

SECOND REPORT OF THE UCLA TASK FORCE ON ANTI-PALESTINIAN, ANTI-MUSLIM AND ANTI-ARAB RACISM: THE MILITARIZATION OF CAMPUS

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June 28, 2024

Introduction

More than a month has passed since our last [report](#) of May 13, 2024 and the situation at UCLA has actually worsened. As we await the installation of a new Chancellor in January 2025, the interim administration has thus far stepped back and allowed Rick Braziel, appointed by Chancellor Block to head the newly created Office of Campus Security, to take charge. Chancellor Block created the office unilaterally, without a search, a vetting process, faculty or staff input—and not even a consideration that Braziel’s appointment might be temporary or interim. The university is now overrun with police and private security, draining precious financial resources without making our community any safer – indeed, making it far less safe for students and faculty exercising their constitutionally protected right to protest and criminalizing protest across the board. We have heard repeatedly from students in a variety of contexts that the police presence on our campus makes them feel unsafe and we have witnessed aggressive policing actions taken towards our students.

As our Task Force understood from its inception, there is more at stake here than academic freedom. The Palestine Solidarity Encampment, along with other actions, rallies, teach-ins, and the like, have never wavered from the core issue: the killing, maiming, starving, and displacing of Palestinian people—in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem as well as in Gaza. Our specific charge is to address the increased harassment, violence, and targeting of our Palestinian, Arab and Muslim communities, and *anyone* subjected to discrimination, repression and marginalization for their Palestinian solidarity advocacy. We have concluded that the militarization of our campus, the persistent attacks on students, faculty, and staff for supporting ceasefire, divestment and disclosure, the punitive measures deployed by the administration toward anyone even mildly critical of Israeli policies, have made UCLA less safe than ever for Palestinian, Arab, Muslim students and faculty, and for those in solidarity with Palestinians.

For these reasons, we are calling for a thorough, independent investigation of law enforcement, the administration, and forces (internally and externally) who violently assaulted student protesters—not just on 30 April but as late as 10 June. By thorough, we insist on an investigation that extends beyond the window of April 30 – May 6. And by independent, we categorically reject the idea that highly paid consultants with direct ties to law enforcement can conduct a serious, critical, objective investigation.¹ We are also calling for the rapid reduction of police and

¹ We are not the first to call for an investigation. In the wake of the unprecedented attack on student protesters and the violent clearing of the encampment, several departments issued statements condemning the administration’s ineptitude and demanding an investigation. UCOP President Michael Drake initially called on UCLA to provide its

private security on campus, the elimination of the Office of Public Safety, and the dismissal of Rick Braziel. If there is going to be a new entity overseeing campus security, it should be created as part of a process of shared faculty governance, the creation of a joint faculty, student, and staff committee representing a wide range of campus interests, and its director should be chosen by a national search well beyond the self-referential closed circuit world of law enforcement. We are demanding that the administration drop all criminal charges against students, faculty, and staff and suspend the various disciplinary process. Instead, we expect the interim administration to begin negotiating with campus leaders and faculty as well as students in good faith over the university's investments and financial transparency.

Below we detail the militarization of campus that targets Palestinians, Muslims, Arabs and anyone in solidarity with them. We begin with Rick Braziel and the Office of Campus Safety, describing UCLA's response to student protests that continued after the April 30 to May 2 period, responses that subjected students to police violence and to disciplinary and criminal charges. We note the university's management of ongoing faculty and student protest through pursuing a strategy to halt the ongoing United Auto Workers strike over the unsafe working conditions for academic workers created by both mob and police violence. Finally, we conclude with our rejection of the university's hiring of the firm 21st Century Policing Solutions (21CP). We document law enforcement's violations of its own protocols and codes, and demand instead an independent investigation of law enforcement, the administration, and those forces, both internal and external, that attack Palestinian, Arab, Muslim students and faculty, and anyone in solidarity with them.

1. Rick Braziel and the Office of Campus Security

On May 23, two-days after the UAW-4811 called UCLA and UC Davis to strike in protest of the unfair labor conditions that exposed academic workers to violence from counter protesters and the police, students erected a small encampment on the Kerckhoff patio in solidarity with the striking academic workers, to bring attention to Israel's disastrous ground invasion of Rafah, and to try once again to compel the university to come to the table. Instead, the administration immediately, and as though by reflex, dispatched riot police who destroyed the encampment. Students briefly retreated to Dodd Hall before being forced into Murphy quad. Rick Braziel and administrative vice-chancellor Michael Beck issued a brief statement warning demonstrators that if they do not disperse "they will face arrest and possible disciplinary action, as well as an order to stay away from campus for seven days."² Fortunately, no one was arrested, but it signaled a greater level of

own accounting of what happened. Governor Gavin Newsom has asked for an investigation, and so has the Los Angeles chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-LA) also demanded an investigation following the April 30 – May 2 violence. Even the Federated University Police Officers Association has called for an investigation into the administration's actions, which it holds "solely responsible for the University's response to campus protests" and predicts will "undoubtedly uncover multiple failures to implement and adhere to UC's own guidelines." Robin Hattersley, "University of California President Launches Investigation into UCLA's Response to Counter Protestors Attack of Pro-Palestine Encampment," *Campus Safety* (May 2, 2024), <https://www.campusafetymagazine.com/news/university-of-california-president-launches-investigation-into-uclas-response-to-counter-protestors-attack-of-pro-palestine-encampment/134645/>

² Hannah Fry, Caroline Petrow-Cohen, Connor Sheets and Howard Blume, "Police descend on UCLA after protesters erect new pro-Palestinian encampment," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 2024, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2024-05-23/ucla-students-set-up-a-second-encampment-as-gene-block->

intolerance for protest and the growing authority Rick Braziel now exercised over the operations of the university.

The events on June 10th confirmed these troubling developments. Students held a memorial that afternoon to read aloud some of the names of the tens of thousands of Palestinians killed by Israeli forces and to hold a symbolic funeral procession. Private security, backed by UCPD, surrounded the students and forced them to move to different parts of campus, declaring every location off-limits to protesters. The events of that day are well summarized in a recent [editorial](#) by UCLA's Faculty for Justice in Palestine published in the *Daily Bruin*, which we have appended to our report. Suffice it to say, by early evening the procession ended up near the law school, now confronted by the California Highway Patrol and more UCPD officers armed with batons, 40 mm guns for rubber or plastic projectiles, pepper bullets, and various so-called "less lethal" weapons. The police corralled the students and faculty allies into an area between the Law School and Dodd Hall surrounded by thick bushes, and then quickly issued a dispersal order – impossible to comply with -- as they moved in. Police wielding batons kettled the students, beating them as they tried to push through the bushes and past carts holding supplies. Video footage shows students begging cops to retreat since they had nowhere to go, crowds squeezed tightly trying to avoid trampling one another, and officers literally pulled students out of the crowd by their legs, arms, backpack straps, just to beat them mercilessly with their batons. Then at one point a UCPD officer shot a student in the chest with a rubber bullet from a distance of about five feet away, surely a violation of the rules for the use of such armaments, which can be lethal at such ranges. The force of the bullet knocked them down and two fellow students assisted them to safety through the bushes. The student suffered a contusion to the heart and a bruised lung and was taken by car to the ER at Ronald Reagan Hospital. They remained there for two days given the severity of the injury, which caused elevated cardiac enzymes. This situation could have ended with a permanent disability or death and is a stark reminder of why it is so dangerous to simply transfer control of campus to a militarized police force. Other students were injured as well, one suffering from a concussion, others from bruises and lacerations.³ Faculty members on site frantically sought out a commanding officer but no one could, or was willing, to say who the commanding officer was, which in itself is shocking given the violence on display by the police. Meanwhile, police detained over 20 students and one faculty member in Dodd Hall for a few hours, and blocked all entrances to Dodd so that students and faculty could not gain access to their classrooms or offices.

The next day, Rick Braziel issued a shocking and ill-informed statement blaming the students for the violence and portraying the police as the victims, going so far as to claim that student protesters "injured people, threatened the safety of our community" and launched "violent attacks on safety personnel and law enforcement." He even claimed that the protestors prevented students from entering the building when it was the police who blocked access.⁴ Faculty anger

[testifies-before-congress](#); "Statement on Demonstrators on Kerckhoff Patio," May 23, 2024, <https://newsroom.ucla.edu/statement-on-demonstrators-on-kerckhoff-patio>

³ See video footage here, <https://x.com/brethamilton/status/1800640869869228490?s=46&t=fKh9XATL-WMt11DkcbvEg>

⁴ Rick Braziel, "Condemning Monday's Violence on Campus," June 11, 2024, <https://newsroom.ucla.edu/condemning-mondays-violence-on-campus>

over Braziel's egregious misrepresentation of events led to the publication of FJP's [op ed](#) in the *Daily Bruin*.⁵ It also generated a scathing letter signed by over 100 faculty and staff who work in Dodd Hall blaming the police and the increased militarization of the campus for disrupting student finals and the building's operations. Contrasting the afternoon's "peaceful protest and powerful act of commemoration" with the police attack, the [letter](#) reads:

Dodd Hall, where our offices and the classrooms in which we teach are housed, went in seconds from being the site of final exams to being transformed into a detainment center for roughly 25 people including students who were arrested by the joint forces of UCPD, CCPD, LAPD and the riot police of the CHP. Among those was at least one of our Dodd faculty colleagues.

Dodd Hall was blocked off by militarized police forces who ambushed students in order to conduct arrests and then pushed away remaining faculty and students with armed officers. As documented, the police fired rubber bullets, resulting in the hospitalization of at least one student, as well as pepper bullets that caused physical harm to several students and faculty.⁶

Furthermore, Braziel has been in law enforcement for thirty years, holds two master's degrees—one in Security Studies from the Naval Postgraduate School, and the other in Communications from Cal State Sacramento—taught at Humboldt State University, is an Executive Fellow at the Police Foundation, and was president of the California Peace Officers Association, so he clearly understands that kettling is illegal and a civil rights violation. New York City recently paid an unprecedented \$7 million to protesters kettled by the NYPD plus another \$6 million for other acts of misconduct during the spring 2020 demonstrations. Likewise, St Louis paid \$4.9 million to 84 victims of kettling during a protest in 2017.⁷

We are not surprised by Braziel's knee-jerk defense of police without knowing the facts. If he had been vetted by an independent committee, we would have been more familiar with his somewhat checkered track record and his pro-law enforcement bias. In July 2012, during his tenure as Sacramento Police Chief (2007 – 2013), his officers fatally shot 17-year-old Asencion Herrera Jr., as he was guiding his blind friend, Arturo Istlas, down a sidewalk. The officers claimed they saw a weapon on Herrera and approached him. Hererra informed the officers that he

⁵ See UCLA Faculty for Justice in Palestine, "'Op-ed: Rick Braziel's messaging belies disregard for police accountability, student safety,'" *Daily Bruin*, June 18, 2024, <https://dailybruin.com/2024/06/18/op-ed-rick-braziels-messaging-belies-disregard-for-police-accountability-student-safety>

⁶ "Op-ed: The instructors, staff of Dodd Hall demand that our workplace be restored," *Daily Bruin*, June 12, 2024, <https://dailybruin.com/2024/06/12/op-ed-the-instructors-staff-of-dodd-hall-demand-that-our-workplace-be-restored>

⁷ Maria Cramer, "New York Will Pay Millions to Protesters Violently Corralled by Police," *New York Times*, March 1, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/01/nyregion/nypd-kettling-blm-protests-settlement.html>; Maria Cramer, "N.Y.P.D. Must Rewrite Rules for Policing Protests After Sweeping Deal," *New York Times*, September 5, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/nyregion/nypd-settlement-protesters-penning.html>; Alex Vargas, "Settlement Checks Disbursed after Mass 'Kettling' Arrest During 2017 Protest in St. Louis," *St. Louis Today*, August 4, 2023, https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-courts/settlement-checks-disbursed-after-mass-kettling-arrest-during-2017-protest-in-st-louis/article_0f0bbff8-330a-11ee-8a89-e72e0cddd4f3.html

was just helping out a friend but without warning they opened fire. Herrera did have a gun but it was unloaded. His family filed a wrongful death suit against the city but was denied. No officer was disciplined, and the death was ruled justifiable homicide.⁸ In 2015 Braziel was named Inspector General of the Sacramento Board of Supervisors. Under his watch Sheriff's deputies killed a 36-year-old Black man named Adriene Jamarr Ludd. Police initially pursued Ludd for having an expired license and a loud exhaust but he led them on a high-speed chase. The Sheriff's office initially reported that Ludd had shot first and they returned fire (discharging 62 rounds, 13 striking Ludd). It was later determined that he never fired a shot since his weapon was inoperable. At one point, Ludd was on the ground badly injured, separated from his gun. When he began to crawl toward it the officers shot him several more times, killing him. Some of the officers turned off the audio of their body cams or did not activate them (which is a violation of protocol) but there was some body cam footage. However, Braziel decided not to release any of it to the public. The shooting was ruled justified, and the district attorney concluded that Ludd "orchestrated an ambush on the officers." The decision amidst so many inconsistencies prompted Black Lives Matter Sacramento to protest the ruling.⁹

During his three-year term as Inspector General, Rick Braziel only produced one report mildly critical of the police. Mikel McIntyre, a thirty-two-year old Black man with a history of mental illness, was killed by Sheriff's deputies on May 8, 2017, after his family called for help to have him removed from their house. He was unarmed but ended up hitting one officer in the head with a rock and fleeing along a highway. Deputies fired 28 shots, striking him in the back six times and sending a police dog to take him down. No audio or video was released to the public until 2020. Braziel's report did not say that the killing was unjustified; rather, there were moments when the use of force was excessive and could have harmed other officers or the public. His main recommendation was to update their use of force policy and procedures and ensure that every officer is equipped with a full magazine clip. Of Braziel's 27-page report, this is the most damning passage: "There are instances where the number of rounds fired at McIntyre were excessive, unnecessary, and put the community at risk. While chaos in these situations is a reality, the ability to make sound and reasonable decisions is essential." McIntyre's family won a \$1.75 million wrongful death suit from the city in 2020.¹⁰

⁸ *Herrera v. City of Sacramento*, No. 2:13-cv-00456 JAM-AC (E.D. Cal. Aug. 1, 2013); "Teen Killed In Sacramento Officer-Involved Shooting Identified," CBS News (July 8, 2012), <https://www.cbsnews.com/sacramento/news/teen-killed-in-sacramento-officer-involved-shooting-identified/>

⁹ Rick Braziel, *Officer Involved Shooting Review: Adriene Ludd* (Office of Inspector General, October 30, 2016), https://inspectorgeneral.saccounty.gov/Documents/OIG_Ludd_Review.pdf; Memorandum: District Attorney Anne Marie Schubert to Sheriff Scott Jones Sacramento County Sheriff's Department, re: Officer-Involved Shooting Case No. SSD-15-271802, https://www.sacda.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/OIS_-_Ludd.pdf; Antonio Harvey, "Community Seeks Answers In Police Shooting," *Sacramento Observer*, January 1, 2016, <https://sacobserver.com/2016/01/community-seeks-answers-in-police-shooting/>

¹⁰ Rick Braziel, *Officer Involved Shooting Review: Mikel McIntyre – Incident Date May 8, 2017* (August 2018), quote on p. 19, https://inspectorgeneral.saccounty.gov/Documents/McIntyre_OIS_Report.pdf; Sam Stanton, "Sacramento sheriff releases video, investigative files on 2017 killing of unarmed black man," *Sacramento Bee*, May 28, 2020, <https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/article243062066.html>

We can only conclude that in hiring Rick Braziel, the university was well aware of his track record and his pro law enforcement practices that have all too often justified police shootings of Black, mentally ill and other vulnerable individuals. Apart from other considerations, having someone like Braziel in charge of our campus will greatly increase the likelihood of UCLA having to pay out further millions in damages and lawsuits brought by victims of police violence on campus.

2. The Costs of Campus Policing

The administration has yet to disclose the costs of increased campus policing, but according to the Los Angeles City Controller's office, the LAPD has requested \$583,084 from the Governor's Office of Emergency Services to cover the costs of dispatching 590 officers to UCLA just between April 30 and May 3, alone! This figure does not include the cost of Highway Patrol officers, UCPD, L.A. County Sheriff; Santa Monica and Beverly Hills police departments, or private security.¹¹ Whatever UCLA is paying Apex Security Group or its parent company, Contemporary Services Corporation, we know that their employees retreated when mobs attacked our students, faculty, and staff, and at the same time a few students have accused individual guards of harassment and violence.¹² They are, at best, useless.

Meanwhile, hundreds of students, faculty, and staff are facing criminal and/or disciplinary charges for participating in, or planning to participate in, non-violent protests in an effort to draw attention to the ongoing genocide in Gaza and to persuade our administration to consider divesting from companies that facilitate and profit from the violence. We find both the criminal and disciplinary charges unwarranted for reasons that should have been clear in our report of 15 May and will be made even clearer in this report. *We are especially troubled that the administration has yet to respond to our first report*, but we also recognize their silence as part of a pattern.

The administration has decided to deploy law enforcement not only to manage protest but to manufacture a state of emergency in order to avoid negotiating with campus protesters, the UAW Local 4811, and the UCLA Faculty Association. This had a chilling effect on free speech and academic freedom. The union filed an unfair labor practice ULP because mob and police violence created an unsafe workplace for academic workers. The University of California persuaded a superior court judge in Orange County to issue a temporary restraining order on UAW 4811's strike over unfair labor practice (ULP), despite the fact that the Public Employee Relations Board (PERB), twice denied the university's request for an injunction and issued a complaint against UC suggesting that there was *prima facie* evidence to back the union's

¹¹ Sharla Steinman, "UCLA's contracts with CHP, LAPD reveal costs associated with police on campus," Daily Bruin, May 30, 2024, <https://dailybruin.com/2024/05/30/uclas-contracts-with-chp-lapd-reveal-costs-associated-with-police-on-campus>; and see the L.A. Controller's tweet, <https://x.com/lacontroller/status/1795652042566111437>

¹² See Connor Sheets, "'A really scary feeling': Private security firm accused of using force against UCLA protesters," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 2024, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2024-05-23/private-security-firm-apex-ucla-protest>

charges.¹³ UC-AFT, AFSCME, and the UCLA Faculty Association (UCLA-FA) filed separate ULPs against administration’s response to the encampment and any pro-Palestinian speech. The Faculty Association, in particular, charged the university with undercutting “the faculty’s protected right to advocate and organize regarding matters that impact their workplace— including the safety of students, graduate workers, faculty colleagues, and staff who are exercising their right to free speech.”¹⁴ On May 16, EVCP Darnell Hunt, Deans Adriana Galván and Susan L. Ettner, and Vice-Chancellor for Research, Roger M. Wakimoto, sent a university-wide email asking faculty to “refrain” from discussing the strike with union members or students.¹⁵ Their directive violates the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act (HEERA), sections 3565 and 3571, subdivision (a). Nevertheless, even after the strike had been halted, many of our graduate student workers and postdocs still faced criminal charges and/or disciplinary actions and were barred from campus and university housing.

3. THE ONLY SOLUTION: A GENUINE INVESTIGATION

In an email dated June 7, the University of California Office of the President announced that they had hired [21st Century Policing Solutions \(21CP\)](#) to “conduct an after-action independent review and investigation to improve public safety practices going forward.” 21 CP Solution’s scope of work is to “conduct an independent investigation and review of the events related to recent protests, counter-protests, encampments and demonstrations at UCLA, including the public safety planning and response.”

At the request of Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost, Darnell Hunt, the co-chairs of the Task Force on Anti-Palestinian, Anti-Muslim, and Anti-Arab Racism at UCLA met with 21 CP Solutions, ostensibly to answer questions and share information about their involvement and activism, as well as that of the pro-Palestinian student and faculty protesters.

In that interview, the co-chairs discovered that the investigation is limited to the events from April 30 until the clearing of the encampment by LAPD on May 1, 2024. Since May 1, students and faculty have been permanently injured, banned from campus, and charged by the university administration with a variety of violations that put their futures at serious risk. Faculty and students have demanded amnesty since before the events of May 1, but they have been met with systematic attacks, weaponized silence, and communications that indicate that UCLA, and by extension the UC Regents, are invested in punishing students with false accusations and sham investigations.

An investigation that does not include the repression by UCLA administration, city, and campus law enforcement in the wake of the violent dispersal of peaceful protesters, that does not include the subsequent brutal arrests of students and media observers, is grossly incomplete. This is not an “independent investigation,” but one being conducted by a firm employed by the UC, about a

¹³ Alexandra Crosnoe, “Orange County Superior Court orders halt to ongoing UAW strike,” *Daily Bruin*, June 7, 2024, <https://dailybruin.com/2024/06/07/orange-county-superior-court-orders-end-to-ongoing-uaw-strike>; “PERB Documents,” <https://www.uaw4811.org/2024-perb-docs>

¹⁴ A copy of the 219 page complaint can be found at <https://uclafa.org/2024/06/05/ucla-fa-files-unfair-labor-practices-charge-against-uc/>

¹⁵ The email can be read here, <https://bit.ly/3zfAAZt>

very narrow time frame in which the extent of UC repression of students and faculty had yet to be revealed.

The consulting firm 21st Century Policing Solutions, LLC, grew directly out of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, formed in late 2014 in the wake of the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the militarized police response to protestors. President Obama appointed then Philadelphia Police Chief Charles H. Ramsey, and Laurie Robinson, Professor of Criminology at George Mason University, to co-chair an eleven-member committee to make recommendations on how to shift away from militarized policing to community policing. Three members of the Task Force, Charles Ramsey, Sean Smoot, and Roberto Villaseñor, parlayed the task force idea into a multi-million-dollar consulting firm. They recruited three other members as advisors or consultants--Susan Lee Rahr, Tracey L. Meares, and former co-chair Laurie Robinson.¹⁶

21CP is made up of law enforcement officials, lawyers, and academics committed to their vision of “community policing.” They have worked with several small to medium-sized cities (Raleigh, Cincinnati, South Bend, Indiana, Tacoma, Washington, Aurora, Colorado, Oklahoma City, Bridgeport, Connecticut, among others) and with dozens of colleges and universities, focusing on training police to gain community trust, racial equity, changing use-of-force policies, communication, transparency, strategic management, “mutual aid agreements” (i.e., how to work with external law enforcement agencies), and “procedural justice — or the process of ensuring fairness, voice and transparency in police interactions.”¹⁷ (They also advise television shows on how to more realistically represent police work.¹⁸)

They produced one manual titled, *Content Neutral Policing of Demonstrations*, ostensibly to teach law enforcement and the institutions they are hired to protect the best practices for dealing with protests. Their recommendations range from nebulous to unsurprising (anti-escalation, maintain lines of communication, involve all stakeholders, utilize “less lethal” tools for crowd control, etc. The document stresses the importance of “social identity theory,” a concept in social psychology that maintains that we establish identities through association or membership in certain groups and in opposition to other groups—us vs. them. The authors caution against fracturing these distinct identities within a crowd lest they turn into a united front against the police (“us vs. them”).¹⁹ How to do this is unclear, and in the context of a political divide in

¹⁶ *President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015), https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf; “Our Team,” <https://www.21cpsolutions.com/our-team-1>; Charles H. Ramsey, Ronald L. Davis, Roberto Villaseñor, and Sean Smoot, “There Is a Playbook for Police Reform,” *New York Times* June 4, 2020.

¹⁷ Charles H. Ramsey, Ronald L. Davis, Roberto Villaseñor, and Sean Smoot, “There Is a Playbook for Police Reform,” *New York Times*, June 4, 2020.

¹⁸ Press Release, “CBS Television Studios Teams With 21cp Solutions to Advise its Police and Legal Dramas,” August 12, 2020, <https://www.paramountpressexpress.com/cbs-studios/releases/?view=55771>

¹⁹ Rebecca Boatright & Kathleen O’Toole, *Content Neutral Policing of Demonstrations* (21CP Solutions, August 2022).

which the very administration deploying the police assumes a pro-Israel position against a protest or encampment in support of Palestine, the application of social identity theory is useless, if not nonsensical. Moreover, besides a passing mention that “minority communities often hold deep distrust of police,” the document never considers race and racism or even racial bias (conscious or unconscious) among police officers. It is taken for granted that good policing simply requires proper training.

More significantly, 21CP founder and President’s Task Force leader Charles H. Ramsey has a notorious record when it comes to policing protests. Before leading Philadelphia’s police department, he served as Chief of the DC Metro Police (MPD) from 1998 to 2007. In April 2000 during protests against the IMF and World Bank, his officers violently attacked peaceful protesters, beating them and dousing some with pepper spray. But the most egregious act was the arrest over 700 people—peaceful protesters, journalists, and even tourists who happened to be passing through. Many were held on buses for several hours, hog tied (wrist attached to the opposing ankle), denied bathrooms, food and water for several hours, and left in jail and on the floor of the police gym for about 24 hours. The Partnership for Civil Justice (PFCJ) forced the District to pay \$13.7 million to victims of the mass arrest. In September 2002, the MPD arrested 400 anti-globalization activists peacefully demonstrating in Pershing Park and, in a repeat of April 2000, hog-tied them and left them on the floor of the police gym for 24 hours. The PFCJ succeeded again in winning a \$8.25 million settlement for the plaintiffs. During the investigation, the MPD and its attorneys destroyed evidence, and according to the sworn testimony of two police officers, Chief Ramsey himself gave the arrest order. And during a demonstration against the Iraq War in 2004, officers under Ramsey’s command severely beat several protesters. The attacks were caught on camera and Chief Ramsey was on the scene. No officer was disciplined.²⁰ Mara Verheyden-Hilliard, lead attorney for the PFCJ, vehemently opposed Ramsey’s appointment to Obama’s Task Force. She said in 2014, “No police force has ever ‘reformed’ itself. And Chief Ramsey is among the least capable people of changing the reality of, or even meaningfully altering, militarized policing in America. He was among those who implemented it.”²¹

Even if Ramsey learned from his past errors and 21CP is his effort at redemption, the fact is this firm simply does not conduct investigations. They are troubleshooters tasked with finding ways to convince law enforcement agencies to incorporate the principles of community policing. They charge a lot of money to produce reports with boilerplate recommendations. Oklahoma City paid 21CP \$193,000 for a report many Black residents found to be useless since nothing had changed. Jess Eddy, an organizer with Black Lives Matter in Oklahoma City, complained, “It’s a \$190,000 contract, and we see no product. . . It seems like this is the furtherance of the perpetuation of this

²⁰ Steven Rosenfeld, “Abusive Cop Picked to Head Police Reform Commission,” *Alternet* (December 2, 2014), <https://www.alternet.org/2014/12/abusive-cop-picked-head-police-reform-commission>; Freeman Klopott, “D.C. pays \$8.25M in Pershing Park arrests settlement,” *Washington Examiner*, December 16, 2009, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/crime/1406738/d-c-pays-8-25m-in-pershing-park-arrests-settlement/>; Jason Cherkis, “Pershing Park Case: D.C. Police Captain Testifies Ramsey Gave Arrest Order,” *Washington City Paper*, March 17, 2010, <https://washingtoncitypaper.com/article/473851/pershing-park-case-d-c-police-captain-testifies-ramsey-gave-arrest-order/>

²¹ Rosenfeld, “Abusive Cop Picked to Head Police Reform Commission.”

bureaucratic layer that has been set up between the community and change.”²² The city of Aurora, Colorado paid 21CP \$340,000 to “investigate” police missteps that resulted in the death of Elijah McClain, a young Black man who had been injected with ketamine under police custody and died.²³ They produced a 161-page report that primarily described the operations of the Aurora Police Department, compared it with other departments in similar-sized cities, repeated what we all know about the death of Elijah McClain, and offered obvious and fairly innocuous recommendations. For example, it counsels that “de-escalation is an affirmative duty of all officers in all circumstances,” and that “use of force policy should authorize force only when it is proportional to the nature of the threat that a subject poses under the circumstances.” This, of course, is standard law enforcement protocol. It recommends prohibiting chokeholds, retaliatory violence, using force on people who are handcuffed—in other words, prohibiting behavior that is already prohibited. And it suggests recruiting and training more officers, adopting community policing methods, and update policy and procedures across the board.²⁴

To add to our skepticism, one wonders what difference a 21CP report on UCLA will make when similar reports commissioned by other universities, such as Yale, seemed to have little effect on how their university police respond to their Gaza encampments. Yale University police violently arrested students even as they were following orders to disperse.²⁵ 21CP’s assessment of Yale’s Police Department issued in 2020 was sharply criticized by Black students, who found the report “failed to address the root, systemic issues of racism and racialized violence that plague police departments throughout the country.” They found nothing surprising or revelatory in the report: it recommended increasing YPD’s budget, expanding its scope in the area of community policing, fund more training in use of force policies and effective joint operations with other law enforcement agencies (mutual aid), and increase their interactions with students and other stakeholders.²⁶

Having performed our due diligence and studied 21CP, members of our Task Force agreed to meet with their representatives. The latter came to the meeting ill-prepared and ill-informed.

²² Matt Patterson, “OKC policing town hall reveals pain, frustration,” *NonDoc*, April 13, 2021, <https://nondoc.com/2021/04/13/okc-policing-town-hall-reveals-pain-frustration/>

²³ Lori Jane Gliha, “Aurora may pay more than \$400K combined to police reform consultants and those hired to investigate Elijah McClain case,” *KDVR News* (September 16, 2020), <https://kdvr.com/news/problem-solvers/aurora-may-pay-more-than-400k-combined-to-police-reform-consultants-and-those-hired-to-investigate-elijah-mcclain-case/>

²⁴ See *Recommendations for the Aurora Police Department* (21CP Solutions, August 2021), <https://kdvr.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2021/08/21CP-Solutions-Recommendations-for-the-Aurora-Police-Department-August-2021-.pdf>

²⁵ Nathaniel Rosenbert, “Yale police violently arrest four pro-Palestine protesters,” *Yale Daily News*, May 2, 2024, <https://yaledailynews.com/blog/2024/05/02/yale-police-violently-arrest-four-pro-palestine-protesters/>; Eliza Fawcett, Alan Blinder, Amanda Holpuch and Jacey Fortin, “Dozens of Yale Students Arrested During Campus Protests,” *New York Times*, April 22, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/22/us/yale-students-arrests-protests.html>

²⁶ Black Students for Disarmament at Yale, “Reform is not an option: A response to 21CP’s recommendations for the Yale Police Department,” *Medium* (August 30, 2020), <https://medium.com/@bsdypolicy/reform-is-not-an-option-a-response-to-21cps-recommendations-for-the-yale-police-department-b907811d8b84>

They were unaware of our first Task Force Report of 15 May, had not familiarized themselves with the political landscape at UCLA, and revealed that the scope of their report would not extend beyond May 2.nd Their stated objectives were to investigate what happened, review the university response and response of law enforcement, and offer recommendations going forward. We reminded them that as consultants paid by the university, they were not conducting an independent investigation.

The evidence suggests that the university is paying upwards of a quarter of a million dollars for a glossy report will not tell us anything we don't already know. Here is what we do know.

Law Enforcement Violated its Own Protocols and Codes

It is our contention that UCPD and other law enforcement agencies responsible for assaulting and arresting students and faculty in the course of the last month violated its own protocols and codes. Without a thorough investigation of their actions on April 30, May 1-2, May 6, May 23, and June 10 – 11, we question the legitimacy and accuracy of the police reports, which we learned are the sole basis for criminal and disciplinary proceedings against students, faculty, and staff who have been arrested.

We know, for example, that the CHP, UCPD, and the LAPD violated its own rules of engagement and use of force policy and procedure. In the early morning hours of May 2, three CHP Special Response Teams formed a skirmish line outside Royce Hall. Standing behind them was another contingent armed with beanbag shotguns or 40mm launchers. CalMatters's investigation based on video taken from inside the encampment documented at least 25 different instances in which officers either aimed their guns at the eye level of protesters or fired at protesters when they were retreating or simply standing. "In some instances," the report found, "the officers approached kneeling protesters with the launchers aimed at point-blank range."²⁷ The video shows an officer, face masked by a balaclava, firing four rounds of beanbag projectiles—three in rapid succession. Jeff Wenninger, a former LAPD lieutenant who has investigated or overseen more than 700 fatal police shootings, viewed the same footage and saw no "evidence of a threat to life or serious bodily injury, officers around the officer didn't react like there was, and there was no apparent effort made to arrest anyone." And he found the fact that he had deliberately hid his face worrisome. "We don't wear a balaclava unless it's freezing cold outside. It's the perception. We have to maintain legitimacy with our communities."²⁸

On September 30, 2021, Governor Gavin Newsom signed into law California Assembly Bill 48, prohibiting the use of rubber, plastic, and beanbag projectiles—also known as "kinetic energy projectiles—or chemical agents by *any* law enforcement agency "to disperse any assembly, protest, or demonstration" except if necessary "to defend against a threat to life or serious bodily injury to any individual, including any peace officer, or to bring an objectively dangerous and unlawful situation safely and effectively under control." Projectiles must be aimed only at

²⁷ Sergio Olmos, "CHP isn't supposed to aim less-lethal munitions at protesters' heads and fire into Crowds. It did at UCLA," *CalMatters* (May 13, 2024), <https://calmatters.org/justice/2024/05/ucla-protest-palestine-police/>

²⁸ Ibid., see also, Jeff Wenninger, "California restricts how police respond to protests. Why were bean bag shotguns used at UCLA?" *CalMatters*, (May 6, 2024), <https://calmatters.org/commentary/2024/05/police-crowd-response-ucla-protests/>

individuals engaged in violent acts and “shall not be aimed indiscriminately into a crowd or group of persons.” And, in accordance with previous LAPD protocols, “Kinetic energy projectiles shall not be aimed at the head, neck, or any other vital organs.” Noncompliance with a law enforcement order is not enough to justify the use of these projectiles or chemical agents.²⁹ We know from the volunteer medics that CHP and UCPD broke the law, given the evidence shown by the injuries students sustained. They treated dozens of injuries to the head and face cause by rubber bullets. “[The projectiles] would pierce through skin and gouge deep into people’s bodies,” recalled a medical student who worked in the medic’s tent. “All of them were profusely bleeding. . . . I couldn’t believe that this was allowed to be [done to] civilians — students — without protective gear.”³⁰ And, we reiterate, these were students engaged in peaceful protests. Not rioters engaged in violence – such as the Zionist mob that attacked our students and faculty on the evening of May 30 as the police watched on, taking no action to intervene and making no arrests. Students peacefully protesting on campus, in other words, were attacked by the same police forces who did nothing to intervene during an armed attack on the same campus.

Rick Brazier has to know that the police violated use-of-force policy since he served as vice-chair of the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training which produced the revised *Post Use of Force Standards and Guidelines*, the primary rule book for all law enforcement agencies in the state. The guidelines are clear: the use of force must be “proportional to the seriousness of the suspected offense or the reasonably perceived level of actual or threatened resistance.” It is reasonable when the people or persons pose “an imminent threat to the public, other officers, and themselves.”³¹ Likewise, the UCPD use-of-force policy states, “The reasonableness of the use of force should also be evaluated by considering (1) the severity of the crime at issue, (2) whether the suspect poses an immediate threat to the safety of the officers or others and (3) whether the suspect is actively resisting arrest or attempting to evade arrest by flight.”³² The rules also apply to physical force. Therefore, on the night of June 10, when a member of SJP was tackled by two UCPD officers, dragged off, arrested and charged with assaulting an officer for simply chanting in a megaphone, the officers undeniably violated

²⁹ Text of Assembly Bill 48, Filed with Secretary of State September 30, 2021, https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=20210220AB48. Prior to the passage of Assembly Bill 48, LAPD protocols prohibited the use of rubber, plastic, or beanbag projectiles to target “the head, neck, spine, chest, groin, or kidneys.” Los Angeles Police Department, *Use of Force – Tactics Directive* (Directive No. 17 July 2018), p. 5; Los Angeles Police Department, *Use of Force – Tactics Directive* (Directive No. 6.3 July 2018), p. 5. In 2022, the city of Los Angeles paid Iz Sinistra \$1.25 million after an LAPD officer shot him in the head with a beanbag projectile and severely injured him during the spring 2020 protests. [Kevin Rector, “Protester wounded by LAPD reflects on two-year legal battle, \$1.25-million settlement,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 2022, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2022-08-22/protester-shot-by-lapd-projectile-in-2020-mulls-new-future-after-1-25m-settlement>

³⁰ Molly Castle Work and Brett Kelman, “Medics at UCLA Protest Say Police Weapons Drew Blood and Cracked Bones,” *California Healthline* (May 16, 2024), <https://californiahealthline.org/news/article/ucla-protest-gaza-israel-rubber-bullets-injuries-volunteer-medics/>

³¹ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *Post Use of Force Standards and Guidelines* (California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 2020, revised 2021), 14.

³² “UCLA Police department procedures,” <https://police.ucla.edu/other/use-of-force>

UCPD's of use of force policy. The student leading the chant posed no threat, and behind these two officers stood more than 30 officers. And yet, the arrest triggered disciplinary action and a hold on their graduation and diploma.

As our students and colleagues face swift condemnation and punishment from the administration, we have yet to receive a single report on the UCPD or the CHP use of so-called less lethal force, as is required by law. Any use of force besides what is "required for unresisted Department approved searching or handcuffing . . . must be reported," according to UCPD procedures, "promptly, completely and accurately."³³ Police officers are also obligated to report excessive force. Again, we turn to the *Post Use of Force Standards and Guidelines*: "Officers shall immediately report potential excessive force to a superior officer when present and observing another officer using force that the officer believes to be beyond that which is necessary," and it "should be documented promptly, accurately and completely in a written report."³⁴

We are also waiting for UCPD to issue reports on injuries our students endured as a result of their actions. Officers are not only required to report injuries, they must also attend to the injured—suspects or not—and ensure that EMS can care for the wounded. But at no point did any UCPD officers stop to assist wounded students. On the contrary, during the assault on the encampment, the police hindered the work of medics, either by allowing the mob attack to continue for hours or blocking EMS from getting access to the encampment.³⁵

A genuine investigation will demand access to all police reports while also demanding separate investigations from the district attorney into police misconduct. We find it ironic that our students are currently undergoing a disciplinary process in which UCPD is charging them with disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and failure to comply when the myriad violations of law and protocol by the police actually caused significant physical harm, psychological trauma, and property damage. Moreover, the students are asked to respond only to these charges without having access to eyewitness accounts and other reports that could provide more context. For example, several students refused to abide by the dispersal order because they were caring for the wounded.

Weaponizing the code of conduct

Finally, the administration has weaponized the code of conduct process to punish faculty for attempting to protect students when the administration's actions put them in harm's way. Below are their alleged violations of the faculty code of conduct:

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *Post Use of Force Standards and Guidelines* (California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 2020, revised 2021), 21-23.

³⁵ Molly Castle Work and Brett Kelman, "Medics at UCLA Protest Say Police Weapons Drew Blood and Cracked Bones," *California Healthline* (May 16, 2024), <https://californiahealthline.org/news/article/ucla-protest-gaza-israel-rubber-bullets-injuries-volunteer-medics/>

* Intentional disruption of functions or activities sponsored or authorized by the University.

* Incitement of others to disobey University rules when such incitement constitutes a clear and present danger that violence or abuse against persons or property will occur or that the University's central functions will be significantly impaired.

* Forcible detention, threats of physical harm to, or harassment of another member of the University community, that interferes with that person's performance of University activities.

We emphatically reject these charges and the disciplinary process, which resembles McCarthyism-era tactics to attack dissenters. It should be remembered that it was faculty who warned the administration of the escalating violence directed at the encampment by mobs, beginning as early as April 27 and it was faculty who asked the administration to act on these threats. Instead, the administration permitted a large rally of pro-Israeli counter protesters to take place just ten yards from the encampment, where some participants unfurled the flag of the Jewish Defense League, labeled a terrorist organization by the Southern Poverty Law Center and notorious for a legacy of violent and racist attacks on Palestinian-Americans. And as we noted in our last report, the counter-demonstrators set up a large jumbotron, (without a permit or official authorization as we later discovered), which looped violent and provocative videos each and every day until the encampment was dismantled on May 2.

Indeed, administrative inaction is what prompted the April 29, faculty walk-out and a press conference criticizing both the violent mobs and administrative inaction. The next night, when an even larger, armed mob violently attacked the encampment, a handful of faculty members went to the scene to protect the students, putting their bodies on the line. For taking up the duty to protect that the administration had abrogated, they suffered injuries and some were arrested once the mob left the scene unmolested and the police finally moved in. Faculty showed up the next night, when the mob returned and the police prepared to dismantle the encampment. As a consequence, the very colleagues who braved physical violence and arrest in defense of our students are now facing disciplinary charges. The Faculty Code of Conduct prohibits "threats of physical harm to, or harassment of another member of the University community" from which could be inferred a duty to *protect* a member of our community from harm and harassment. Likewise, six years ago the California Supreme Court ruled in *Regents of the University of California v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County*, that "universities owe a [duty to protect](#) students from foreseeable violence during curricular activities." Our colleagues ought not to be punished for fulfilling the ethical and moral duty to protect our students from harm.

Conclusion: Policing the Campus and Silencing Speech

As UCLA's Task Force on Anti-Palestinian, Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism, we underscore the relationship between genocide and the racism and violence directed against Palestinians, Muslims, Arabs and anyone who critiques the unfolding genocide in Gaza. The first [report](#) our task force submitted to Chancellor Block and EVCP Darnell Hunt on May 15, 2024 provides documentary evidence of the escalating hostility and violence directed at students, staff, and faculty in solidarity with Palestinians. The Task force has repeatedly pointed out that as an unending genocide unfolds in Gaza, on campuses in the U.S., those of us desperate to find a way

to stop the violence in Gaza and to call the university and the U.S. to account for its support of the genocide, find ourselves facing considerable repression. In this second report, we document the militarization of our campus, the persistent attacks on students, faculty, and staff for supporting ceasefire, divestment and disclosure, and the punitive measures deployed by the administration toward anyone even mildly critical of Israeli policies. We note with considerable alarm that the policing of protest we describe in this report has made UCLA even less safe for Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, and pro-Palestinian communities, exposing them to physical harm, punishing protest through disciplinary and criminal charges, and seeking at every turn to destroy their academic careers.

The policing strategies we document in this report have continued and worsened the situation we described in our first report. In our first report, alongside the university's utter failure to protect the students under attack in the encampment from counter protesters and later from police who stood by and who later brutalized students, we emphasized that the harassment and punitive actions taken against faculty and students for their support of Palestinian rights have persisted for decades. The repression of speech occurs not only through the violent policing described here but also through a deliberate and mendacious attempt to characterize the campus as a hotbed of antisemitism, even as Jewish, Palestinian, Arab and Muslim students in solidarity with Palestinians endure violent policing and repression on multiple levels.

As entire families are obliterated in Gaza, we are being asked to consider the feelings of those select Jewish students – by no means representative of all Jewish students, who are offended by the sight of a kaffiyeh and by the phrase “from the river to the sea,” a call for the freedom of Palestinians and equality in a democratic and secular state. The situation has gone so far that the House Committee on Education called UCLA's chancellor Gene Block and the presidents of Northwestern University and Rutgers University to publicly chastise them for allowing protests in support of Palestinian human rights. We wish to emphasize that false narratives *enable* the silence surrounding the mass killing of Palestinians. We, at UCLA, have experienced first-hand what it takes to ignore or deny the genocidal violence that Israel has unleashed against Palestinians through the mendacious narrative that Jews are everywhere imperiled *by Palestinians and those in solidarity with them*. While Jews, like racialized peoples everywhere are never free from the scourge of antisemitism, and the genocide in Gaza may well contribute to an increased antisemitism, college campuses are in reality islands of protest against a genocide. We state that, at a time when all of our attention should be directed at the genocide in Gaza, the mendacious narrative of campus as a place that is unsafe for Jewish students is deployed to delegitimize protest against state violence against Palestinians and hence to obscure or underplay the ongoing genocide in which we are all complicit because our taxes finance it, the companies in which our university invests profit from it, and our government provides the bombs to keep it going. As a task force, we reject the violent policing of protest and the ongoing repression of speech on campus through the narrative that criticism of the Israeli state amounts to antisemitism. We refuse to be complicitous in genocide.