinks they're not racist - thinks they get it, thinks they are less racist, who's listening to the show right now thinking of all the other White people that really should be listening to this show right now.

LUDDEN: Right. It's never us.



ROBIN DIANGELO

DIANGELO: Right. And we are most likely to be in the lives of people of color on a daily basis. I don't know anyone who would march in Charlottesville, right? And those are terrifying examples - that people of color have to navigate knowing that they exist in our society. But I'm likely the person, day in and day out, they're around. And to the degree that I think, I've already arrived. I'm just not going to engage. Why should I engage? My vote already arrived. It's not my problem. I'm not

part of the problem.

And when the issue comes up, I'm going to put my energy into making sure you understand that I've already arrived. And none of my energy on what I really need to be doing for the rest of my life, which is ongoing education, relationship-building, risk-taking, mistake-making and ultimately actual strategic action to interrupt racism. A White progressive generally believes niceness is all that it takes. As long as I'm nice and friendly, I'm finished. And niceness not only is not courageous. But niceness is not going to get racism on the table.

LUDDEN: So, if being nice is not the answer - if being, you know, confident that we're not racist is not the answer here, what is the solution? What should people do differently?

DIANGELO: Start from the premise that, of course, you've been impacted by these forces. There's no way that I wasn't impacted by the forces of racism in a



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

country in which it's embedded and infused. And so just start there. And then try to figure out, OK, how have those forces shaped me and how are they manifested in my life and my relationship. That's a very different question. That's a question of how rather than if I've been impacted.

LUDDEN: You've been doing training in workplaces on racial issues for a long time. But it feels like, at this point in time, we're living in a time when there's so much racialized language. It's in the news it seems like every week - sometimes, you know, prompted by a presidential tweet. What do you think all of this is doing to this concept, to the label White fragility, this sense of defensiveness among White people about racism?

DIANGELO: Well, one thing that has been useful about the current political moment is we're done with the post-racial, right? I mean, during Obama's presidency, there was a kind of, you know, we're done. We're all finished. A Black man is president. We are post-racial. That thin veneer has definitely been stripped away. But all of these feelings and resentments and outrage have been just barely below the surface.

You know, you've always been able to manipulate the White populace through racial animus, right? The Southern strategy has always worked effectively - kind of what's been called dog whistle, right? Don't come out and say it. But, you know, raise up the specter of racial resentment. And we're well beyond dog whistle. And so, it definitely has fueled the flames and, I would say, reinforced the divisions. And it's hard to imagine that we're going to be able to bridge those anytime soon.

LUDDEN: From listening to you there, I don't really hear anything about a teachable moment.

DIANGELO: Well, what I can say is that there's a kind of denial that has also been broken through. And my work is actually easier now than it was before. And I think people are desperate. There's a kind of urgency. There's a kind of shock for people who really didn't have to see or think about this - and kind of a "Help us. What is happening?" You know, I mean, people of color have expressed their irritation with why we're shocked. But nonetheless, we are shocked. We haven't really had to know or see. And now it's really clearly in front of us. And so many more people are more open and more receptive.

LUDDEN: Robin DiAngelo is the author of "White Fragility: Why It's So Hard For White People To Talk About Racism." Thank you very much.

DIANGELO: Oh, you're so welcome.

Here's a final ZOOM IN about Paul Butler, author of *Chokehold: Policing Black Men*. Paul Delano Butler is an American lawyer, former prosecutor, and current law professor of Georgetown University Law Center. He is a leading criminal law scholar, particularly in the area of race and jury nullification.

Chokehold: Literally and Symbolically

"Chokehold: a maneuver in which a person's neck is tightly gripped in a way that restrains breathing. A person left in a chokehold for more than a few seconds can die."

The former police chief of Los Angeles Daryl Gates once suggested that there is something about the anatomy of African Americans that makes them especially susceptible to serious injury from chokeholds, because their arteries do not open as fast as arteries do on "normal people."

The truth is any human being will suffer distress when pressure on the carotid arteries interrupts the supply of blood from the heart to the brain. Many police departments in the United States have banned chokeholds, but this does not stop some officers from using them when they perceive a threat.

The United States supreme court decided a case about chokeholds that tells you everything you need to know about how criminal "justice" works for African American men.

In 1976, Adolph Lyons, a 24-year-old Black man, was pulled over by four Los Angeles police officers for driving with a broken taillight. The cops exited their squad cars with their guns drawn, ordering Lyons to spread his legs and put his hands on top of his head.

After Lyons was frisked, he put his hands down, causing one cop to grab Lyons's hands and slam them against his head. Lyons had been holding his keys and he complained that he was in pain. The police officer tackled Lyons and placed him in a chokehold until he blacked out. When Lyons regained consciousness, he was lying face-down on the ground, had soiled his pants, and was spitting up blood and dirt. The cops gave him a traffic citation and sent him on his way.

Lyons sued to make the LAPD stop putting people in chokeholds. He



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

presented evidence that in recent years 16 people – including 12 black men – had died in LAPD custody after being placed in chokeholds. In *City of Los Angeles v Lyons* the US supreme court denied his claim, holding that because Lyons could not prove that he would be subject to a chokehold in the future, he had no “personal stake in the outcome”. Dissenting from the court’s opinion, Thurgood Marshall, the first African American on the supreme court, wrote:

“It is undisputed that chokeholds pose a high and unpredictable risk of serious injury or death. Chokeholds are intended to bring a subject under control by causing pain and rendering him unconscious. Depending on the position of the officer’s arm and the force applied, the victim’s voluntary or involuntary reaction, and his state of health, an officer may inadvertently crush the victim’s larynx, trachea, or hyoid. The result may be death caused by either cardiac arrest or asphyxiation. An LAPD officer described the reaction of a person to being choked as “do[ing] the chicken”, in reference apparently to the reactions of a chicken when its neck is wrung.”

The work of police is to preserve law and order, including the racial order. Hillary Clinton once asked a room full of White people to imagine how they would feel if police and judges treated them the way African Americans are treated. If the police patrolled White communities with the same violence that they patrol poor Black neighborhoods, there would be a revolution.

The purpose of my book, *Chokehold*, is to inspire the same outrage

about what the police do to African Americans, and the same revolution in response.

A chokehold is a process of coercing submission that is self-reinforcing. A chokehold justifies additional pressure on the body because the body does not come into compliance, but the body cannot come into compliance because of the vise grip that is on it.

This is the Black experience in the United States. This is how the process of law and order pushes African American men into the criminal



PAUL DELANO BUTLER

system. This is how the system is broken on purpose.

There has never, not for one minute in American history, been peace between Black people and the police. And nothing since slavery – not Jim Crow segregation, not lynching, not restrictive covenants in housing, not being shut out of New Deal programs like social security and the GI bill, not massive White resistance to school desegregation, not the ceaseless efforts to prevent Blacks from voting – nothing has sparked the level of outrage among African Americans as when they have felt under violent attack by the police.

Most of the times that African Americans have set aside traditional civil rights strategies like bringing court cases and marching peacefully and instead have rioted in the streets and attacked symbols of the state have been because of something the police have done. Watts in 1965, Newark in 1967, Miami in 1980, Los Angeles in 1992, Ferguson in 2015, Baltimore in 2016, Charlotte in 2016 – each of these cities went up in flames sparked by the police killing a Black man.

Every Black man in America faces a symbolic chokehold every time he leaves his home. The problem is the criminal process itself.

Cops routinely hurt and humiliate Black people because that is what they are paid to do. Virtually every objective investigation of a US law enforcement agency finds that the police, as policy, treat African Americans with contempt.

In New York, Baltimore, Ferguson, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, San Francisco, and many other cities, the US Justice Department and federal courts have stated that the official practices of police departments include violating the rights of African Americans. The police kill, wound, pepper spray, beat up, detain, frisk, handcuff, and use dogs against Blacks in circumstances in which they do not do the same to White people.

It is the moral responsibility of every American, when armed agents of the state are harming people in our names, to ask why.

Every Black man in America faces a symbolic chokehold every time



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

he leaves his home. The sight of an unknown Black man scares people, and the law responds with a set of harsh practices of surveillance, control and punishment designed to put down the threat.

The people who carry out the chokehold include cops, judges, and politicians. But it's not just about the government. It's also about you. People of all races and ethnicities make the most consequential and the most mundane decisions based on the chokehold. It impacts everything from the neighborhood you choose to live in and who you marry to where you look when you get on an elevator.

I like hoodies, but I won't wear one, and it's not mainly because of the police. It's because when I put on a hoodie everybody turns into a neighborhood watch person. When the sight of a Black man makes you walk quicker or check to see if your car door is locked, you are enforcing the chokehold.

You are not alone. As an African American man, I'm not only the target of the chokehold. I've also been one of its perpetrators. I've done so officially – as a prosecutor who sent a lot of Black men to prison. I represented the government in criminal court and defended cops who had racially pro-led or used excessive force. Many of those prosecutions I now regret. I can't turn back time, but I can expose a morally bankrupt system. That's one reason I wrote this book.

But before I get too high and mighty, you should know that I've also enforced the chokehold outside my work as a prosecutor. I am a Black man who at times is afraid of other Black men. And then I get mad when people act afraid of me.

Other times I have been more disgusted or angry with some of my brothers than scared. I read the news articles about "Black-on-Black" homicide in places like Chicago and Los Angeles. I listen to some hip-hop music that seems to celebrate thug life. And as a kid I got bullied by other Black males. Sometimes I think if brothers would just do right, we would not have to worry about people being afraid of us. I have won-

dered if we have brought the chokehold on ourselves.

In my years as a prosecutor, I learned some inside information that I am now willing to share. Some of it will blow your mind, but I don't feel bad for telling tales out of school. I was on the front lines in carrying out the chokehold. Now I want to be on the front lines in helping to crush it.

My creds to write this book don't come just from my experience as a law enforcement officer, my legal training at Harvard, or the more than 20 years I have spent researching criminal justice. I learned as much as an African American man who got arrested for a

crime I did not commit – during the time that I served as a federal prosecutor. I didn't beat my case because I was innocent, even though I was. I beat my case because I knew how to work the system.



The chokehold does not stem from hate of African Americans. Its Anti-Blackness is instrumental rather than emotional. As slaves built the White House, the chokehold builds the wealth of White elites. Discriminatory law enforcement practices such as stop and frisk, mass incarceration, and the war on drugs are key components of the political economy of the United States. After the civil rights movement of the 1960s

stigmatized overt racism, the national economy, which from the founding has been premised on a racialized form of capitalism, still required Black bodies to exploit. The chokehold evolved as a "color-blind" method of keeping African Americans down, and then blaming them for their own degradation. The rap group Public Enemy said: "It takes a nation of millions to hold us back." Actually, all it takes is the chokehold. It is the invisible fist of the law.

The chokehold means that what happens in places like Ferguson, Missouri, and Baltimore, Maryland – where the police routinely harass and discriminate against African American – is not a flaw in the criminal justice system. Ferguson and Baltimore are examples of how the system is supposed to work. The problem is not bad-apple cops. The problem is police work itself. American cops are the enforcers of a



ZOOM IN - ZOOM OUT (CONTINUED)

criminal justice regime that targets Black men and sets them up to fail.

The chokehold is how the police get away with shooting unarmed Black people. Cops are rarely prosecuted because they are, literally, doing their jobs. This is why efforts to fix “problems” such as excessive force and racial profiling are doomed to fail. If it’s not broke, you can’t fix it. Police violence and selective enforcement are not so much flaws in American criminal justice as they are integral features of it. The chokehold is why, legally speaking, Black lives don’t matter as much as White lives.

The whole world knows that the United States faces a crisis in racial justice, but the focus on police and mass incarceration is too narrow. We might be able to fix those problems the way that we “fixed” slavery and segregation, but the chokehold’s genius is its mutability. Throughout the existence of America, there have always been legal ways to keep Black people down. Slavery bled into the old Jim Crow; the old Jim Crow bled into the new Jim Crow. In order to halt this wretched cycle, we must not think of reform – we must think of transformation. The United States of America must be disrupted and made anew. This book uses the experience of African American men to explain why.

One of the consequences of the chokehold is mass incarceration, famously described by Michelle Alexander as “the new Jim Crow”. The chokehold also brings us police tactics such as stop and frisk, which are designed to humiliate African American males – to bring them into submission. The chokehold demands a certain kind of performance from a Black man every time he leaves his home. He must affirmatively demonstrate – to the police and the public at large – that he is not a threat. Most African American men follow the script. Black men who are noncompliant suffer the consequences.

The chokehold is perfectly legal. Like all law, it promotes the interests of the rich and powerful. In any system marked by inequality, there are winners and losers. Because the chokehold imposes racial order, who wins and who loses is based on race.

White people are the winners. What they win is not only material, like the cash money that arresting African Americans brings to cities all over the country in fines and court costs. The criminalizing of Blackness also brings psychic rewards. American criminal justice enhances the property value of Whiteness.

As the chokehold subordinates Black men, it improves

the status of White people. It works as an enforcement mechanism for keeping the Black man in his place literally as well as figuratively. Oh, the places African American men don’t go because of the chokehold! It frees up urban space for coffeehouses and beer gardens.

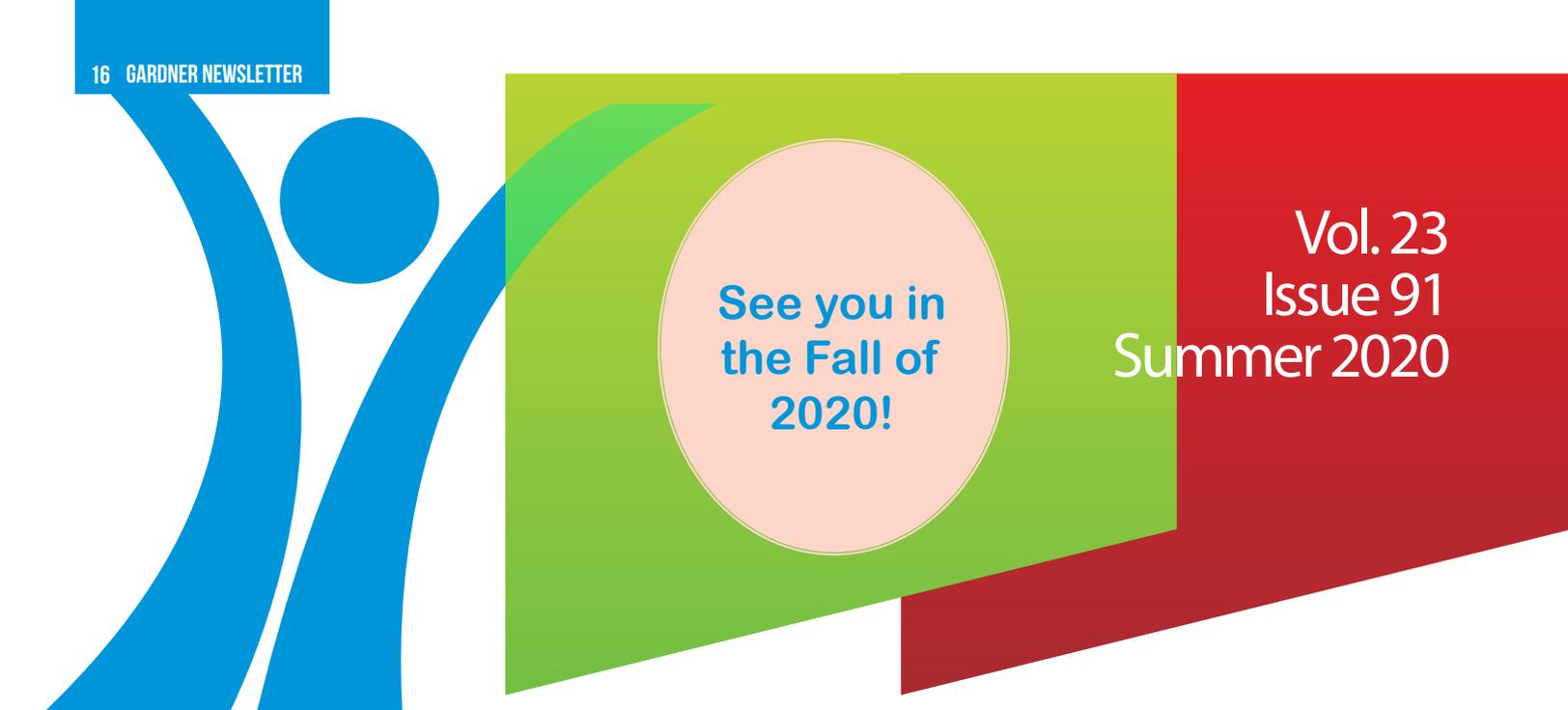
But it’s not just the five-dollar latte crowd that wins. The chokehold is something like an employment stimulus plan for working-class White people, who don’t have to compete for jobs with all the Black men who are locked up, or who are underground because they have outstanding arrest warrants, or who have criminal records that make obtaining legal employment exceedingly difficult. Poor White people are simply not locked up at rates similar to African Americans. These benefits make crushing the chokehold more difficult because if it ends, White people lose – at least in the short term.

Progressives often lambast poor White people for voting for conservative Republicans like Donald Trump, suggesting that those votes are not in their best interests. But low-income White folks might have better sense than pundits give them credit for. A vote for a conservative is an investment in the property value of one’s Whiteness. The criminal process makes White privilege more than just a status symbol, and more than just a partial shield from the criminal process (as compared to African Americans). Black men are locked up at five times the rate of White men. There are more African Americans in the US criminal justice system than there were slaves in 1850.

By reducing competition for jobs, and by generating employment in law enforcement and corrections, especially in the mainly White rural areas where prisons are often located, the chokehold delivers cash money to many working-class White people.

The chokehold relegates Black men to an inferior status of citizenship. We might care about that as a moral issue, or as an issue of racial justice. But honestly, many people will not give a damn for those reasons. African Americans have been second-class citizens since we were allowed – after the bloodiest war in US history and an amendment to the constitution – to become citizens at all.

The political scientist Lisa Miller has described the United States as a “failed state” for African Americans. Indeed some activists involved in the movement for Black lives speak of their work as creating a “Black Spring”, similar to the Arab Spring movements that attempted to bring democracy to some Middle Eastern countries.



See you in
the Fall of
2020!

Vol. 23
Issue 91
Summer 2020

We face a crucial choice. Do we allow the chokehold to continue to strangle our democracy and risk the rebellion that always comes to police states? Or do we transform the United States of America into the true multiracial democracy that, at our best, we aspire to be? My book is about the urgency of transformation. All of the people will be free, or none of them will. All the way down, this time.

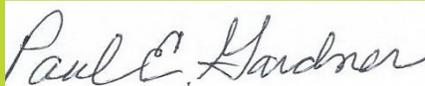
And this is how our camera metaphor of the ZOOM INs and ZOOM OUTs ends. You probably just exhaled a huge sigh of relief. If you read this long missive all the way through so far, I want to thank you for your patience. Perhaps you feel like I've taken advantage of my role as editor of the *Gardner Newsletter* in order to impose my own personal biases upon my subscribers. I hope not. That certainly was not my intention. But, please - feel free to respond and let's talk about it.

I'm asking that you don't characterize this editorial piece as a political statement. In fact, throughout the many years of publication, I have scrupulously avoided discussing politics in the hope of not offending anyone. The main mission of the *Gardner Newsletter* is to espouse the early 20th century family values that Grandma and Grandpa Gardner passed onto the "Original Gang of Ten," and who, in turn, have now passed them onto their children, and to their children's children, and so forth down the line. I've only discussed religion in the context of Grandma and Grandpa Gardner's founding of the Church of the Nazarene in East Charleston in the early 1950's.

Because our great country is in the throes of these two seismic events, the pandemic and the police brutality protests/riots, I feel it is my duty to help preserve the record of what has happened and to reinforce my own personal thoughts about social justice and racism with thorough research from respected sources on the Internet. For me, my contribution to the healing of America is the ability to express these views using the small outreach of the *Gardner Newsletter*.

I sincerely hope that you find your own platform to map out a strategy for all of us to come together to create a new America wherein Lady Liberty lifts up her torch of freedom, not only as an enticing beacon to the world, but that her light will also illuminate the dark corners and crevices of American society where police brutality, injustice, income inequality, intolerance, and systemic racism hide - just waiting to breed and unleash another brand-new virus that can potentially take down well-intentioned democracies in a single generation.

I'm counting on hearing from all of you.



Paul C. Gardner