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Carlton Edward Williams

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SYMPOSIUM—THE MORE WE FIGHT, THE MORE WE
WIN: MOVEMENT LAWYERING IN THE ERA OF
#BLACKLIVESMATTER

*Carlton Edward Williams**

I work for the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts (ACLU)¹ in Boston, and my work focuses solely on issues of racial justice, so you can imagine that’s a very specific and very narrow thing.

It isn’t though—because racial justice reflects on issues of police brutality, police killings, police murders committed against, specifically, Black people in our state. It reflects on the national security state, in which the National Security Agency (NSA) is collecting wholesale information on every citizen and non-citizen. It reflects on what the federal and state government is doing in terms of immigration, in terms of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program (DACA),² and in terms of Muslim bans one, two, and three.

But let us zoom out and go back a little bit in time to talk about the system we’re living in, in both the United States and in the world. We need to understand the bigger picture, to gain a core understanding of what we’re fighting for and what we’re fighting against. I was interviewed about a year ago and someone asked me, “What is Black Lives Matter fighting for? We don’t understand; it’s just a slogan or a bumper sticker. What are they fighting for?” And I go, “Well, there’s

* Presented at the Symposium on Perspectives on Racial Justice in the Era of #BlackLivesMatter, *Western New England Law Review*, October 20, 2017. Carl Williams is a Staff Attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, where he works on issues revolving around racial justice, along with organizing efforts on issues of war, immigrants’ rights, LGBTQ rights, racial justice, and Palestinian self-determination.

1. For more information on the ACLU, see AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF MASSACHUSETTS, <https://aclum.org/> [<https://perma.cc/84NU-6VUG>].

2. For more information on DACA and the current status of the immigration program, see *Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals: Response to January 2018 Preliminary Injunction*, U.S. CITIZENSHIP & IMMIGR. SERVS. (Feb. 14, 2018), <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-response-january-2018-preliminary-injunction> [<https://perma.cc/BPV6-FGRD>]. At the time of writing, the federal government currently accepts DACA applications for renewals, but not new applications for DACA status. *Id.*

about a hundred-page document that was written called the Vision for Black Lives.³ It's incredibly detailed and about fifty organizations wrote it, so you could read that, or I could give you the short answer." The person said, "Well, what's the short answer?"

I said, "Really, it's about being free." That's it. That's the answer. It's not complicated. That's it. That is all. People want to be free. And I think that, if that's where we want to be, we have to look at where we came from.

One of the things that I look at, because I'm a lawyer, is the Constitution of the United States. While clearing out some old office space at the ACLU, I found a comic book from the late 1970s about the Constitution. The comic book was meant to explain the Constitution to children, and when I saw it, I thought to myself, "I'm wondering how they're going to explain some parts of the Constitution to children. The parts that talk about Black folks. The parts that talk about Native folks. The parts that defend the buying and selling of flesh."

The unamended Constitution is about 4400 words long.⁴ Of those 4400 words, what do you think are the important bits, the strongest parts of the Constitution, the parts of the Constitution that we hold dearest, the parts that the Framers thought, "This is the part we're going to spend the most time explaining?"

It's fair, to me, to look at how many words are devoted to each issue and value that portion at how important the drafters thought it was. In doing that, you'll find that about 380 to 400 of the 4400 words, depending on how you count, are about owning Black people and about protecting the rights of owning Black people.⁵ There are also words about the representation of Black people—not in terms of rights, but that Black people count as three-fifths of a human being in terms of proportional representation. The Southern states argued, "We want more representation, so we want these things that we consider cattle to count."⁶

In that same part, in Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 of the Constitution, it also says how much Native folks count for. It's three-fifths for Black folks, and Native folks didn't count for anything.⁷ There

3. *Platform*, THE MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES, <https://policy.m4bl.org/platform/> [<https://perma.cc/WX9R-NUEQ>]. *Id.*

4. *See generally* U.S. CONST.

5. *See id.*

6. *See* U.S. CONST. art. I, § 2, cl. 3.

7. *Id.*

are also parts of the Constitution that are unamendable for a period of years. You'd like to think that would be about democracy—this is the part that says we're not going to have a king, and that's important, and you can't change that. Or this is a part about how you have a right to vote, we're not going to change that. Senate, Congress, separation of powers—but it is not those things. The parts that were unamendable were the parts that created and held systems of slavery in place.⁸

The comic book doesn't talk about that. The comic book says, "The United States Constitution is the most perfect document that was ever written in the history of all time." And I think that speaks to something else. That speaks to a system that seemingly can't read, or wants to give us false information. If I took a highlighter and said "I want to highlight things that terrify me about this document," there would be a lot of yellow.

That is something we need to examine because the founding of this country is constituted on a premise, and it's not the one we are generally taught. It was founded—and constituted—on a premise of white supremacy. The United States, at the same time, created an idea that is arguably the deadliest idea created in the history of humankind, and that isn't nuclear weapons, or the idea of war. It's the idea of whiteness. It's that there are people who are white, and there are people who are not white. It's that the people who are white are better than the people who are not white. The people who are white can own these people who are not white, kill the people who are not white.

If you look at historical documents, that wasn't the case. People didn't call Native people non-white, and the people who colonized this country and committed mass-genocide didn't say, "We're white, and they're not white, so we can kill them." What did they say? They said, "We're Christians, and they're not Christians, so we can kill them, or convert them." That, inevitably, created a problem because once they converted, you couldn't kill them. So now the colonizers needed a different reason to kill them, and that led to this creation of the idea of whiteness. I believe that that idea has so deeply affected the history of the United States and our laws more so than any other idea. The ideas of democracy and the ideas of race, for good and for bad, are the two factors that have most effected the evolution of our laws, the evolution

8. "Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article . . ." U.S. CONST. art. I, § 9, cl. 1, 4 (detailing the slave trade and taxes).

of our Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence more than any other ideas.

It was chattel slavery. It was Jim Crow. Today, it's the prison-industrial complex, mass incarceration, the War on Drugs, the school-to-prison pipeline, the treatment of undocumented people, and monitoring programs. Those are structures today that are much like the 380-some-odd words in the Constitution before. Because those words created and normalized the situation, it feels comfortable to us. People are still afraid to accept that. People are still afraid to say "white supremacy." We're too afraid.

To not label the problem "white supremacy" is to ignore the problem. It's [like] going to a doctor who knows what the disease you have is called, but she says, "I can't say it. I can't type it into a computer." If that is your doctor, you need to get a new doctor, and now! People are beginning to say the words of the disease. You go on social media, on Twitter, and people are saying "white supremacy" a lot. They point out the alt-right,⁹ what happened in Charlottesville,¹⁰ the white supremacists, and go, "They're white supremacists." But here's the thing: there are the white supremacists with the hats, and then there's the system of white supremacy.

I saw an image shared on Facebook, where someone shared a photo of President Obama hugging a little Black kid, saying that they wished they had a real president again. And I say this: was that before, or after, President Obama ordered the drone strikes to bomb a wedding party in Yemen?¹¹

The President we have now, he doesn't care about right or wrong; he cares about personal loyalty to him. President Obama? He knows that bombing a wedding party in Yemen was wrong. He knows that deporting 2.5 million people over eight years¹²—one thousand people a day—is wrong. Imagine how many people that took. Imagine how

9. See generally *Alt-Right*, S. POVERTY LAW CTR., <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/alt-right> [<https://perma.cc/E5FA-DJX7>].

10. See Maggie Astor et al., *A Guide to the Charlottesville Aftermath*, N.Y. TIMES (Aug. 13, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-virginia-overview.html>.

11. See Lucy Draper, *The Wedding That Became a Funeral: U.S. Still Silent One Year on from Deadly Yemen Drone Strike*, NEWSWEEK (Dec. 12, 2014, 11:20 AM), <http://www.newsweek.com/wedding-became-funeral-us-still-silent-one-year-deadly-yemen-drone-strike-291403> [<https://perma.cc/2XF4-GL9Q>].

12. See Serena Marshall, *Obama Has Deported More People Than Any Other President*, ABC NEWS (Aug. 29, 2016, 2:05 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obamas-deportation-policy-numbers/story?id=41715661> [<https://perma.cc/9F26-5NPE>].

many bodies, how many hours, how many court decisions, how many cells it took to detain those people, and how many families that affected. If a person in your family was deported, how many people would cry? Two, five, ten, twenty-five? A lot. If you deport 2.5 million people, that's like a dagger to the country, and that's what happened before the President we currently have today. What's happening now is absolutely terrifying, but I think the system of white supremacy prevails, at all times, no matter who is in office.

Earlier in this [Symposium], someone from the audience asked, "What can we do to help?" I'll tell you. The single-most important person that you can convince to change the system of white supremacy that is affecting the United States is yourself. If you truly believe that we're screwed and that there is no way to fight out of this situation, to be free, that we actually cannot live in a world that we can truly be free, then that amounts to the doctor who won't fight the disease. But if you truly believe that organized people win, and that Black people, as a people, have the right to be free in this country, then you contribute to the cause. You could pick any day, any month, any year, from when Black people arrived in this country in chains [until] today, and Black people have fought for freedom and won dramatic victories to make [Black] people more free in this country and to see strength in defiance. To see that as an example, I think, it's a thing we need to look at, because the more we fight, the more we win.

The ACLU of Massachusetts just litigated a case called *Bridgeman v. District Attorney for the Suffolk District*.¹³ We sued them in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for the thousands and thousands of people affected by the Annie Dookhan drug lab scandal.¹⁴ Annie Dookhan was supposed to be investigating and making forensic determinations [of drug residue] when someone [was] arrested and the state need[ed] to prove that something found on the body of the individual arrested [was] drugs.¹⁵

Annie Dookhan wasn't doing her job. Instead, she was looking at the samples in her office, and going, "Oh, this is wrapped in tinfoil? Probably heroin. Oh, this is wrapped in plastic? Probably cocaine. Maybe this is meth."¹⁶ She admitted to this; she said she was

13. See generally *Bridgeman v. Dist. Att'y for the Suffolk Dist.*, 67 N.E.3d 673 (Mass. 2017).

14. *Id.*

15. *Id.*

16. See *id.* at 687 ("Dookhan might erroneously have found substances that were not

“eyeballing.” The technical term for this is “dry labbing,” because you’re not using the actual chemical lab set-up to make determinations.¹⁷ Not only did Annie Dookhan dry lab, she added weight to chemicals in order to obtain a higher penalty for defendants, so people would be facing ten-to-fifteen mandatory minimums.¹⁸ She tainted samples.¹⁹ Sometimes police would arrest someone, and they knew these guys were heroin dealers. She tested the drugs, looked at the drugs, and said it was cocaine—and the police would be confused because the individuals who were being arrested were heroin dealers. To support her truth, Annie Dookhan would literally take a scoop of cocaine, put it in the sample, test it, and say, “it’s cocaine,” and submit that to the court.²⁰ As a result, Annie Dookhan committed perjury. We filed a case after many of these allegations became public, and the *Bridgeman* litigation resulted in the mass dismissal of about 22,000 criminal cases.²¹ It’s the largest amount of criminal dismissals in a case filing in history.²²

That’s not the end though, because there was a similar drug lab scandal in Western Massachusetts. Sonja Farak was, unfortunately, addicted to drugs. Her job was to test street drugs at the University of Massachusetts Amherst drug lab. Instead of testing the drugs, Sonja Farak created and consumed drugs in the Amherst drug lab. She manufactured drugs in a state drug lab, cooked powder cocaine and made it into crack, and smoked it at work. In that case, there’s been a lot of misconduct on behalf of the Attorney General’s Office in not revealing this information, in not keeping a list of these cases, in not dismissing these cases. The ACLU has filed a case with the Public Defender’s Office to dismiss those cases.²³

controlled substances to be a controlled substance, or to be a certain weight, creating the risk that a defendant may have been found guilty of a drug crime he or she did not commit.”).

17. *Id.* at 677.

18. *See id.*

19. *Id.*

20. “She eventually told investigators she tripled the productivity rates of her colleagues by not actually testing all the drugs that came before her, forging her co-workers’ initials and mixing drug samples so that her shoddy analysis matched the results she gave prosecutors.” Katie Mettler, *How a Lab Chemist Went from ‘Superwoman’ to Disgraced Saboteur of More Than 20,000 Drug Cases*, WASH. POST (Apr. 21, 2017), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/04/21/how-a-lab-chemist-went-from-superwoman-to-disgraced-saboteur-of-more-than-20000-drug-cases> [https://perma.cc/DUA4-8UUZ].

21. *Id.*

22. *Id.*

23. Tom Jackman, *Mass. Crime Chemist Admits Daily Drug Use in Lab, Sparking a Second Scandal*, WASH. POST (May 5, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/true->

I'd like to tell you a number, but we don't even know how many thousands of people have been convicted, served time in jail, or possibly have been deported from that conduct. People might have even died. [I believe] the most likely time to overdose, when you're opioid addicted, is when you are recently released from jail. You get out, you say, "I want to get high again," and people pass away, so these cases aren't just about people serving time in jail. That being said, people are serving time in jail, people's licenses have been taken away, people are being thrown out of public housing, people are possibly being deported, people are not able to get jobs, people are not able to go to school because they have fraudulent convictions, and we have two different Attorney General Offices trying to maintain those convictions. People ask, "Why did these things happen?" Sonja Farak's conduct was going on for eight years; she wasn't doing her job for *eight years*.²⁴ That's not a bad job to have, except you're destroying people's lives.

Let's say you and I are judicial ethics investigators. We investigate judges to see if they did anything illegal, and we hate judges. So, to get back at these judges that we hate, we just start making stuff up, creating scandals—essentially, dry labbing and adding weight. So we're ready to publish our first report on fifteen judges, and we say, "Every judge we've investigated is a bad apple." Eventually, someone is going to find out, the report will never be made public, we'll both be fired immediately, probably go to jail, and our careers will be over.

What if you did it for eight years, and did much worse things? You put people in jail, people were deported, people possibly died from the ramifications of the decision that you made. That, because it's poor people, because it's Black people, because it's other folks of color—everyone is like, "Oh well, I bet they're guilty anyway." You don't get to cheat and win; that's not what justice is. That's not what you're taught in law school. I learned that in kindergarten—you don't get to cheat and win.

That's not the way [the] justice system is going to work. But that feels comfortable for them, because they know they're talking about people of color. They know they're talking about drug addicted people, people using and selling cocaine and heroin—people, in their minds,

crime/wp/2016/05/05/mass-crime-chemist-admits-daily-drug-use-in-lab-sparking-a-second-scandal [https://perma.cc/K5MJ-HMUQ].

24. See *Massachusetts Chemist Was High Most Days for 8 Years She Worked at Police Drug Lab, Jeopardizing Thousands of Cases*, N.Y. DAILY NEWS (May 4, 2016), <http://beta.nydailynews.com/news/national/mass-chemist-high-days-worked-police-drug-lab-article-1.2625267> [https://perma.cc/R5HH-RXEY].

think we're talking about Black and Brown people. If you check the news stories about these scandals, check the comment section, because that is where you'll see the United States of America. The news story won't be racialized, but the comments section will be. And it goes back to what I was saying before, concerning the Constitution—it's ingrained in our minds, that when we talk about these people being less-than, we are talking about Black and Brown people. Those Black and Brown people are not being involved in those conversations.

One of the ways I refer to myself is as a movement lawyer. I work with individuals, with people, advocating for change. I work with folks from the communities, folks who are suffering from police brutality, police murders. I ask them, "What is the thing that looks like freedom to you?"

One example is this notion of putting body cameras on police. When you ask Vision for Black Lives, their position is that they are absolutely against the idea of police wearing body cameras.²⁵ One reason is you don't get to murder people, and then we give you a higher budget for more training and more electronic devices. The other reason is that they believe it is part of the surveillance state—an excuse for the police to record individuals in their day-to-day lives.²⁶

Another example: we should give police less than lethal weapons, and less people will die. Victoria Snelgrove, a young woman at Emerson College, was shot, killed, and in my mind, murdered, by a Boston Police Officer.²⁷ Boston Police shot her in the face with a "pepper-[spray] ball."²⁸ They're supposed to be used in riot control. It was after the Boston Red Sox and the New York Yankees had a game, and people were out in the streets causing a ruckus.²⁹ Victoria was not a

25. The Vision for Black Lives asks for "an end to the criminalization, incarceration, and killing of [Black] people . . . [including a]n end to the mass surveillance of Black communities, and the end to the use of technologies that criminalize and target our communities (including IMSI catchers, drones, body cameras, and predictive policing software)." *End the War on Black People*, MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES, <https://policy.m4bl.org/end-war-on-black-people/> [<https://perma.cc/485M-C2M4>].

26. *Id.* The website is an online version containing the thirty-nine policy briefs that make up the Vision for Black Lives. *Id.*

27. Thomas Farragher & David Abel, *Postgame Police Projectile Kills an Emerson Student: O'Toole Accepts Responsibility But Condemns Acts of 'Punks'*, BOS. GLOBE (Oct. 22, 2004), http://archive.boston.com/sports/baseball/redsox/articles/2004/10/22/postgame_police_projectile_kills_an_emerson_student/.

28. *Id.*

29. *Id.*

part of the riot, but she was shot in the face with a pepper-[spray] ball.³⁰ It went through her eye, touched her brain, and she died immediately.³¹ Victoria was a white woman, and I point that out because her death actually changed a lot of things about the Boston Police Department. The Boston Police Department no longer carries tasers or pepper-spray or any so-called “less-than-lethal” weapons because of her death.³²

People believed that it would be better that police had less-than-lethal weapons because then they won’t use guns so much. But there was no way a cop was going to see Victoria cheering for the Red Sox and think, “I’m going to pull out my gun and shoot her.” That wouldn’t have happened. But that cop did have a weapon where he could go, “I’ll just shoot her and it’ll sting a little. I’ll just use that instead.”

It’s interesting where social justice organizations look at things and say, “How should we change this? What should we do?” We come up with ideas, because we know, and we’ve been taught, and we’re educated, but one of the things we need to do is talk to people about what freedom looks like in their lives. What does that mean to you? What do you want to change in your life?

We need to bring those people to the table. If the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL)³³ had a panel with four men, a trans person, and a woman, you would all go, “This conference sucks. This is ridiculous.” But we do this with human rights and civil rights all the time. We need to talk to people who have the boot on their neck because the person who has the boot on their neck is very clear about what the problem is. And I think when we have individual clients, that is easy. We can negotiate, we can talk to that person, and we can know what those things are. But when we’re movement lawyers, when we’re at the Women’s March and we see Natives at the #NoDAPL³⁴ protest and undocumented people saying, “I’m undocumented and proud,” we have to know how to represent a movement.

30. *Id.*

31. Donovan Slack & Suzanne Smalley, *In Snelgrove Files, Officers Recount Night of Chaos; DA Releases Images from Deadly Episode*, BOS. GLOBE (Sept. 21, 2005), http://archive.boston.com/news/local/articles/2005/09/21/in_snelgrove_files_officers_recount_night_of_chaos/.

32. *BPD: Pellet Guns to be Destroyed*, BERKELEY BEACON (Feb. 28, 2007), <http://archive.is/JdjWG#selection-147.0-147.32>.

33. For more information on NARAL, see *About Us: Who We Are*, NARAL, <https://www.prochoiceamerica.org/about/> [<https://perma.cc/JN4N-RQ8C>].

34. For more information on the #NoDAPL movement, see *#NoDAPL Archive, Standing Rock Water Protectors*, <https://www.nodaplarchive.com/> [<https://perma.cc/NAE9-VXM5>].

Northeastern University has a bunch of amazing clinics where first-year students come together and produce solid legal work for the local community.³⁵ In one of these clinics, they wanted to do a Know Your Rights training, which included a workbook packet for undocumented folks so they could have information about immigration. I said, “Go talk to the Student Immigrant Movement (SIM)³⁶ and they will tell you what they want.” Any idea what SIM said they wanted? They wanted power-of-attorney forms and property transfer forms. You could’ve sat in a room with me and we could’ve thought about that forever, and we never would have thought about that.

When the car is registered to mom and the bank account is in mom’s name, and mom is now deported, and you are literally trying to get food, and the bank won’t let you into the account because the card is in El Salvador with mom, you are going to want power-of-attorney forms and property transfer forms filled out. That is what the problem looked like to them. That’s how it should be; the movement in front, dictating what freedom looks like, and the lawyers in the back.

In movement lawyering, we follow what the movements tell us to do. We are in those spaces, in those community meetings, in churches, in conferences, when Muslim folks, undocumented folks, LGBTQ folks, and Native folks are in a room asking, “How do we get free?” We as lawyers are in the back going, “How can we help?”

Plenty of organizations have this model. In Boston, City Life/Vida Urbana,³⁷ an organization that fights gentrification and predatory loans in the Boston communities, has meetings with lawyers, activists, and folks who need help in the same room. They have this model where the organizers come in first, and they figure out what the people want, and if they need lawyers, they bring them in to either give out knowledge, or to have them help people, or to sometimes do some type of impact litigation.

The real thing that we need to do is personally, in ourselves, believe that we can win, because if we don’t believe that, then we’re not going to

35. “Northeastern’s clinics seek to provide justice in particularly transformative ways, from promoting smart health policies to providing a voice—and a chance—for underprivileged populations through no-cost legal advice and representation.” *Experiential Learning/Co-Op: Clinics*, NE. U. SCH. OF LAW, <https://www.northeastern.edu/law/experience/clinics/index.html> [https://perma.cc/7J3Y-VTLC].

36. For more information on SIM, see *Who Are We*, STUDENT IMMIGR. MOVEMENT, <http://simforus.org/whoweare> [https://perma.cc/UAL5-4FRN].

37. For more information on City Life/Vida Urbana, see *About Us*, CITY LIFE/VIDA URBANA, http://www.clvu.org/about_us [https://perma.cc/J32B-G62D].

be able to make that journey, to make ourselves free, to make our communities free, to make our country free. Start to do that work. When we start to do that work, it's contagious. Alicia Garza, four and a half years ago, when Trayvon Martin was murdered, wrote three words on a Facebook post: Black Lives Matter. She said that. She believed it. It was a statement of her belief in human beings and Black people. Another Black sister on the west coast said, "I'm gonna put a hashtag in front of that," and put it on Twitter. Another sister in New York, named Patrisse, said, "We should organize around that somehow," and started doing that.³⁸ And those three things, the belief—they weren't trying to convince some other person, they were just like, "I believe that we can win. I'm going to start acting free."

The ACLU just filed something that people are calling the "Black Lives Matter" brief³⁹ because it said, "If you allow the police to arbitrarily pull people over, caught because of a broken blinker, people will die." Really? Three thousand and seven hundred people drove by with a broken blinker, but you pulled over the one Black guy? Why did Philando Castile get murdered?⁴⁰ Because he was Black, but what was the excuse? Broken blinker. You know what he didn't have? A broken blinker. You know what courts think is okay? Pulling people over because you think they have a broken blinker. You know why Walter Scott⁴¹ got pulled over? Broken blinker. He was pulling into an auto parts store. And the court said that's okay, but people are litigating around this issue, and saying that if you allow this to happen, people will be killed.

Those three sisters believed we could be free, and they just started doing it. Probably tens of millions of people have started a movement that we've never really seen in this generation. We all—you all—have

38. See Collier Meyerson, *The Founders of Black Lives Matter: "We Gave Tongue to Something That We All Knew Was Happening"*, GLAMOUR (Nov. 1, 2016, 8:15 AM), <https://www.glamour.com/story/women-of-the-year-black-lives-matter-founders> [<https://perma.cc/Z3PY-ZUM3>].

39. Letter from Jessie J. Rossman, MACDL, to Francis V. Kenneally, Clerk, Supreme Judicial Court for the Commonwealth (Oct. 13, 2017) http://aclum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/2017_10_13_ACLUM-MACDL-Rule-161-Amici-Letter.pdf [<https://perma.cc/69BY-7XWC>].

40. See Mitch Smith, *Minnesota Officer Acquitted in Killing of Philando Castile*, N.Y. TIMES (June 16, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/16/us/police-shooting-trial-philando-castile.html>.

41. See Matt Ford, *Shot and Killed While Running Away*, ATLANTIC (Apr. 7, 2015), <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/04/shot-and-killed-while-running-away/389976/> [<https://perma.cc/FW65-ARYD>].

the capacity to do that, and the first step to doing that is believing.