

**BACK UP, BACK UP  
WE WANT FREEDOM  
FREEDOM**

**ALL THESE RACIST ASS COPS  
WE DON'T NEED EM'  
NEED EM'**

*\* join us in this struggle \**

[www.fundrazr.com/SupportUNCActivists](http://www.fundrazr.com/SupportUNCActivists)

[www.facebook.com/DefendUNC](http://www.facebook.com/DefendUNC)

[www.twitter.com/TakeActionCH](http://www.twitter.com/TakeActionCH)

[www.SilenceSam.com](http://www.SilenceSam.com)

### Defend UNC ~ Take Action Chapel Hill

We are diverse, grass-roots collectives of neighbors, community members, students, faculty, and campus workers united against all forms of white supremacy and oppression.



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# COPS AND KLAN GO HAND-IN-HAND



police violence, white-supremacist collaboration,  
and the aesthetics of both at unc chapel hill

WHAT GOES UP  
MUST COME DOWN

**SUMMER 2019**

MUST COME DOWN  
WHAT GOES UP

The land upon which Silent Sam once stood, this stolen land where Black and Brown bodies built the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is the traditional territory of the Catawba & Tuscarora peoples.

To learn more about the Catawba Indian Nation, please visit [www.catawbaindian.net](http://www.catawbaindian.net)

To learn more about the Tuscarora Nation, please visit [www.tuscaroranationnc.com](http://www.tuscaroranationnc.com)

To learn more about which native peoples' land you are currently on, please visit [www.native-land.ca](http://www.native-land.ca)

**We are in solidarity with those advancing Indigenous resistance and decolonization, and we stand in support of the return of their lands. We commit to take on the responsibility and to dismantle the ongoing effects of settler colonialism at this University and beyond.**

### **CONTENT WARNING:**

This zine contains some threats of violence against students and community members. We have blacked out racist, anti-semitic, homophobic, transphobic, sexist, and xenophobic slurs, but hateful and violent sentiment still remains in these threats.

This zine also contains some images of & references to police and white-supremacist violence.

### **FURTHER READING**

Silence Sam (film, 2017).

"When We Protested," Courtney Stanton, 2019.

"We Tried to Peacefully Protest. Then the University Shut Us Down." The Nation, Angum Check & Tim Osborn, 2017.

Archives of BSM's Black Ink: [http://bit.ly/Black\\_Ink](http://bit.ly/Black_Ink)

Reclaiming Our Lineage: Organized Queer, Gender-Nonconforming, and Transgender Resistance to Police Violence, By Che Gossett, Reina Gossett, and AJ Lewis.

The Ten Point Program, The Black Panther Party.

The End of Policing, By Alex Vitale 2017.

Learning from Ferguson, By Peter Gelderloos, 2014.

Counterinsurgency and the Policing of Space in Ferguson, By the Edge City Collective, 2014.

"Black Liberatory Senses of Place: Creating from Abject Otherness." Honor's Thesis, Omololu Babatunde, 2015.

"Engaged Pedagogy," Teaching to Transgress, By bell hooks.

A World Without Police, 2016: [www.sproutdistro.com](http://www.sproutdistro.com)

20 Years on the Move: John Africa's Revolution (excerpt): [www.http://onamove.com/twenty-years-on-the-move-excerpt](http://onamove.com/twenty-years-on-the-move-excerpt)

Film the Police! & Know Your Rights!, [www.indigenousaction.org](http://www.indigenousaction.org)

How Anti-Fascists Won the Battles of Berkeley, 2018.

Against the Romance of Community Policing, By Stuart Schrader 2016.

Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation, Angela Davis 1971.

"Shrieking Sam," Scalawag Magazine, Danielle Purifoy, 2019.

"Black Freedom and The University of North Carolina, 1793-1960." John K. (Yonni) Chapman, 2006.

This zine exists to give readers a glimpse into how police create environments for violence & how the police at UNC have consistently met the needs of racists instead of its students and anti-racist community.

We hope that it can help sustain anti-racist work both near and far.

*in no particular order, many thanks are due...*

- to the wonderful, brilliant attorneys and law students who have given time and energy & in doing so, kept our friends out of jail.
- to the Campus Y
- to Black Ink, the Black Student Movement’s radical publication.
- to folks who edited & sustained this zine.
- to Marty Kotis, for a constant stream of shit takes.
- to anyone who ever brought food to the potlucks or bakesales.
- to those in Durham who did it first.
- to Students of the Silent Sam Sit-In; Black Congress; the Black Student Movement; The Real Silent Sam Coalition; Students Seeking Historical Truth; those who fought for the Sonja Haynes Stone Center in the early 1990s; the Housekeeper’s struggle from the 1980s through the 1990s; the Lenoir Strikes of the 1960s; to the legacy of James Cates and the students who protested his murder by a white-supremacist biker gang in the pit, to Pauli Murray and Zora Neale Hurston and Gwendolyn Harrison, to Leroy Frasier, John Lewis Brandon, & Ralph Frasier, as well as the many other people and struggles that have been erased and forgotten. This battle was never fought alone.
- to everyone else. Community gets it done.

**“THE UNIVERSITY CAN BE A PLACE OF REFUGE  
BUT NEVER OF ENLIGHTENMENT, SO BE A THIEF  
TO THE UNIVERSITY!”**

**- FRED MOTEN**

**WHAT? WHERE?**

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## SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF POLICING

Police brutality activists often say that police are supposed to protect and serve, and then denounce them for not doing so. But these assumptions about the purpose of the police are mistaken. From their inception down to the present, police forces have protected and served the wealthy few against the many, and the white against the rest. Unequal enforcement and violence aren't aberrations: they are a necessary part of the job.

Historically, police forces were created to protect the property of businesses and the wealthy and enforce white supremacy. In cities they formed to repress the growing numbers of poor people that accompanied the rise of industrial capitalism, while on plantations and in agricultural colonies they formed in response to the threat of slave revolt. In the U.S., police departments were established in the mid-1800s in the urban Northeast to control the riots and disruptive street culture of the immigrant poor, protect the property of the middle class, and enforce fugitive slave laws. In the South, police evolved out of slave patrols, and focused on preventing slaves and free black people from aiding escapes or carrying out insurrections.

In every case, the police were invented to defend the property and interests of the white ruling class. They prevented the exploited from disrupting capitalist society, whether through antisocial behaviors or conscious rebellion.

Today, despite the diversification of police services, the main activity of police remains street patrol. Street patrols enforce a range of ordinances to manage the poor and other populations seen as disorderly or insubordinate. They use race—and especially blackness—as a key identifier for potential targets. Today as in the past, police protect the living, working and commercial arrangements that keep capitalism running, and those who benefit from them. Because the fundamental role of the police is

APRIL 24, 2019

During the last week of class, hundreds of students walk out of class to attend Students Strike Back rally. They spoke out against police violence, highlighted UNC's collaboration with white supremacists, and asked of University administrators, "who do you protect? Who do you serve?" Speakers across campus called for the disarmament or disbandment of UNCPD.



That evening, several conservative members of the undergraduate student senate put forth a resolution that would forbid any dissolution of campus police. It failed spectacularly, showing that a majority of UNC undergraduate student senators are abolitionists.

Also that evening, a veteran student services coordinator (who is also an anti-racist) witnessed an unsafe UNCPD simulation training on campus. The rounds used can break glass and cause bruising and cuts to the skin if struck. This coordinator worked for a training unit for 3 years in the military and immediately noticed the risk that this exercise posed to students. The training had no boundaries or warning signs, and it took place in extremely close proximity to students. The coordinator made several calls to UNCPD and Chapel Hill Police, but they refused to halt the training.

*"As the only way to prevent this unsafe evolution from continuing to happen was to continue to place my body within their direct training area, I refused to leave the steps that I had sat on just moments prior. Within 15 minutes I had been placed in handcuffs and charged with trespassing and resisting public official. I was later informed that after I was placed in the squad car, the training continued."* (Quote from the veteran student services coordinator herself).

**MARCH 31, 2019**

Emboldened by UNCPD's preferential treatment, "Heirs to the Confederacy" members Nancy Rushton and Ryan Barnett vandalize the Unsung Founders Memorial on campus with paint and urine, two weeks after they bring a gun to campus. Unsung Founders is a monument on same quad where Silent Sam once stood, and it honors "The People Of Color, Bond And Free – Who Helped Build" UNC. The text of the vandalism specifically targeted two anti-racist student activists by name.

UNC Black Congress hosted a vigil at Unsung Founder's Memorial later that week to honor the people represented by the memorial in the past & the activists of the present. They also speak about how UNC administration has always been complicit in sustaining white supremacy.



Daniel Hosterdam

to defend this unequal system, it is impossible for police to protect and serve everyone equally. Police departments direct their attention toward the racialized poor and away from the wealthy, and leave everyday capitalist exploitation untouched.

Because police work for the government rather than any particular capitalist, policing appears to serve the public as a whole, and those targeted by police appear to be enemies of the public. Everyday policing vilifies the poor and nonwhite, and invites better-off workers to seek protection from the police alongside the ruling class.

In the U.S. this process of division has always been racist. Slave patrols united poor white yeomen with wealthy slave masters, while enforcing the subjugation of Black enslaved people. In the same way, contemporary policing divides first-class citizens from second-class ones, in the name of universal rights.

Because the police maintain capitalist inequality, policing always requires the threat and use of violence. This is what sets the police role apart from all other state institutions. Unlike other bureaucracies, police have the authority to take away individual rights by force—including taking your life. Regardless of the legal limits placed on them, the police role requires the power to detain, beat, imprison and kill in the service of "law and order." Police are also violent in a second sense: as long as they do their job, everyday exploitation continues. When police enforce "equality under the law," poor people are paid starvation wages while their bosses profit, they get evicted by the landlords who own their homes, and so on. No matter how nonviolent police forces become, this systemic violence will always remain.

*The above text was adapted and excerpted from A World Without Police, 2016. You can find their whole zine at [www.sproutdistro.com](http://www.sproutdistro.com)*

## SO WHATS WITH CAMPUS POLICING ?

Yale University became the first to hire their own campus police officers in 1894. As other campuses followed, the majority of the campus police officers were more like watchmen—they did not have law enforcement training and many were retired from non-law enforcement jobs. Campus watchmen in those years were similar to custodians; they protected campus from property damage, closed and locked doors, and performed other maintenance-related tasks.

However, the formation of campus policing as we know it today dates to the 1960s and 1970s, during an era of widespread student unrest in response to the Vietnam War and racial segregation. As campuses became hotbeds for protests and the National Guard was dispatched to break up civil disobedience, colleges began to opt for having their own police agencies to serve this function instead. Given how the foundations of campus policing rest on violent political repression and continue to serve to protect property interests over pedagogical objectives of justice and equity, campus policing is ill-suited to fostering a safe and inclusive campus environment.

Arthur Beaumont, chief of UNCPD from 1959-68, said in an oral history interview that “[Chapel Hill PD] didn’t respect the rights of students,” and cited that as a reason for UNCPD to bulk up into a more robust department & further separate itself and the campus from Chapel Hill PD. However, in that same interview, Beaumont went on to describe how he hired members of the KKK to police campus: \_\_\_\_\_ →

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### References:

<http://prospect.org/article/campus-cops-authority-without-accountability>  
<https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/sohp/id/4477/rec/1>

**MARCH 16, 2019**

beliefs (in addition to an islamophobic and xenophobic tirade). From tracking social media accounts of the Heirs, it is clear that they (specifically two members - Ryan Barnett and Nancy Rushton) have been communicating with a Nazi account by the name “Jack Corbin” - an individual who communicated frequently with Robert Bowers before Bowers murdered 11 Jewish worshipers in a Pittsburgh synagogue in October 2018 & has been stalking Chapel Hill and Charlottesville anti-racist activists.

After parking in a parking deck off-campus before the planned “rally”, Chapel Hill Police stopped Spivey, who was open carrying a gun. They told him that he could not carry it on campus and alerted UNCPD via radio that Spivey was armed. Spivey was allowed to roam campus with a gun (a felony) for 20 minutes before UNCPD asked him to remove the gun from campus. They gave him a warning & a handshake, then allowed him to leave, put his gun in his truck, and come back to campus.



In remarks to student government a few weeks prior, UNC Chief of Police McCracken patronized a student who raised the possibility that right-wing extremists were coming to campus armed, sarcastically replying, “they all have guns.” Yet he clearly stated he was aware of the law and would enforce it if confederates openly carried guns on campus. However, UNC issued a statement on 3/18 that “immediate uncertainty” about jurisdiction led campus police to allow these armed white supremacists to roam campus.



The second memorial was placed directly next to a plaque honoring Confederate President Jefferson Davis on a disputed strip of land between campus & Franklin St. Officials were unclear who owned the land under the Davis marker & were dragging their feet to remove it. Days later, members of a local neo-Confederate hate group stole the plaque honoring the Negro Wench. Once recovered, it was re-installed by artists. Two days later, the Town of Chapel Hill stated that they had removed both the Negro Wench memorial and the Jefferson Davis marker as they were threats to “public safety”. That same day, images of the Negro Wench marker broken on confederate flags surfaced online. It turns out that the plaque had been stolen again before the Town claimed to remove the markers. CHPD declined to investigate the theft, labeling the memorial “abandoned property”.



### **MARCH 16, 2019**

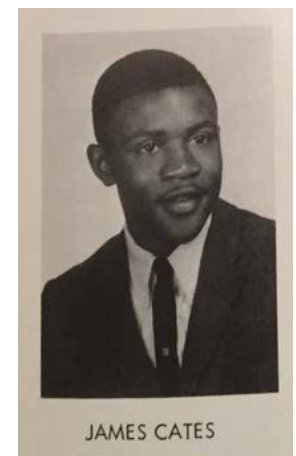
“Heirs to the Confederacy” show up yet again to campus. It is clear that they are no longer here to lament about Silent Sam, but that they instead are present to intimidate and antagonize student activists, who they perceive to be violent extremists. This is no doubt a result of UNC & UNCPD repeatedly making statements that call anti-racist demonstrators violent outsiders set on destroying campus order. By creating a false narrative that ignores how UNCPD and racists were the ones enacting actual violence and equating students holding signs and yelling chants with it instead, the University emboldened white supremacist and neo-confederate hate groups to come to campus.

Three days before coming to UNC this time, Lance Spivey wrote on his blog that he was “ready to kill” students for their

“ Beaumont: For the most part, I didn't look for anybody with police experience because I have always had a feeling that the campus is a different can of worms from anything else. I explained to these people who by their educational and other background would in all probability be white supremacists or Klu Kluxes, that the day they put the badge on and the uniform, that they then became an arm or finger of the University. So that many times the people that they would be protecting would be ones that normally they would dislike or have no use for. But if they couldn't understand this and couldn't act accordingly, then they couldn't work for the University.”

In 1970, a Black student named James Cates from Chapel Hill's Northside neighborhood was stabbed the death in the Pit on campus by a well-known Nazi-themed motorcycle gang called the Storm Troopers. Both UNCPD and Chapel Hill PD were there. They let the Storm Troopers go, even telling them to do so. They eventually called an ambulance for Cates, but refused to drive him to the hospital in their cars. He bled out on the ground for up to 45 minutes, according to reports. Eventually police relented and drove him to the hospital, but he died shortly thereafter from blood loss.

Cate's death was very clearly at the hands of white supremacists, badged and unbadged.



*You can find much more about James Cates' life at [www.jamescates.web.unc.edu](http://www.jamescates.web.unc.edu) ( from historian Mike Ogle )*

## WHAT IS THERE TO LEARN FROM THE SOCIAL MEDIA POSTS OF UNC POLICE OFFICERS?

The “thin blue line” is a recurrent motif throughout these officer’s posts. The thin blue line was first coined in a 1966 police documentary and reflects how police see themselves: as the thin line between “chaos and anarchy” and “lawful behavior” & the “good” public.

The language used in these posts - “battle” “stupid” “hunt” “dangerous” “evil” - demonstrate the sentiment that anything unlawful or uncivil must be inherently dangerous, violent, and thus hunted down, at best to be arrested and at worst to be killed. It also solidifies the police as combatants at “war” to defend law and order, rather than community members committed to de-escalation and collective safety.

Over the 2018-2019 school year, we saw many white supremacists on campus with thin blue line iconography alongside Confederate symbols. This functioned in a major way: it placed police and racists rallying on campus on one side, and students protesting - you guessed it - racism and police-led speech suppression decidedly on the other.



Truck belonging to local racist Frankie Harper (member of hate group ACTBAC) flying Confederate and thin blue line flags, parked next to campus.

**JANUARY 14, 2019**

A small victory day for anti-racists. Silent Sam’s stump is removed in the middle of the night, and Chancellor Carol Folt, who constantly failed to protect students, resigns.



Daniel Hosterdam

**JANUARY 14, 2019**

Activists place two monuments on campus, one to James Cates, a Black activist murdered in the Pit, & the other to the unnamed Black woman whose brutal, racially motivated beating was celebrated at the erection of Silent Sam in 1913. The artist-activists who made the memorials made it clear that these “objects of remembrance” may not be removed from public property under the same NC law that was originally written to protect Confederate monuments. That night in the dark, UNC removed the memorial to Cates from the Pit, citing a facilities use policy which states “no temporary structure shall be erected or placed on lawn space beneath the drip line of trees.” UNC said the statute cited to keep the plaque from being removed only applies to objects owned by the stat; however, the specific section of the act does not cite the need for the object to be owned by the state, only located on public property.



## DECEMBER 2018

Despite constant pressure from the University, graduate assistants refuse to yield on the strike. #StrikeDownSam kept enough pressure on the UNC Board of Governors that they rejected the Board of Trustees shrine & police platoon plans later that month. However, the Board of Governors at the same time passed a resolution to “prescribe minimum sanctions including suspension, termination, and expulsion for individuals who engage in unlawful activity that impacts public safety - inciting riots, resisting arrest, participation in a riotous act, and other acts of violence.” This is a naked attempt to intimidate dissenting students who are routinely punished by police for peaceful assembly and protest. A member of the Board of Governors went so far as to call graduate students on strike “terrorists”. This both mirrors the language white supremacists use to describe student protesters, but also legitimizes their calls to murder students. But, the strike’s success was felt in other ways; graduate students successfully got rid of graduate student fees in the College of Arts & Sciences.

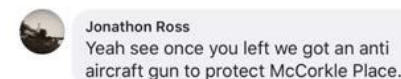
The semester ended with another showing of racists on 12/16, “the Heirs to the Confederacy”. They were joined by James Stachowiak, a member of the III%ers. The white supremacists were successfully de-platformed by anti-racist counter protesters, but Stachowiak immediately afterwards in a video live-stream called for lone-wolf attacks to kill students and community members.



from UNCPD Sgt. Svetlana Bostelman's Pinterest page. (She's ta UNCPD cop who lied under oath to convict a UNC undergraduate)



Here, UNC a Police officer says UNCPD should use an anti-aircraft gun to protect Silent Sam



UNC Police officer's facbook



## IS BLUE LIVES MATTER RACIST? (YES.)

Blue Lives Matter is a counter-movement which on face value advocates that those who are convicted of killing police officers should be sentenced under hate crime statutes. However, it is also a response (read: backlash) to the Black Lives Matter movement - started in response to police violence against and murder of Black people. Significant evidence shows that violence against cops has been decreasing since long before Blue Lives Matter started and calls into question the true motivations for the movement. (It is important to note that in terms of on-the-job fatalities, police rank far behind construction workers, groundskeepers, and garbage collectors, among others.)

Along those lines, “blue lives” have never lived under erasure. Historically, their lives have never been considered less than or disposable; they are held up as heroes. In stark contrast, in a nation founded on slavery and genocide, Blackness has always been considered dangerous to “social order”. A Black life is a life under the threat of death.

At the 2016 Republican National Convention, former Milwaukee Sheriff David Clarke, a Blue Lives Matter activist, blamed Black Lives Matter for “the collapse of social order”. Thin blue line & Blue Lives Matter aesthetics and sentiments have merged almost entirely, fusing together a reactionary anti-Black, pro-police movement with one that places police as both the barrier and judge between good and evil. This is a dangerous combination that further solidifies anti-Blackness and violent suppression of political speech into police conduct.



DECEMBER 3, 2018

Hundreds of anti-racist protesters gather on Franklin Street, the main road in Chapel Hill at 8pm. Earlier in the day, the UNC Board of Trustees announce a plan to build a \$5 million shrine to house Silent Sam in on campus. In the footnotes of the plan, they include \$2 million to create a mobile police platoon to surveil students and suppress protest. Campus erupts into immediate, palpable outrage. Students hold the streets for an hour that night, ending with a march to the stump. Graduate teaching assistants call for a campus-wide strike until the University promises that Silent Sam, a lightning rod for white supremacist gatherings, will never come back to campus. They chose to protect their students, especially students of color, when the University refused to.



That night, two PhD students were charged. The first was arrested by police because he seemed ‘suspicious’ for carrying a backpack on his own campus. His charges were later dropped. The second, Maya Little (the activist who put paint and blood on the monument in 2018), was charged with ‘inciting a riot’ for allegedly pushing a barricade 4 inches. That charge was dismissed by a judge.



## Nazis online react to potluck:

Jack Corbin @jackcorbin  
I'm going to have to join in on the fun. I'll be protected by 100 cops, who will be beating the fuck out of Antifa & arresting them. Oh but if Antifa ignore me, then I'll just start promoting White Nationalism on campus. They can't win no matter what they do now!

**Viking man** @Viking-sword  
Also the chapel Hill police now knows using bicycles against anarchist is standard police procedure Nationwide in the U.S.  
4 hours ago

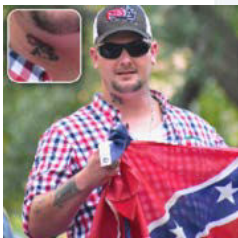
**Viking man** @Viking-sword  
If your feeling sad watch the video of the [redacted] being tazed in the head.  
Mike pence would approve of that Jewish [redacted]'s electro shock therapy session.  
2 hours ago

**Jack Corbin** @jackcorbin  
a day ago  
<https://twitter.com/WRALK>  
This account, run by fascist & Nazi Daniel McMahon harasses Chapel Hill & Charlottesville activists,

HOLY SHIT! An Antifa got tased in the face while being arrested & a cop pushed an Antifa girl down to the ground, she went face first into the bricks & got KO'd! [redacted] seen carrying her off camera! Beautiful police work! @occdissent @NeurologistPhD @tom\_jones @Lucius\_Annaeus\_Sene ca

[redacted] on Twitter  
A second person on the ground <https://t.co/e5cl5UGPNf>  
twitter.com

Mike Springle, a member of the Aryan Brotherhood, a white-supremacist prison gang, with CSAIL on 9/8/2018



**Billy Roper** @BillyRoper  
Lord, I LOVE the sweet, sweet sound of Antifa bitches screaming as they hit the ground. Their females are loud, as well.  
2 days ago

**Stephen Landser** @stephenlandser  
bonus for me is the blue line is doing all the lifting  
2 days ago

**Robert Bowers** @bonedingo  
at 1:02  
reeeeeetttt reeeet re da reeeeeettttt  
2 days ago

**Tank Takkson** @TankTakkson  
Can't wait to get first confirmed kill of an antifa fuck.  
a day ago

head of neo-nazi Shieldwall group

Bowers murdered 11 Jewish worshipers in a Pittsburgh synagogue in October 2018.

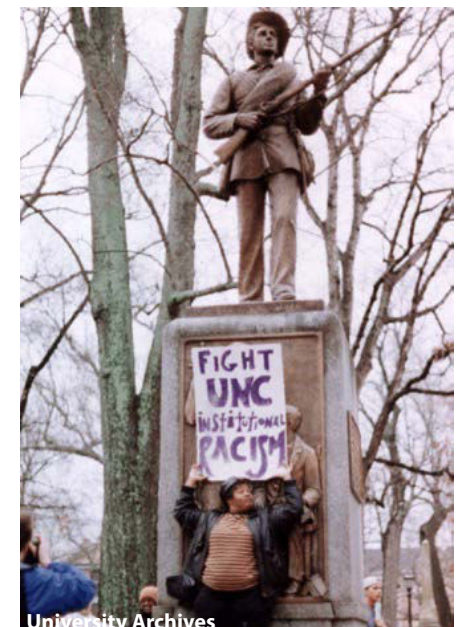
## WHY COPS AND KLAN?

If you were on McCorkle Place at UNC during any anti-racist demonstration during 2017 or 2018, you probably heard students chanting "Cops and Klan Go Hand-in-Hand". Most of these demonstrations centered around Silent Sam, or took place near the Stump, the pedestal that was left in place after Silent Sam was bravely toppled by fearless students and neighbors on August 20th, 2018.

In case you missed it, Silent Sam was a Confederate monument erected as part of a Klan led state-wide racist intimidation campaign in explicit defense of slavery and a racist social order. The monument cast a shadow on campus for 105 years, since its inception in 1913. Opposition to the statue has existed in print since the 1960s and the generations of activism that finally silenced Sam have been historically Black-led, woman-led, queer-led, and student & campus worker-led.

Right: UNC housekeeper Elaine Massey holding a sign that says "Fight UNC institutional racism" at a Martin Luther King Day rally, 1997 at Silent Sam.

Below: protesters hold a pan-African flag at a Silent Sam protest in 2017



Ok - so this brings us back to the point - **why were students chanting about “cops and klan”**? Well, if the previous pages didn’t do enough to establish the ties between white supremacy, policing, campus policing, and UNCPD, let us elaborate here.

In the next few pages, you will find a non-comprehensive list of hostile campus police actions that establish the UNCPD repeatedly & deliberately broke the peace, the law, and the public trust. In so doing, they emboldened neo-nazis, the far right, and violent racists that have physically harmed students and community members and threaten to do worse in the future.

Consider this context when you read headlines like “protests turn violent”, with no acknowledgment of how police create the environment for that violence - how the police have consistently met the needs of racists instead of its students and anti-racist community.

# 2017

## AUGUST 22, 2017



“The First Day of Silent Sam’s Last Semester” rally for the removal of Silent Sam begins at 7pm on the fall semester’s first day of class. Police surround the monument and it is blockaded by police barricades. Two confirmed arrests of anti-racists.

From Exhibit 4



11. Video evidence shows that Sgt. Bostelman did not take Ms. Pulawski to the ground; rather, a white male officer pulled Pulawski to the ground by the neck. (Exhibit 5, D Julia Pulawski, :0:20-0:21)

From Exhibit 5



12. Sgt. Burnette testified that he did not remember being assaulted by Ms. Pulawski. He swore under oath that he did not feel any assault, kicking, or hitting. (Exhibit 1, Tp. Lines 81-82).



All of the police violence during the fall semester could have been avoided if police used de-escalation strategies. During every event where UNCPD choked, pepper-sprayed, assaulted, and threw smoke bombs at students and community members, tensions around the stump had already wound down. Instead, they endangered activists, onlookers, and the press.

As of the publication of this zine, nearly a year after these events, most of the charges against the original 24 defendants (most defendants had multiple charges) were dropped by the DA or dismissed by a judge. Many were found not guilty. Of the four that were found guilty without a PJC, all plan to appeal.

Julia Pulawski was an undergraduate at UNC at the time of her arrest on 9/8. In February 2019, she was found guilty by a judge based only on the eyewitness testimony of UNCPD officer, Sgt. Svetlana Bostelman. Video evidence & testimony offered under oath later showed that Bostelman lied.

The following are excerpts from Julia's appeal documents:

Sergeant **Bostelman** has previously testified, during a recorded District Court trial, that she observed Ms. **Pulawski** from twenty or twenty-five feet away, hitting and knee striking Sgt. **Burnette** in the back, as he attempted to arrest a protester. Sgt. **Bostelman** testified under oath that she rushed over to pull Ms. **Pulawski** off the back of Sgt. **Burnette**. **Bostelman** said Ms. **Pulawski** continued to hit Sgt. **Burnette** as **Bostelman** grabbed Ms. **Pulawski** from behind. According to **Bostelman's** previous testimony, she lifted Ms. **Pulawski** into the air from behind by her torso. While **Bostelman** held Ms. **Pulawski** in the air, **Bostelman** testified that Ms. **Pulawski** kicked and or elbowed her four or five times.

Video evidence and eyewitness testimony demonstrate that Sgt. **Bostelman's** prior testimony is false. Video evidence shows that Ms. **Pulawski** was not physically assaulting Sgt. **Burnette**, when Sgt. **Bostelman** seized Ms. **Pulawski** from behind. Video evidence also shows that a white male officer, not Sgt. **Bostelman**, took Ms. **Pulawski** to the ground. Video evidence also demonstrates that Sgt. **Bostelman** did not lift Ms. **Pulawski** into the air, nor was Ms. **Pulawski** swinging her arms or legs as she was taken down to the ground. And, an attorney eyewitness standing directly in front of Ms. **Pulawski**, **Phil Hausman**, did not see Ms. **Pulawski** assault any officer.

After the rally, campus leaders of student organizations, (Campus Y, which is UNC's hub for social justice, as well as UNC-CH Black Congress and UNC-CH NAACP) announce that a 24-hour sit-in would continue at the monument until Silent Sam is removed.

Silent Sam Sit-In lasts for 9 days, until 8/31. During these 9 days, students and community members occupied the space around Silent Sam 24/7. During this time, the group was visited in the middle of the night by several folks clad in American flags looking to start a fight, had their tent and only shelter taken by UNCPD, was confronted by Confederate flaggers, and found a tiki torch like those carried by neo-nazis during a rally in Charlottesville earlier that month which turned deadly when a white supremacist drove his car into a crowd of anti-racist activists, killing Heather Heyer and injuring many more. The tiki torch left by Silent Sam bore a threatening message in cut-out magazine letters: "See you soon." UNCPD did not follow up on these threats.

By 9:30am on 8/31, UNCPD had broken up the sit-in and confiscated all of the supplies - food, water, blankets, and art given by community members. UNC offered this statement to press:

"The university supports the free expression of ideas, and we appreciate the commitment of our students to an issue they are passionate about .. at the same time, we have a responsibility to maintain the cleanliness and order of all campus open spaces and grounds."





## SEPTEMBER 18 - OCTOBER 18, 2017

The same students who called for the sit-in vow to boycott all campus good for a month to force University administrators to take action and remove Silent Sam. Hundreds of students follow their lead, and a campus group focused on combating local food insecurity coordinates alternative meals to feed the boycotting students. Derek Kemp, head of UNC's Public Safety division - aka Head Cop on campus, sends an email on 9/18/2017 to multiple vice-chancellors, saying that they will shut down the boycott ASAP. The boycott continues until its planned end-date, 10/18.

## OCTOBER 6, 2017

Over the course of the fall semester, 30+ banners with political messaging were torn down from the Campus Y. Courtney Stanton, then co-president of the Y, remembers on October 6th, *"during the kickoff for UNC's 'Carolina for All' Campaign, a multi-year fundraiser to raise \$4.25 billion, we put up our final banners... They read 'Black Lives Matter' and the names of institutions on campus to donate directly to; such as our black cultural center and Latinx student associations." Immediately after they hung the banners, UNCPD arrived and officers "questioned if two executive board members, both Latinx, were students at the university or workers, and threatened to arrest us. At least four uniformed officers came to take down our banners along with the two university workers."*

Brady, Direction from Chancellor is to shut this down ASAP. Talk to you when you get back to office. Take care, Derek

From: Kemp, Derek Brian  
Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2017 12:46 PM  
To: Ives, Brad <[brad.ives@unc.edu](mailto:brad.ives@unc.edu)>; Reid, Allison <[Allison\\_Reid@unc.edu](mailto:Allison_Reid@unc.edu)>  
Cc: Wu, Anna A <[annawu@fac.unc.edu](mailto:annawu@fac.unc.edu)>  
Subject: RE: I will boycott UNC, will you? :: The Daily Tar Heel

## SEPTEMBER 8, 2018



About 100 anti-racist counter-protesters gathered to have a canned food drive and "Nazis Suck Potluck" while neo-confederate protesters & members of a group called "CSA II", one with a swastika tattoo, honored Sam's stump. Police confiscated the canned food (throwing it into a chained trashcan because they alleged that the cans were "weapons"), tackled, pushed, and choked protesters, and threw a smoke bomb at students, ultimately brutally arresting eight demonstrators. (Taking the arrest count for fall 2018 to 24 defendants by this point.)

Video evidence and eyewitness accounts, including those offered under oath, show that police violently broke the peace. Protesters were thrown over potluck tables, left bleeding on the bricks, and tackled to the ground with tasers held to their necks. Footage makes it very clear that many of those arrested were grabbed by campus police if they happened to fall or trip while trying to avoid the violence police melee.



Far-right extremists were emboldened by the police action on 9/8. They praised police for throwing smoke bombs at students and rejoiced in the sounds of activist's bodies hitting concrete.



**AUGUST 30, 2018**



On August 30th, aka the “pepper spray protest”, neo-confederate group ACTBAC held a “vigil” at the Silent Sam stump. Anti-racists held a dance party as a counter-protest. In the group of two dozen ACTBAC racists were members of the NC Shield Guard, The League of the South, and the III%ers, all groups which provided armed protection to Nazis marching under swastikas in Charlottesville.

UNCPD invited Greensboro Police onto campus to provide security for these white-supremacists. As police walked ACTBAC off of campus, GSO Police Captain Franks told his officers to “hit [students] with your bikes if you have to”. Police decidedly broke the peace when they pepper-sprayed counter-protesters in the face, multiple times. UNCPD Chief McCracken later said police controlled the crowds with “few to no injuries”; however, students were left vomiting, burned, and unable to breathe or see. Those who were sprayed directly on their lower body were numb for over two days.

Video footage from earlier that night shows police telling these racists “we are here for protection for YOU.”



Facebook post from the Campus Y detailing how UNC administrators repeatedly took down protest banners from their building, a space dedicated to student-led social justice.



UNC Campus Y

August 20, 2017 · 🌐

### \*University Suppresses Anti-Racism and the Campus Y\*

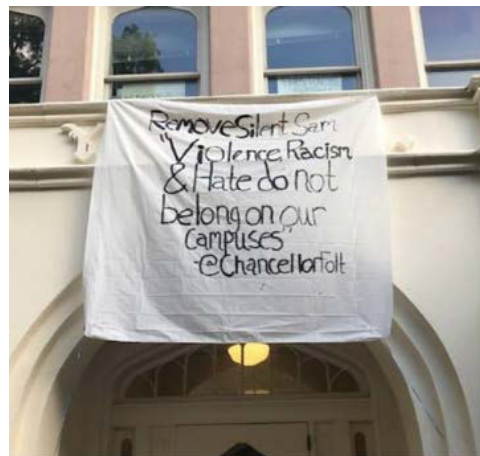
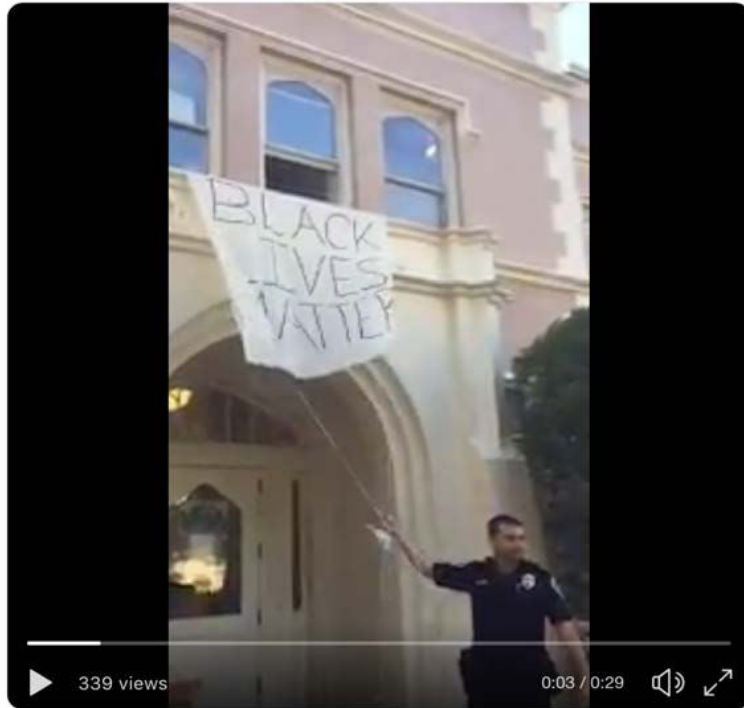
In light of the white supremacy and violence in Charlottesville, ongoing attacks on the Center for Civil Rights, and the longstanding history of racial injustice in North Carolina, banners were hung outside the Campus Y. These banners were intended to provide a small counterweight to the racist ideologies espoused by other physical spaces on campus like Silent Sam or the range of buildings named after Confederates and Klan associates. The banners went up Wednesday. On Friday we were told they had to be taken down because as advertisements or documents hanging from the building they were noncompliant with UNC's building protocol. We declined to take them down, and by Saturday morning they were forcefully removed. Not only were our banners removed, but so were posters that former Co-Presidents taped against the Co-President office window expressing support for HBCU's. This was a particularly telling act, because originally we were told that these posters were the only acceptable form of signage. We find this course of action frustrating both because the banners were clearly an exercise of free expression, not an advertisement for an event or good, and because this is part of UNC's consistent use of facility codes to silence the sort of open dialogue and free speech they regularly claim to desire. Almost exactly a year ago gender-inclusive bathroom signs were ripped off our wall without warning because the University argued they were non-compliant with the ADA. After significant external pushback they allowed them to hang next to new signs. Similarly without consultation, an art installation critical of HB2 that we allowed to be displayed in our courtyard was removed overnight. Not only did the University remove the display because its chain to a lamp somehow constituted a “permanent installation”, but the University also initially lied to us about removing it. Even in our own Anne Queen Lounge, we are unable to display historical pieces on social justice during the day because the Secretary of the Faculty deemed them a distracting clutter for faculty who use the space. Messages oriented towards social justice have been curtailed while memorialization of hate has been protected without fail. We've been repeatedly told that any effort to stop memorializing slavery, the Confederacy, or Jim Crow figures is an attack on our shared history. However, racism isn't the only history of UNC. There is also a history of resistance and progressive change. Much of that energy lives on in the Campus Y, but the current administration seems much more invested in avoiding conflict than supporting any legitimate challenge to regressive movements. In truth, it's clear that the University is unwilling to proactively counter racist and hateful ideologies, but is more than willing to subtly censor any students who take on the work of challenging racism themselves.





Follow

Police take down Black Lives Matter banner at UNC-Chapel Hill.



AUGUST 25, 2018

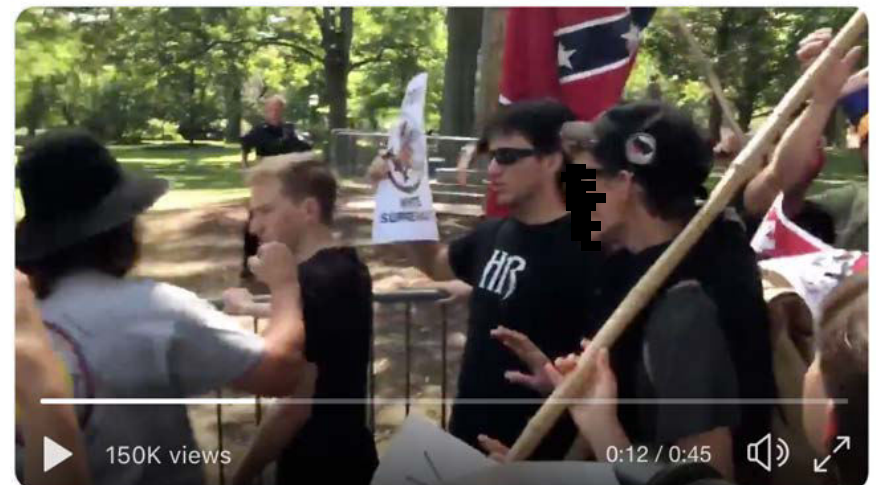


Tony Crider

Two out-of-town hate groups, ACTBAC (a SPLC recognized hate group) and the Oath Keepers (another anti-government right wing militia group), converged on UNC's campus to protest Silent Sam's toppling. The police aggressively assaulted several of the hundred counter-protesters present—but when one known white supremacist walked directly up to a UNC

undergraduate and punched him in the face, officers responded with considerable restraint, politely walking the assailant away from the scene of the crime. The assailant was the only white supremacist arrested, while police pressed charges against seven counter-demonstrators, including the undergraduate student he had punched.

Those arrested remember being put in choke-holds, slammed to ground, choking on dirt. Most of these charges, like those used to strategically arrest activists in upcoming protests, were totally bogus and were later either dropped by the DA, dismissed by a judge, or found not guilty at trial.



**AUGUST 20, 2018**

At around 9pm, Silent Sam fell after 105 years. When UNC refused to take it down a symbol explicitly defending slavery and racial intimidation, the community finally got it done. Folks holding banners remembered being violently shoved by several men



(some of whom were affiliated with the far-right journalists who assaulted a professor outside his office in February). When they went over and told police about the assault, police told them to file a report tomorrow and refused to go over and question the men. Another student activist had a knife pulled on him after being verbally threatened. He yelled at a nearby officer that someone had a knife & recalls the officer looking over at the altercation, then walking away.



That night, an officer with the Chapel Hill Police Department was photographed with a Three Percenters tattoo. The III%s are a far-right anti-government militia group that provided armed protection to Nazis marching under swastikas during Unite the Right. (You can see on the previous page that someone with a III%s profile picture threatened a student's life back in May)

The Chapel Police chief had known about the tattoo and the officer's affiliations since at least February 2018. He was placed on leave after 8/20. A neo-confederate who rallied on campus five days later was photographed with the same tattoo.

**NOVEMBER 8, 2017**

A minor explosion on campus draws students to one of the main quads. Activists recognize a uniformed officer as a man who had participated in the sit-in several months prior; he told them his name was Victor and that he was a local mechanic. Students quickly learned that "Victor" was actually Hector Borges, a UNCPD officer who was undercover during the sit-in.

"He would kind of ingratiate himself with me or other students and just ask personal details about our lives. Knowing now, that he was gathering information on us, it seems a bit more sinister." -student activist involved in the sit-in



Following

A @UNC officer caught red-handed infiltrating the #silentsam protest movement, "doesn't get" how all people don't lie about their names.



UNC later admitted that all throughout the fall semester, they had plain-clothes and uniformed officers patrolling the statue 24/7.

It cost UNC-CH around \$400,000 to "maintain" (read: surveil) the monument between July 2017 and June 2018.

Then-Chancellor Carol Folt confirmed the UNCPD's usage of plainclothes officers, but she said the "University leaves the specifics of peace-keeping strategy to the police."



# 2018

## FEBRUARY 21, 2018

'Unite the Right 2' organizer Kevin Cormier sent an email to several UNC staff members in mid-February, claiming that he was a member of the 'Kool Kekistani Kids' and that he would rally on campus alongside Identity Evropa, a well-documented nationwide white supremacist group, unless the University investigated a particular UNC professor. This professor is a known anti-racist activist and has been the target of many radical right-wing groups' hate and harassment. Days later, this professor was physically assaulted by two far-right "journalists" outside of his office on campus

Students and faculty members rallied together en-mass on the 22nd to protest fascism, and no members of the far-right were visibly present. Faculty present questioned what UNC actually does to keep its students and workers safe from white supremacist violence.

The rally later moved from the University's main administrative building, South Building, to Silent Sam. Speakers emphasized how Silent Sam has always been a rallying point for white supremacists and racists.



## APRIL 30, 2018

Graduate worker Maya Little, in a courageous act of civil disobedience, pours red paint and their own blood onto Silent Sam. UNCPD arrests Maya and officers tear up signs that students used all year to contextualize the monument.



Later, neo-nazis, confederates, and white supremacists rallied online to harass Maya and threaten their life.

UNC never responded to the many concerns that faculty and students raised about safety on campus and threats of violence from far-right groups.



*these are just a few of the dozens of threats.*