

Justification For The Abolition Of The
Prison Industrial Complex --
40 Acres and a Mule



An Educational Guide For
White People of Conscience



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PRISONS. SURVEILLANCE. PUNISHMENT. REPRESSION.
JOIN US IN BUILDING A CAMPAIGN TO RESIST THE EXPANSION OF THE PUNISHMENT INDUSTRY

**CRITICAL RESISTANCE:
BEYOND THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**
A NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND STRATEGY SESSION

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This pamphlet does not intend to suggest any grand conspiracy theory or even an oligarchy of lesser ones. Neither is it comprehensive in its approach to the many issues concerning incarceration. Instead it is an analysis of the prison system within the dynamics of the late capitalism; a result of this countries continued racism and its history as an oppressor of both people and the environment.

The sickness of the capitalist system is showing its head through the creation of a prison industrial complex. 1998 -- 1.7 million people are in prisons across the country, most of them young, African Americans or Latinos, and most are in prison for non-violent offenses. Congress is debating lowering the execution age to fifteen and imprisoning juveniles with hardened adult offenders. A whole generation of our youth is being treated like criminals based on how they dress, their attitude, the color of their skin or where they live. Since 1980 the population of prisons has tripled and it is expected to double again by 2005. Imprisoning large numbers of people in order to stop crime has been a spectacular and massively expensive failure. California incredibly spends more on prisons and police than it does on education. Young African American men in Los Angeles and Oakland are twice as likely to end up in a prison as they are in college. One out of three African American men in the United States will go to prison in their lifetimes unless the rate of incarceration is stopped. Women are the fastest growing sector of the entire prison population.

Political leaders and the mass media have inflamed popular concern about crime and sparked revulsion at notorious offenses. Three strikes and other mandatory minimum laws, the war on drugs, and moves to abolish parole are the concrete embodiments of this repressive approach. In the past 20 years, while the incarceration rate has tripled, crime rates have remained relatively stable. As programs for the poor and disadvantaged face the axe, spending for police and prisons grows rapidly.

The general public (white people) must be made to support what ultimately is the resurrection of involuntary servitude. To ensure that this happens, the government in its nefarious alliance with the mass media has created an air of hysteria about crime. The power of the media and government is extremely awesome. It is the power that shapes our collective consciousness and attitudes, and in so doing, motivates people to respond to specific stimuli, and respond in a specific way. Prisoners are portrayed as incorrigible and dangerous, undeserving of even the most basic human rights. Politicians and the mainstream media never even mention, let alone intelligently discuss, underlying problems of poverty, inequality and racism. Debate is thus limited to how to manage the ever-increasing flood of prisoners. Crime, whether real or imagined, serves a variety of interest in U.S. society. Crime is a commodity that gets politicians elected, creates millions of jobs, and yields enormous profits to news media conglomerates competing to report the most heinous crimes.

The nation's inmate population is increasing at the rate of more than 1,227 prisoners per week (In California it is 1,000 per month). Many of them are being violated for the third strike. Many are being violated in what has become the merry go round of recidivism. Eighty percent of all prisoners that are released return to prison in a vicious

cycle that is kept going by the power structure. Malcom X said, *Don't be surprised when I say I was in prison. We've all been in prison. That's what America means, prison*". When the reality of being *free* means homelessness, hunger, street violence, no healthcare, unemployment and racism many may find prison as an alternative to death.



The prison industrial complex has manipulated legislative acts in collusion with law enforcement and a gullible public to make sure that the operation continues in the trafficking of lives. It is profitable. The Crime Bill of 1995 was one of the most significant pieces of legislation to be passed this decade, and will roll back rights and restrict liberties well into the 21st century. Crime Bill initiatives include:

- Senate Bill 3 severely restricts civil remedies for illegal searches allowing federal agents to force their way into homes without warrants.
- House Bill 66 grants police a good faith rule, allowing them to enter private homes if they think they could have obtained a warrant.
- 100,000 new police officers on the streets, even though studies have shown that increased police presence often leads to an escalation of tension.

- 60 new offenses punishable by death.
- The Grants for Prison Construction act authorized \$10.5 billion to be spent over six years for the construction of prisons.
- In the first six months under the prosecution of the three strikes law African Americans (11% of the population) made up 57% of the filings in Los Angeles County. This is 17 times the rate for whites although white men commit at least 60% of all rapes, robberies and assaults in the state.

California State Senator Tom Hayden:

"State politics has been handcuffed by the law enforcement lobby. Voters have no real idea what they are getting into. They have not been told the truth about the trade off between schools and prisons or the economic disaster that will inevitably result".



Prison construction is booming. The Federal Bureau of Prisons is now engaged in what it terms *"the largest prison expansion program in history"*. Nearly 200 prisons are currently under construction at a cost of more than \$4.3 billion. Worse, this is only 6% of the total cost of planning, building, operating, and maintaining a new prison over 30 years. Ironically, prisons have been touted as a solution to economic decline, especially in poor rural areas. Prisons facilities, filled with the

unemployed and people of color from the inner cities, are being sold to economically depressed rural communities as a source of jobs. A new correction center can be a real economic boost to a community, especially if it lacks a local industry. The Federal Bureau of Prisons published a brochure on the value of prisons to rural communities: "with local economies ailing in many parts of the country local leaders often see a potential federal prison as a recession proof economic base".

It has now become a viable military and business interest to construct prisons. The government is now renovating military bases into prisons, so that former military communities will continue to have an industry. Communities pin their economic hopes on jobs related to the buildup and large and small businesses scramble for a slice of the bounty. What is truly ominous about this development is the fact they are talking about increasing the number of people being sent to prison. And nothing needs to be said about a system that uses institutions intended to serve the people as weapons to enslave them. Something needs to be done about it.

Parts of the defense establishment are cashing in, sensing a logical new line of business to help them offset military cutbacks. Westinghouse Electric Corp., 3M, GDE Systems Inc., a division of the old General Dynamics and Alliant Techsystems Inc., are pushing crime-fighting equipment and have created special divisions to retool their defense technology for Americas streets. It is evident that the Cold War of the 1990's is directed at communities of color and the poor. In their search for people to pillage and conquer for profits, the collusion of government, military, and business interests has turned inward, and now the enemy is us, it is the poor, it is the new immigrants, and it is the disenfranchised

The rampant spread of global capitalism requires that the huge difference between the incomes around the world (\$21,000 in developed countries vs. \$1,000 average for the rest of the world) must be brought to more equal levels. Bringing the \$1,000 up to the \$21,000 level cannot happen: social and technical considerations aside, we would all be dead of the pollution before it even got close. Hence, the \$21,000 will have to be depressed. Absent revolution, it will not be reduced at the expense of the rich and the upper middle classes. Losing what one has is more likely to breed resistance than not getting what one wants. Prisons will therefore be the strategic center for the apparatus of control. They are being used to portray repression as a social necessity in protecting the community from "*criminals*".

Outside workers are being made more like prisoners in their attitudes toward work as the class contradiction in society becomes sharper, work relations become more adversarial, and worker power and rights decline with wages. Identification with trade professions is being eroded as management continues to attack labor's gains of the last century. Exploiters want to know the correct proportions of carrot and stick to avoid instability. Figuring out behavior patterns of prisoners, the most resistive labor force both because of the clarity of the contradiction between exploiter and the exploited, is valuable information for them.

Prisons are not about decreasing crime or punishing people for crimes. Prisons are not about rehabilitation. Prisons are first and foremost about social control, about suppressing dissent, about creating a more politically obedient and economically useful population. Sure, they isolate and warehouse criminals to keep them from the rest of us, but prisons are about controlling the rest of us as much as they are about controlling criminals. In America the criminal exists before the crime has been committed. When most people think

of crime they don't think of the crimes themselves but of the criminal class, the hoodlum, dope fiend, dealer, thug, whore, homeless, poor, people of color, single mothers and gangsters. The criminal class is the scapegoat for America's social ills!

Although we may differ about the degree of government complicity in flooding communities with drugs, (especially the CIA's responsibility for the crack epidemic), the effect of the obvious flood is the destruction of lives and the creation of addicts who are then defined as criminals. The government estimated in 1995 that 69% of the people in prison were drug offenders. But being an addict is not always a crime. It depends on who is addicted and what they are addicted to. Working class addiction to crack is a crime. But middle and upper class addiction to drugs and alcohol is a disease. When Betty Ford said she did pills, we all respected her courage for admitting it, and named a rehab center after her. When Kitty Dukakis drank rubbing alcohol, we all felt bad, and no one put her in a cage.

United States white society is the structure that defines the choices, and decides which of the people that break its laws goes to prison. Judges and lawyers don't choose to send the heads of corporations to prison too often, so when Michael Milken got 10 years for stealing billions, he was generally shocked. Mostly they send poor people to prison, people without jobs. They send the unemployed there three times the rate that they do employed people. They send people of color there, who now make up 60% of the prison population. And they choose to execute people of color, particularly African American men, far more often than white men.



The rate of imprisonment for women has grown faster than that for men each year since 1981. Who are these women in prison? Their profile is that of a young single mother, with few marketable job skills, a high school dropout who lives below the poverty level. 75% are between the ages of 25-34, are mothers of dependent children, and were unemployed at the time of imprisonment. 41% of women in prison and 44 % in jails had either been physically or sexually abused at some point prior to incarceration. Thousands have been convicted of killing an abusive partner. The population of women's prisons is around 50% African American, although African American women comprise only 11% of the national population.

The claiming of the woman's body and mind begins with admission to the system. Women's prisons operate based on the threat of sexual assault, and a dehumanizing invasion of privacy. Invasive 'pat searches' of women by male guards is a constant reminder of her powerlessness: she cannot even defend her own body. Prisons are small totalitarian societies of agony.

A Control Unit for women political prisoners was built in secret, without congressional oversight or public scrutiny at the Lexington Federal Correctional Institute in Kentucky in 1986. The prison used sensory deprivation, extreme isolation, and sexual degradation to control the women. Twenty-two months later it was closed after national protests and the issue became a formal agenda item at the US/USSR Summit Conference. However, Lexington's mission as a control unit was transferred to an even larger women's facility in Marion, Florida. Marion has been the trend setter in terms of repressive technology and human cruelty. Today, the building of

Control Unit prisons are on the rise. One of the newest and most cruel is at Pelican Bay in California. Here such acts as: hog-tying by shackling a prisoner's wrists and ankles together; 23 hours a day in their single cells; no exercise; the promotion of pornography over any other form of reading or correspondence class; the inability for prisoners to communicate with one another; solid steel doors, rather than bars and other sensory and psychological deprivation designed to strip individuals of their identities. Visits by family members, often critical to a prisoner's psychological well-being, are restricted and take place under such oppressive conditions that many family members refuse to return. No cleanser mops, sponges, or rags are provided. The prison is intent in creating the perception that the prisoners kept there are animals and must therefore be made to wallow in filth and stench. Cell extractions are frequent here as in most prisons. In this brutal procedure, a team of six to eight guards in combat gear – with face visors and riot shields – often shoots and wounds the prisoner with a pellet gun and then with a taser stun-gun before opening the cell door. Once the door is open, the guards rush inside, beat the prisoner, and fully restrain him with chains. Once restrained, the inmate is often beaten again, and then left hog-tied for hours in the corridor or a cell. Verbal harassment is another common form of abuse. Guards taunt prisoners with threats and deny them of simple requests for medical attention.

The Mad Adjustment Center at San Quentin was the first Security Housing Unit (SHU) in the country. It was established based on the concept of sensory deprivation, of complete isolation, of around the clock surveillance, of political retaliation and punishment for political beliefs. The idea for the Security Housing Unit started in the 1970's during the government's counter-intelligence program called COINTELPRO. These were the years when there was an active government effort to eliminate political leadership. Leaders were

killed from AIM American Indian Movement, the Black Panthers and the Puerto Rican Freedom Fighters. Black Panthers Fred Hampton who was 20 years old, Mark Clark and others were killed by COINTELPRO. The gifted George Jackson was murdered by prison guards at San Quentin in 1971.



There are over 100 Political Prisoners in the United States today. The Security Housing Units are where these politically conscious fighters and resisters are kept isolated, away from being able to organize and provide the leadership that is desperately needed both in the prisons and out. Today, the prison in Marion, IL is the model for the Control Unit. Prisoners are put in small, enclosed soundproof cement boxes. In 1983 Marion experimented with a four year lockdown. Prisoners were locked in their cells for 22 hours a day. They were denied contact with each other and forced into total idleness; punished by being shackled naked and spread eagle to their cement beds or beaten by squads of guards.

At Pelican Bay the Institutional Classification Committee sits as the kangaroo court and decides which prisoners are confined to the Secure Housing Unit of the prison. All gang-linked inmates receive an indeterminate sentence in the SHU. Once linked to a gang, the prisoner's only hope for release from the Secure Housing Unit is to snitch, wait to be paroled, or die. Snitching requires that a prisoner confess violations of prison rules and implicate gang members. Since it is illegal, even in wartime, to isolate a prisoner to extract information, this policy violates not only U.S. law but also the Geneva

Convention. The Security Housing Prisoner with an indeterminate sentence is in an untenable situation: if he snitches, he becomes a target for retaliation by those he implicates and must become a regular informant to maintain the protection of the guards. SHU inmates who choose not to snitch or have no information to trade for freedom remain confined indefinitely. Others use snitching to their advantage by falsely accusing enemies of being gang members, and recruit new inmates into gangs by threatening to snitch. Inmates released from SHU are automatically assumed to have gotten out because they snitched. This is why the B Yard at Pelican Bay has the reputation as the most violent in California's prison system.



The argument most often cited in support of capital punishment is that the threat of execution deters capital crimes more effectively than imprisonment. This is completely false and there is no study that supports this claim. Death penalty states do not have lower rates of homicide (7.5 per 100,000) than non-death penalty states (7.4 per 100,000). It is often argued that death is what murders deserve, "making the punishment fit the crime". If this principle is understood to require that punishments are unjust unless they are like the crimes themselves, then the principle is unacceptable. It would require us to rape rapists, torture torturers and inflict other degrading and horrible punishments on offenders.

Some suggest that it is more economical to execute someone rather than keep them in jail for a lifetime. This is also false. A 1982 study showed that were the death penalty to be reintroduced in New

York, the cost of the capital trial alone with its multi layered appeal process would be more than double the cost of life in prison. The only way to make the death penalty a "better buy" would be to weaken due process and curtail appellate review. The savings in dollars would be at the cost of justice: in nearly half of the death penalty cases given review, the original conviction is overturned.

Today, 28 European countries have abolished the death penalty. The United Nations General Assembly affirmed in a formal resolution, that throughout the world, it is desirable to " progressively restrict the number of offenses for which the death penalty might be imposed, with a view to the desirability of abolishing this punishment". Other nations see our hypocrisy as we stand together with nations with the worst human rights records: China, Iraq, Iran, Apartheid South Africa and Russia



In examining how and why the prison system was developed and where it is today, it is clear that prison as social control has been deeply linked to the institutionalization of racism, working-class oppression, and labor exploitation. Take the United States Constitution. The 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution does not say slavery was a big mistake and goes against common principles of a civilized nation, that it shall never be repeated, that we shall not have slavery. NO, it does not say that. In fact, the 13th Amendment of the United States Constitution does not even outlaw slavery. The 13th Amendment:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction".

Except as a punishment for crime. Therefore, the United States holds two million slaves. That's more than before! Before the abolition of slavery there was no real prison system in the United States. The 13th Amendment as written opened the door for mass criminalization. On the day the 13th Amendment was passed, the convict lease system functioned with the African American Codes to reestablish and maintain the race relationships of slavery by returning the control over the lives of African Americans to white plantation owners. Through the convict lease system, bidders paid an average \$258,000 a year to the state, in exchange for control over the lives of all convicts. The system provided revenue for the state and the profit of unwaged, unprotected workers for plantation owners or private industries. Throughout the South convict leasing contributed to the regions industrial and commercial expansion. Convicts built rail lines across the peaks of western North Carolina: they worked in the mines of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, drained swampland and built levees in the Mississippi Delta.

Chain gangs originated as a part of the mass organization at the turn of the century to create extensive quality roads. Chains were wrapped around prisoner's ankles, shackling five prisoners together while they worked, ate, and slept. Chain gangs became very economically and politically popular among most Southern politicians as they witnessed convicts working from sunup to sundown. In 1995 Alabama's governor Rob James, made the horrifying decision to reinstate the nationally abolished chain gang. An infuriated nation quickly called the racist governor on it.

The prison system has a long history of incarcerating African Americans. From 1871 - 1909 the prison population in the South was between 84% - 90% African American males. As John Cell suggests in his book, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy*, segregation was an invention of modern race and class relations, not a holdover from a more backward social order. Today economic forces are again encouraging powerful whites to return to their deep oppressive past to push the economy further. When reviewing our history one is struck by the continuity of oppression this country has maintained. African Americans will be discriminated against in most instances where the case is squarely between them and whites. To this point the United States has never emancipated or freed its people, only transferred them to the penal system. The unabated desire for economic development neatly coincides with our obsession with racial control.

United States history is based on a lie¹. Neither children's nor adult textbooks tell us that the United States was created by invasion, conquest, land theft, genocide and slavery; that at its foundations, is a white supremacy state. Violence: mass murder of millions of indigenous people, the nefarious Middle Passage during which millions of Africans died; the system of chattel slavery which lasted 300 years; and the brutal war against Mexico in which thousands of Mexican people were slaughtered by United States troops. The United States still invades nations of color, murdering and starving thousands. In the 19th century white squatters stole Indian land with the consent of Congress. Today, corporations buy and pollute that land, still with the consent of Congress.

¹ The only nation in the world without a real name, "*United States*" is not a name!

Slave owning colonial rulers created a strategy to prevent rebellions by the oppressed majority: granting privileges to poor whites while maximizing punishments for African Americans. Because non-ruling class and poor whites can be oppressed on the basis of class, gender, sexuality, religion, culture, age, physical abilities and politics, but also privileged in relation to peoples of color -- the strategy still works today.

Oppression results from the ability to maintain power. It is done through the ownership and control of the major institutions of the state. The white male ruling class is tightly organized in their own self-interest of maintaining and expanding their power. Every major institution in the United States was created to support and maintain power for the white ruling class and privilege for non-ruling class whites. Racist institutions create racist policies. People who work for these institutions, no matter what their intentions, must enforce these racist policies in order to keep their jobs. The enforcement may be active, or it may be silent through consent.

*The captain holler hurry,
Goin' to take my time.
Say captain holler hurry,
Goin' to take my time.
Say he makin money,
And I'm trying to make time,
Say he can loose his job,
But I can't loose mine.
-- Convict work song.*



Corporate interest in prisons goes beyond construction and providing candy bars. For example long distance phone carriers are falling all over themselves to provide pay phones to prisons. In return for the pay phone monopoly, they routinely kick back part of their profits to prison systems in the form of commissions. A single prison phone can gross \$15,000 per year. In an INS detention center inmates are charged \$22 for a 15-minute call to the East Coast, with the INS taking a 35% cut. Since calls can only be made collect, relatives paying for the calls often have no idea of the scam, until their phone bill comes.

During the 1990's the Prison Industry Authority (PIA) became a multi-million dollar industry dependent on the productivity of California prisoners. Upon entry inmates are classified for placement in an institution, are surveyed for almost 50 different work skills, from appliance repair to x-ray technician, to determine which institution they should be placed in. The Department of Corrections maintains that work in the institution is voluntary, however, each day worked reduces a prisoner's sentence by one day. Therefore, those who refuse to work will serve twice as long as convicts who agree to work. Prisoners who refuse to work, are placed in solitary confinement, are not entitled to family visits, are limited to one-fourth of the maximum monthly canteen draw and telephone calls are permitted only on an emergency basis as determined by the institution's staff. These coercive tactics contradict the claim that labor is voluntary.

The Joint Venture Program of the California Department of Corrections is the board responsible for contracting out convict labor to "any public entity, nonprofit or for profit entity, organization, or business." Proposition 139 passed by voters in 1990 mandated the Director of Corrections to recruit private businesses to set up operations inside California state prisons. Inmates are paid a tiny

wage which is then subject to deductions for room and board, the Crime Victim Compensation Fund (which took millions from prisoners in its first few months of enactment), prisoner family support, forced inmate savings and federal and state taxes. The Joint Venture Program does not hold back in its recruitment of business. *"If you are thinking of expanding...if you have been forced to consider relocating because of a deficient labor pool. If you are starting a new enterprise... if you are repatriating an offshore operation, look into the benefits of using inmate labor in over 30 California locations"*. The brochure on the Internet goes on to appeal to *"today's progressive business leaders"* regarding the *"untapped labor market for you the employer"* and serves as *"a link between qualified businesses and highly motivated inmate employees"*. *"State tax incentives, no benefit expenses, cost effective long term lease agreements on state land, consistent reliable work force, and an on-call labor pool"*. The employer's benefits are as large as the benefit to the inmate slaves is small.

In 1982, when the California Correctional Industry was transformed into the Prison Industry Authority, the issue of inmate rehabilitation wasn't even included in the industry's statement of purpose. The Prison Industry Authority was created so that the industries run within California prisons would be economically independent and self-supporting, allowing it to function outside the state budgetary process. PIA has the powers and responsibilities characteristic of a private corporation, placing profit at the center of the organization of production. The current mission statement of the Authority charged with creating Industry in Prisons is:

- *To produce and sell at a profit, quality goods and services at competitive prices with timely delivery.*

- *To maintain a safe, clean, secure, and efficient environment that promotes work ethic.*
- *To expand markets and develop new products.*

A few of the products being produced are furniture, cabinets, shelves, clothing, textiles, footwear, gloves, flags, detergents, food service equipment, food products, concrete precasts, signs, decals, bindery materials, and services such as printing, and key data entry.

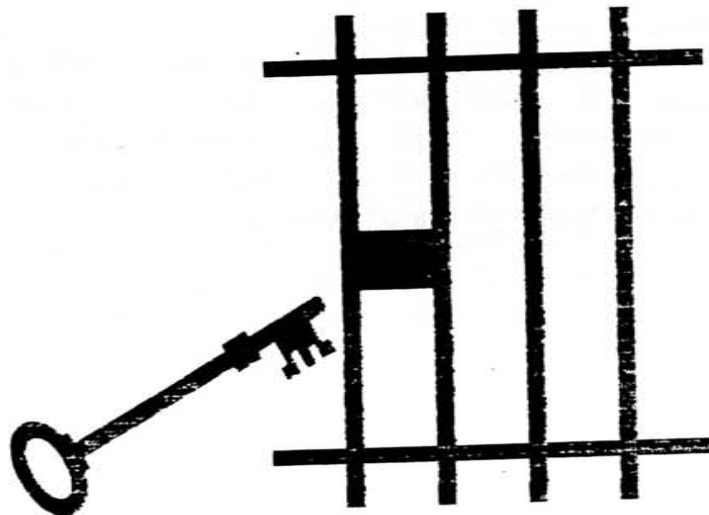
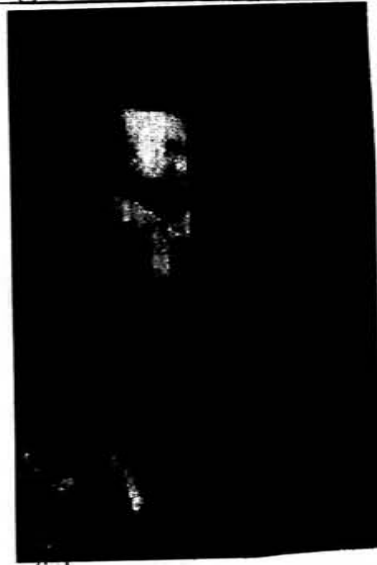
The use of prisoners to take away civilian jobs has a long history in the United States. For most of the last century, prisoners were regularly leased out to plantation and factory owners. Guards whipped inmates for failing to meet quotas or for other work infractions. Today, the punishment is time in solitary confinement for refusing to perform such tasks as tearing off *Made in China* labels and replacing them with the *Made in the U.S.* label.

From 1980 to 1994, while the number of federal and state prisoners increased by 221%, the number of inmates employed in prison industries jumped by 358%. Sales of prison industry products have skyrocketed during those years from \$392 million to \$1.31 billion. They are not making license plates. Oregon prisons sew jeans called "Prison Blues" for export. In 1994, a local prison secretly slipped Chicago area prisoners into a Toys 'R' Us store to stock shelves. Southern California youth offenders booked flights for TWA. Weastec Corporation in Ohio hired prisoners to assemble Honda parts. The company paid the state \$2.05 an hour for inmate labor. From that, the prisoners got 35 cents an hour. Pressure forced Honda to eliminate the prison labor contract. LTI, which assembles and repairs circuit boards for companies such as IBM, Dell, and Texas Instruments, got a completely new factory assembly room, built to specifications by

prison labor. It pays only \$1 a year rent and gets tax abatement from the city to boot. The prisoners make minimum wage, then the prison Authority takes 80% of their salary. The company said, "*normally when you work in the free world you have people call in sick, they have car problems, they have family problems. We don't have that here.*" Absolute Indentured Slavery! Private companies such as California Corrections Authority and Wackenhut are now building and operating private prisons under contract form federal and state governments. Wackenhut's directorates reflect a clear military involvement. Its boards of directors includes former Marine Corps Commandant Paul X. Kelley, a pair of retired Air Force generals and a former Air Force under secretary, and a former Attorney General. The Wackenhut facility receives at least \$31 dollars per day per prisoner from the state of Texas. Privatization of prisons poses the threat of profound conflicts of interest because private prison operators would profit from keeping people in prison, not from finding ways to return them to their communities. Overcrowding and reduced services would spell higher profits! Critics have long argued that private prisons are tempted to abuse inmates by skimping on food and other basics in order to increase profits.

Texas leads the nation with 28 private adult correctional units, followed by California with seven. One private firm has over \$1 billion in corrections construction across 12 states under way. Prison bonds are a good investment. Investors receive a significantly higher rate of interest than paid by general obligation bonds. Individual investors, bank trust departments, mutual funds and insurance companies are all interested. The privatized prison is leased from the state authority, which issues bonds through private underwriters such as Goldman Sachs, Merrill Lynch, and Prudential.

A few of the many: Criminal Injustice, Confronting the Prison Crisis, 1996, edited by Elihu Rosenblat with articles written by and through the leadership of Karlene Faith, Laura Whitehorn, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Sabina Virgo, Little Rock Reed, Judy Greenspan, Mike Davis, Nancy Kurshan, Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Julie Browne and Jose Lopez. THIS BOOK IS A MUST!; Prison Activist Resource Center, PARC, P.O. Box 339 Berkeley, CA 94701, 510-845-8813; Critical Resistance, Beyond the Prison Industrial Complex; Bill Dunne #10916-086 / F-D-5, U.S. Penitentiary P.O. Box 1000 Marion II 62959; Workin For the Man, By Reese Erlich; The Cold War of the 90's, Prison News Service; Privatizing the Prison System, National Center for Policy Analysis; Patti DeRosa; Revolutionary Worker's interview with Luis Talamantez, August 16, 1998; The writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal; Making the Connections by Daniel Buford. INSPIRATION PROVIDED BY: Dorsey Nunn; Ella Baker Center for Human Rights; The Challenging White Supremacy Workshop; Bay Area Police Watch; The Third Eye Movement; Women Against Rape; Project Quixote; Prison Radio; AND THE ENTIRE ^!@%* UP SITUATION!*



The word diversity seems to be everywhere these days, in workplaces, the media, and in education. But a striking feature of the diversity avalanche is how rarely words like racism and oppression are used. Here are the five models from which we now operate:

- The Legal Compliance Approach is to assure compliance with anti-discrimination laws through the monitoring, recruitment, hiring, and promotional procedures affecting women and people of color. The hidden agenda is the avoidance of costly discrimination lawsuits.
- The Managing Diversity Approach goes to the fact that in order to survive and thrive in the 21st century, businesses must tap into the diverse labor pool and customer base. It implies that if diversity isn't managed, it will somehow get out of control. Much emphasis is placed on seeing diversity as a "business issue" rather than a legal, political, or moral issue
- The Prejudice Reduction Approach relies heavily on activities that promote emotional release. Sharing personal stories about how you were hurt by prejudice, exchanging painful lessons about stereotyping, handholding and crying. The emphasis is on prejudice, not necessarily institutional oppression. The focusing on personal hurt may obscure the very real differences in power and experience of the dominant group vs. the oppressed.

- The Valuing Differences Approach is the recognition of individual uniqueness with simultaneous acknowledgment of differences based on group identities. Race ends up being defined as something people of color have (but not white people).

The Anti-Racism Approach is activism in focus and firmly rooted in the struggles of the civil rights movement. It is based on an understanding of the history of racism in the United States and explicitly emphasizes the distinctions between personal prejudice and institutional racism. Its focuses on the total restructuring of power relations in society. Its desired outcome is a world free of racist oppression.

"White" means to have access to certain forms of preferential treatment, and the exemption from racial oppression solely on the basis of European ancestry and "white" skin. Thus, the concepts of "white people" and "white privilege" share the same historical and institutional roots. Both terms are artificial, historical constructions to serve political purposes: creating separations among oppressed peoples on the basis of skin color and ancestral origin so they will not unite against a common oppressor.

Under the misleadership of the white supremacist system: over five million of us are homeless; 37 million of us have no health insurance; 30 million of us are illiterate; 30 million more are functionally illiterate; almost two million of us are in prison; and 30% of children live in poverty. What about the environmental statistics? When will we discover half the oceans are polluted? Three-fourths of the species destroyed? Rainforests, trees... GONE!

In China there is a saying that the beginning of wisdom is calling things by their right names. Cutting social service systems is cutting

life support systems. And people die. If anyone of us went into a hospital and disconnected a life support system, it would be called murder. But in society when politicians and business interests cut social services, people die, and it is called fiscal responsibility.

White culture perpetuates the ideology that people of color are morally and mentally inferior. White people can't imagine people of color being more or equally qualified than they, for positions they achieved mostly if not totally through white privilege. The majority of whites fear losing any form of political, economic, political, cultural power and privilege. The expression of these fears has been historically lethal for people of color. In fact, white mob violence has been a staple of white culture throughout United States history. The fear of African American men is a racially manipulated emotion that has held white people captive to the white supremacy system since the colonial era. Other whites fear African Americans, treating them as they have treated African Americans. **There is no historical justification for this fear. It is racially manipulated. A lie!**

Most of us don't feel safe, or valued. Most of us are afraid - but we don't talk about it. We don't trust each other. We don't feel powerful. For most of us, the world we live in is out of control and threatening. It is not written anywhere that it has to be this way. But if we want it to change, we have to change it. We have waited hundreds of years for the people in power to change it, and they haven't and they won't, because they created it and it serves them. African American people have been speaking and living this nightmare since this countries inception. White people need to take up their causes now. One very important way is to evaluate your work. Take a hard look at what you do and whom you are working for and what are the results of your labors?. Is your company discriminating; polluting the environment; are its products over packaged and over produced

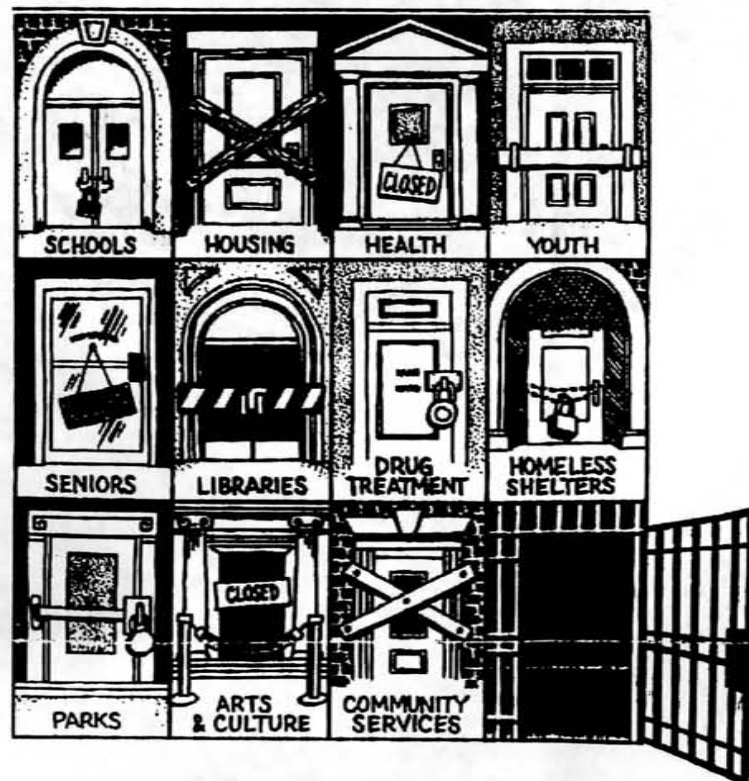
compared to its value? Are you part of the problem? Change your actions, work and attitude and be part of the solution!

So the question is how to become more than a witness to this crime. The question before us is how to paint a new, beautiful painting. How to build a powerful, caring movement for change. An independent movement, which can challenge power and win. A movement with a concrete plan, for employment, education, housing, and the environment. A concrete plan to deal with racism, sexism, addiction and pollution. So we would know what tomorrow could look like, and would have an idea of how we could get there, and how we would pay for it. The time seems right for it. We need to take time to talk. We can't wage a piecemeal attack on a giant. Free the 60% - 80% of non-violent prisoners and give them 40 acres and a mule (and a computer). We are striving for a society in which prisons would not be needed or justified. In order to counter the institutions that devalue and destroy the human spirit, we must organize and agitate on every level, and in every area! **INCREMENTAL CHANGES TO THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX WON'T WORK. IT MUST BE ABOLISHED!**



Acknowledgement And Thank You

To All Caged Sisters And Brothers Of All Colors Of The Rainbow, Don't Give Up ! To The Thousands Of Prisoners And People On The Outside Doing THE WORK. People Of True Merit, Selfless and Tireless, Working To Create A Better World For Everyone.



LOCKED IN THE CYCLE



TIME TO BUST OUT!