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Shattering Social Mythology

by Bill Dunne

It has long been taken for granted in various media and other forums that imprisonment in the U.S. is a benevolent social tool intended and operated to "correct" violators of social norms and the problems of crime. Hence, the common name for this arm of the apparatus has been "corrections". Even under the ever more draconian rhetoric and policies of the Ronbo and Bushbo Reagan-ismo era, imprisonment in the U.S. has always been tied to a popular mythology of justice. That mythology assumes continual progress toward greater humanity and could never countenance institutionalized brutality or extremities of physical and psychological punishment.

The Myth of Humane Imprisonment: A Critical Analysis of Severe Discipline in Maximum Security Prisons, 1945-1990, aka The Prison Discipline Study (PDS) has recently plunged into the heart of that mythology. It tears yet another window in the fabric of falsity that veils the reality of official victimization of

don't exist in the official lexicon. At worst, authorities characterize them as errors in the application of "reasonable force". The bias is reflected in research, which leads to wrong conclusions, which stimulates inappropriate and even counterproductive actions — and the political will to carry them out.

The study also found contradictions within the literature regarding the effect of maximum security settings on violence and abuse by staff against prisoners. Only one discovered what prisoners live: that there is a high correlation between the two. Similar contradictions were discovered regarding the use of solitary confinement and psychological abuse as punishment.

From academic research, the PDS moves to a survey of published accounts by prisoners and officials of the abuses perpetrated on prisoners in the name of discipline. This portion served to put today's abuses in a historical context and to demonstrate that the notion of continual progress to greater humanity is without basis in fact — part of the myth.

returns were dispositive regarding victimization vs. discipline. Violation of prison rules was only third on the list of reasons for infliction of so-called discipline. Verbal hostility and failure to obey were substantially more frequent causes for punishment. Considering that rule infractions are often used as a cover for ulterior reasons for action against prisoners means that victimization has even less to do with discipline than the figures indicate. The finding that severe forms of "discipline" are more accurately seen as victimization is especially important in light of the social mythology's tenet that prisoners are victimizers only, whatever happens to them.

Who bears the brunt of discipline further corroborates the victimization finding:

* Jailhouse lawyers, most of whom seek only to make the reality fit the myth — indeed, can do no more, as the law allows only that much — were punished most. These people heighten the contradictions for prison authorities — making them uncomfortably conscious of the dichotomy between the actu-

actions than anyone else. On a human level, many guards make this recognition, too. In their official capacities, however, they cannot afford to do so, and administrators mostly won't let them. Resistance to or insufficient "respect" for their authority for whatever reason undermines that authority and its legitimacy. They feel tolerance would set the wrong precedent and administer discipline not because it will positively change someone incapable of understanding it but as advertisement.

* The study also notes that prisoners who are perceived as having integrity, who have and adhere to a consistent set of principles that makes them less malleable, are also prone to heightened victimization by staff. This can (but does not necessarily) include adherents to particular political or religious persuasions and even the "convict code" or a gang, or people with strong identification with things beyond the immediate. These, too, are seen as challenges to the omnipotence increasingly demanded by prison authorities and, much more than is required to control violations of rules, elicit suppression both in an effort to destroy sustaining belief systems and to impose a cost on them that will limit their spread.

The methods of victimization reported as current bore strong similarities to those found in the historical literature. Technology had intruded into the realm of beatings with mace, tear gas, wooden bullet guns, and stun guns (electric), but the prevalent instruments are still fists, boots, and clubs by far. Twenty-five women reported having been beaten or sexually abused by male guards. This form of oppression is probably grossly understated given women's reluctance to report it and officialdom's special interest in keeping it under cover. It is also likely that this form of abuse is expanding more than others due to the more rapid rate of increase in incarceration of women.

The infliction of solitary confinement also diverged widely from the mythology of humane incarceration in which it is only a rare punishment, usually with an upward limit in the vicinity of 21 days. Three-fifths of respondents reported sentences to solitary of years, one-quarter of months. Consignment to the Control Unit at USP Marion is routinely for years, the average stay at locked-down Marion is now about three years, and administrators have said that the initial program at the replacement for dungeon Marion being built at Florence, Colorado, will be four years, for example.

Mental abuse masquerading as discipline was reported by half the respondents, a figure which understates its prevalence. It misses the incidental psychological pressures and stresses that pervade prison and especially maximum security life, both due to its nature and as a means of control. The inclusion of psychological forms of punishment in its analysis distinguished PDS even more clearly from other academic investigations and makes it especially valuable. The psychological consequences of what masquerades as discipline are the most destructive and carry the greatest dangers for communities both within and outside the walls.

Another much neglected facet of prisoner victimization the PDS highlighted was the correlation between increases in custody level and punishment. A significant increase in all forms of punishment was found in maximum security vs. other prisons. All of the facilities were found to have roughly equal proportions of lockdown cells and the application of the disciplinary process was found to be similar. So was who was victimized. The

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prisoners in the U.S. The introduction to the study gives us a glimpse of the academic underpinnings of the correctional orthodoxy of humane imprisonment. It is later shown that this is in large part the product of almost total reliance on official statistics, the predominantly self-serving recollections former officials, and researchers divorced from their subject and tilted toward their professional class brethren who manage the system. Using a technically sophisticated survey distributed to some 6500 prisoners, prison officials and others, the study was able to transcend this reliance on the tainted statistical picture generated by the operators of the American Gulag Archipelago. Of the 605 respondents, 93.7% were prisoners — a large number considering the structural impediments of official intimidation and interference. They represented the experience of incarceration in 41 states and the federal system, thus providing a broad and deep volume of information from a crucial source; neglect of which has seriously flawed previous studies. Other respondents included family members and lawyers. Prison staff supplied less than one percent of responses.

The first part of the PDS surveys the academic literature and finds in it glaring deficiencies. For instance, though overcrowding is almost universally cited by prison researchers and administrators as an obstacle to the humane treatment of prisoners, no empirical investigation of crowding has ever looked at the incidence of physical assaults committed by staff against prisoners. This is hardly surprising considering that such things

Beatings with a variety of instruments, electric shock, long-duration confinement, sometimes in shackles and in special torture chambers like the Alabama "doghouse", domination rituals like making prisoners stand in a small circle for hours on pain of beating, and mental abuse were exposed as common.

The study also challenges the myth element that judicial rulings in the 1970s condemning brutality stopped mistreatment of prisoners and disconnected previous history from the present. It advanced numerous examples — such as the infamous federal Control Unit at Lexington, Kentucky, used to try to break women political prisoners through a combination of physical and psychological torture — as evidence of systemic brutality still in court in 1988, that such oppression continues to be, as one guard cum researcher put it, "...deeply entrenched in the guard subculture..." Incidentally, the poverty of the courts as safeguards against excesses of the apparatus of repression was further demonstrated.

The PDS then turns to analysis of the data in its returns with respect to the characteristics of disciplinary measures in the American Gulag Archipelago generally. One of its strangest findings is that severe mental and physical violence by staff against prisoners has more to do with victimization than discipline. In addition to observation showing that some of the methods of alleged discipline can only hinder rather than facilitate disciplinary goals (and calling into question the mental state of their practitioners), PDS

ality and mythology of their roles — and to help expose it to the public and other prisoners. Probably most importantly to their victimization, jailhouse lawyers represent a challenge to the absolute authority of prisoncrats, whether or not it is reflected in real gains.

* Black prisoners came in as the second most victimized group. This is primarily the result of culture clash with a predominantly white, non-urban guard force and secondarily of racist attitudes. Everyone has a right to inherent differences such as those of race, and no legitimate discrimination can be predicated upon them. Further, possession and expression of cultural differences are legal as well as human rights. But the attendant differences in methods of interaction and relating to authority are perceived by prison staff as resistance to their authority, which they feel needs to be crushed. The PDS study astutely suggested this could be ameliorated by multi-cultural training of staff and formal prisoner-guard interaction toward that end. Administrators, however, find the schism useful.

* Prisoners with mental handicaps were the third most victimized group. One can easily understand how people with serious mental afflictions ranging up to extreme psychoses might have trouble handling acceptably the normal routines of prison. They are often placed in such routines without regard or treatment for their handicaps. Most prisoners recognize these limitations and will accord "dings" much more "air" in their inter-

"Appeal after Appeal after Appeal. . ."

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

In America's capital, politicians, shadowed by worsening economic news from the Savings and Loan scandal to the falling fortunes of Wall Street, reach, almost instinctively, for the billy club of capital punishment, in a vain attempt to divert attention from their failures of governing. As elections draw nigh, (*this was written before last fall's elections, ed.*) echoes from an ancient empire resound as loudly from Washington, DC, as they once did in Rome: "*Panem et Circenses!*" Bread and Circuses! Both houses of Congress have stacked piles of offenses to the federal crimes code meriting death penalties, and have drastically limited and narrowed avenues and times for appeal.

Virginian, and condemned Wilbert Lee Evans made a last ditch plea for his life, citing his saving of the life of a prison official during a riot, as well as saving several female employees from sexual attack. Although Evans saved a life, his life was not spared. With his clemency petition denied by Virginia's first elected African-American governor, he was electrocuted in mid-Oct/90.

James Edward Smith of death row-Texas, appealed to the United States Supreme Court for *Writ of Certiorari*, it was granted by four justices. His subsequent petition for stay of execution, however, was denied, and he was injected with a lethal mix of chemicals in July 1990. In mid-Oct/90, three months after his death, the writ once granted, was dismissed as "moot".

This is the American Way of Death.

It is against this backdrop that the *Writ of Certiorari* in *Abu-Jamal vs. Pennsylvania* was summarily denied on Oct/1/90, the 1st day of the new term of the U.S. Supreme Court session. In both counseled and *pro se* petitions filed, a wealth of Supreme Court precedent was cited to challenge violations in the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court proceedings both at sentencing and in the trial itself. At trial, the prosecutor entreated the jury to convict based upon my political history as a Black Panther over a decade before, and he gave his now habitual assurance to the predominantly white jury that "this defendant has appeal after appeal after appeal" adding that "there may be a reversal", suggesting that what they decided would not be final, and later might be reversed.

In the early 1920s, NY State Courts condemned this identical argument as tactically unfair. In the 1960's, Georgia's courts held

similarly. Courts in Florida, Illinois, California and beyond have routinely reversed on this issue alone as fatally misleading the jury. In 1985's *Caldwell v. Mississippi* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court itself found a similar argument constitutionally offensive, and reversed a death sentence. In 1986, in fact, Pennsylvania did likewise in *Com. v. Baker*, a case featuring the same judge and same prosecutor as that in *Com. v. Abu-Jamal*. But in *Abu-Jamal*, with the argument virtually identical to *Baker*, the error was excused by way of blaming the lawyer for "inviting error".

Despite record evidence which reveals this identical palliative made to the jury of "appeal after appeal after appeal" in, at least 4 cases handled by the prosecutor, only in *Abu-Jamal* was it "invited". "You're not being asked to kill anyone," quoth the prosecutor to the jury, when, in fact, that was precisely what the jury was being asked to do, to decide life or death.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has condemned such errors in cases decided before *Abu-Jamal*, and has even announced a *per se* rule banning the practice in all subsequent trials in Pennsylvania — except for *Abu-Jamal*. It is tantamount to throwing life preservers to the thrashing throng in danger of drowning — except one. Despite the prosecutor's calm assurances that I had "appeal after appeal after appeal", the nation's highest appeals court decided neither to hear nor consider my writ — my last direct appeal. As shown in the Smith case from Texas, even *Grant of Certiorari* means little, for if the court elects to save the case for consideration (by 4 votes), but neglects to save the petitioner's life until the case can be heard (by 5 votes), then "appeal" becomes a deadly nullity, a grim legal fiction.

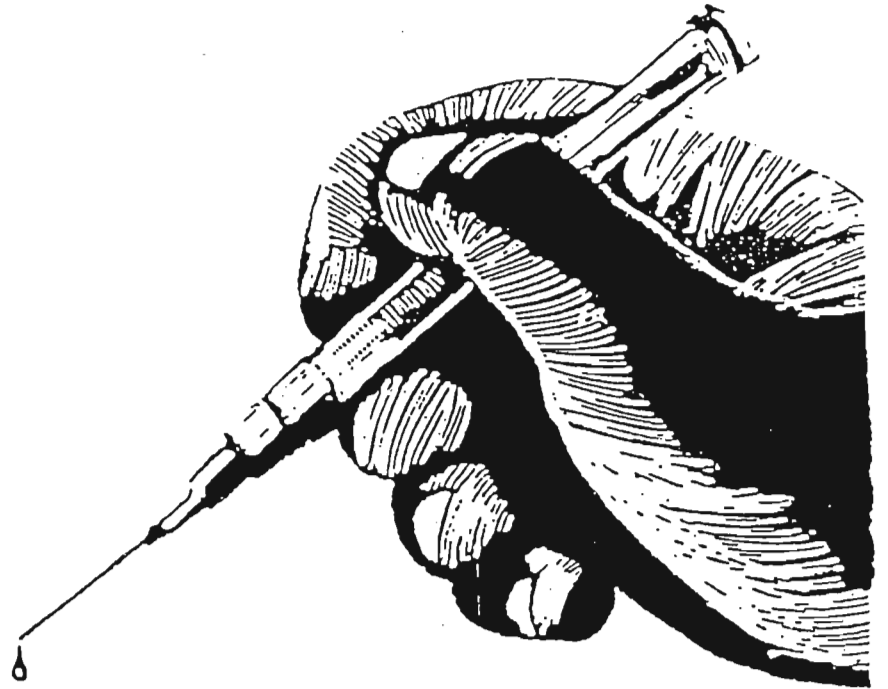
But more than a lone felon dies. Also perishing is the fundamental notion that "justice be rendered to rich and poor alike"; that all persons are entitled to be heard before their very lives are extinguished by the state. That illustrative motto, though chiseled in stone, rings hollower by the day in the court's madcap rush to death. In the dissenting opinion of *Spenkalink v. Wainwright* (1979) then-justice (now chief justice) William Rehnquist delivered a blistering critique of lawyers who sought stays of execution and judges who granted them as conduct "at odds with a government of law." One wonders if the practice of legally killing a person, after 4 justices have granted review by *Writ of Certiorari*, but before a hearing can be held or before briefs were filed, can be considered "at odds with a government of law"? Presuma-

bly, 5 U.S. justices (and now with the recent retirement of Brennan and the seating of David Souter in his stead, perhaps 6) think not.

Robert A. Burt, the distinguished Southmayd professor of law at Yale University, admitted in his incisive Aug/87 Law Review article (*Disorder in the Court: The Death Penalty and the Constitution*, 1989, *Mich. L. Rev.* 1741, at 1793) that the entire U.S. Criminal Justice system is threatened with being "mocked"

curtail appeals, speed reviews and quicken the pace of death. Since Jan/73, over 140 people have been legally electrocuted, shot, hung, asphyxiated or injected with poison in 16 U.S. states. Of that number, over 40% were African-American, although only 12% of the U.S. population is Black. Amid the current fever and clamor for death, the number condemned is certain to grow.

It is a dark hour on U.S. death row.



and being "undermine(d)". The culprits, in contrast to Rehnquist's view, are neither "shyster" lawyers nor "gullible" judges, for:

"It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that our criminal justice system impeaches its own integrity by producing reversible errors in between half and three-quarters of its cases. These are, moreover, not trivial cases; they involve the potential infliction of death where — one might assume — front-line dispensing officers would be more careful in their conduct than in their ordinary dispensations. If serious cases subjected to corresponding serious review are mishandled in so many instances, what must we conclude about the possibilities of undiscovered error, undetected impropriety, of official misbehavior in the less serious, everyday proceedings in the criminal justice system?"

One would suppose that in such cases the most searching and thorough review is mandated. The court's response has been to

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It is critical that we continue to send cards and letters to the Governor of Pennsylvania to demand that the state not kill Abu-Jamal. Write to:

Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Bldg, Rm 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

For more information, write:

New African Network
Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090

Partisan Defense Committee
c/o R. Wolkenstein
POB 99, Canal St. Stn
New York, NY 10013 ∞

Prison Discipline *continued from page 1*

difference was that in max facilities the length of disciplinary segregation sentences and frequency of beatings and mental abuse were greater. Interestingly, the study did learn from its returns from 41 states that the incidence of severe allegedly disciplinary measures was remarkably uniform, that it was no worse in any particular state.

The Prison Discipline Study provides a valuable point of departure for further and much needed investigation of the dark concrete corners of the American Gulag Archipelago in a manner that does not perpetuate any mythology. Clearly, in comparison with other industrialized countries' systems of criminal justice and with what is possible given the resources expended, the American apparatus of imprisonment is an abject failure at protecting society from crime. Indeed, it aggravates the problems of crime. This is because it is predicated so largely on social

mythology. The unblinded research the PDS has pioneered will help blow away the smoke and mirrors and reveal the true dimensions of the problems toward mapping real solutions.

The study did contain an ambiguity regarding the statement, "severe punishment is driven by an informal or 'sub-bureaucratic' social drama played out by two actors only: the guard and the prisoner." Guards are driven and not driving. In some places the PDS implies that "the guard subculture" includes administrations and custodial staff generally, and in others that it sees them as somehow separate. The former is more accurate. It is the administrations that are responsible for the character of guard interaction with prisoners, whatever swinishness may characterize individual guards. It is administrations that determine how many and how severe beatings and other instances of corporal punishment will be tolerated, what will be infractions and

the zealotry of their enforcement, how intensely guards will be indoctrinated to see prisoners as nasty, and the distances that will be maintained between the groups, etc., etc. Guards, individually and as a group are not autonomous and mostly have only as much latitude to ply their asshole nature (or human nature) as administrators allow. The goals of these administrators, who knowingly perpetuate the lie of a humane and effective system of corrections for their masters, diverge from those of the public myth as the apparatus they operate pursues ulterior political ends.

Prisons exist in a political context that goes far beyond mere regulation of crime. They are instruments of social manipulation and control. The U.S. ruling class recognizes that it will need many more such instruments and a much freer hand to dictate conditions within them in order to counter conscious

and unconscious resistance to increasing privatization as economic conditions deteriorate in response to global changes. 40 per cent of the current prison population is in maximum security and the trend is increasingly in that direction as officialdom seeks to put its deprivations further from public view. It is important that the disinfecting light of work like the PDS be kept on the apparatus lest the social sickness that afflicts it festers out of sight.

"The Myth of Humane Imprisonment: A Critical Analysis of Severe Discipline in Maximum Security Prisons, 1945-1990" was prepared by Mark S. Hamm, Therese Coupez, Francis Friedman, and Corey Weinstein and may be obtained for \$5.00 a copy from: Prison Discipline Study, 1909 6th St., Sacramento, CA 95814. It is highly recommended. ∞

Wounded Knee . . .

One hundred years ago, the emerging American industrial/agricultural state was successful in subduing some of the very last resisters to its plans of grandeur and wealth. On Dec/15/1890, Sitting Bull, one of the chiefs who led the Lakota (Sioux) warriors and their allies to victory over General George Custer years earlier at the battle of the Little Big Horn, was killed by some Hunkpapa Lakota who conspired with the U.S. Cavalry to bring about his death. After Sitting Bull's murder, Big Foot, considered a religious and political agitator, led about 350 men, women and children through sub-zero weather to Wounded Knee in a futile attempt to escape the 7th Cavalry.

On Dec/29/1890, soldiers from the cavalry were disarming Big Foot's people for the third day. A scuffle broke out as the soldiers continued to seize their weapons. Immediately, the soldiers began to fire on the unarmed Lakota. It was out and out slaughter. The desperate Lakota men attacked the soldiers with their bare hands to give the others time to escape. But as they ran for protection, the big Hotchkiss guns, placed on the surrounding hills, opened up and cut down the fleeing Indians. Mounted soldiers gave chase, clubbing and



. . . Will Not Be Forgotten

shooting men, women and children as they ran or hid. The wounded were shot as they lay in the snow. For this memorable slaughter, in which 25 blue coats were killed (mainly by their own guns), an amazing 22 soldiers were recommended for the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Nearly 300 of the Lakota were killed that day, or died from their wounds as they lay unattended in the cold, in the last "victory" over the Indian people. This slaughter, still vividly remembered by the Lakota, was only the last of a long line of massacres going back to the arrival of the Pilgrims. The only glory was in the minds of the soldiers themselves; they had avenged the defeat of Custer. The Manifest Destiny reigned supreme.

Wounded Knee is still a painful memory and symbol for the original peoples of North America. One hundred years later, the European conquerors, for all of their power, for all of their weapons, and for all of their merciless greed, have not destroyed the First Nations. Once again they are rising, in accordance with their teachings, to reclaim their land and their spirit. Bulldozer would like to remember Sitting Bull, Big Foot, and those who fell in the cold that day. May we all bring them honor by continuing the fight. ∞

Canada Seeks To Continue Its Domination of First Nations

by Jim Campbell

The continuing harassment of the Mohawk people by Canadian and Quebec police (SQ) was met with force on Jan/8/90. A large number of police invaded Mohawk territory to reinforce the writing of a traffic ticket for a minor violation. Over a hundred Mohawks, using baseball bats, golf clubs and hockey sticks fought off a large number of cops wielding clubs. Shots were fired into the air by the Mohawks to warn off the police, who withdrew, with thirteen injured. Several Mohawks were hurt, and eight were arrested, held without bail, and charged with possession of weapons, assault with a weapon, assault causing bodily harm, obstructing peace officers and mischief. The police were obviously well prepared for this incident as they were able to rush hundreds of cops to the scene. Being a little jumpy, they closed down the Mercier bridge, which had been seized in the summer by the Mohawks. A second incident the next day resulted in 9 more pigs being injured and, once again, the police massed in invasion size force.

The barricades at Kahnawake came down last summer with the expectation that the provincial and federal governments would also show some good faith. But the two levels of government have done nothing to meet Mohawk grievances. There has been no investigation into police conduct last summer, especially the initial armed attack that began the 77 day stand off. There have been no talks on sovereignty. And, to add insult to injury, the federal government bought some swamp land to offer to Kanesatake rather than the sacred land that is under dispute. Indeed, far from resolving the land issue, the Longhouse people at Kanesatake are warily watching work proceed on a condominium project that is edging into the forest. Over the fall and winter, the people at Kahnawake have been continually harassed for such "crimes" as not having enough windshield washer fluid, or having too little air pressure in their tires.

For the Mohawks, it is simple. Under their claim of sovereignty, they say that the police have no jurisdiction on their territory at all. Until last July, the Peacekeepers, a native police force, had full policing responsibilities. The Mohawks had their own law

courts, quietly accepted by the two levels of government, that looked after some criminal matters. The constant patrolling by heavily armed police is provocative since it is simply a show of force. The constant harassment has added to the tension. Recent reports that the SQ are shopping for army tanks only reveal their intentions to continue their repression.

One of the four Mohawks, Dennis Nichols, held since the standoff ended in September, pled guilty in late December to three charges of possessing a gun for dangerous purposes, obstructing police and soldiers and participating in a riot. He received two years. The vast majority of the nearly 200 people charged from the standoff are using a collective defense of sovereignty; that they were defending their territory and that Canada and Quebec have no jurisdiction over them or their land. Such a defense is very expensive and complicated, but could lay out some key legal ground in the continual struggle to assert the sovereignty of the First Nations.

The Lubicon

On another front, on Nov/8/90, the Lubicon Cree Nation within northern Alberta, warned logging and oil companies that their operations were subject to approval from the Lubicon, and that their operations would be shut down if the companies didn't get operating permits and pay royalties to the Lubicon. On Nov/24/90, logging equipment and trucks at a cutting site on Lubicon land, were fire-bombed and had their tires slashed, resulting in twenty thousand dollars worth of damage. Thirteen men were later arrested and charged with arson, possession of explosives, and disguise with intent.

For fifty years, the Lubicon have been trying to get the federal government to recognize their traditional land. In the early 70s, publicly financed roads were built to give oil companies access to deposits under Lubicon land. The government has continually stalled serious land claims, while 6 billion dollars worth of oil has been extracted. The Lubicons have gotten nothing, while their traditional economy of hunting and trapping has been destroyed. Ninety per cent of the people are on welfare. Alberta has recently granted per-

mits for clear cut logging, which would finish the destruction..

In 1988, the Lubicon declared themselves to be a sovereign nation. They have infuriated federal representatives by refusing to recognize Canadian jurisdiction over their lands and their people. In keeping with this, the Lubicon are challenging Alberta's right to lay the arson charges. The defendants are all choosing to remain silent in the court room. Rather than trying to meet the legal challenge head on, the prosecutor has scheduled 9 preliminary trials, instead of one, as a means of draining the Lubicon financially.

While attention is focusing on the Middle East, the war at home continues: the Mohawks, the Lubicon and the James Bay Cree, amongst others, are under attack and are taking various steps to defend themselves. Canada is willing to use its armed forces to "protect" Kuwait, while it uses every method, including those same troops, to crush the First Nations here.

For more information on the Mohawk situation, write to: the Mohawk Nation Office, Box 645, JOL 1B0. For the Lubicon, write to: 3536 - 106th St., Edmonton, Alberta, T6J 1A4. ∞

N.B. Native Prison Group Threatened

Greetings,

We, the Sacred Circle Society, the Native Brotherhood within Atlantic Institution at Renous, New Brunswick, request support in what ever way possible from our First Nations Brothers and Sisters and our supporters. We, the Sacred Circle Society, have decided, after consulting with our spiritual leaders and legal counsel (who is native), that the disrespect for our spirituality and spiritual ceremonies must come to a stop.

We have taken the position that our spirituality and spiritual ceremonies are not on any table to compromise and that corrections canada does not have a right to suspend or try to prevent this Circle from having the right to practice our spirituality to its fullest. Because of this stand, which is supported by our spiritual leaders, the Admin. is telling us that they no longer recognize our leadership. The warden has decided to terminate the chief of the Sacred Circle Society. If we refuse to recognize the warden's authority to do this, all our programs will be cancelled: like alcohol and drug counselling, native life-skills, native language courses, native arts and crafts, and our pow-wows. We, as well as our spiritual leaders have condemned this action and have stated that our representatives are chosen by the membership and no government, or arm of government, has the right to decide who we chose to represent this circle.

We need our people. We need our First

Nations. We need our peoples' supporters. We need all the strength we can possibly receive as we are going into battle with the government of canada, for corrections canada is an arm of the government. Please write to us and tell us the support you can give us, your prayers, letters of support, letters condemning the actions of the warden, political advice and spiritual advice. All this strength will be appreciated. May only good spirits guide and protect you always.

Free the People of the Pines!
Free Leonard Peltier!
Free our Political Prisoners!
Free our People.

Write to:
Solicitor General of Canada
Pierre Blais
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ont. K7L 4V9

Warden Atlantic Institution
Donald Wheaton
POB 74
Renous, NB E0C 1X0

Please send us copies of your letters.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse
Running Wild (Larry Carlson)
Chief of Sacred Circle Society
Renous, NB E0C 1X0 ∞

Mixed Feelings on International Tribunal on Political Prisoners / POWs

by Jim Campbell

The United States government, and various state governments, have been found guilty of crimes committed against the Political Prisoners (PPs) and Prisoners of War (POWs) that they hold. An international panel of lawyers, law professors and human rights experts, came to this conclusion after hearing testimony present to The Special International Tribunal on the Violation of Human Rights of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in U.S. Prisons and Jails, held at Hunter College in New York on Dec/7-10/1990. Witnesses before the panel included many people who had either been imprisoned themselves, or represented movements and groups which had come under direct attack.

Amongst those who testified were Alberta Africa, who spoke movingly about the abuse and injustice that MOVE has suffered at the hands of the police and courts; Rafael Cancel Miranda who served more than 25 years in prison for shooting up the House of Congress in 1954; Bob Robideau from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee who was acquitted on the grounds of self-defense for the killings for which Peltier is serving two life terms; Pat Lavasseur of the Ohio 7 who detailed the massive police search for them which targeted their children in particular; Imari Obadele, president of the provisional government of Republic of New Africa, who was convicted after the FBI attacked the group's head quarters in 1979.

A statement, presented by the panel at a press conference on Dec/10, states that the PPs and POWs "have been incarcerated for their opposition to U.S. government policies and actions that are illegal under domestic

and international law." Amongst the violations cited were the denial of the right of self-determination and the right to resist genocide, colonization and militarism. Jan Susler, of the People's Law Office in Chicago, one of the prosecutors, argued at the opening session that African-Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans have the rights, as colonized peoples within the U.S., to self-determination. The U.S. government, according to Susler, has criminalized these movements, treating PPs and POWs as common prisoners, while violating international law and committing genocide against the people in these movements.

The Tribunal based itself legally on the U.N. charter as employed in the Nuremberg trials after W.W. II, and Article 6 of the American Constitution which makes international treaties the Supreme Law of the land. The Freedom Now! (FN!) Amnesty Campaign, the main organization amongst the 88 that endorsed or sponsored the Tribunal, will take the recommendation that calls for the U.S. government to "release all prisoners who have been incarcerated for the legitimate exercise of their rights of self-determination or in opposition to U.S. policies and practices illegal under international law." FN! will take the findings to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, the Organization of American States' Human Rights Commission and the international conference on human rights scheduled for next year in Moscow.

The Tribunal, for which over 900 people registered for the 3 days of proceedings, was successful in setting the stage for taking the issue of PPs and POWs in the U.S. to the international level. Presumably, FN! can now

approach international bodies with the credibility that comes from the findings of the international jury panel. Similarly, liberal and human rights organizations in the U.S. will find the results useful in their work. The publicity raised PP and POW issues in many progressive and radical publications and networks. The straight media, not unexpectedly, was conspicuous in its absence.

For many of those who attended the Tribunal, however, the results were more mixed. None of the controversial issues around the Tribunal, or FN!, were even addressed let alone resolved. These include the criteria by which PP and POW status is determined; using race and nationality as the basis upon which the campaign is structured; the situation of politicized social prisoners; the links between Amnesty for PPs and POWs and the struggle against prisons in general; the actual structure of FN!; whether there was a distinction between the Tribunal and FN!. Officially, there was a separation between the two. The Tribunal would not have happened without the participation of activists outside of FN!. But the whole logic of the Tribunal was based on taking the issue to the international arena, which only FN! is in a position to do. And the problems around the Tribunal are the same as those around FN!.

Most of these problems are the result of the top-down organizing style which has generally characterized both FN! and the Tribunal. In general, many prisoners, while supportive, do not feel involved, and many outside groups and movements do not feel that FN! speaks to their politics, or the situation of their prisoners. The reasons for this hierarchical style are many: leading elements within both the Tribunal and FN! have a very specific

agenda for what they want to accomplish and they are not going to be diverted; appealing to the international community means that the criteria for the campaign is determined by the U.N. rather than by the various movements involved; and simply, too few people have too much work to do.

There are practical concerns in our critique. We feel that there should be more room for grassroots participation from both prisoners and outside activists because we think it would make FN! much more effective. Little consideration, for example, was given to planning the Tribunal so that groups not involved with the actual organizing could distribute literature, or that people could get together and talk without disturbing the proceedings. Such networking was one of the primary reasons people came to the Tribunal. Yet, only one session was set aside in which those attending were able to participate, and that was geared towards helping to raise money to cover the deficit. But speakers from the audience took the opportunity to have some voice in how the movement on behalf of PPs and POWs, and the anti-prison movement in general, could be built. Many of the suggestions were quite sincere, reflecting the speaker's participation in other movements — gay and lesbian, student, anti-prison, etc. — and pragmatic in that they spoke on how to raise the issue of PPs and POWs in their movements. Yet the response from the FN! representatives sounded more defensive than necessary, and seemed to reflect an assumption that such suggestions were diversions from the work that FN! had taken on.

It is certainly understandable that the deficit was of primary concern for FN!, yet few activists want to limit their role in the Tribunal (or FN!) to simply being fundraisers and passive spectators. The overall structure of FN!, i.e. who wields power, wasn't made clear. And it wasn't emphasized that FN! is organized on a regional basis, and that these regional groupings are both more accessible and responsive. This tended to reinforce the sense that many people had before attending the Tribunal that the basic politics of FN! have been set. The Tribunal's acceptance of Alvaro Luna Hernandez, Alberto Aranda and Ana Maria Gelbert, three social prisoners, while indicative of change raises questions, since it was unclear whether or not being accepted by the Tribunal meant acceptance by FN!. The whole question of FN!'s position on social prisoners, who are punished and suffer reprisals for their in-prison politics, remains unanswered.

Bulldozer benefited from our attendance at the Tribunal. And for this we thank the organizers and all the other people who made it possible. We did make connections with many people, and came away feeling part of a developing anti-prison movement, both inside and out. And the Tribunal did help bring it along. But it has also become more clear to us that there are real problems with the definitions used by FN!. To deny POW status to white revolutionaries has political implications that go far beyond the question of PPs and POWs. As Ojore Lutalo suggested in an earlier *PNS*, each movement should be able to use their own definitions. We question an attempt to impose political categories from a particular politic onto a very diverse movement.

Bulldozer will continue to be committed to the development of a broad-based anti-prison movement in North America. We feel that FN! can only benefit from such a development; but only if FN! opens up to grassroots participation. There are constituent groups within FN! that are trying to take it in this direction, and this encourages us. The

Resistance Conspiracy Trial Wraps Up

from Toronto Ecomedia

On Dec/6/90, Linda Evans and Laura Whitehorn, were sentenced for "conspiracy to influence, change, and protest policies and practices of the United States government concerning various international and domestic matters through the use of violent and illegal means," and for one count each of aiding and abetting the 1983 bombing of the Capitol Building following the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The two anti-imperialists stood before the court and delivered their statements to sentence surrounded by bullet-proof glass. More than a hundred supporters came to the trial from across the U.S., Canada and Germany.

Despite a clearly political defense, the judge denied that Linda and Laura were political prisoners, denied that the U.S. held political prisoners and refused to recognize that political motivations set their actions apart from those carrying out similar acts for personal gain. The judge called the women terrorists and a threat to society. He sentenced Whitehorn to 20 years in addition to the 5 years she has already spent in preventative detention while awaiting trial. The judge then sentenced Evans to two 5 year sentences to be served concurrently, in addition to the 35 years she is currently serving on related convictions.

Following the sentencing, co-defendants Tim Blunk and Susan Rosenberg were paraded before the courtroom to hear their acquittal on those same conspiracy charges. An earlier plea bargain made by the "Resistance Conspiracy Case 6" or the "DC 6" (the above-mentioned plus co-defendants Marilyn Buck — already sentenced and trans-

ferred to Marianna Prison in FL — and Alan Berkman — in hospital experiencing remission of Hodgkin's disease) meant that Buck, Whitehorn and Evans would plead guilty to conspiracy in exchange for dismissal of charges against Blunk, Rosenberg (already serving life sentences) and Berkman, in the hopes that Berkman would then be granted the parole for which he is eligible. Parole would enable Berkman to get adequate medical treatment for the cancer, currently being denied him by the prison administration. Despite the plea-bargain, Alan's parole is still being denied.

Although a political conspiracy conviction is a significant win for the state, the process of building support for the RCC6, has been very valuable. Educating around the case has afforded not only the opportunity to build awareness of political prisoners in North America, but also to talk about domestic repression, political self-defense, and of the range of possible strategies for struggle within the North American context.

The significance of the experience is best summed up in these excerpts from a statement by the RCC 6 themselves.

"When we came here two-and-a-half years ago, we were the "Capitol Bombers", the "terrorists", the outcasts of the Left movement. We lived in shackles and chains, we knew almost no one in this city. Six people faced 40 to 50 additional years in prison. Our commitment to anti-imperialism together with the solidarity of countless people enabled us to turn repression into resistance. We stopped the government from isolating and criminalizing us, our politics and our movement. We all began to relearn the lesson

that if the government can do it to us, they can do it to all who resist. It is our firm belief that we waged a successful fight against the state's attack.

Many people have asked us, "What happens now?" We believe that all of us must intensify our work — to build a movement that is politically prepared and capable of stopping U.S. military aggression in the Persian Gulf, in Central America, or the attacks on the African-American community in D.C. We have seen a change in the years that we have been in prison. More people are conscious that political prisoners exist in prisons across the country. But awareness alone is not enough. Our freedom can only be won when the political price the government must pay to hold 150 of us is too high, and that can only happen in concert with developing revolutionary alternatives and a resistance movement. We hope that the struggle to free all political prisoners and POWs will become an integral part of your overall political work, because it is an integral part of the fight for justice. . .

All of you have helped us to feel alive, to be productive, to forge political association and propel our spirit of resistance. Don't let the walls go back up between us. We've been able to reach one another through the U.S. government security shield, through the walls of the prisons. Now, as we are sent off to the federal prisons, it will take even more struggle to maintain our connection. Don't let the walls of Marion and Marianna (prisons) bury us. Because together we can and will win."

Alan Berkman, Timothy Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Susan Rosenberg, Laura Whitehorn. Dec/6/90. ∞

Continued next page

Whither Anti-Authoritarian?

by Bill Dunne

In these days of disrepute for bourgeois democracy and focus only on depredations committed under murdered revolutions so facetiously lumped into a disintegrating "evil empire" amid whose ruins capitalist jackals drool, the political compass seems to have lost its magnet. The third world no longer provides the shining examples of decades past of oppressed people wresting self-determination from more powerful imperialist exploiters. Real and would-be despots of guns and gold seek to regiment as much of humanity as they can grasp into personal hierarchies through coups and corporate raids and legislation and invasion and whatever other means, however brutal, may suit their ends. A vision of the most equitable social reality in which all people have the greatest possible freedom to develop their full human potential and how to get there has been lost in a wasteland of opportunism, error, compromise and competition.

The loss has resulted in revulsion toward the individuals and groups whose failures and errors and crimes were responsible for it — the "authorities", those whose misuse of concentrations of the people's power have squandered its potential. The revulsion and attendant rejection have also extended to the tenets of whatever political theory these leaders alleged justified their actions. The scope of the loss and its transit of ideological lines has left a vacuum for more and more of those who recognize that all of reality is political and that sectarianism of dogma, race, culture, sex, etc. is a dead end that can only reproduce the present. The only political definition that does not seem tainted by some tenet(s) associated with facile and discredited lines of political practice is anti-authoritarian. Amid the noise and confusion and alienation, this movement to express the inherent commonality of humanity and the collective power of the people is a good sign. However, without further definition, the term risks being meaningless or, worse, a reactionary excuse for apathy and abstinence from political struggle.

The term anti-authoritarian is unfortunate because it is misleading. It is insufficient for any movement that would implement positive social change to be anti only. It must have a pro component; it must be for something; it must articulate a vision. Verily, the pros of a systemic change movement are what makes it revolutionary rather than merely reformist. Nor is it accurate to say that any serious social movement is "anti-authority"; it can only be against the misuse thereof, against illegitimate authority. Organization on a variety of levels is an inescapable requisite of accomplishment in the social sphere. Already, people use it advantageously every day in ways large and small and both delegate it and exercise that delegated by others. Rather than trying to deny the necessity, we need to develop techniques that will allow this tool to be used appropriately, its benefits to be realized, and injury to the body politic avoided. And the acronym for anti-authoritarian is unfortunate.

The relatively minor semantic problem of a name aside, what does it mean to be anti-authority? Right-wingers of several stripes, capitalist-free marketeers, dilettantes, flake fringers, and sundry other knaves and geeks claim to be and even are anti-authority. It is important to have a definition that would run them off or at least clearly contradict their claim. Room for such politics demonstrated by their presence discredits revolutionary anti-authoritarianism and/or causes people to bypass or reject such a contradictory face. Let reactionaries be the ones uncomfortable enough in a defined anti-authoritarian milieu to abandon it instead of those of progressive

bent. But how can we banish the confusion and contradiction and obscurity without risking inclusion of the very sources of alienation that impelled people to anti-authoritarianism?

The anti-authoritarian movement has to be a movement of all people because exploitation and oppression by the ruling class knows no boundaries in its victimization of the earth and its people. It must be internationalist — indeed globalist — considering the obsolescence of nationalism. Many of the social services and organizational functions currently provided by states will still be needed, and nationalism does have tactical uses in the war for world liberation. Notwithstanding, the best impediment to exploitation and oppression, be it by imperialist or local elites, is the abolition of borders and the needless and artificial lines between people they represent. The movement needs to work to create a new culture of struggle that is broad enough to encompass the diversity of humanity yet able to transcend the reactionary baggage of every cultural tradition. Organization cannot be on the basis of race, creed, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, but must be capable of preventing any identifiable group from occupying a disadvantaged position. We cannot afford to wallow in the separatisms of the past, but neither can we exploit and oppress each other with demands for irrelevant degrees of sameness, conformity, or political correctness.

The movement must be decentralized. It must be grown from the periphery with the periphery determining the degree of autonomy to invest as mutual aid and interaction suggests increasing coordination rather than imposed from the center according to theory without practice. Regulation must be by need and desire rather than notions of ideological purity and correctness. The decentralization must extend to the movement's people, too. Each must be accorded the freedom to accept only as much of the movement's theory as is required by their practice with it. The whole idea is a movement that will increase people's freedom, not gratuitously circumscribe it. As involvement increases, prior analysis and practice inconsistent with it will be increasingly exchanged — not coerced — for that of the culture of struggle. People's commitment must be nourished and allowed to grow rather than instantly erected on an uncertain foundation. Decentralization is also important in the practical realm. Destabilization and counterinsurgency techniques that aim at severing or infiltrating heads have a much more difficult time with a Hydra. History demonstrates that even non-militant, above-ground political endeavors are somehow seen as threatening in the twisted logic of the agencies of repression and are thus potential targets. Being legal does not obviate being prepared. We must learn to cooperate out of principles of mutual aid rather than pain of displeasing higher power in both our theoretical and practical interests.



Time bomb defusing . . . third year prac exam

The movement must be socialist. Capitalism is the legitimization of economic and political robbery by the mentally muscular, well-trained, and predacious. No one would think of legitimizing robbery by the physically strong and skillful and predacious — a mugger, for instance — so why any other kind? Moreover, capitalism allows the concentration of wealth and power without any control by the people who produce it and thus is intrinsically anti-democratic. Capitalism is the motor of imperialism and underpins the class divisions at the root of the exploitation and oppression of the world's majority by a ruling minority elite of wealth and power. Of course, the paths to and degrees of socialism along them between here and the ultimate human collective are many and varied and not all incompatible. Stating the destination is the first step in charting the course. While we should not confuse equality with sameness, we cannot fail to work for equivalence.

Accelerating on an anti-authoritarian course toward evolution of the ultimate human collective requires first that doing so be prioritized. It demands that it be made the primary focus in life — not job, race, sex, environment, culture, consumption, entertainment, lifestyle, but revolution. If it is real revolution by and for the people, it will provide solutions for problems in these areas and other symptoms of the need for revolution. Next is required some new and innovative thought that can synthesize the lessons of the past with the needs and knowledge of the present to clarify the macro and micro changes in the character of life required for growth. We already know enough that we can — must — couple the process with practice.

Most anti-authoritarians pay lip service to the collective social form. Establishment of living and working collectives now needs hand and foot service. Myriad excuses exist not to form collectives, but if the commitment

can't be mustered to make that much function, how will revolution be made? Waiting for just the right people and just the right circumstances to make the step is like waiting for the right revolution: the wait will likely be forever. And by waiting, we abdicate our authority to affect the character of change.

Anti-authoritarian collectives can eventually replace the nuclear family as the basic social unit and, more importantly in the short run, can serve as an alternative socio-economic base. In the new socialscape, they can give activists greater access to critical material resources, security from the vagaries of dependence on the enemy economy, and greater freedom of movement with more control over their lives more independent of outside scrutiny. In addition, such association enhances the ability of collective members and those they support in the community to do more traditional political work, allows them to refine both their theory and practice, and provides a crucial demonstration of the viability of what they advocate in a world awash in unvalidated socio-political theory. Also important, agencies of repression have much less leverage against the parts of such an alternative or their sum. We can't just talk about our potential power, we have to make it kinetic in the material world of the here and now.

The foregoing provides a skeletal idea of what it implies to be anti-authority in the movement sense. It is only a basis for much further expansion. Each paragraph could do with a volume of discussion. Better yet, they could do with practice and analysis thereof amid further practice. We need to set forth and to demonstrate what anti-authoritarianism is and what it ain't and how it will get from here to there with sufficient clarity to allow us to sell our ride to the future. Otherwise, anti-authoritarian movement will go the way of the others whose failings now make it attractive.

Tribunal *Continued from page 4*

danger for FN! is that by focusing on PPs and POWs from the 70s and 80s, they will miss the fact that there are going to be many more PPs and POWs from the 90s. The prisons are, and will be, one of the front lines in the emerging revolutionary struggles. It would be ironic if we had to campaign to get FN! to recognize this.

The Prison News Service is published bimonthly by PSC Publishers, and edited by the Bulldozer Collective. It is always free to prisoners. For outsiders, subscriptions are by donation, recommended \$10/yr, more if you can, less if you can't. Donations are needed to keep this project going. Deadline for the next issue is March 1st. Write to PSC Publishers, POB 5052, Stn A, Toronto.

Second Class Mail Application is Pending.

Before the Tribunal, Bulldozer, along with the Arm The Spirit collective and the local Anarchist Black Cross, sent out a questionnaire to several prisoners regarding FN! and the Tribunal. We hope to be able to publish the responses in the next issue (assuming our application for second class mail is accepted.) We would like to thank all the prisoners who responded. They helped us a great deal.

Repression Becomes More Open In New Jersey. . .

Compiled from various sources

The insane spiral of imprisonment in the U.S. continues. According to the Sentencing Project, 426 out of every 100,000 American residents are in prison or jail, giving the U.S. the dubious distinction of having the highest rate of imprisonment in the world. For black American men, the rate is 3,109 per 100,000. In comparison, South Africa's figure is 333 per 100,000; for its black males, the rate is 729 per 100,000. In other words, the U.S. rate for black men is over 4 times that of South Africa. These figures are at least a year out of date.

The results of this rapid increase in the prison population and the cutback in funding that is occurring at all levels of government are well known: overcrowding, long sentences, racial harassment by guards and administration, cuts in programs and increasing brutality. To counter these trends, prisoners are organizing, educating themselves and each other, building outside support and, if necessary, responding to physical attacks in kind. In turn, this resistance, this struggle to maintain human dignity is met by more violence, out-of-state transfers, lies and concessions from the administration to the guards which further reduce the limited "freedom" that prisoners have.

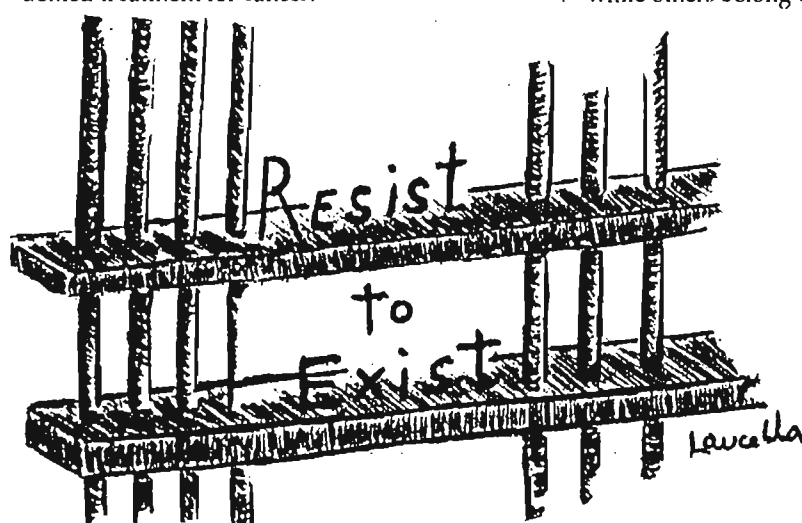
The New Jersey state prison at Trenton was the scene of all of this and more this past summer. A prisoners' group, the Afrikan National Ujamaa, (ANU) published a newsletter during the summer that circulated widely among NJ prisons. It dealt with African culture, history and principles and focused on the history of struggle in the U.S. The Prisoners Representative Committee (PRC) became increasingly active and vocal, developing local press contacts. In July, the PRC notified Richard Williams, a political prisoner and member of the Ohio 7, that they were going to investigate the conditions that he was being held in. Williams is allowed no contact with other prisoners and his visitors are severely restricted despite the fact that he is not a sentenced prisoner in NJ but is facing a second trial for the killing of a NJ cop.

During this period, there are widespread shake-downs of African prisoners' cells and political materials are confiscated. In late July, a white captain tried to physically remove an African medallion from the neck of a prisoner. The medallion, showing the continent of Africa in the black, gold and green colors of the Afrikan diaspora, are made in the prison and had been worn by many prisoners for months without incident. The resulting dispute put 19 guards on the injured list and 4 prisoners were charged with assault. Black prison guards physically prevented white guards from entering a particular block for reprisals. The union rep and many guards held a noisy demonstration on the prison grounds, putting pressure on the administration and getting local publicity.

On Aug/7, a number of prisoners wore black armbands to commemorate the death of Jonathan Jackson. In retaliation, ten prisoners are locked up and shipped to the Vroom re-adjustment center, a maximum psychiatric unit, on the grounds of the Trenton state hospital. This group included many ANU activists. Emory Chana, the elected leader of the PRC, is shipped to Oregon to end his ceaseless work on behalf of the prisoners.

On Aug/10, there was an uprising in the yard. Several prisoners and guards were severely injured. Prison officials charge that a revolutionary organization, the ANU, planned to kill guards with weapons buried in the yard. A group of prisoners who had nothing to do with the fight were stripped and beaten in the yard. The Management Control Unit (MCU) is increased to 124 cells from 48 and all are filled with activist prisoners, many of whom had already spent years in the unit. The whole prison was locked down until Sept/5: no showers for a week, no mail or telephone for a month. On Aug/12, between 35 and 40 armed guards, complete with snarling dogs, entered the MCU to conduct a search even though no one from the MCU was involved in the various incidents.

During the lockdown, the inside of the prison was divided with razor wire and new walls put up on the inside. The yard was paved over. New procedures were set up so that only small groups of prisoners are moved at one time. High security prisoners are moved by teams of 3 guards in SWAT Team attire, helmets, padded suits and visors. The PRC is disbanded and 4 more prisoners are shipped out to states in the west. One of the exiled prisoners, Massai, former Black Liberation Army fighter, is denied treatment for cancer.



Sixty-eight prisoners were notified by officials that they are members of a covert organization dedicated to "causing injury and/or death to staff." According to Audry Bomse, an assistant deputy defender working for the state Office of Inmate Advocacy, was quoted in the *Newark Star-Ledger* as saying that the existence of an "underground death squad" was "ridiculous". She continued that "many of the inmates don't know or have any connection to one another. Four of those charged are white, while others belong to various nationalist groups. They don't even talk to each other, let alone belong to the same organization."

We are running two other articles on this situation. One explains what the ANU is, while the second piece speaks to the need for unity across racial lines. We also are printing an appeal for support from prisoners at Great Meadow state prison in NY where they are also facing dispersal and retaliation for resisting and exposing violence directed against prisoners.

What Is The ANU?

Recent attention focusing on ANU (Afrikan National Ujamaa) as a result of official prison propaganda makes it necessary for us (ANU) to set the record straight and give those of you who seek a better understanding the chance to see what we are really about so that you may use your own analysis to establish an opinion, instead of one influenced by misinformation.

First, ANU is a Political, Economic and Cultural Movement. Our political ideology is Pan Afrikan Nationalism as espoused by Marcus Garvey, Patrice Lumumba, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Kwame Nkruma and Malcolm X. This is manifested in our deep Love for Afrikan People universally and the recognition that our struggle is rooted in our collective oppression, thus can only be solved by our collective liberation. The members of ANU came together as historically and politically conscious brothers under the need for unity and to become an active force in the struggle for self-determination from subjection and imperialist domination. There is a historical wrong committed against Afrikan people by Europeans who kidnapped us from our land to be used as slave labor and to rob Afrika of its natural resources. In the process we were stripped of our Human Dignity and made to endure centuries of cultural and human genocide.

The reality of our continued oppression by Europeans has forced us out of necessity to adopt of philosophy of nationalism. This philosophy is not about being anti-white but about being pro-black and seeking to control our own destiny. We espouse no philosophy of racial superiority and expect sincere support by those who accept our legitimate right to struggle and also give support to legitimate struggles. Our political awareness, that the evils of exploitation and greed has no racial bounds give us our class consciousness. We are non-sexist and have a great deal of respect for our sisters and actively seek to recruit them into the struggle. As Malcolm X once said: "The political development of a nation can be determined by the political development of its Women." This we believe wholeheartedly! Our struggle is against those who participate in our oppression, not to oppress others.

The name ANU stands for Afrikan National Ujamaa. Ujamaa is a Swahili word mean-

ing, co-operative economics which can be defined as socialism but of an Afrocentric perspective of socio-economics where the land is nature's gift to man and woman and has no owners, but only to provide us with life and happiness. The struggle is for the upliftment of our people by collective work and responsibility. ANU is also taken from the name of a pre-historic Afrikan people who settled the Nile valley of Kemet (Egypt) and established the first high culture and civilization of that area. That is why this name has important historical as well as political significance. ANU is not a secret organization but an above ground political movement with many members who are scat-

From the Madison Insurgent

On August 11th the local N.J. headlines screamed: "9 guards stabbed, beaten," followed by weeks of quotes by guards and the administration: "It was racially motivated"; "...Had nothing to do with race," "Completely without rhyme or reason." Also scattered through the "reporting" were bits of the recent history of violence at Trenton State Prison:

—July 1990 - "19 guards sent to hospital after brawl with life term prisoners;" "3 prisoners beat and kick 2 guards;" "15 guards brutally beaten by 14 prisoners in a planned attack"; "Guards pummeled by 4 prisoners," etc., etc. All followed by this line: "No inmates treated for injuries."

A few questions come immediately to mind: what kind of injuries are prisoners lying in strip cells with? When can they expect some more? And, what is it that drives people to wards confrontations which they know without a doubt they will pay dearly for?

The following is an excerpt from a letter (written Sept. 11, 1990) I had sent to a friend a month into this latest lock-down:

In the last week of July a white captain of the guards attempted to physically yank an African

apolitical. ANU is rooted in positive goals. We are not headed by an individual or personality but by a collective leadership. All of our members are well educated and disciplined by our commitment. The movement is guided by a collective body called the Central-Extended Jamaa (Family) Unit (C-EJU) which is the executive council. There are smaller cells called Extended Jamaa Units (EJUs) which are autonomous but have representatives that make up the C-EJU. Our purpose is for political and economic independence with an emphasis on a reconnection with our Afrikan culture.



tered throughout various concentration camps here in new jersey and elsewhere. A growing number of our members are on the streets and are active.

We do not advocate violence against those who do not advocate violence against Afrikan people. But we do understand the hostility of our situation and have tried to work with-in those limits. The prison officials have tried to suppress any group that shows unity and is political in format. They have vested interests in seeing that we maintain negative social practices and are

We were attacked without provocation because the (Pigs) prison officials were looking for a scapegoat as a means to further make the prison one big Control Unit. Our Movement is still strong and will continue to be because the principles, to which we are committed, are firm and all ANU members are **soldiers first!** Anyone seeking further information about us can write to us:

In Struggle Til Victory
Taharka Senghor #75657
CN - 861 (MCU)
Trenton, NJ 08625

Trenton, NJ 08625

Petition to Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus, Governor Mario Cuomo and members of the news media to investigate racism and continuance of unprovoked assaults and beatings of prisoners by guards at Great Meadow Correctional Facility.

On Dec/8/90 at approximately 9:35 am in A-block housing unit at Great Meadow Correctional Facility prisoner **James Battle** was assaulted by numerous guards without provocation in the presence of over thirty prisoners. Battle was punched, stomped and kicked by numerous guards, one of whom stood on his back as he laid helplessly on the floor handcuffed. Battle was later treated for injuries in the prison infirmary and placed in Special Housing Unit.

Guards later filed trumped up charges against prisoner **James Baxter**, one of the witnesses to the beating of Battle. Baxter, who merely asked the guards to stop the senseless beating of Battle, is being used as a scapegoat by prison officials to cover-up the misconduct of the guards in beating Battle.

On Dec/8/90 at approximately 5:00 pm in A-block housing unit prisoner **Derrick Parchment** was assaulted by a guard with his baton. When Parchment tried to protect himself numerous other guards joined in and commenced to beating him severely. Parchment was later treated for injuries in the prison infirmary and either placed in Special Housing Unit or hospitalized in the prison infirmary.

We, the undersigned prisoners at Great Meadow, vehemently protest the unprovoked beating of Battle and Parchment as well as the trumped-up charges against Baxter. The brutality in A-block housing unit on Dec/8th certainly reinforced this perception of

provocation and, whatever the intent, seriously raises the tensions here.

Beatings of prisoners by guards have become a major and growing problem throughout the state prison system. Recently ten guards were indicted in Wyoming County and suspended without pay for harassing and assaulting prisoners at Wende Correctional Facility in retaliation against them for appearing as trial witnesses in a lawsuit brought against the Department of Correctional Services for racial discrimination. We prisoners here at Great Meadow are similarly harassed and singled out for physical reprisal for filing complaints and litigation against prison officials.

Our lives here at Great Meadow are not safe due to the extreme repressive conditions and brutality we must face daily. We are fed up with this injustice and gross lack of regard for our rights as human beings. Thus, we call upon you, elected Legislative Members, Governor of the State of New York and Members of the News Media to support us in our efforts to expose racism and brutality against prisoners by guards here at Great Meadow and initiate an independent investigation into the beating of prisoners Battle and Parchment, the trumped up charges filed against prisoner Baxter and past assaults and beatings of prisoners by guards at Great Meadow. We call upon you to assist and help us now, not after a prisoner has been beaten to death by guards, as was the case with Ronald Smith at Clinton Correctional Facility in 1989 and James

of ourselves in a very schizophrenic kind of way that's designed to serve the would-be master in many ways. First, that we see ourselves as individuals with no allegiance to those around us in this john wayne world, while at the same time, see ourselves as members of a racial, ethnic, or gender group that is superior/inferior to other groups that differ from us.

Divide and Conquer are the watch words of the oppressor.

I hope I have answered the original questions to some degree. It's something that I'll keep working at, I hope you do too. In the meantime - like the song says ...

"We who believe in Freedom - Cannot rest until it comes!"

If we do that one thing honestly, the rest will logically follow as we see that true unity and economic equality is in the self-interest of each and every one of us. And work towards building a society in which that kind of unity and equality is necessary. Of course, all this kind of thinking and acting towards freedom is and will remain under attack on every level. Through the media, controlled by the *haves* that tricks the *have not's* into thinking they have something in common with the world(s) they see on the tube, and that it is due to some inadequacy in themselves or some stroke of bad luck that has prevented them from making it, and well, maybe the next generation will make it.

And for those who are not tricked by the razzle dazzle of the tube, or those who become too impatient to wait for the next generation, (or their pie in the sky,) and try to get theirs now, there are the police and prisons, guards and control units.

Now all the repression can run much smoother if we continue to think

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Now all the repression can run much smoother if we continue to think



Charles at Attica Correctional Facility in 1990. We wish to avoid the death of a prisoner which these constant assaults and beatings are certainly likely to lead to eventually. It should be remembered that William Butch Harvey, once a prisoner at Great Meadow, was beaten to death by guards here at Great Meadow in 1983.

Attached to this petition is a copy of a petition bearing the signatures of twenty prisoners who witnessed the beating of prisoner Battle. Each signatory to this petition consents to being interviewed to assist in any independent investigation conducted into the beating of Battle and other incidents of guard-beating of prisoners.

Please support and help us in this urgent time of need. Help us to avoid a repeat of Attica 1971.

- Charles Montgomery, 75-B-1534
- Frank Wright, 89-A-4420
- Leonard Lott, 85-A-1292
- Wayne Johnson, 83-A-5002
- Jamaal Ali, 84-C-382
- Franklin McNail, 81-A-3317
- David Gilbert, 83-A-6158
- Nathaniel Sweeper, 84-A-3986

Write to any of the above prisoners at Great Meadow State Prison
POB 51
Comstock, NY

See Update on page 11

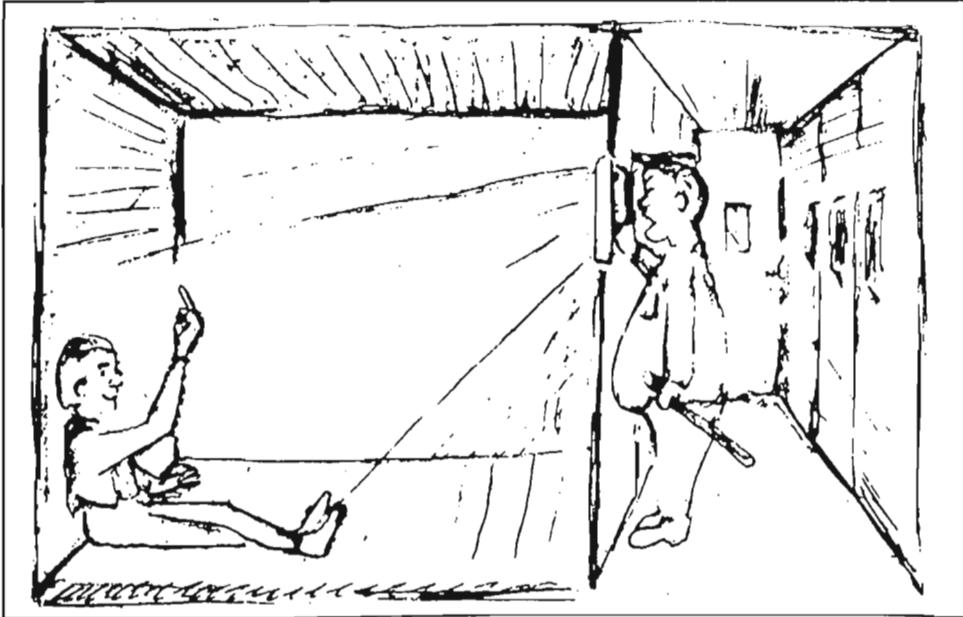
Lebanon - Ohio's Dead Wing

Lebanon Correctional Institution is a close security prison located between Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio. The staff are mostly Appalachians and Nepotism is more prevalent here than at SOCF (Southern Ohio Correctional Facility).

There are 4 cellblocks which house security control (SC), disciplinary control (DC) and local control (LC) and administrative control (AC) isolation prisoners. These are 1L cellblock, 2L cellblock, 3L cellblock and C block. 1L cellblock, or the "dead wing" is modeled after the Stammheim Model prison in Germany, it is where the AC range is lo-

passed through. The cells are approximately 8' x 6' with the bed frame welded to the wall. The toilets are bolted into a concrete block with a sink directly above. All the sinks leak and the water is often a yellowish brown from iron.

The second tier where the AC range is located is divided into 2 parts by a large, metal-grated locked door which separates the range into 2 parts, the AC cells located in the back of the range. Metal grates were welded over all the openings in the screens and a large 6" padlock is used to keep the food slot locked shut. There is a small grate in the



cated. 1L cellblock is painted all white, white sheets, blankets and coveralls are standard issue. There are 24 cells in all, 4 of which are double door "Boxcar Cells" which have 2 doors so a prisoner can be locked in the very back of the cell in total darkness. There are no lights in any of the cells except the AC cells, which are cells 19 through 24. All other cells are open fronted by bars with small diamond screen welded over them. There is a small food slot cut in the door with a locking flap which is kept shut except when food trays are

corner of the cell which does nothing for air circulation. There are 2 large blower type heaters in the front and back of the block used to blow heat in. The top tier is hot in the winter while the bottom cells are cold. In summer the cellblock is like an oven. Cells 1-8 are psychiatric/suicide cells where psychiatric and suicidal prisoners are housed. These and only short term LC prisoners, most who have been recommended for transfer to SOCF are housed in L Block. There is a wire, screened in "dog kennel" type cage where prisoners are locked

in for their 1 hour of recreation, twice a week. Two 3-minute showers are given to each prisoner.

There are usually 2 guards assigned to 1L during the day shift as the RIB (Rules Infraction Board) room is at the front of the block and court is held during the weekdays. There are no set rules; they are arbitrarily made up and enforced at the whims of the guards. Some prisoners are allowed to do things where others are disciplined for doing the same. Behavior Modification Tactics are in full force. This prison used to be a reformatory and the guards are used to using child psychology on prisoners.

I am held isolated on the AC range, the only AC prisoner in this prison. I was taken out of the J1 control unit at SOCF February 2, 1990 and brought here right after being beaten by 12 guards while my hands were cuffed behind my back and legs shackled. This was a few days before we started our nationwide fast for Justice (February 14, 1990). Whenever I'm removed from my cell I'm leg shackled, belly belted and handcuffed, and escorted by one sergeant and two regular guards. Other prisoners are told not to speak to me or they will be "written up" for a rules infraction. Porters (prisoners assigned to clean the block) are fired from their jobs if they speak to me and other prisoners moved to other cellblocks for talking to me. They are told I'm "very dangerous". All my outgoing and incoming mail is censored by the Warden and no guard is allowed to give me anything other than a food tray, all else must be done by a supervisor. Mail is often destroyed or comes up "missing", the contents of my letters are often read and the contents shared with other guards who make comments to me to let me know they've read it. All this is done as a Behavior Modification tactic to make me feel helpless over the situation and instill a dependence upon your "keepers".

Visits are in a wooden and plexiglass non-contact booth. I'm kept in full restraints and conversation is through a tapped telephone. I had no privileges for the first 6 months, then I was allowed to order cigarettes and I was issued a small Walkman

radio with headphones, but the guards controlled the issuance of batteries (there is no power outlet in the cells) and little games would be played withholding batteries — so I returned the radio to them. All access to the law library is cut off. Informants are often placed in bottom cells to strike up a conversation then report the conversation to prisoncrats.

Prisoners are routinely beaten by guards here, and no use of force reports are filed. The Institution Inspector covers up all incidents of guard on prisoner abuse and is strictly "administration". The "Good ol' Boy" Network is ripe amongst the guards. I have seen more instances of abuse, human rights violations and civil rights violations here in the past 10 months than in the past 13 years at SOCF. This prison is run on 90 per cent informants and 10 per cent rumor. Prisoners are set up by the guards for transfer to SOCF when they speak out against the administration. "Confidential" statements are usually manufactured and used in excess here. Prisoncrats encourage and reward informants.

I have been held in AC isolation for 30 months now, railroaded and given an additional 12-15 year sentence for an alleged felonious assault in 1988 and the last 10 months on this "dead wing" I have been observed, monitored and experimented on by the prisoncrats in an attempt to break my spirit.

Last week the head psychiatrist interviewed me and made a recommendation that I "be released from isolation to general population setting" claiming that long term isolation causes character disorders. Yet I'm told security can do anything they want and overrides psych or medical services. I was originally told that I was being held here until the new maximum security in Mansfield, Ohio opens. That prison opened in September 1990, yet I still remain here. If not transferred in the next 30 days I will seek a court order to obtain my release. This whole experience showed me to what extremes the Department of Corrections will go to in an attempt to break or silence their dissidents.

John Perotti
POB 56-167712, Lebanon, Ohio 75036 ∞

FN! Campaign Shouldn't Divide Us!

Greetings, Comrades:

I am a prison recipient of the *Prison News Service* publication and value this newspaper highly for its informational and educational content. Recently I read the articles in regards to the Freedom Now! (FN!) campaign and all the controversy around who is and who is not a political prisoner, so I thought that I would voice my thoughts regarding this issue. I have a limited education at best, so please bear with me as I attempt to get my points across.

I have spent the past ten years in the state system of Tennessee and two years before that in the Louisiana prison system, with the time between the two sentences either in jail or on the run from the authorities. I knew nothing of government or politics during the majority of this time and kept busy just trying to survive. I made all the mistakes common in these places by allowing myself to be manipulated by the prison system without my realization of this manipulation, inclusive of killing a fellow prisoner which I was later convicted of, but have since come to regret this act of violence because I might well have killed a potential soldier for my own team. I finally began to question why things are as

they are, particularly within these places, and it became a reality to me that I had largely wasted my life. It was at this time that I began to reach out for help or some sort of understanding of what it was all for and why. My first step toward gaining this understanding was a very large one for me; I had to learn to read and write. I read everything and attempted to talk about everything that I read as a way of sharing what I had learned and to learn more from those I spoke with. I still did not have the answers I needed to understand the "why" of my situation, but that was to soon change when another man sent me an article by a prisoner named Ed Mead titled *Politics of Crime*. Mead's words had a great impact upon me and my life, and since reading Mr. Mead's articles I have read an array of writers, two being Paul Wright and Simon Tunsta. I have requested subscriptions from various political newspapers, such as *The Workers World* and *PNS*. I have been fortunate enough to have a teacher and comrade housed at this gulag help me with my political education, an anti-imperialist socialist revolutionary named Harold H. Thompson.

The issue of who is/who is not recognized by FN! Campaign confuses me because it appears to divide, a tactic used by the prison

manipulators to oppress some prisoners and keep control of all prisoners. The prisons are just another battlefield in the larger struggle for freedom and self-determination. It is a place where social prisoners become politicized through repression when they begin to really question the "why" of their plight and learn about this government in detail, what this government professes to stand for and in reality what it does or condones being done by its "allies" while projecting an entirely different image to the world. It is not only those who were politically oriented on the streets and later incarcerated as a direct result of their political activities, but also those who were convicted of social crimes or criminalized and became politicized as social prisoners who take the heat of the system for their politics: often to a larger degree as the system attempts to make examples of the politicized social prisoner for his/her acceptance of the enlightenment he/she has gained into what the real story/situation is and why.

I have learned that labeling divides. We are all struggling toward basically the same goals, freedom and the right to self-determination. I have found that some prisoners do their time silently while others find the need to yell out. Others do their time productively and some negatively. Some I have grown to hate and do not even know their name: they are the collaborators, the talkers but not doers. No one can spend long periods of time in

human mazes and not acquire enemies. I have also met a lot of good men over the years that I would entrust my life to.

There is a sign in the *Bulldozer* that read "Political Prisoners-POWs" and everything I read points to this being a war and wars have victims on both sides, do they not? My teacher said that the first prison was built in the U.S. in 1790. I was also told that the people stormed the Bastille during the French Revolution and freed the prisoners and they took their country back.

I have committed myself to the struggle, even though there is a lot which I have yet to learn and understand. I do see though that the left needs more doers and fewer talkers and we do not need those who are intent on dividing us with labels within the left. That tactic is already much in use by the forces that oppress us all as they divide us into smaller groups, keep the groups fighting among themselves and then sit back with their job of control, manipulation, accomplished.

It is my hopes that you can understand what I am attempting to say because writing this letter has been a difficult task.

Stay Strong, In Struggle,
Stache I lillbillyoutcast #93023
POB 1000,
Petros, TN 37845 ∞

It Isn't Our War — No Blood For Oil

by Ravi

1975, Saigon — American imperialist endeavors for "Democracy" resulted in a total defeat for the Empire's gung-ho foreign police. Saigon, then the capital city of South Vietnam, was the scene of helicopters desperately trying to evacuate American henchmen from the roof of the U.S. embassy. Some were even pushed to the sea on their way from the evacuations. Resistance on the battlefield as well as at home set the stage for a total defeat of the empire. A generation grew up with hatred towards war; the "Vietnam syndrome" was a household phrase. The empire's credibility was shattered. But the adaptable machine of colonialism sought new strategies. And these were the days of the cold war: every inhuman adventure was politically justified as a moral struggle for the great western democracy against communism.

The empire's attempts to roll back the wheel of misfortune and re-establish its credibility had its ups and downs. The Vietnam syndrome meant no more risking of American lives, so the Empire manipulated numerous conflicts around the world by covert means. (This failed in Angola and Mozambique, but achieved relative victory in Nicaragua.) It organized reactionary guerrilla formations wherever its interests could be served by them. Thousands of poor people around the third world gave their lives in these misadventures, but American boys didn't have to blow them up.

As long as there were meager casualties for U.S. troops, the empire exploited the internal disturbances (partly created by them) of small nations, enabling it to intervene directly. In 1983, Grenada — 1986, Libya — 1989, Panama. No naval contingent blockaded American seas although its actions were condemned around the world, even in the U.N. and the world court. Out-and-out bullying doesn't even count as heroism in the school yard, yet the empire still claimed victory.

Now that the "cold war" is over, the Empire needs to re-assert the continual domination of the industrialized countries over the 3rd world. There is now nothing to stop the Americans from doing what they want in their sphere of influence. The "new world order" means that America's political, economic and military interests come first. The world's policeman, fighting for "our way of life", doesn't tolerate any dissent. The Policeman should enjoy every comfort in gaining this new world order: the present middle-eastern crusade illustrates that "our way-of-life" is based on oil. Every aspect of this rotten life is nothing without oil.

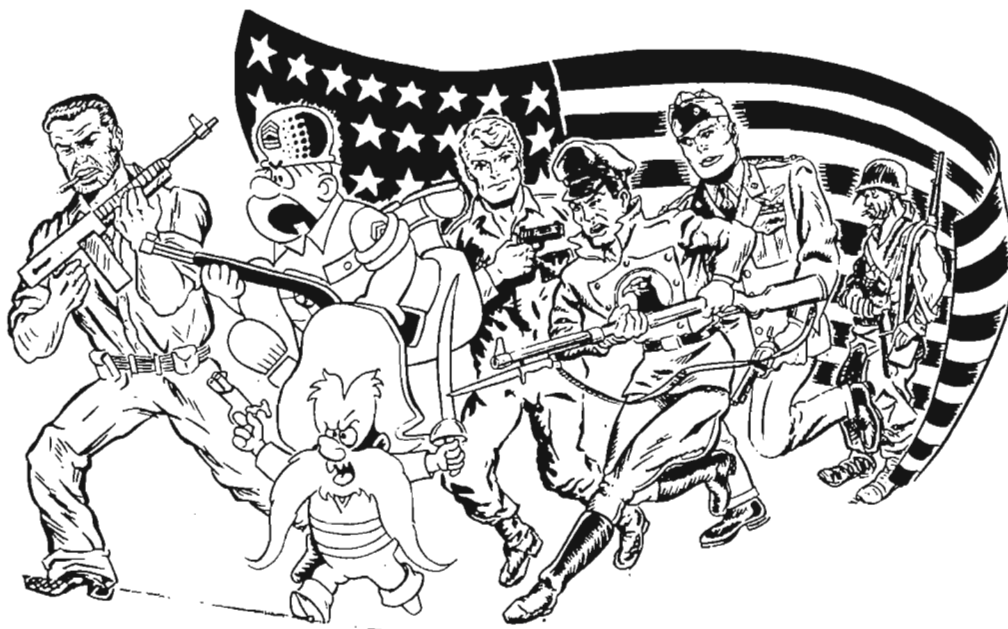
The history of the disturbances in the Middle-East is the story of the colonial world. Colonialists re-arranged the geo-political boundaries to secure their interests in the post-colonial era. The whole region was divided into mini-states, to manipulate, divide and rule, and to exploit the disturbances of these mini-states to the maximum.

It goes back to 1944 when the U.S. first established its bases in Saudi Arabia to protect the petroleum interests of ARAMCO, the giant multi-national operation. The oil wealth was placed in the hands of the few, and poverty and dispossession was given to the Arab people. Israel's role as a mini-superpower was created to do the policing in the region. Pro-imperialist stability has since been distorted by the war in Lebanon and endangered by the Intifada, and the repercussions of the Palestinian question would have been serious for the Empire even without the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait. Iraq cannot be permitted to possess military superiority over the U.S.

agent Israel, although if Israel were to fall we can be sure that the empire would continue its crusade.

Until the fall of the Shah of Iran, the Empire balanced its interests through a network of pro-western regimes. Shattering the balance of power were the intense anti-western sentiments of post-shah Iran, a reaction to the bloody hands of the Empire's puppet. To counter-pose the threat from the new Iran, the empire boosted Iraq in its eight-year war against Iran. Iraq's military apparatus, partially fostered by the Empire, helped to bring about the massacre of the indigenous Kurdish people. Amnesty International's complaints of Iraq's human rights violations weren't on Bush's reading list in those days.

Protecting human rights is obviously very selective. The "democratic" Empire never took Amnesty International's reports seriously about human rights abuses at Marion. This same hypocrisy is evident on the global scale, as the Empire's rhetoric about international law is being tested in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine. The U.S. is among the worst violators of International law. Far from "repelling aggressors", they are the biggest aggressors in the world in the eyes of the native peoples of the Americas and third world people, propping up bloody dictators around the world from El Salvador to Kuwait. The Empire wants to halt the armed struggle in South Africa to give sanctions and other non-military means a chance, but not in Kuwait. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza is not considered the same as that of Kuwait since the sovereignty of the Palestinian people doesn't guarantee a free flow of oil.



The irony is that the crusade is the same old form of resorting to direct occupation and gun-boat diplomacy to assure control over vital resources. And today, the empire has been able to make the UN (by the bullying and bribing of smaller nations) into its own military instrument.

This is an unjust war. It is a racist war. The empire promotes dreams amongst its own people that this is all about America's values; flowing blood is covered with the stars and stripes. In search of the enemy, the stereotyping of the Arab people has been revived. The majority of American soldiers dying are people of colour, native, poor. Unable to make ends meet or trying to com-

plete an education, sold to them as a ticket to success, they are now caught in one of the most unfortunate moments in history. The Empire talks about minimizing American casualties while boasting about "surgical strikes" on Iraqi cities and high-tech warfare as if it were a video game. Arab casualties are not reported on, not to mention the potential for massive environmental repercussions of flaming oil fields, chemical, biological and even nuclear warfare.

International policing requires a submissive rear-guard. War abroad also means war at home: increased repression, intensified surveillance of political dissidents, an inten-

continued on page 11

by Bulldozer

It's January 19 as we prepare to go to press. The war began 4 days ago, with massive U.S. bombardment of Baghdad and other locations in Iraq. Already Iraq has attacked Saudi Arabia and Israel and the world holds its breath as we watch the war spread and await the possibility of Israeli retaliations.

Anti-war protests have broken out all over the world. One woman in New York City has already died as a result of a drunk driver ploughing into a human blockade of the Brooklyn Bridge on Wednesday evening. As of yet, this incident has been unreported in the New York press. Our contacts in San Francisco, Chicago and Washington, DC also report large and/or militant protests taking place almost continually. A friend in San Francisco told us that a Wednesday night march of 30-50,000 people was reported in the local papers as 5,000. Indeed, it seems that the anti-war movement in the U.S. is growing so quickly that an almost complete censorship of the protests has been imposed by the bourgeois press in that country. They are evidently afraid that, should the large and grassroots movement be accurately reported, it could spread quickly and far enough to threaten the war effort.

The KKKanadian state is in this war as well, with 24 fighter planes and three naval vessels on active duty. This is the first time KKKanadian forces have been in combat outside the borders of this country since Korea, and as in Korea, KKKanada is playing this aggressive role under the auspices of the United Nations. Frighteningly, this morning's paper reports that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has stated in Parliament that Saddam Hussein can no longer guarantee a ceasefire by agreeing to withdraw from Kuwait: "We are engaged in a campaign to insure that his war machine...will never again be used against innocent neighbors

and against states in the region like Israel". Yet the grassroots opposition to the war is growing here, too. One veteran activist reported that, in almost 20 years of attending demonstrations, she has never seen so much support from bystanders as she did on a late Tuesday night march through downtown Toronto streets. There has been a more-or-less continual vigil in front of the U.S. Consulate, and daily demonstrations.

Reflecting on these developments, we ponder two aspects of the anti-war movement in this country. The first is, as said above, KKKanada is in this one — generally we are protesting U.S. war moves in solidarity with people around the world, and many people have not made the connection to the KKKanadian state's constant helpmeet role in U.S. war moves. Perhaps we will see a growing anti-imperialist consciousness among activist forces in this country. It's more than time for this to happen: let's not forget that the "Tomahawk" (!) cruise missiles which are being used against Iraq were tested over the KKKanadian state, and mainly over native lands.

Which brings us to our second point: as noted above, this war is the first time since 1953 that KKKanadian forces have been deployed outside of the borders in a combat capacity. But let's not forget that they have been deployed against the Mohawk Nation just months ago. Indeed, that conflict is far from over — the communities at Kanesatake and Kahnawake are suffering continual attacks and harassment.

Of course, being the Bulldozer, we're also thinking ahead to the possibilities for massive state repression of our movements, both inside and outside the walls, especially considering the juxtaposition with the economic crisis, which the war can only worsen. Even before hostilities broke out, one of our

prisoner correspondents had this to say: "We're already feeling the impact here as New York State is implementing major budget cutbacks. COs are worried about their jobs and have raised the level of tensions here considerably. Inmates are concerned about which programs will be cut—probably the ones most beneficial to us. The period ahead is likely to see a lot of tension and struggle but with not very good prospects for us."

Canadian troops were used against domestic activists during the Quebec crisis of 1970, when then Prime Minister Trudeau declared the War Measures Act in order to raid and detain activists across the country. The Act has since been revamped into the more subtly repressive Emergencies Act, coordinated by Emergency Preparedness Canada (EPC), an analogue to the U.S.A.'s notorious FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency). EPC and FEMA signed a comprehensive bilateral agreement in 1986.

The Emergencies Act can be implemented by Parliament and the possibility of such implementation is integrated into the KKKanadian Charter of "Rights" and "Freedoms". The Act has provision, in the case of "international emergency" for the government to control industries, force workers to provide essential services to the state, deport foreign nationals and curtail freedom of speech and assembly. In addition to the obvious potential for attack on activist communities, the state will certainly use racism as one of its modus operandi in its repression. Already the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (political police) have admitted that they are keeping files on all Iraqi immigrants to KKKanada.

We will watch, wait, and try to raise the level of struggle. ∞

The Marionette

Number 52 November/December 1990

Smiley Faced Humbug

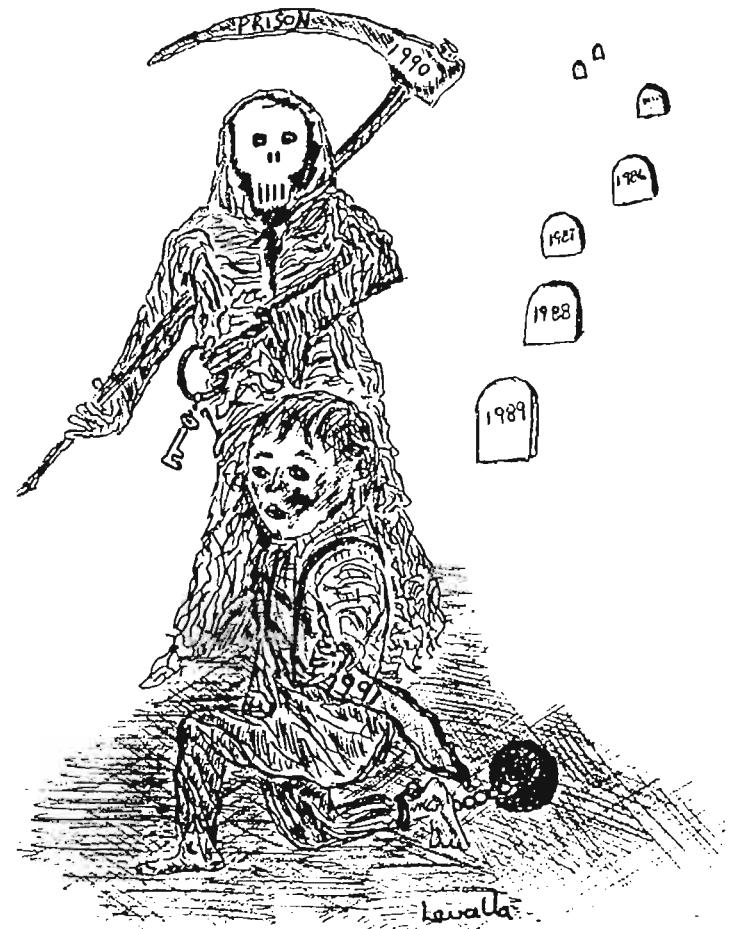
The year end holidays derived from the winter solstice and the addition of another calendar to the landfill are supposed to stimulate consciousness of higher human values. These are supposed to be demonstrated by expressions of goodwill and generosity and tolerance and empathy and consciousness of the feelings of others. The holidays are supposed to be a time of strengthening bonds with one's personal and geographic community as well as with the commonality of humanity. To the extent they are able to transcend the acquisitiveness and consumerism and class and dogma differences of the various competing mysticisms that are the season's dark side, many people actually do these things and extract pleasure and satisfaction from them.

It is different in the American Gulag Archipelago, and presumably elsewhere in the global gulag chain where the end of the Gregorian calendar is of special significance. The holidays are a hassle. Sure, administrations almost universally order up somewhat better chow for a meal on Christmas and New Year's and maybe even pass out something extra, like hot chocolate and pastries, in order to dodge the Scrooge image. But prisoners pay for it — and frequently for some of the chow that graces the swines' troughs — in short rations, usually in advance. There is no mail on holidays. Mail that does come in proximity to them is too often some sticky, mass produced, once-a-year sentiment from a well-intentioned someone stimulated to the good deed of "remembering" a shadow by holiday conditioning rather than consciousness of his or her prisoner correspondent. Such mail can let a prisoner know how faint his or her shadow really is. Time, attention, and resources are spread thin by holiday demands, and the immediate preempts the remote. Swine tend to be more irascible in the season to be jolly, both at the prospect of having to work the holidays and, afterwards, presumably

over holiday bills, the incurring of which again failed to purchase the hoped for transport to consumerist nirvana. For most prisoners who are allowed to work for pay, the holidays are unpaid days off — a gift of more cell time.

USP Marion provides an excellent illustration of some of the holiday cheer prisoners can expect. Christmas and New Year's lunches were better in both quality and quantity than normal fare, and food service did pass out extra donuts and hot chocolate. But in the month or so preceding the holidays, regular chow was light. Instead of relying completely on just leaving stuff on the menu off the trays, the kitchen just started making things really small. When confronted, the food manager would just look at the complainer as if he were crazy and insist that nothing had changed. Small packages of goodies were distributed, paid for by increased commissary prices during the year, according to memo. The redistributive effect of that was a minor plus, but true to Reaganomics, it was limited by spending caps so the few Mr. Bigs couldn't be more heavily tapped. Despite great lip service to the maintenance of family and community ties, no visiting was allowed on either Christmas or New Year's and the extra 10 minute phone call afforded to the rest of the prison was denied to disciplinary segregation prisoners. The street donuts and chocolate milk on New Year's Eve, the high point of the Marion year, were paid for by higher prices for the personal photos prisoners are allowed to buy every couple months — and of which custody keeps the negatives.

The prisonrats smile in all our faces and reap kudos for their holiday spirit, and some probably trick themselves into feeling benevolent. But their real seasonal sentiment is Bah, Humbug! ∞



Roll Over and Lick 'em Time

A number of prisoners in E block of USP Marion were taken to "C-Unit Reviews" on 21/Dec/90. C-Unit Reviews are supposedly to determine if a prisoner is "ready" to "progress" to the pre-pre-transfer unit beyond having the prerequisite minimum of a year without the slightest infraction. These inquiries are usually chaired by an associate warden and attended by various other big-wigs and one prisoner at a time with his hands cuffed behind.

The 21/Dec hearing was chaired by Associate Warden "Snidley Whiplash" Collins and attended by guard captain, unit manager, industries supervisor, and a "counselor". With one prisoner, Collins opened the inquisition with the statement, "It's roll over and lick 'em time," in not entirely accurate reference to the hygiene habits of pigs — oops, dogs! — when being passive and unobtrusive. He then went to great lengths to explain how that was in no conceivable way, shape, or form to be construed as an implication that bestowal of such a great honor as to possibly be transferred in a year or so was contingent

on changes in the litigiousness for which he noted the prisoner. He continued with an explication of the badness of the prisoner's attitude, frivolous complaints, and hatred of staff. But he took pains to reassure the prisoner that continuation in the pre-transfer program would in no way be affected by the prisoner filing administrative appeals and the like as these things were perfectly within his rights. He then went on to decry the prisoner's arrogance, criticism, unspecified nasty reports by unidentified staff, and poor — albeit til then secret — quarters reports. But he followed this rendition of the prisoner's knavery with a careful explanation about how the prisoner's writing to prison support groups and communicating critically to and through various media would absolutely never be cause for retaliation.

After some further delineation of the prisoner's depravity and attitudinal impairment with assurances that the opinions did not derive from his writing, filing complaining, criticizing, the Snidley Associate Warden threw the floor open for questions by his

henchpeople. They gave mumbly support to the various aspects of the fearless leader's harangue. The Unit Manager was incensed that the prisoner would have the temerity to write qualifications on the memo required for C-Unit consideration. The industries manager told the prisoner they had a lot of "chemicals 'n stuff" (and some nasty ones, indeed!) in the cable factory and didn't want the prisoner bringing OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) and the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) and other outsiders down on the operation. Said he that if the prisoner had any complaints they should be brought to him and if he decided they should go no further, the prisoner would have to drop them. Of course, chimed in the associate warden, they didn't mean the prisoner couldn't file this 'n that if he felt aggrieved, and then digressed into the annoyance of frivolous complaints, with a smile showing about a hundred teeth.

Ultimately, the prisoner was informed that there are a lot of rules and requirements in the pre-transfer "program" and that the

jujus didn't think he was ready to avoid running afoul of such complicated and often unwritten rules. His attitude was just too bad, though they got all squirmy and slippery when asked to nail down exactly what the elements thereof might be. Of course, it had nothing to do with his criticisms, complaints, litigation, etc. — and, sayeth the Snidley, "I've got plenty witnesses to say I never said it did. ∞

MARIONETTE EDITOR: Bill Dunne, #10916-086, P.O. Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. Articles not otherwise attributed were written by me. Recipients of The Marionette are free to reproduce or otherwise use the information in it—verily, they are encouraged to do so. They are also encouraged to send money to Bulldozer (P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, CANADA) to help cover the costs of the *Prison News Service/Marionette*. Without your support, we die. **If you didn't like the news, go out and make some of your own.**

Marionnotes

WARDEN WATER: On 3/NOV/90, local TV broadcast a press conference in which Tim Lohraft and Mariel Nanasi of CEML convincingly explained the new revelation about trihalomethane (chloroform, etc.) contamination of Marion water. Clark admitted having known about the contamination "for some time", having kept it secret until it became common knowledge. Shortly after Tim's and Mariel's appearance, Clark was vociferously protecting the water's safety and the largest local paper sported a front page photo of him allegedly swilling some down. An old hand at snake-oil sales for the Catholic Church, he now sells for the federal government.

WHAT RULES?: A prisoner at Marion appealed an infraction on several grounds. The first level response was two days late, so the prisoner assumed denial and proceeded, as provided by regulations. The second level accepted his explanation for not including the untimely response, but the third level refused him

consideration without it. The prisoner went to court, and both district and appellate courts said this amounted to "deliberate bypass", notwithstanding proof that prisoner appeals are routinely cancelled completely for being one day late. His petition was dismissed. The only real legal rights are those that come with enforcement power.

PROGRAM REDUCTION: The swine are becoming positively schizoid about the Marion pre-transfer rituals. On the one hand, the length of the pre-transfer "program" has been cut from a year to eight months (though nothing is mandatory at Marion). Presumably, the duration of pre-pre-transfer unit (C-block) stays will also have to decrease. On the other foot, gratuitous harassment—like a new rule banning taking plastic bottles of hot sauce sold by the commissary to the chow hall from B-block—has recently been escalated. December did have two full moons. ∞

The Straight and Narrow

by Paul Jorgenson

It's so hard to think, and so easy to just believe.

I'd rather believe that I am superior to you than to have to prove it with logic.

I'd sooner believe that you are inferior to me than to think, reason and discover we are just the same but different. I don't understand, one has to be better — and it's me!

It's so hard to think, and so easy to let my emotions guide and have faith in a bigot's answer.

The sciences all represent many years of difficult thought and it's so easy to just believe.

Just let my mind sleep, induction, deduction and dialectic are not for me, no planning ahead or learning from history. I just want some dogma to believe.

So it's my pie, my mom, my race, our flag and our god, all of which are superior to yours — don't ask me why. I just know because I trust what I believe.



Commie Queers Face Persecution

by Robynsky

With the glasnost thaw now turned into that old familiar Russian winter chill, Queers in the USSR are once again feeling under the club of police harassment and government persecution. Olga Zhuk, the Lesbian founder of *The Tchaikovsky Foundation for Cultural Initiatives and Defence of Sexual Minorities*, Leningrad's only Lesbian and Gay organization, was charged with violating article 121.1 of the Soviet Penal Code (instituted by Stalin) which outlaws anal sex between men. (!!) She is also charged with "gathering groups of criminals." The charges were laid when Zhuk went to Leningrad city council to get the organization officially registered. The arrest is part of a wave of anti-Gay oppression now sweeping the country. Last December, Alexander Lukeshev, Gay activist and editor of one of Moscow's

leading independent pro-democracy newspapers, *New Life*, was the victim of a brutal murder and mutilation which was almost certainly the work of the KGB (the Soviet Secret Police). The Workers' Paradise swine are also the prime suspects in the vandalism and burglary of the apartment of Roman Kalinen, founder of the Moscow Gay and Lesbian Union, whose home was being used to produce *TEMA*, the only Lesbian and Gay newspaper in the Soviet Union.

Julie Dorf, the San Francisco-based co-founder of the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, fears that Kalinen will be the next to be charged under the Soviet anti-Gay law. "If they used it against a woman in Leningrad, they can use it against anybody," she said. The penalty for violation of this law is a maximum of eight years in a labour camp. ∞

Great Meadow Update *continued from centre*

Prisoner Derrick Parchment, who was brutally beaten by guards on Dec/8/90 was given 18 months confinement to segregation for trumped-up charges filed against him relating to the incident of his assault and beating by guards. Prisoner James Battle, who in a separate incident on Dec/8/90 was also beaten by guards, was given an undisclosed period of confinement to segregation. Prisoner James Baxter, who received trumped-up charges merely for "asking" guards to stop beating Battle, was given 6 months confinement to segregation. Prison officials refused to allow Baxter to call all of his witnesses, who would have supported his claim that the charges filed against him were false.

On Dec/14/90, prisoners who signed a petition as witnesses to the beating of Battle, were called to be interviewed by several guards of the rank of sergeant who were supposedly investigating the incident involving Battle and guards on Dec/8/90. During the interview the prisoners were threatened, subject to profanity and other abusive language and pressured to change their story. Based upon information and belief, the interviewing sergeant, sergeant Fitzgerald, filed a false report with his superiors contending that the prisoners interviewed were, in his opinion either lying of unsure as to what they saw on Dec/8.

On Dec/14/90, Muslim prisoners at Great Meadow, in protest and anger over the beating of Parchment and Battle and the rash of beatings in general that have been occur-

ring against prisoners by guards, refused to attend Friday religious services. On Dec/17/90, prisoners housing in A-Block who signed the petition as witnesses to the beating of Battle were transferred to different housing blocks. This was done as a form of reprisal to punish prisoners for being witnesses to the beating of Battle, and to undermine any unity, solidarity and concern that has been developing amongst prisoners since the beating of Battle and Parchment.

As prisoners, our lives remain in constant danger at Great Meadow due to the guards aggressive, violent, hostile and racist behavior towards prisoners. We need your help, your support to bring public attention to the abuses that are occurring here daily. Support us by contacting concerned persons and organizations and encourage them to publicize our plight. Only with your help and support will we be able to expose and bring an end to the racism and brutality at this prison. We wish not only to expose the racist attitude and behavior of guards at this prison, but their criminal attitude and behavior as well. Within the last 6 months or so several guards working at this prison have been convicted or arrested for criminal charges ranging from rape, child molestation, assault to drug possession.

Again we need your support. Without it we will continue to be at the mercy of sick, racist and sadistic-minded guards who beat and torture us with absolute impunity. ∞

War *continued from page 9*

sification of the fake war on drugs, oppression of middle eastern peoples in America and other communities of colour. Today's rhetoric about the need "to rally around the crusade" will take the form of bloody repression. The empire will fill its prisons with those who will not fight its dirty war, and it will not tolerate dissent behind those walls, or in the "free" world: to hell with prison reform, unemployment, the homeless, AIDS, sexism, racism, etc.. With oil and profits comes the nightmare. The poor and dispossessed will pay the highest price as in every war.

This is not "our" war. We should resort to every means, from pacific protests to militant direct action, to cripple the home base and to distract the Empire. We should stand with the Arab people, particularly with the Palestinians, in their struggle to attain their homeland. At the same time we shouldn't spread illusions about the Iraqi regime, which oppresses the Kurdish people even as it supports the Palestinian cause in its own interest. We don't approve of what the Iraqi regime did in Kuwait for a moment: this is not the way to a unity of Arab people nor their self-determination.

The "way of life", the "dream" for which people are dying has incarcerated one million

people behind walls: it has constantly failed Native peoples, African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians and all people of colour. It creates and maintains oppression based on gender and sexual orientation and as such fails women, children, lesbians and gays.

The Empire says this won't be another Vietnam, hoping to allay fears of defeat. We should actively promote the "Gulf syndrome" — a confirmation of the empire's vulnerability — since any defeat for them in this war is a victory for the people here as well as in the middle east. We should be proud to be unpatriotic. To hell with the empire's credibility! No blood for oil! ∞

It's A Beginning

The *Kingston (Ont.) Whig-Standard* reported on Jan/3/91 that about 20 defence trucks in a factory lot had been vandalized during the Christmas holidays. The heavy trucks were spray-painted, tires were slashed and taillights broken. The trucks were being built by UTDC, a division of Bombardier, for the Canadian military.

Vancouver Police Attack Squatters

from *Ecomedia Toronto*

After nine months of successful occupation, five Vancouver squats were forcibly evicted by police in a military-style operation on Nov/27. Eighty police sealed off the neighbourhood and set up snipers, then the ERT (Emergency Response Task Force) moved in to finish the job. Although the squatters left peacefully, all 27 were arrested and 17 people were charged with obstruction of justice and mischief. During the operation, which lasted several hours and included the use of a (renegade) bulldozer to smash through some of the houses, over 200 people from the neighbourhood gathered to protest the operation.

The official reason given for the use of "SWAT-style" tactics and the large number of police, was a rumor that a cache of weapons was hidden in the squats, an allegation which squatters deny and police have yet to prove. The squatters feel the excessive force was used to deter other people from attempting direct action solutions to the housing crisis. Prior to the raids, the houses, containing many anarchists and autonomists, had served as a home for the squatters and as a symbol of resistance to homelessness and gentrification. All 27 squatters and supporters have been released on their own recognizance. ∞

Resources For Prisoners

Bulldozer would like to carry a regular Resources for Prisoners listings. Our space is limited, so we intend to run different categories of Resources over the year. Next issue, we would like to run Resources for Women Prisoners. If you want to be listed, please let us know.

Antigone - Newsletter of the National Committee on US Corrections, \$2.00/yr for prisoners. \$7.00 for free world residents. Write to: POB 308, Farmington, MI 48332.

California Prisoner - Publishes the California Prisoner and the Inside Out series of prison litigation books. Active in lobbying too., Write to: Prisoners Rights Union, 1909 6th St., Sacramento, CA 95814.

Coalition for Prisoners' Rights Newsletter - This is one of the oldest publications directed at prisoners. Includes short articles as well as excerpts from prisoners' letters concerning legal matters and other issues. Write to: CPR, POB 1911, Santa Fe, NM 87501.

Convictions - A well produced magazine by prisoners, for prisoners and their people. Prisoners \$8.00/yr., others \$10.00/yr., Canadians add \$3.00. Write to: Convictions, POB 1749, Corvallis, OR. 97339-1749.

Dante's Gazette - "A prisoners' consortium for justice, a publication for people who can't afford a lawyer." It has lots of information on legal cases involving prison issues and conditions. Edited by TN prisoner, Calvin Murray. \$2.00 for prisoners. Make checks or money orders out to Jackie Campbell. Write to: CVLP, 2930 N. 46th st. #107, Phoenix, AZ 87108.

GCN Prisoner Project Information Packets - Information on physical safety, your right to protection, protective custody getting in/getting out, defending yourself at disciplinary hearings, a brief guidebook for jail house lawyers. Write to GCN Prisoner Project, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

Incarcerated Citizen's Congress - An underground newspaper concerning prison issues published every two months. Includes pen pal listing. Write to: C/O Melvin Miller, 1935 Chestnut St., Harrisburg, PA 17104

Journal of Prisoners on Prisons - POB 779, Apt #11, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E0. \$4.00/yr for prisoners.

Non Compos Mentis - A mini-magazine produced behind bars and available to outsid-

ers. Contains horror stories, poetry, etc. etc. Write, K. Smith, #74481, Arizona State Prison - Rincon, 10,000 S. Wilmot Rd., Tucson, AZ 85777.

Nuclear Resistor - Covers those in prison for opposing nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Lots of info on prisoners, events, resources, etc. Write to: POB 43383, Tucson, AZ, 85733.

Pent-Up Observations - This journal is edited by prisoners of the Arizona state prison system. They publish prison material and a wide variety of other socially conscious material as well. Available for donation from: Pent-Up Press, POB 3490, University Station, Tucson, AZ 85722.

Prison Journal - A yearly book published by the Institute for Humanities, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada V5A 1S6 that features issues such as prison literacy, women in prison, etc.

Prisoners Legal News - Produced by prisoners Ed Mead and Paul Wright, it covers legal news of special interest to Wash-

ington State, but their interests are wider in terms of topics and region. Donations of money and stamps are needed to keep this going. Donations and subs for the U.S. should be sent to PLN, POB 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460; In Canada write to, ABC, POB 6326, Station A, Toronto, Ont M5W 1P7. Letters and articles should be sent to: Paul Wright, #930783, POB 5000, HC63, Clallam Bay, WA 98326.

Podium - A prison news and views magazine written by the prisoners at a special facility designed to offer therapy as well as incarceration for sex offenders. Write: Podium Editor, POB 190, Avenel, NJ 07001..

Southern Coalition on Jails and Justice - A quarterly newsletter concerning US prisons and the death penalty. Write: POB 120044, Nashville, TN 37212.

Survival Network Newsletter - An excellent bulletin of up to date news on prisons, native news, labour and anarchist struggles. Write c/o Arthur J. Miller, 302 N J St. #3, Tacoma, WA 98403.

Prisoner Radio

Kingston, Ontario is "home" to eight federal penitentiaries, including the only federal pen for women in Canada. *Through The Walls* originated in Oct/90 with the support of Bulldozer. Like them, we believe that a well aimed "bulldozer is the only effective vehicle for prison reform." Our intent is to do prison support work and prison abolition education and agitation.

We do a radio "Prison News Service" on CRFC at Queens University, FM 101.9, on Saturday mornings from ten to eleven. And we distribute *PNS*, and *Prisoner Legal News* to local prisoners, and anyone else who is interested. We are presently setting up a resource centre/drop-in space in the community. We are members of the Anarchist Black Cross, advocating the cause of Political Prisoners and POWs. We want to hook up with prisoner support/abolitionist organizations to exchange audio and written information and news. If you have material that you want to get out, please put us on your mailing list.

Through The Walls
472 Albert St.
Kingston, Ont K7L 3W3

Bulldozer and *Through The Walls* would like to connect with groups and individuals working with alternative, community and college stations, to do programming for prisoners, and the wider community, about issues related to prisons and repression. This idea originally surfaced at a Freedom Now! regional meeting in Chicago last fall. If you are involved with radio, and are interested in this idea, please contact either *Bulldozer* or *Through The Walls*. The actual shape of such a radio network has yet to be determined. It will have to function on a decentralized basis, but connections can be made through the *PNS*. There are very good audio tapes already in existence that should be circulating. We can start by compiling this information.

If you are distributing news about prison related issues, broadly understood, please put *Through The Walls* on your mailing list. A pirate radio station is being set up in Detroit. Though they are not aiming specifically for a prisoner-audience, they are interested in putting out prison/prisoner news and information. Write to them at:

Radio Free Detroit,
POB 11410
Detroit, MI 12821 ∞