**WE START OUR DEBATE WITH THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM HUNDREDS OF GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS TO THE HEADS OF STATE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES**

**JUST ASSOCIATES an International feminist organization 2k13**

Letter to heads of states dated April 30 and reprinted by JUSTASSOCIATES.ORG;

<http://www.justassociates.org/sites/justassociates.org/files/eng_letter_to_heads_of_states_-_sica_april_30_2013.pdf>

Dear Honorable:

President Barack Obama

President Enrique Peña Nieto

President Laura Chinchilla

President Otto Pérez Molina

President Porfirio Lobo

President Mauricio Funes

President Daniel Ortega

President Ricardo Martinelli

Attorney General & Minister of Foreign Affairs Wilfred Elrington

April 30, 2013

**We, the undersigned civil society organizations from throughout the region, are writing to you on the eve of your meetings in Mexico** and at the Summit of the Central American Integration System (SICA) in Costa Rica.

**We welcome the opportunity for our nations to discuss cooperation on critical cross-border issues and urge our States to address our concerns about the dire human rights crisis in Mesoamerica.**

**Our organizations have documented an alarming increase in violence and human rights violations.** **While we recognize that transnational crime and drug trafficking play a role in this violence, we call on our governments to acknowledge that failed security policies that have militarized citizen security have only exacerbated the problem, and are directly contributing to increased human suffering in the region.**

**It is time to refocus regional dialogue and resource investment to address the root causes of violence, understanding that for many citizens and communities, drug trafficking is not the principal cause of insecurity.**

**Harmful “development” policies have similarly caused increased conflict and abuses, while forced migration and criminalization of migrants and human rights activists continues to divide families.** Most importantly, the region’s challenges must be addressed without violating fundamental rights and human dignity.

We offer further analysis and recommendations of the key issues that require urgent attention: 1. **Militarization of the drug war has caused increased violence and has failed to provide citizen security.**

**Human rights abuses against our families and communities are, in many cases, directly attributable to failed and counterproductive security policies that have militarized our societies in the name of the “war on drugs.”**

**The deployment of our countries’ armed forces to combat organized crime and drug-trafficking, and the increasing militarization of police units, endanger already weak civilian institutions and leads to increased human rights violations.**

 In Mexico, drug-related violence and the militarized response has killed an estimated 80,000 men, women, and children in the past six years. More than 26,000 have been disappeared, and countless numbers have been wounded and traumatized. **With little civilian control over security forces, massive deployments across the country have contributed to increases in forced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, torture and attacks on human rights defenders. Meanwhile, prohibited narcotics continue to flow into the U.S. market virtually unabated.**

 In Guatemala, rates of violence are dangerously reaching levels only seen during the internal armed conflict, and rampant impunity for these crimes continues. As the nation only begins to address past atrocities committed by the armed forces against the civilian population, **controversial “security” policies have placed the military back onto the streets.** This has placed the peace process in jeopardy, and with it, the fragile democracy built on the 1996 Peace Accords. The Guatemalan army´s massacre of six indigenous protesters in October 2012 is tragic evidence of these misguided policies.

 Perhaps the starkest example of a breakdown of democratic institutions today is Honduras. Since the coup d’état that forced the elected president into exile in 2009, the rule of law has disintegrated while violence and impunity have soared. We are witnessing a resurgence of death squad tactics with targeted killings of land rights advocates, journalists, LGBT activists, lawyers, women’s rights advocates, political activists and the Garifunas community. Both military and police are allegedly involved in abuses and killings but are almost never brought to justice.

 Even the host country, Costa Rica, which has no army and a constitutional mandate for peace, finds itself drawn into a mounting military effort to confront drug trafficking that compromises its independence and tranquility.

** The U.S. government’s domestic and regional policies that promote militarization to address organized crime directly affect the human rights situation in Mesoamerica, resulting in a dramatic surge in violent crime, often reportedly perpetrated by security forces themselves. The narrow focus of these policies have proven ineffective in addressing other, often related human security issues, such as sex and labor trafficking and femicides, which have increased at an alarming rate throughout the region.** Meanwhile, the lack of effective gun control in the U.S. has led to the massive and nearly unrestricted transfer of arms to criminal networks throughout the region.

2. **The imposition of large-scale extractive projects on marginalized communities does not constitute “development.” The violence we face today has its roots in the poverty, injustice and inequality of our societies. National and bilateral investment policies enshrined in Free Trade Agreements exacerbate these problems. Large-scale “development” projects are imposed on the region’s most vulnerable populations with little or no regard for their lives or livelihoods. This results in forced displacement, especially of indigenous, peasant, and Afro-descendant communities; bloody conflicts over resources; environmental destruction and impoverishment. Governments and businesses routinely violate communities’ right to consultation.**

**Communities across the region that oppose large-scale transnational projects have suffered repression at the hands of government security forces, and we have documented systemic patterns of threats, criminalization, and attacks against land rights activists.** We hope to see these concerns reflected in the final statement of the SICA conference and in ongoing bilateral

conversations about security, investment, development, and immigration reform.

Organizations Signed:

International & US-Based

Alianza de Organizaciones Guatemaltecas de Houston (ADOGUAH)

Alliance for Global Justice

America’s Program of the Center for International Policy

American Friends Service Committee

Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID)

Bay Area Latin America Solidarity Coalition (BALASC)

CASA de Maryland

Chiapas Support Committee

Chicago Religious Leadership Network on Latin America (CRLN)

Comite Chirij' Juyub'

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)

Dominican Sisters - Grand Rapids

Fellowship of Reconciliation

Friendship Office of the Americas

Global Fund for Women

Guatemala Human Rights Commission/USA (GHRC)

Impunity Watch

JASS (Just Associates)

Lakes Area Group Organizing Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (LAGOS)

Latin America Solidarity Committee-Milwaukee

Latin America Working Group (LAWG)

Marin Task Force on the Americas (MITF)

National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities (NALACC)

Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA)

Nicaragua Center for Community Action (NICCA)

Other Worlds

Quixote Center

Red Por la Paz y Desarrollo de Guatemala (RPDG)

Rights Action

School of the Americas Watch

Sisters of Mercy of the Americas – Institute Justice Team

Sociedad Independiente Ix

St. Louis Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America

Witness for Peace

Regional

Alianza de Mujeres Indígenas de Centroamérica y México

Alianza Feminista Centroamericana contra la cultura patriarcal

Articulación Feminista Mercosur A.F.M

Asociación HablaGuate

Campaña contra las Bases Militares Extranjeras en América Latina

Comité de América Latina y el Caribe para la Defensa de los Derechos de las Mujeres (CLADEM)

Confluencia Feminista Mesoamericana Las Petateras

Fondo Centroamericano de Mujeres

Mesoamerican Women Human Rights Defenders Initiative (IM-Defensoras)

Prophetic Voice Commission - Sisters of Mercy of Latin America and the Caribbean

Red Latinoamericana contra represas y por los ríos (REDLAR)

Urgent Action Fund of Latin America

Colombia

Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas (Colombia)

Observatorio Género Democracia y Derechos Humanos (Colombia)

Costa Rica

Agenda Política

Alianza de Mujeres Costarricense

Asociación Red de Mujeres Nicaragüenses en Costa Rica

Centro de Amigos para la Paz

Centro Feminista de Información Acción (CEFEMINA)

Colectiva Irreversibles

Colectivo Las Hijas de la Negrita

Comuna de la Luna Llena

Feministas en Resistencia

Juventud del Partido Acción Ciudadana

La Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertada

Mujeres Mesoamericanas en Resistencia por una Vida Digna, Costa Rica

El Salvador

Asociación Agropecuaria de Mujeres Rurales Produciendo en la Tierra (AMSATI de RL)

Asociación Cooperativa del Grupo Independiente Pro-Rehabilitación Integral (ACOGIPRI)

La Colectiva Feminista para el Desarrollo Local

Mesoamericanas en Resistencia Por Una Vida Digna, El Salvador

Guatemala

Alianza Política Sector de Mujeres y Colectivo Artesana

Asociación de Trabajadoras del Hogar a Domicilio y de Maquila (ATRAHDOM)

Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral de las Victimas de la Violencia en las Verapaces, Maya Achì (ADIVIMA)

Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral de San Miguel Ixtahaucan (ADISMI)

Asociación para el Estudio y Promoción de la Seguridad en Democracia (SEDEM)

Asociación Sororidad Activa

Centro de Análisis Forense y Ciencias Aplicadas (CAFCA)

Comité Campesino del Altiplano (CCDA)

Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP)

Fundación Guillermo Toriello

Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales (ICCPG)

Mundo sin guerras y sin violencia y más vida

Tierra Viva Guatemala

Unidad de Protección a Defensoras y Defensores de Derechos Humanos - Guatemala (UDEFEGUA)

Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas (UNAMG)

Honduras

Cattrachas Organización Lésbica Feminista de Honduras

Centro de Derechos de Mujeres (CDM)

Centro de Estudios de la Mujer-Honduras (CEM-H)

Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos en Honduras (COFADEH)

Consejo Cívico de Organizaciones Populares e Indígenas de Honduras (COPINH)

Coordinadora de Organizaciones Populares del Aguan (COPA)

Insurrectas autónomas

Mesoamericanas en Resistencia Por Una Vida Digna, Honduras

Misericordia Tejedora de Sueños

Mosquitia Asla Takanka -Unidades de la Mosquitia

National Women Human Rights Defenders Network in Honduras

Organización Fraternal Negra de Honduras (OFRANEH)

Organización Movimiento de Mujeres por la Paz Visitación Padilla

Mexico

Alternativas Pacíficas (ALPAZ)

Aluna (Acompañamiento Psicosocial)

Atzin Desarrollo comunitario A.C.

Campaña ¡¡¡Si no están ellas... No estamos todas!!! Triqui

Centro De Apoyo Al Trabajador, A.C.

Grupo De Mujeres De San Cristóbal Las Casas, A. C

Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña Tlachinollan

Centro de Derechos Humanos de las Mujeres de Chihuahua

Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez

Centro de Derechos Humanos Paso del Norte, A.C

Centro de Derechos Indígenas Flor y Canto A.C

Centro Diocesano para los Derechos Humanos Fray Juan de Larios, A.C.

Centro para los Derechos de la Mujer Nääxwiin, A.C.

Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos "Bartolomé Carrasco Briseño" A. C.

CIMAC, Comunicación e Información de la Mujer, .A.C.

Ciudadanos en Apoyo a los Derechos Humanos, A.C.

Coalición Regional contra el Tráfico de Mujeres y Niñas en América Latina y el Caribe (Catwlac)

Colectivo Feminista de Xalapa, AC

Colectivo Oaxaqueño En Defensa De Los Territorios

Colectivo Obreras Insumisasto Tlaktole Calaki Mo Yolo A.C.

Colectivo Raíz De Aguascalientes

Comisión de Solidaridad y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, A. C.

Comité Cerezo

Comité de Defensa Integral de Derechos Humanos Gobixha A.C.

Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos !Hasta Encontrarlos¡

Consorcio para el Diálogo Parlamentario y la Equidad

Consorcio para el Diálogo Parlamentario y La Equidad Oaxaca A.C.

Defensoras Populares, A.C.

Fuerzas Unidas por Nuestros Desaparecidos en México

Grupo De Mujeres De San Cristóbal Las Casas, A. C

Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (H.I.J.O.S.)

Instituto Guerrerense de Derechos Humanos A.C

Instituto Mexicano para el Desarrollo Comunitario (IMDEC, A.C)

Kinal Antzentik Guerrero A.C.

Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center (Center Prodh)

Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano

Mujeres Barzonistas

Mujeres Indígenas por Ciarena

Mujeres por México en Chihuahua, A.C.

Mujeres Unidas: Olympia De Gouges, A.C.

Mujeres Mesoamericanas en Resistencia por una Vida Digna, México

Mujeres, Lucha y Derechos para Todas A.C

National Women Human Rights Defenders Network in Mexico

Organización del Pueblo indígena Me´phaa (OPIM)

ProDESC

Red Mesa de Mujeres de Ciudad Juárez

Red Todos los Derechos para Todos y Todas

Salud Integral para la Mujer, A.C.

Servicios Humanitarios en Salud sexual y Reproductiva, AC

Servicios Para una Educación Alternativa A.C (EDUCA)

Servicios Socioeducativos y Psicológicos de Oaxaca

Servicios y Asesoría para la Paz, A.C. (SERAPAZ)

Si Hay Mujeres en Durango, A.C.

Tamaulipas Diversidad Vihda Trans A.C

Unión De Comunidades Indígenas De La Zona Norte Del Istmo-Oaxaca

Yotlakat Non Siwatl A. C.

Nicaragua

Asociación de Mujeres "Las Golondrinas"

Coordinadora de los Pueblos Indígenas Chorotega (CPICh)

Grupo Nicaraguenses de Mujeres lesbiana (SAFO)

Grupo Venancia

Instituto de Liderazgo de las Segovias

Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres

Red de la No Violencia contra las Mujeres

Red de Mujeres de Matagalpa

Panama

Coordinadora de organizaciones para el Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer (CODIM)

FUNDAGÉNERO

Mujeres Mesoamericanas en Resistencia por una Vida Digna, Panamá

Others

Acción Ecológica (Ecuador)

COOPERACCIÓ (Spain)

Cotidiano Mujer (Uruguay)

VSF Justicia Alimentaria Global (Spain)

**THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEFED UP MILITARY PRESENCE IN MEXICO**

**MAIN writer for the Americas’ blog @ CEPR 2k13**

Alex Main, Writer for the americas blog at CEPR - Obama and the Militarization of the “Drug War” in Mexico and Central America - 09 May 2013 12:56- Online- <http://www.eurasiareview.com/24062013-ecuador-or-another-country-should-grant-asylum-to-snowden-cepr-co-director-says%E2%80%8F/>

**During his trip** last week **to Mexico** and Costa Rica**, President Obama sought to down play the U.S.’s security agenda in the region, emphasizing trade relations, energy cooperation and other more benign themes.** In a May 3rd joint press conference with his Costa Rican counterpart Laura Chinchilla, Obama stated that it was necessary “to recognize that problems like narco-trafficking arise in part when a country is vulnerable because of poverty, because of institutions that are not working for the people, because young people don't see a brighter future ahead.” **Asked by a journalist about the potential use of U.S. warships to counter drug-trafficking, Obama said “I’m not interested in militarizing the struggle against drug trafficking.” Human rights organizations from North America and Central America have a very different impression of the administration’s regional security policy. In a letter sent to Obama and the other region’s presidents on April 30th, over 145 civil society organizations** [PDF] **from the U.S., Mexico and the countries of Central America called out U.S. policies that “promote militarization to address organized crime.” These policies, the letter states, have only resulted in a “dramatic surge in violent crime, often reportedly perpetrated by security forces themselves.” The letter presents a scathing indictment of the U.S.-backed so-called “war on drugs” throughout the region: Human rights abuses against our families and communities are, in many cases, directly attributable to failed and counterproductive security policies that have militarized our societies in the name of the “war on drugs.” The deployment of our countries’ armed forces to combat organized crime and drug-trafficking, and the increasing militarization of police units, endanger already weak civilian institutions and leads to increased human rights violations. In Mexico, the letter says, “drug-related violence and the militarized response has killed an estimated 80,000 men, women, and children in the past six years. More than 26,000 have** been **disappeared, and countless numbers have been wounded and traumatized.”** The letter also discusses the situation in Guatemala, where violence is “reaching levels only seen during the internal armed conflict” and **“controversial ‘security’ policies have placed the military** back **onto the streets.** And, in Honduras: Since the coup d’état that forced the elected president into exile in 2009, the rule of law has disintegrated while violence and impunity have soared. **We are witnessing a resurgence of death squad tactics with targeted killings of land rights advocates, journalists, LGBT activists, lawyers, women’s rights advocates, political activists and** the Garifuna’s community. **Both military and police are allegedly involved in abuses and killings but are almost never brought to justice. Though Obama claims that he has sought to avoid “militarizing the struggle against drug trafficking”, the opposite trend has been observed throughout his administration.**  As the “Just the Facts” database of U.S. military spending in the Western Hemisphere shows, **military assistance to Central American countries has significantly increased under Obama**, from $51.8 million in 2009, to $76.5 million in 2013 and an anticipated $90 million in 2014. **The U.S. sale of arms and military equipment to the region has also soared.** According to a recent Associated Press investigation by Martha Mendoza , **“the U.S. authorized the sale of a record $2.8 billion worth of guns, satellites, radar equipment and tear gas to Western Hemisphere nations in 2011, four times the authorized sales 10 years ago**, according to the latest State Department reports.” **The presence of the U.S military in the region, and the U.S. promotion of military tactics in law enforcement, has also increased under Obama.** A New York Times investigative report from May 5, 2012 described how **the U.S. military** had **recently established forward operating bases in the remote Moskitia region of Honduras and was providing support to drug interdiction efforts.** **A heavily armed DEA Foreign-deployed Advisory Support Team** (FAST) **previously deployed in Afghanistan was conducting operations with a U.S.-trained and vetted Honduran Tactical Response Team.** Six days after the article was published, FAST and TRT killed four indigenous Miskitu villagers during an early morning operation. As we showed in a report published last month jointly with Rights Action, **the victims’ families continue to wait for some form of justice and compensation for the killings.**

**THE DRUG WAR IS NOTHING MORE THAN A GENOCIDE DONE IN OUR NAME**

**Smith-11**

Phillip Smith et al, November 09, 2011-Mexico's Symbol of Drug War Resistance Says It's Our Fight, Too [FEATURE]- Online- <http://stopthedrugwar.org/chronicle/2011/nov/09/mexicos_symbol_drug_war_resistan>

At the 2011 International Drug Policy Reform Conference in Los Angeles last weekend, one of the more heart-wrenching sessions focused on the prohibition-related violence **in Mexico**, where somewhere north of **40,000 people have been killed since** Mexican President Felipe **Calderon sent in the army to wage war on the cartels in** December 20**06**. **A panel of Mexican politicians, activists, and journalists led by poet Javier Sicilia -- and El Paso City Councilwoman Susie Byrd -- examined the roots and consequences of Mexico's war on drugs and called eloquently on Americans to take action to stop the carnage.** Mexican journalist Diego Osorno, author of a book on the Sinaloa Cartel, explained how Calderon took power amidst mass mobilizations and turmoil after a closely contested election in which his foe refused to accept defeat. "**Calderon** took power amidst political and social crisis," Osorno explained. **"He began the militarization using the pretext of drugs,"** he said. The next panelist, former Mexican congressman Victor Quintana of Chihuahua (where Ciudad Juarez is located) looked at what Mexico's drug wars had done to his home state. "**In Chihuahua, we had 407 people killed in 2007," he said. "In 2010, that number was 5,200. If the US had the same murder rate, that would be 400,000 dead in one year,"** he said. **"There has been an authentic genocide committed in our state,"** Quintana continued. "We have 10,000 drug war orphans and 230,000 people internally displaced. We face not only the violence of organized crime, but the violence of the state." A report released Wednesday by Human Rights Watch makes clear just what Quintana was talking about when it comes to the violence of the state. The 212-page report, Neither Rights Nor Security: Killings, Torture, and Disappearances in Mexico's "**War on Drugs," portrays systematic human rights abuses committed by Mexican government forces, including dozens of documented killings.** Human Rights Watch officials visited Mexico this week to deliver copies of the report to Calderon, members of the Mexican Congress, the Supreme Court, and civil society groups. "**Instead of reducing violence, Mexico's 'war on drugs' has resulted in a dramatic increase in killings, torture, and other appalling abuses by security forces, which only make the climate of lawlessness and fear worse in many parts of the country,** said José Miguel Vivanco, Americas director for the organization. Like other panelists at the conference in Los Angeles, Quintana took pains to make clear that **Mexico's tragedy was tied to the US and the way we deal with the drugs we love to hate** (or hate to love). **"This is a bi-national war,"** he said. **"America sends the guns and money, and Mexico gets the deaths." Prohibition is a godsend to the cartels,** said El Paso city **councilwoman Byrd, who explained how a pound of marijuana sells for $25 in Mexico's pot-growing areas but $525 in Chicago. "Legalizing marijuana is the best way to take it to the cartels," she said.** Ciudad Juarez is "the epicenter of pain and tragedy, but also the epicenter of resistance," said Zulma Mendez, a bi-national El Paso university professor and Ciudad Juarez activist. **The resistance has an agenda calling for demilitarization, justice and truth,** and re-founding the city in a more human form, she said. Zuma, too, called on Americans to act. **"The bloodshed** here **is related to** Plan Merida," she said. **"US taxpayers** are **funding** this **to the tune of $2.5 billion**. People in the US should demand an end to Plan Merida. **US citizens can demand drug reform** and revision of weapons policies and immigration and asylum policies," she challenged. But it was gruff-voiced, cowboy hat-wearing Javier Sicilia who proved most powerful. A poet and journalist who became the voice of resistance after his son and five others were murdered in Cuernavaca earlier this year, Sicilia has led caravans of protestors across Mexico to demand truth and justice and an end to the violence. "Who is being held accountable?" he asked, complaining of a culture of impunity, and not just in Mexico. "Where is the money being laundered, and not just the drug money, but the money from other crimes? **Money is the blood of the poor.** **We have 50,000 dead and 10,000 disappeared. The word to describe this would be 'demonic.' We are all responsible for these crimes against humanity because they are done by our governments,"** he said.

**A GENOCIDE KNOWN ALL TOO WELL BY BLACKS ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT**

**Dix-2011**

Carl Dix- 2011- Activist and Author- Mass Incarceration + Silence = Genocide- Online BlackAdgendaReport.com

This article is a response to Bruce Dixon’s March 27 piece, “Black mass Incarceration – Is it New? Is it Jim Crow? …” **“Genocide must be understood as a process that goes thru stages.”** **Mass Incarceration is the 2.3 million people held in prisons across the country, almost 1 million of them Black and about another ½ million of them Latino**. (This doesn’t count immigrants held in detention centers.) **But it is also much more than that. It encompasses the 5 million formerly incarcerated people who are treated like 2nd class citizens despite having paid their “debt to society.**” When you **add to this the families** and loved ones of all these people – because when someone goes to jail the lives of their whole family revolves around their incarceration – **you have tens of millions of people forced to live their lives enmeshed in the web of the criminal injustice system. The unjust incarceration of Black people on a mass scale is certainly not new. In addition to the post-Civil War Black Codes** that Dixon cites (which were used to continue the enslavement of Black people under another name), **incarceration was used disproportionately against Black people throughout the 20th century.** (See Condemnation of Blackness by Khalil Gibran Muhammad) But as Dixon says, **incarcerating this many people is unprecedented, not only in US history, but in world history.** “Incarceration was used disproportionately against Black people throughout the 20th century.” **This mass incarceration amounts to a slow genocide targeting Black and Latino people. This is not exaggeration – it’s a scientific assessment. People being put in camps or marched to death chambers are final acts of genocide, but genocide must be understood as a process that goes thru stages. The international definition of genocide is putting a people in whole or in part in conditions that make it impossible to survive and thrive as a people.** In his book, Drug Warriors and Their Prey: From Police Power to Police State, Richard Lawrence **Miller identifies 5 stages of the process of genocide. 1) Identification. 2) Stigmatization. 3) Segregation. 4) Theft of property. 5) Extermination.** He drew this off of a study of Nazi Germany’s handling of Jews during World War Two. There are likely to be variations in the process of genocide in other situations, but Black people have already been put through a number of these steps. **And when you look at the way mass incarceration has already affected Black people (and Latinos** as well) in the inner cities across the US, **you see that a slow genocide is in progress,** one that could easily be speeded up. (Developing this is outside the scope of this article, but consider the fact that for a sizeable section of the base of the Republican Party slavery is seen as a gift to African-Americans, and people without health insurance should be left to die.) “The international definition of genocide is putting a people in whole or in part in conditions that make it impossible to survive and thrive as a people.” Why is this happening? Let’s pull back the lens and look at the larger picture. The **skyrocketing incarceration rates in the US began in the 1970’s, in the aftermath of the urban rebellions of the 1960’s which spearheaded the development of a revolutionary movement that rocked the US government** back on its heels, and as the process of searching for greater profit margins was driving the shift of manufacturing out of the US to countries around the world. From one end, the US rulers felt a need **to exert greater control over Black youth** to ensure they would not be in position to spark another round of uprisings and all that could mean. At the same time, the shift of manufacturing was leaving growing numbers of young Black people without legitimate means to survive and raise families. A Prison Industrial Complex? **It was at this point that the Nixon administration launched a war on drugs and a war on crime. Both these wars were to be waged primarily in Black communities. Later in the 1980’s, the US Congress passed laws that disproportionately targeted people in the inner cities**, like the 100 to 1 disparity in penalties for possession of crack and powder cocaine. **What we had here was a combination of conscious government policies and the very operation of the US capitalist system that led to the mass incarceration we see today**. How conscious were these policies? Nixon is reported to have said at a cabinet meeting in the early 70’s, “The problem is the Blacks, and we have to devise a solution that doesn’t acknowledge that this is what we’re dealing with.” And as the de-industrialization of the US proceeded, the ruling class was increasingly confronted with large numbers of Black (and increasingly Latino) youth who the system offered no future. The solution to this problem was heightened racial profiling – stop & frisk, gang injunctions, etc. – that served as a pipeline to prison for so many of our youth. **The reason it is incorrect to conceive of this as a prison industrial complex is that all this was launched well before there were any forces pushing this agenda in order to profit from it. The for-profit prison industry developed much later. It wasn’t prison guard unions or construction companies or rural areas looking to revive their economies by building prisons driving this. It was a ruling class developing policies to deal with a section of people they hated and feared**. “As the de-industrialization of the US proceeded, **the ruling class was increasingly confronted with large numbers of Black (and increasingly Latino) youth who the system offered no future.” We are dealing with a problem that is built into the very fabric of US capitalism. You can’t uproot it by countering the political influence** of these forces that Angela Davis identified when she developed the PIC concept. (As an aside, you have to wonder about using Eisenhower’s Military Industrial Complex as a model to understand mass incarceration. The MIC was wrong and unscientific too. Here you had the outgoing main political representative of US imperialism, who had presided over the invasion of Lebanon, CIA engineered coups in Iran and Guatemala and more, telling us the problem was something other than US imperialism!)

**HENCE WE CALL FOR THE IMPOSSIBLE ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT WITH MEXICO, THE BILL THE U.S. CAN NEVER PAY. A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE THAT ERASES THE POSITION OF THE U.S. AS THE ARBITRATOR OF POWER. WE CALL FOR REPARATIONS BASED ON THE GENOCIDE ENVOKED ON PEOPLE OF COLOR DUE TO THE WAR ON DRUGS AND THE PROHIBITION OF MARIJUANA.**

**REPARATIONS OR BUST: NO OTHER REFORM IS VIABLE AS AN OPTION**

**Lee – 2012**

**[**Martin A Lee - the author of Smoke Signals: A Social History of Marijuana – Medical, Recreational and Scientific (Scribner, 2012). He is the director of Project CBD, cofounder of the media watch group FAIR, and the author of Acid Dreams and The Beast Reawakens. For more information and regular updates, follow Smoke Signals—the book on Facebook.Image by Rolling Okie, courtesy of Creative Commons license. Marijuana legalization is a beginning, not an end. Online- [http://www.realitysandwich.com/marijuana\_legalization\_not\_enough]](http://www.realitysandwich.com/marijuana_legalization_not_enough%5D)

When residents of **Colorado and Washington voted to legalize** the adult use of cannabis, it felt like a momentary rush of sobriety in a country dazed by decades of anti-marijuana hysteria. But **what comes next? The drug war edifice is cracking and the end of prohibition may be nigh. Or may not be. The way things play out is not preordained. Major strategic differences among legalization proponents are surfacing about how to proceed. Some drug policy reform leaders, fearing an official backlash, are urging a cautious, go-slow, approach**: make it as easy as possible for the Feds to back off and let the states do their thing. **Other voices,** claiming a pro-pot electoral mandate, **are calling for bold, assertive moves** to implement the will of the voters. Some medical marijuana dispensary operators are celebrating the prospect of expanding into adult sales, while others worry about getting squeezed out as weaker players fold in an increasingly competitive, multibillion-dollar industry. **Mom and pop growers** in the Emerald Triangle of Northern California, America's cannabis bread basket, who've paid their dues over the years, **cringe when they hear of post-election overtures to tobacco companies** from single-issue obsessed, DC-based drug policy reform lobbyists who presume to speak for tens of millions of cannabis consumers.  **The future of cannabis is up for grabs -- as much as anything can be in our ailing, corporate-dominated culture. So why not think big? Here are some ideas: Tax and Regulate: Endorsed by 500 economists and several Nobel laureates, a 2005 report projected that ending marijuana prohibition in the United States would** save $7.7 billion in combined state and federal spending, while taxing herb transactions would bring in $6.2 billion annually - a **net** gain of **close to $14 billion. Whatever funds that re-legalizing cannabis adds** to federal and state treasuries should be matched dollar for dollar by cuts in the obese Pentagon budget, which currently exceeds the combined military expenditures of the next 21 countries on earth. If the United States can't defend itself with a budget equal to the combined military expenditures of the next top ten countries, then America's military leaders are incompetent and ought to be dumped. Cultivate: **Implement small-is-beautiful regulations capping the number of marijuana plants in a way that favors family farms rather than agribusiness giants. Make organic farming practices mandatory and discourage high-energy intensive indoor grows**. Tobacco companies -- or any businesses that Big Tobacco invests in -- shall not be permitted to grow cannabis or produce cannabis products. Tobacco farmers instead will be encouraged to cultivate industrial hemp, which was needlessly banished from the American agricultural landscape because of the war on drugs. Offer tax breaks for farmers and companies that engage in large-scale cultivation and production of fiber hemp, a versatile, ecologically sustainable plant with more than 25,000 known industrial applications - everything from hemp clothing, food, and cosmetics to hemp surfboards, insulation, and car panels. Exchange: **Organically grown marijuana should be available for barter and purchase by men and women 18 years and older in licensed cannabis dispensaries, herb stores, farmers markets, whole (small w) food emporiums, and health clubs from sea to shining sea. Liquor stores, drug store chains and supermarket chains will be barred from selling marijuana because they sell dangerous, unhealthy products**: cigarettes, booze, toxic household items, children's toys reeking of endocrine-disrupters, pharmaceuticals with pernicious, sometimes lethal, side effects, junk food loaded with corn syrup, neurotoxic additives and GMOs. In order to minimize exposure to these harmful substances while promoting cannabis commerce, it's crucial to disentangle marijuana from mainstream corporate monoculture.  **All marijuana prisoners must be freed immediately and the U.S. government should pay reparations to those whose lives were ruined because they were among the more than 20 million people arrested for violating U.S. laws against marijuana possession.** Reparations should also be paid to medical patients -- including military veterans suffering from PTSD and traumatic brain injuries -- who have been denied access to marijuana or discriminated against because they used cannabis for therapeutic purposes. **And the millions of U.S. drug war victims in Latin America and other countries should also be compensated. This won't ever happen given the astronomical sums at stake. In lieu of reparations, the U.S. government must issue a formal apology for waging a dishonest, destructive, and logically incoherent crusade against cannabis users at home and abroad.** Experiment: Medical marijuana in California, the first state to re-legalize the herb for therapeutic use in 1996, began as a laboratory experiment in democracy, and it has led to a cultural shift in favor of legalizing cannabis for personal use. A portion of the revenue accrued from taxing legal marijuana transactions should be used to underwrite other laboratory experiments in democracy -- in particular, green new deal work programs founded on the premise that a green economy entails more than producing environmentally benign consumer goods. **Spearheaded by a burgeoning cannabis industry, a green economy will point the way toward novel forms of labor-sharing, voluntary simplicity, and local self-providing, while challenging the tyranny of the job system that was implanted during the industrial revolution**. (Work yes!! Jobs no!) Alienation and bleak prospects, not marijuana-smoking, are root causes of amotivation. Educate: For a long time, the illegality of cannabis acted as a deterrent to clinical research in the United States. Recent scientific discoveries regarding the "endocannabinoid system" -- which includes "cannabinoid" receptors in the brain and body that respond pharmacologically to marijuana -- have breathtaking implications for nearly every area of medicine. This information will be integrated into science classes, medical school curricula, and continuing education seminars for doctors, other health professionals, and the general public. And the federal government henceforth will vigorously sponsor clinical investigations into marijuana's healing potential, which has barely been tapped. Heal: Make cannabis a centerpiece of a robust single-payer health care system that rewards citizens who embrace healthy lifestyles, preventative medicine, and holistic healing options. There should be incentives for women who breastfeed their children (kids who breastfeed are typically healthier than non-breastfed offspring) and for people who medicate with marijuana, exercise regularly, and eat whole food diets. (Medical marijuana patients in general drink less alcohol and take less painkillers and Big Pharma meds than patients who don't use cannabis.) Health care costs will plummet when the federal government guarantees that every citizen has access to vitamin D in sufficient quantities, as well as orally-ingested cannabis extracts infused with cannabidiol (CBD), a non-psychoactive component of the marijuana plant with remarkable healing properties. Vitamin D combined with CBD will become the "killer" public health app of the post-prohibition era. Occupy: **Legalizing marijuana without challenging endemic social injustice is a formula for "repressive tolerance"** -- cut the masses some slack while they're getting shafted. **Economic inequality is socially divisive, psychologically stressful, and hugely damaging in terms of health outcomes, especially for poor people, who comprise half the population in 21st century America. Massive inequalities disgrace and sicken the United States. Extensive research has shown that health and social problems by almost every measure -- from mental and physical illness to violence and drug abuse -- are more prevalent in countries with large income disparities. A post-prohibition society that doesn't address pathological income inequality will not be able to heal itself.**

**OBSERVATION TWO: THE RACIAL EVALUATIVE FRAMEWORK**

**REPARATIONS FOR THE WAR ON DRUGS IS RHETORICALLY JUSTIFIED**

**WATKINS Scholar in Residence in Entrepreneurship and Innovation @ Syracuse University 2k12**

Dr. Boyce D. (male)-American author, economist, political analyst, and social commentator. Formerly a member of the finance faculty @ Syracuse and also a Distinguished Scholar with the Barbara Jordan Institute for Policy Research, previously a visiting Fellow at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics and the Centre for European Economic Research (Mannheim, Germany). He is also a faculty affiliate with the College Sports Research Institute @ the University of North Carolina @ Chapel Hill; “Why Blacks Deserve Reparations for War on Drugs; NEWSONE.COM, May 2, 2012; <http://newsone.com/2005463/author-of-the-new-jim-crow-agrees-with-reparations-for-the-war-on-drugs/\>

[The other day, I mentioned](http://www.yourblackworld.net/2012/04/black-news/dr-boyce-should-reparations-be-paid-for-the-failed-war-on-drugs/) that **it makes sense for Black America to call for reparations for the**[**War on Drugs**](http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyid=9252490)**.  This misleading assault on the economic and social stability of Black America has led to untold devastation** in our communities, **as drugs and guns were allowed to flood urban areas.  This was not by accident, as the CIA looked the other way and allowed the drugs to come into our neighborhoods to fund covert and illegal wars overseas.**

**SEE ALSO:** [**Saluting Civil Rights Icon Julian Bond**](http://www.theroot.com/views/julian-bond-uva-chair-charlayne)

**As a result, families were torn apart by addiction, homicide rates flew through the roof, and Black America has been at the receiving end of a mass incarceration epidemic of holocaust proportions.**

**Given that**[**it has been proven that**](http://www.whale.to/b/ruppert1.html)**government officials played a direct role in the creation of this madness, I say that there is a logical argument for reparations**.

I spoke with Ohio State University Law Professor **Michelle Alexander** (pictured), author of the book, “The New Jim Crow,” and she agrees with this assessment.  Alexander’s book is a telling and riveting reminder of the horrific impact that mass incarceration has had on Black America.

“I think it’s a powerful point you’re making,” she said.  “Also, I think it’s worth noting that **the United States has spent more than one trillion dollars waging the drug war since it began — funds that could have been used for education, job creation, etc.  It is reasonable that at least a trillion dollars be paid to repair the damage that has been done, reparations that could take the form of massive investments in the schools and community hardest hit by the drug war, as well as payments to individuals and families that have been destroyed.”**

Are reparations practical?  I am not sure, given that we live in a nation that has refused to even apologize for slavery.

But **the fact that an entity refuses to take responsibility for its actions does not mean that you should not accurately highlight such accountability.   Those who expect America to calm itself into a sweet, kind “post-racial society” must be made aware that an unforgivable amount of damage has been done as a result of the war on drugs, and any post-racial society must be built on accepting responsibility for wrongs that have been committed in the past.**

**The war on drugs is not like slavery, which affected our great, great, great grandparents. Many children today have parents who’ve received 60-year prison sentences for drug possession.   Families are mourning the loss of loved ones who’ve been murdered by weapons allowed to enter Black communities as a result of the drug trade.**  I run into countless young people who are traumatized after growing up with parents who were addicted to drugs.  **The pain and misery is all around us, so it’s very simple to prove that the damage has been nothing short of crippling.**

**It’s time to address this matter in a series of public forums, legislation, petitions, and even protests.** It’s also time for all of us to promote awareness in our own communities about the dangers of drugs and mentor our young people to create better lives for themselves.  Like a town that’s been ravaged by a violent tornado, it’s going to take a consistent effort by all of us to clean up the mess in our community.  It’s time to start making things right.

**THE 1AC’S DISCOURSE WITHIN THE DEBATE SPACE IS ON POINT!**

**Alexander-2010**- Michelle- former lawyer turn anti-incarceration activist- The New Jim Crow- 221-225

The list could go on, of course, but the point has been made. **The central question for racial justice advocates is this: are we serious about ending this system of control, or not? If we are,** there is a tremendous amount of work to be done. **The notion that all of these reforms can be accomplished piecemeal—one at a time, through disconnected advocacy strategies—seems deeply misguided.** All of the needed reforms have less to do with failed policies than a deeply flawed public consensus, one that is indifferent, at best, to the experience of poor people of color. As Martin Luther **King** Jr. **explained** back **in** 19**65**, when describing why it was far more important to engage in mass mobilizations than file lawsuits, **"We're trying to win the right to vote and we have to focus the attention of the world on that. We can't do that making legal cases. We have to make the case in the court of public opinion."**21 King certainly appreciated the contributions of civil rights lawyers (he relied on them to get him out of jail), but he opposed the tendency of civil rights lawyers to identify a handful of individuals who could make great plaintiffs in a court of law, then file isolated cases. He believed what was necessary was to mobilize thousands to make their case in the court of public opinion. **In his view, it was a flawed public consensus—not merely flawed policy—that was at the root of racial oppression. Today, no less than fifty years ago, a flawed public consensus lies at the core of the prevailing caste system. When people think about crime**, especially drug crime, **they do not think about suburban housewives** violating laws regulating prescription drugs **or white frat boys using ecstasy. Drug crime in this country is understood to be black and brown,** and it is because drug crime is **racially defined in the public consciousness that the electorate has not cared much what happens to drug criminals—a**t least not the way they would have cared if the criminals were understood to be white. **It is this failure to care**, really care **across color lines, that lies at the core of this system** of control and every racial caste system that has existed in the United States or anywhere else in the world. **Those who believe that advocacy challenging mass incarceration can be successful without overturning the public consensus that gave rise to it are engaging in fanciful thinking, a form of denial. Isolated victories can be won**—even a string of victories—**but in the absence of a fundamental shift in public consciousness, the system as a whole will remain intact. To the extent that major changes are achieved without a complete shift, the system will rebound.** The caste system will reemerge in a new form, just as convict leasing replaced slavery, or it will be reborn, just as mass incarceration replaced Jim Crow. Sociologists Michael **Omi and** Howard **Winant** make a similar point in their book Racial Formation in the United States. They attribute the cyclical nature of racial progress to the 22"unstable equilibrium" that characterizes the United States' racial order. Under "normal" conditions, they **argue**, state institutions are able to normalize the organization and enforcement of the prevailing racial order, and the system functions relatively automatically. Challenges to the racial order during these periods are easily marginalized or suppressed, and the prevailing system of racial meanings, identity, and ideology seems "natural." These conditions clearly prevailed during slavery and Jim Crow. **When the equilibrium is disrupted**, however, as in Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement, **the state initially resists, then attempts to absorb the challenge through a series of reforms "that are, if not entirely symbolic, at least not critical to the operation of the racial order."** In the absence of a truly egalitarian racial consensus, these predictable cycles inevitably give rise to new, extraordinarily comprehensive systems of racialized social control. **One example** of the way in which a well established racial order easily absorbs legal challenges **is** the infamous aftermath of the **Brown** v. Board of Education decision. After the Supreme Court declared separate schools inherently unequal in 1954, segregation persisted unabated. One commentator notes: **"The statistics from the Southern states are truly amazing. For ten years, 1954—1964, virtually nothing happened**."23 Not a single black child attended an integrated public grade school in South Carolina, Alabama, or Mississippi as of the 1962-1963 school year. Across the South as a whole, a mere 1 percent of black school children were attending school with whites in 1964—a full decade after Brown was decided.24 **Brown did not end Jim Crow; a mass movement had to emerge first—one that aimed to create a new public consensus** opposed to the evils of Jim Crow. This does not mean Brown v. Board was meaningless, as some commentators have claimed.25 Brown gave critical legitimacy to the demands of civil rights activists who risked their lives to end Jim Crow, and it helped to inspire the movement (as well as a fierce backlash).26 But standing alone, **Brown accomplished for African Americans little more than Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. A civil war had to be waged to end slavery; a mass movement was necessary to bring a formal end to Jim Crow. Those who imagine that far less is required to dismantle mass incarceration and build a new, egalitarian racial consensus reflecting a compassionate rather than punitive impulse toward poor people of color fail to appreciate the distance between M**artin **L**uther **K**ing Jr.'**s dream and the ongoing racial nightmare** for those locked up and locked out of American society. **The foregoing should not be read as a call for movement building to the exclusion of reform work. To the contrary, reform work is the work of movement building,** provided that it is done consciously as movement-building work. If all the reforms mentioned above were actually adopted, a radical transformation in our society would have taken place. **The relevant question is not whether to engage in reform work, but how. There is no shortage of worthy reform efforts and goals. Differences of opinion are inevitable about which reforms are most important and in what order of priority they should be pursued. These debates are worthwhile, but it is critical to keep in mind that the question of how we do reform work is even more important than the specific reforms we seek. If the way we pursue reforms does not contribute to the building of a movement to dismantle the system of mass incarceration, and if our advocacy does not upset the prevailing public consensus that supports the new caste system, none of the reforms, even if won, will successfully disrupt the nation's racial equilibrium. Challenges to the system will be easily absorbed or deflected, and the accommodations made will serve primarily to legitimate the system, not undermine it.** We run the risk of winning isolated battles but losing the larger war. Let's Talk About Race— Resisting the Temptation of Colorblind Advocacy **So how should we go about building this movement to end mass incarceration?** What should be the core philosophy, the guiding principles? Another book could be written on this subject, but a few key principles stand out that can be briefly explored here. **These principles are rooted in an understanding that any movement to end mass incarceration must deal with mass incarceration as a racial caste system, not as a system of crime control.** This is not to say crime is unimportant; it is very important. We need an effective system of crime prevention and control in our communities, but that is not what the current system is. This system is better designed to create crime, and a perpetual class of people labeled criminals, rather than to eliminate crime or reduce the number of criminals. It is not uncommon, however, to hear people claim that the mere fact that we have the lowest crime rates, at the same time that we have the highest incarceration rates, is all the proof needed that this system works well to control crime. **But if you believe this system effectively controls crime, consider this: standard estimates of the amount of crime reduction that can be attributable to mass incarceration range from 3 to 25 percent.** Some scholars believe we have long since passed a tipping point where the declining marginal return on imprisonment has dipped below zero. Imprisonment, they say, now creates far more crime than it prevents, by ripping apart fragile social networks, destroying families, and creating a permanent class of unemployables.28 **Although it is common to think of poverty and joblessness as leading to crime and imprisonment, this research suggests that the War on Drugs is a major cause of poverty, chronic unemployment, broken families, and crime today.** Todd R. dear's book Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Communities Worse powerfully demonstrates that i**mprisonment has reached such extreme levels in many urban communities that a prison sentence and/or a felon label poses a much greater threat to urban families than crime itself. This is not to say that crime—especially violent crime—does not pose a serious threat in ghetto communities today;** it does. In fact, although violent crime rates have been falling nationwide, among black men violent crime is actually on the rise, especially in cities such as Chicago, where the drug war has been waged with the greatest ferocity. What a growing number of sociologists have found ought to be common sense: by locking millions of people out of the mainstream legal economy, by making it difficult or impossible for people to find housing or feed themselves, and by destroying familial bonds by warehousing millions for minor crimes, we make crime more—not less—likely in the most vulnerable communities. **The success of pilot programs like Operation Ceasefire and Oakland's Lifeline program—which reach out to gang members and offer them jobs and opportunities rather than prison time if they cease their criminal activities—in dramatically reducing violent crime rates should not be met with shock and amazement.**29 When given a choice, most people in the ghetto, like anywhere else, would prefer to be able to work, support their families, and live without fear of harm or violence, if given the chance. But even assuming that our nation achieved as much as a 25 percent reduction in crime overall through mass incarceration, it still means that the overwhelming majority of incarceration—75 percent—has had absolutely no impact on crime, despite costing nearly $200 billion annually. As a crime reduction strategy, mass incarceration is an abysmal failure. It is largely ineffective and extraordinarily expensive. **Saying mass incarceration is an abysmal failure makes sense, though, only if one assumes that the criminal justice system is designed to prevent and control crime. But if mass incarceration is understood as a system of social control—specifically, racial control—then the system is a fantastic success.** In less than two decades, the prison population quadrupled, and large majorities of poor people of color in urban areas throughout the United States were placed under the control of the criminal justice system or saddled with criminal records for life. Almost overnight, huge segments of ghetto communities were permanently relegated to a second-class status, disenfranchised, and subjected to perpetual surveillance and monitoring by law enforcement agencies. One could argue this result is a tragic, unforeseeable mistake, and that the goal was always crime control, not the creation of a racial undercaste. But judging by the political rhetoric and the legal rules employed in the War on Drugs, this result is no freak accident.

Racism must be rejected in EVERY INSTANCE without surcease – prerequisite to morality.

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Memmi ’00 [2000, Albert is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ Unv. Of Paris, Albert-; RACISM, translated by Steve Martinot, pp.163-165]

The struggle against racism will be long, difficult, without intermission, without remission, probably never achieved, yet for this very reason, it is a struggle to be undertaken without surcease and without concessions. One cannot be indulgent toward racism. One cannot even let the monster in the house, especially not in a mask. To give it merely a foothold means to augment the bestial part in us and in other people which is to diminish what is human. To accept the racist universe to the slightest degree is to endorse fear, injustice, and violence. It is to accept the persistence of the dark history in which we still largely live. It is to agree that the outsider will always be a possible victim(and which [person] man is not [themself] himself an outsider relative to someone else?). Racism illustrates in sum, the inevitable negativity of the condition of the dominated**;** that is it illuminates in a certain sense the entire human condition. The anti-racist struggle, difficult though it is, and always in question, is nevertheless one of the prologues to the ultimate passage from animality to humanity. In that sense, we cannot fail to rise to the racist challenge. However, it remains true that one’s moral conduct only emerges from a choice: one has to want it. It is a choice among other choices, and always debatable in its foundations and its consequences. Let us say, broadly speaking, that the choice to conduct oneself morally is the condition for the establishment of a human order for which racism is the very negation. This is almost a redundancy. One cannot found a moral order, let alone a legislative order, on racism because racism signifies the exclusion of the other and his or her subjection to violence and domination. From an ethical point of view**,** if one can deploy a little religious language, racism is “the truly capital sin.**”**fn22 It is not an accident that almost all of humanity’s spiritual traditions counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical morality and disinterested commandments. Such unanimity in the safeguarding of the other suggests the real utility of such sentiments. All things considered, we have an interest in banishing injustice, because injustice engenders violence and death. Of course, this is debatable. There are those who think that if one is strong enough, the assault on and oppression of others is permissible. But no one is ever sure of remaining the strongest. One day, perhaps, the roles will be reversed. All unjust society contains within itself the seeds of its own death**.** It is probably smarter to treat others with respect so that they treat you with respect. “Recall,” says the bible, “that you were once a stranger in Egypt,” which means both that you ought to respect the stranger because you were a stranger yourself and that you risk becoming once again someday. Itis an ethical and a practical appeal – indeed, it is a contract, however implicit it might be . In short, the refusal of racism is the condition for all theoretical and practical morality. Because, in the end, the ethical choice commands the political choice. A just society must be a society accepted by all. If this contractual principle is not accepted, then only conflict, violence, and destruction will be our lot. If it is accepted, we can hope someday to live in peace. True, it is a wager, but the stakes are irresistible

**REJECT THE NEGATIVE’S DISADS UNDER OUR RACIAL FRAMEWORK**

DISADS are an attempt to deny reparations on the altar of political expediency.

Cook, Professor of Law Georgetown University Law Center, 2000 (Anthony E., “RACE AND RELIGION: REVISING 'AMERICA'S MOST SEGREGATED HOUR': King and the Beloved Community: A Communitarian Defense of Black Reparations”, The George Washington Law Review)

If private confession is good for the individual's soul, societal confession is equally important to the redemption of the polity's soul and equally vital to achieving any semblance of a Beloved Community. Confession is the acknowledgment that legal and moral wrongs have been done and social sins committed. These sins have alienated us from each other through social constructions of race that encourage and condone a legion of subordinating and dehumanizing practices of domination. In this fall from grace, the path back to wholeness is not always easy. It requires courage to admit shortcomings, a collective humility that has not often been a celebrated quality of the American identity. We have, more so than not, chosen the path of denial and silence, a path made inviting by the rhetoric of inalienable rights, equality under the law, and freedom and justice for all. Even when afforded the opportunity to end the charade, acknowledge the dreadful truth, and make restitution for past mistakes, we have chosen three-fifths compromises, short-lived reconstructions, and anti-affirmative action referenda. At defining moments in our nation's history, we have succumbed to the lower angels of our collective nature and sacrificed black equality upon the altars of political expediency - saving the Union, saving the Party, protecting states' rights, and constructing a trans-ethnic solidarity based on whiteness. n53 America needs its own Truth and Reconciliation Commission, similar to the South African model in which the stories of victims of oppression and the beneficiaries of oppression can be heard. n54 Abstract history must be made personal in order for genuine healing and reconciliation to occur. This mechanism has the potential of personalizing a history that for most Americans seems unrelated to their lives. At the social level, we must acknowledge the ways in which certain social fears like the fears of disunion, competition, retaliation and humiliation have led to the historic atrocities committed against black people in America.