

Nancy



Graphic: Attica prisoners force the state of New York to listen.

-Attica News Service

**The
HIDDEN
WAR**

A preliminary report: Laws-Courts-Prisons

By Prison Information Committee

FROM THE PRISON INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Dear Friends-

We want to say a bit more to people who will be reading "The Hidden War" than we included in our introduction.

We know that our paper is far from complete. Many things are left out or barely touched in passing. Some of these are very important. There should be more material and analysis about women in prison and other institutions, and by women doing that work. Gay oppression and the experience of gays with the "criminal justice" system is also lacking from the paper. There needs to be a whole examination of the civil courts; and an examination of the legal caste, (Elite law schools, the judges and prosecutors, the corporation lawyers, the lawyer politicians), as well as of lawyers who reject the traditional professional roles & seek to assist people victimized by the oppressive legal system. There's the entire area of military "justice" and G.I. resistance; we also need thorough criticism and evaluation of resistance and defense strategy & organization, of the Prisoners Movement and the quality of support it gets and so on.

We regret that we are not yet able, or, in some cases, not able at all to meet these needs. However, there is a qualification- we have no intention to try to do it all even if we could. And we don't aim at a do-it-yourself kit in ten easy steps. Given some basic understanding and the main facts- we believe there are plenty of people to work out what is still missing. We do believe that we are helping supply some of the tools and information needed.

Criticisms and material are requested and we intend to continue " publishing and working according to our capacity and the need.

We ask your donations of \$1.00 from those who wish to help us circulate our paper and publish it with improvements and additions.

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Yours in struggle,

P. I. C.

THE HIDDEN WAR

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is about a disguised war. A hidden war that is 'legally' covered by the machinery of law and law enforcement: courts, prisons, the role of police etc. Taken together these are the means by which the government controls people by direct and indirect use of force and violence. Law professors, and Judges falsely call these institutions 'our system of criminal justice.'

This paper is a report on work still going on. We make a preliminary report because this is an urgent matter. We, like others, are concerned about the effects of arrests, convictions, confinement, parole, probation, and the whole reactionary play on 'law and order.' We see that the system does not 'cure' either 'crime' or 'criminals'. We see it functioning to destroy human beings; that it feeds on and multiplies oppression, exploitation, racism, sexism, cruelty, inhumanity. We see the failure of all attempts at reform.

We find ourselves in much more than the usual social crisis that all of us have to deal with as a matter of course. We see a whole series of unsolved social, cultural and political problems; some of them already exploding. We are caught up in an overall situation, taking things one at a time is no longer possible.

There is a process of growth and there is also a process of decay. The US has a 300 year history and pre-history of territorial, military, economic, and political expansion of its size and power. Expansion within the continents of the Americas and elsewhere in the world. That expansion rested upon a process of growth that is malignant and cancerous at the core, with its own eventual decay built in from the beginning.

For the expansions and oppressions of empire building bring their own resistances and counter-actions. World Wars for domination lead to revolutions and wars of liberation. Ultimately, aggressive attempts to dominate arrive at defeat, defeat for US power, but victory for the people, as in Vietnam. And right after, marching in quick time, Watergate, inflation, food crises, energy crisis, confrontations in the Middle East, economic crisis, and the disasters of unemployment.

Crisis touches our lives at many points; chaos spreads, there is universal fear and uncertainty. Security seems to be an unreal memory from past times. (Law and Order mongers play on this.)

These events are showing us that the forces of 300 years of US expansion are definitely running out of gas and are being thrown back. Things can never be the same again. We are at the turning point of a centuries long process.

We see this generation as one that is making an overall choice. We join in a new unity of class and social forces that will complete the present process of destroying empire and aggression and oppression and class exploitation--or--by vainly trying to hang on to some old illusions, we will just prolong and terribly increase the human costs that have to be ploughed into every worthwhile change. The futility and disaster of Ford and Company trying to hang on in Phnom Penh and Saigon is an example of how they try to force us to accept their choice. But our choice is to carry on with social revolution, not to go down with the die-hards.

This means that we must analyze the 'system of criminal justice' as a chief domestic prop of class exploitation and empire. Such an analysis must be both structural and historical.

We have to show the reality of a class power state behind the illusions of a 'government of laws, not men,' and of a 'government that represents all of the people.' We have to show how 'rehabilitation' can't work under this system, why prisons can't be reformed; why punishment does not 'deter' crime; we have to know how to fight to survive as we build power to overthrow the old and make the new.

And for this we want to learn from the courage and determination of the struggles of the sisters and brothers of the prisoners movement. We want to find better ways to support them and do better work in our own communities and support each other better.

We also want to learn from revolutionary countries like China and Cuba how people move toward revolutionary and human solutions of conflicts within the community and how to resolve hostile or unsocial conduct and attitudes.

We live in a capitalist society. One class of people owns and controls the means of production and life and does not work. Another class of people perform the work, supply the labor, upon which society, all our lives depend. The first class exploits and oppresses the second.

When one class exploits and oppresses another that is larger and stronger than itself, there has to be some way of controlling the basic population. Those who do not work rule over those who do. The means of control is the state (government). Lenin gives this definition of the state and legal institutions. Lenin says: "History shows that the state as a special apparatus for coercing people arose only wherever and whenever there appeared a division of society into classes, that is, a division into groups of people, some of whom are permanently in a position to appropriate the labor of others, where some people exploit others." (The State, Peking, pamphlet, pp 7-8). Further on, Lenin says: "It is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part of society without a permanent apparatus of coercion" (Ibid., p 12).

The foundation of the domestic controls of the state is the legal system. The laws and the courts rationalize and "justify" the overt system of violence employed by the state, their armies and police forces, and their prisons and their keepers.

Capitalism requires a large-scale pool of cheap labor, to be hired and exploited when there is an expanding economic cycle. The pool of unemployed helps keep the workers "in line", due to the fear of being fired or replaced. This also helps in keeping wages down. Workers are left to poverty and starvation during "depressions" while industrialists and bankers talk of "declining profits" over prime rib and lobster. But workers resist, they lash out, individually and collectively against their oppressors.

The contradictions also exist for workers who have jobs. Most get the lowest wages which the employer can pay; they work at the hours demanded by the employer. They also see a profit being made by the employer, a profit derived from the difference between the wages paid to the worker and the value added by the workers labor. They see price increases, in the name of profits, shrinking their already low wages. The workers make demands upon the capitalist class--demands for survival, for a living wage--and eventually they will demand control of the means of production. The oppressors strike back, contain, control.

At times, capitalists wage open warfare against the working classes (the military actions of the '60's, the armed responses to the General Strike in SF and the Republic Steel Strike in Chicago in the Depression of the '30s, the use of US troops to defeat the Pullman Strike in the 1880s). At other times, more subtle means of oppression involve the use of one or more agencies of the "legal" apparatus of the state, and the systems of education and propaganda also employed by the state.

Laws are created both in legislatures and in the courts. The class basis of legislative law making can be clearly seen in the nickname "The Senator from Boeing" (Henry "Scoop" Jackson). The class basis of the members of the Supreme Courts can be seen clearly when it is pointed out that in the forty year period from 1870 to 1910, over half of the US Supreme Court came from railroad business or legal departments. More recently, the "liberal" appointees to the Supreme Court by Lyndon Johnson, Goldberg and Fortas, were both members of major corporate law firms. During the early days of trade union organizing unions were outlawed as such, or where legislatures could not act so crudely, they provided the police and courts with laws against criminal syndicalism and conspiracy. The justification given by legislators and courts was the defense of property-- of course, the property was that of the rich. This class basis of law is reflected in the laws on theft. One may be punished for stealing from a bank at gunpoint to feed a family. But is not inflation legal pickpocketing? Is it not theft when the worker is paid starvation wages so that the boss may enlarge his wealth and increase his holdings?

The laws are the laws of the bourgeoisie, whether they come from legislatures or the courts.

It is the ruling class which puts up "candidates" for office, which nominates judges to the bench. It is the same with the enforcement of laws by the police. The institution of municipal police on patrol did not come into existence until the middle of the last century. The nickname for the London Metropolitan Police, "Bobbies", is a reference to their creator, Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of Great Britain who established the patrols during his administration. The police departments were formed to control the masses of workers who

lived in the slums near the factories, slums which were formed to house the pool of cheap labor required by the rising industrial capitalism. Police perform the function today, where the heaviest patrols are still found in the neighborhoods where the lowest-scale workers and unemployed live. The police are there to perform the function today of an occupation "army" of the ruling class, to enforce the laws of the ruling class.

The woman who is forced to the streets in order to support herself and her family is arrested as a prostitute and jailed. The woman who defends herself against rape is brought to court and charged with assault. There is no reference to, no concern for the material conditions of her existence which forces her to the streets, or to defend herself from sexual attack. The young person who is unable to get a job, who must steal \$70.00 from a merchant to feed a family is jailed as a "common thief", or is shot on the spot, without reference to the conditions which forced the decision to steal in order to survive. There is also the junkie, the alcoholic, the small time dealer who is arrested for taking refuge from the oppression which has stalked them from birth. But when is the major drug importer arrested? And what happens to those who try to rid the community from pushers? One need only look to the Los Tres Case for the answer.

In addition, modern capitalism has become a world system. Modern imperialism became a system of colonizing and exploiting whole continents and hundreds of millions of people. North and South America, Africa and Asia, were largely divided up among European and North American "Spheres of influence" with Japan trying to take over large parts of Korea, China and Southeast Asia in later decades, from 1900 to World War II.

Historically, the foundation of US capitalism and 'democracy' was based upon the military conquest and seizure of lands of the Red Indians and upon an economy based on slavery and the notorious slave trade which supplied it with labor. These initial conquests and seizures were later supplemented by lands and labor seized in war with Mexico and occupation of the whole continent up to the Pacific ocean. Still later, zones of influence were staked out by the Monroe doctrine and Puerto Rico and the Philippines were seized outright with Cuba made a protectorate. World War I expanded the role of the US as a world power and after World War II, with the US exempt from general destruction, it developed full scale imperialism with all its supporting institutions. Which means that white supremacy, US arrogance, and male supremacy, which underly the racism, chauvinism and sexism that saturate US attitudes, also became fully institutionalized socially and culturally. As a result the US laws and courts, the police and prisons, are not only class institutions, they are specifically the protectors of all the interests of US empire and its power, both externally and internally.

Externally, the imperialist thrust of US power is clear, from the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 to the CIA-IIT overthrow of Allende in 1973; from the maintenance of the Marcos, Chiang Kai-Shek and Pak Chung Hee regimes in Asia to the White Supremacist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. Domestically, a statistical breakdown of prison populations would show the imperialism of institutionalized white supremacy over the Black nation, and over the many distinct peoples and national groups incorporated within the political borders of the present US of A.

While the Black nation comprises only 11% of the total population of the US, 40% of the prison population of the US is reported Black. (LEAA figures, probably understated) The figure for California is 30%. There are also another 20% of Chicano and other Latinos. Giving 50% non Anglo. Since in many northern states, NY, and Illinois etc, figures go to 60-70% Black and Spanish speaking, and the Southern states run about 95% Black, the true national average is likely greater than 40%. And all this of course means that the population in prison is overwhelmingly poor and working class.) Consider all this in the light of the following: A study of 1,700 New Yorkers weighted toward the upper income brackets, who had never been arrested for anything, and who were guaranteed anonymity, revealed that 91% had committed at least one felony or serious misdemeanor. The mean number of offenses per person was 1.8. 64% of the men and 27% of the women had committed at least one felony, for which they could have been sent to the state penitentiary. 13% of men admitted grand larceny, 26% car stealing, 17% burglary. (Quoted from Jessica Mitford, Kind and Unusual Punishment. p 57.)

The laws, the courts, the police, the prisons all are enforcers of imperialism, white supremacy, US arrogance, genocide, and male supremacy. They are saturated from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to the newest rookie cop or guard with racism, chauvinism, sexism.

At the trial court, the attack continues. The one institution which at times allows for the direct participation of part of the masses in the system of "criminal justice", the jury, is under constant attack. Age, class, occupation, sex, nation or race, are all factors which determine whether one becomes a juror. The Chief Justice, under the slogan "Judicial efficiency", has recommended the elimination of the jury in many types of cases, and reduction in the size of juries for many other cases. Elsewhere, less than unanimity is required for a conviction. Indictments are handed down by grand juries composed of a cross section of certified loyal supporters of the ruling class. Judges have the power to determine the 'relevance' of evidence, and to exclude evidence favorable to the poor and oppressed. Judges and prosecutors combine to impose plea-bargaining and threaten heavier sentences upon those who refuse to bargain. Conviction and imprisonment is almost automatic for the oppressed.

Prisons are the last stage in the cycle of "legal" application of force and violence to the problem of suppression and control of the population for the benefit of the ruling class. Those who do not stay within the acceptable standards of conduct are locked up. Those who act and teach against systematic oppression of the workers by the bourgeoisie are buried alive. Those who have fought starvation by "breaking the law" are isolated from their communities. Those who resist the genocidal application of white supremacy are brutalized.

Prison populations increase during hard times. Men and women who "step out of line" interfere with the pacification of the vast labor pool who are unemployed; they interfere with the suppression of oppressed peoples who seek liberation and human dignity. To steal from the bourgeoisie for survival, to point out the contradictions by actions or words, seriously threatens the interests of the ruling class. Those who threaten capitalist "law and order" must be isolated and silenced.

The courts appear to stand above society, dispensing noble, wise Solomon-like justice to resolve disputes between people impartially, whether the people are of the upper or lower classes, rather than in their true class power functions. So the prisons also appear to stand below society, dealing with its dregs. Protestors, deviants, maladjusted, violence prone, scum, disadvantaged, uneducated, wayward, unqualified, psychopathic, weak sexual deviants and feeble-minded, ignorant, stupid, less than human, lumpen proletariat, brutes, and animals: What sneer too vile to apply to the "criminal class"?

And all of this is pushed to the utmost; to justify the state and official society as the pillars of the law and order and the protectors of the people against their own young, who come to be the special victims of capitalist degradation and who resist that degradation.

As a result, the prisons are pressure cookers for concentrated brutality, hatred, racism, sexism, male macho action and the imagery of brutality and violence. From the prison guards and the administrators come the brutality, racism, sexism, and the prisoners respond in the same way. Furthermore, there are always tensions, arising from racism and white cultural arrogance, between Black, Chicano, and white prisoners. These conflicts are intensified by close confinement and intolerable conditions. Keepers and guards then push the tensions to the breaking-point by their own super racist and sexist conditioning designed to enforce a strategy of divide and conquer.

Nevertheless, due to the growth of liberation struggles by the oppressed and Third World peoples, and the anti-racism and anti-imperialist movements, and the growth of revolutionary consciousness among all peoples, this scene has begun to change. There are now political prisoners on a large scale, and a powerful prison movement has arisen.

The system responds to resistance and demands for improvements by shooting prisoners in mass, by total lockdowns, and by circus trials; and by devising a new overall counterinsurgency strategy.

There is special oppression of women, the dual oppression of working-class women, and the triple oppression of the women of the Third World, of the oppressed nation, and of the oppressed national minorities. At one point in the past, women offenders were treated much as were male ones. With the advent of various "prison reforms", women prisoners began to be physically separated from male ones and their families. There seems to be a trend back to treating women as seriously as men in the "criminal justice system", today. Women who end up in prison are seen as 'really bad' because of the sexist ideology that has women as passive, pure, unaggressive, and not to be taken seriously. In times of crisis more and more women are locked up for "heavy crime": robbery, murder, etc. With the rise of the women's liberation movement there are increasing numbers of women with revolutionary and political consciousness coming into contact with "criminal justice". In addition, a selective arrest and conviction policy was developed to emphasize the role of "woman's place is in the home" and to reinforce the sexist concepts of, "women are less violent, more loving, etc."

The crimes against women are another whole special category. Rape, first primarily a crime of ruling class oppression of poor and slave women, a crime of class, race, and sex in one package, later became a charge used to repress and control the freed Black slaves in the South primarily, but also throughout the whole of the political and territorial boundaries of the US. The other side of this coin is the myth of pure white southern womanhood- a mere decorative symbol to be protected by white lynch mobs (southern gentlemen).

Male violence against women likewise was socially and legally protected. Wives could not testify against husbands who beat them and sexually abused them. Children had no protection, young women and girls were deprived of education and employment and professional opportunity. Women could not vote or hold office. The laws controlling inheritance and ownership of property deprived women of economic rights and power. At present, many of the forms of oppression have changed as a result of women's struggles, however, the sexist oppression and male supremacy remain in different levels and different forms. We believe that due to the present crisis the ruling class culture 'shapers' may return to the German dictum: that a woman's place is in the kitchen, nursery, and church once more.

All the points made above about the true nature of the state and its legal institutions have been confused by the representatives of bourgeoisie science, philosophy, legal philosophy, sociology, political economy, and journalism. The various justifications of "criminal law" enforcement and punishment are ample evidence of such falsification. Working class, scientific analysis of the state and its institutions must expose its true nature.

Before going on to some important aspects of the present struggles, and the plans and strategies of the federal, state, and local authorities, we will make a brief summary of the historical background of the class analysis of the state and its legal institutions.

The idea of the state with its laws and special armed bodies as power institutions of the ruling class of society did not begin with Karl Marx or other revolutionaries.

As early as the slavery based system of the Greek city states in the last century before Christ, the role of the state was already quite clear. 90,000 citizens of Athens ruled and lived on the labor of 365,000 slaves. (These slaves were mostly foreigners. However, in Sparta slaves were captured Greeks.) The city-state democracies of ancient Greece were for free citizens only and male supremacy was already institutionalized.

Naturally enough, Greek philosophy followed that reality. Aristotle held that there is a naturally servile class, "possessing only a small share of reason, enough only to render obedience to the developed reason of others." (Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle, E. Barber, NY.)

These beliefs served the slave-owners and the other free Greeks as a "moral" justification for the exploitative and oppressive nature of their system. Such ideas also served to explain the need and functions of the historically new Greek state with its police, its army and fleet; these forcibly controlled the slaves and the lower ranks of the citizens and the free foreigners. (At this time, slavery as a system, and the Greek state had been growing up together for only a few centuries.)

Moreover, the roles of exploiter and exploited were held to be rooted in human nature (though not at this time distinguished by race, but only by the fact of conquest, or by birth into slavery). Therefore, the minority that lived on the labor of the slaves could also hope that their system would prove to be universal and eternal.

These self-deceptions of the slave-owning Greeks are recorded in the ruins of Greek and Roman civilization. They are also reflected in the less confident self-assurances of the most up-to-date and 'scientific' judges, wardens, jail keepers and cops of our own times.

Far from being self-perpetuating, the ancient slave system contained the seeds of its own destruction. Frederick Engels put it this way:

There were therefore at least eighteen slaves and more than two protected persons to every adult male citizen. The reason for the large number of slaves was that many of them worked together in manufactories, in large rooms, under overseers. But with the development of commerce and industry, wealth was accumulated and concentrated in a few hands, and the mass of the free citizens were impoverished. Their only alternatives were to compete against slave labor with their own labor as handicraftsmen, which was considered base and vulgar and also offered very little prospect of success, or to become social scrap. Necessarily, in the circumstances, they did the latter, and as they formed the majority, they thereby brought about the downfall of the whole Athenian state. The downfall of Athens was not caused by democracy, as the European lickspittle historians assert to flatter their princes, but by slavery, which banned the labor of free citizens. (F. Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, International Pub. NY.)

Eventually, after the ruin of the Roman slave empire, the feudal system was gradually built up in Europe. Slave economy and empire had already destroyed tribal and communal economy. Following the destruction of the great slave latifundia (plantations) small self-sufficient peasant land holdings became the main form of the basic economic activity--agriculture.

In the chaos of the times, the more or less independent peasants grouped about the larger land holders, the nobles and kings who had grown up out of the patriarchal elders and chiefs of the former tribes. What they desired was armed protection by the retainers of these nobles.

But there was a heavy price: feudal dues. The peasant and his family were reduced to serfs, tied to the land and owing labor and/or a share of the products of the land and owing allegiance to nobles who in turn owed allegiance and service to bigger lords and bigger landowners, earls, dukes, princes, kings, ultimately emperors.

The material base of feudal relations starts with a need for protection. As it became more and more exploitive and oppressive and hereditary, there was a need for greater social and cultural controls. These were provided mainly by the growth of the Christian religion and the Church as an integral part of the state with deep roots in the economy as well.

The princes of the church were not only religious authorities, but most often they were wealthy land owners as well, who in addition disposed of the labor of monks and nuns as well as serfs attached to their own holdings.

For some centuries this system remained de-centralized and unstable. The map of Europe and the allegiance of nobles and princes shifted constantly. So did the power of the popes.

Culturally, resistance took the forms of adherence to classic arts and to ancient religions, that is, witchcraft (healing, medicine, the female principle), heresy, and opposition to the decrees of the popes--even to defiance of the Holy Inquisition when the penalty was martyrdom--burning at the stake. Eventually, there were rival popes and break-away national Churches (Anglican in England) and the protestant movement, the reformation (Luther in Germany, Calvin in Switzerland, Puritans and Cromwell in Britain).

With the rise of merchant capital and manufacture and the great trading cities, Genoa, Marseilles, Barcellona, London, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, there came a process of national consolidation; the gradual breaking of the power of great regional lords and local feudal barriers to trade. Strong national kings commanding large national armies and navies came to power. But reform and centralization was not enough.

Commerce and manufacture needed freedom to expand and needed science to develop navigation and technology. They needed labor and national markets from the country side and commercial crops too. Such needs are the source of the movement expressed in the revival of Greek and Roman classic thought and art (the renaissance) and on to modern bourgeois social ideas. At first these new ideas were radical in content, socially, but conservative in political form. The early bourgeois rationalists; mainly chose to challenge the aristocracy and church cautiously and indirectly.

Here are some sample definitions of the nature of state power at this stage (before the day of the more radical thought of the US and the French revolutions two centuries ago): In 17th century England, James Harrington wrote:

That riches are power (as ancient as the first book of Thucydides or the politics of Aristotle). The Perogative of Popular Power. p.249

And

All government is interest and the pre-determined interest (i.e. class, ed.) gives the matter and foundations of the Government.--A System of Politics p.498

From France:

The princes command the people and the interest commands the princes.

--Memoirs of the Duke De Rohan

Again in England the materialist minded monarchist, Thomas Hobbes published a conservative social contract theory; in which he not only argues for the right of those in power to absolute authority, but applies this directly in his theory of punishment:

And this is the foundation of that right of punishing, which is exercised in every commonwealth. For the subjects did not give the sovereign that right; but only in laying down theirs, strengthened him to use his own, as he should see fit, for the preservation of them all; so that it was not given, but left to him and to him only; and... as entire as in the condition of mere nature, and a war of everyone against his neighbor.

Leviathon, (1651)

French kings put it more simply: "I am the state " and "After me the Deluge."

In England Thomas Carlyle to the offending classes:

Mark it my Diabolic friends. I mean to lay leather on the backs of you, collars round the necks of you; and will teach you...that the world is not your inheritance nor glad to see you in it...Collected Works, Vol.19 p.102, London

Shortly after the USA was founded 200 years ago, some members of the ruling class still spoke their minds freely. This is from Alexander Hamilton:

The ancient democracies in which the people themselves deliberated, never possessed one feature of good government...when they assembled, the field of debate presented an ungovernable mob--not only incapable of deliberation, but prepared for every enormity...Debates on the Federal constitution--ed.

Jonathon Elliot--Vol 2.p.253

And John Adams:

"The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence."

The constitution of the US as adopted excluded slaves and and Indians, and women from its protection. The original states required property qualifications for voting or holding office and barred women from both. The 13th Amendment, which forbids involuntary servitude still allows it as a punishment for those convicted of crime. In short, the law expresses and enforces existing, class, property, sex, and social relationships. The state does not express the will of all the people, but that of the class holding power.

But here, in the British colonies of North America something new appears, something that shortly turns up in the French revolution also. Merchants, and manufacturers, and in North America, rebellious plantation owners and landlords too, are numerically a very small class. They could not win by themselves. They needed

the support of the masses of peasants, small farmers, the sailors and carters and factory hands and small craftsmen, guild members and apprentices. So merchants and owners conceded reforms and rights to these masses. Cheap land for farming (or breaking up the great estates in the case of France) and rights, that is freedom from many forms of feudal oppression and abuse.

This North American revolution of 1776 was carried out by a 'very uneasy alliance of three main groups. The conservatives who were or who represented big planters and land speculators and really preferred monarchy, for the most part (A. Hamilton, G. Washington, G. Morris, J. Wilson, Edw. Rutledge); the moderates who wanted strong federal government but were prepared to accept a democratic-republic and make other concessions to be sure of mass support (T. Jefferson, J. Madison, J. Monroe, Gov. Clinton of NY, and in a weird class all his own P. Henry); finally, the radicals, T. Paine, Sam Adams, T. Matlack, the Sons of Liberty, the Committees of Correspondence (the alternative media of their day), the Green Mountain Boys and Minute Men. The radicals wanted land, local control, rights and no strong central government. During the war they were joined by many Blacks as G. Washington was forced to reverse himself and recruit slaves and freed men in order to win. Such Indians, as fought, fought with the British as the Colonists had long since betrayed the friendship of the Indians in favor of Genocide and land stealing.

The US constitution and its first ten amendments is simply the legal reflection of the compromises reached after 10 years of struggle when the bill of rights was adopted by the states between 1788 and 1790.

The myth of a lot of wise "founding fathers" handing down a miracle of statesmanship that assures freedom for all Americans, and a government for, of, and by the people, as A. Lincoln put it, simply never happened. The concessions have always had some survival value, especially for US born favored whites. Their main social function has been to create a lot of illusions and wrong ideas about the benevolence of the US system and government among those same relatively better-off parts of the population. These rights are worth exactly as much as the people themselves have the power to enforce. The real power remains with the dominant economic class, the capitalists; their power is further concentrated in the hands of the Multi-national corporations, as of the present.

The practical result of all this control in terms of law and courts may as well be illustrated by an example from England, the source of much of the US legal forms and practice. Frederick Engels describes 19th century English procedures this way:

When a rich man is summoned--or rather invited--into court, the judge expresses regret that the rich man had to . inconvenience himself and tries in every way to turn the matter to the rich man's advantage; and if he must, despite everything, condemn him, he again expresses his infinite regret, and so on. But if some one of the poor has to stand before that judge, he nearly always has to spend the preceding night in jail with a mass of others like himself; he is looked upon as guilty from the very beginning. He is shouted at all his efforts to justify himself are met by a contemptuous, "Oh! we know these excuses..." And the police are the same as the judges. No matter what the bourgeois had done, the police are always civil to him and keep strictly to the statutes. To the proletariat they behave coarsely and cruelly... Marx and Engels
Russian ed. vol. III p.558.

As to the US of the 20th century, (already the age of imperialism, war, and revolutions) Lenin describes the situation this way:

Nowhere else is the power of capital--of a handful of millionaires over all society manifested so crudely, with such open venality, as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates all society. Nor does any democratic republic, or right to vote, change the essence of the matter... Lenin==
Russian ed. vol. XXIV p.365.

And as to crime, Marx holds that like law and legislation, it arises from existing social relationships:

The origin of crime--the struggle of the isolated individual against dominant relationships--like the origin of law, is not purely arbitrary. On the contrary, crime is rooted in the same conditions as is the governing power existing at the time... Marx and Engels, vol IV p.311

To bring it home and to our times, George Jackson wrote:

The purpose of the chief repressive institutions within the totalitarian capitalist state is clearly to discourage and prohibit certain activity, and the prohibitions are aimed at every distinctly defined sectors of the class and race-sensitized society. The ultimate expression of law is not order--it's prison. There are hundreds upon hundreds of prisons, and thousands upon thousands of laws, yet there is no social order, no social peace. Anglo Saxon bourgeois law protects property relations and not social relations...the law and everything that interlocks with it was constructed for poor, desperate people like me. Blood in My Eye p.85

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Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can disregard them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle from the outset. It is the creation of a closed society which attempts to isolate those individuals who disregard the structures of a hypocritical establishment as well as those who attempt to challenge it on a mass base. Throughout its history, the United States has used its prisons to suppress any organized efforts to challenge its legitimacy...Blood in My Eye p.90

To quote something still meaningful from our early history:-

THE DOCTRINE OF NON RESISTANCE AGAINST ARBITRARY POWER, AND OPPRESSION IS ABSURD, SLAVISH, AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE GOOD AND HAPPINESS OF MANKIND.
(New Hampshire Constitution as adopted in 1784)

SECTION IV

The 1st, 4th, 5th, and 8th Bill of Rights amendments to the US Constitution, as well as the 13th and 14th amendments are a result of the struggle by the people for these 'rights'. For over 650 years, people in Europe and the US did fight and die and persist in struggle for these 'rights'. People went to prison; died in disgrace and in horror; and were burned at the stake in these struggles for basic human rights which were never willingly granted by those aristocracies, property owners, or christian hierarchies that held power. People fought for their beliefs, and their friends and associates and refused to sell out to the ruling powers in order to buy their own lives. It is out of these struggles, this living history of the past 500 years, that the human and "democratic" rights that certain sections of the population 'have' today, originated. In Salem, Massachusetts in 1692, 19 people most of them women were hanged as witches. They were innocent and none of them confessed. Fifty men and women who did confess were not executed; the price the rulers of the time exacted for the lives of these 50 was the sending to death of others accused of the crime.

Forced testimony is false testimony, especially when the only 'crime' involved is a class crime - a challenge to the total authority of the oppressive class jealous of its power. In difficult times, heresy, sedition, disloyalty, witchery become the greatest crimes. Having centuries of experience with oppression, people feared a strong central government and insisted on curbing the powers of both the Congress and the Executive by adding on the Bill of Rights. For example, during that time the people of New Hampshire 4 times voted down proposed state constitutions that did not have strong enough Bills of Rights. The Constitution and Bill of Rights which have generated much of the whole 'criminal justice' system, and been the focus of so much struggle in our history are not mystical documents, or symbols of the triumph of human ideals. They were the product of a compromise between men of wealth: planters, and slaveowners; and men of less wealth (small farmers, workers) who were opposed to strong federal government. They are an assertion of people's rights and a conscious attempt to limit state power. It is not accidental that the Bill of Rights is full of phrases like: "The accused shall enjoy the right"...., "Congress shall make no law....," "No person shall....," "No soldier shall....,". Because they are products of compromise they do not fully express the best accomplishments of the past. Nor can they eliminate the conflict of groups and classes that have contrary and contradictory interests.

For long years Black slaves were not recognized as people and only later as 3/5th of a person; Red Indians, Women and Children did not have even formal rights. This expressed adualism from the start in the early US social system, a gap between the idea of natural and equal rights on the one side and class, sex, and age oppression, slavery and genocide in deeds on the other. Such a basic contradiction remains to this time. The most important rights won through struggle are seldom enforced by the state. Class and oppressive government always tries to whittle away and nullify whatever rights the people have gained over the years; especially when some crisis of power blows up.

From the start the rights of early America were for the property owners, the freeborn English and their offspring, the small farmer and trader and highly skilled

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at best. While this paper is not focused as a labor history it is important to register the fact that in early days labor organizations were outlawed and had to organize as fraternal groups (Ancient Order of Hibernians, the "Molly Maguires"). Strikes happened and were met by the state with violence, injunctions and anti riot measures. Exclusiveness and selectivity of these rights has to be underscored because only by recovering that buried side of our history can we uncover the roots of the fight that still goes on and the victory still to be won.

In the Middle Ages, burning at the stake, boiling in oil, beheading, breaking on the wheel, and drawing and quartering were but a few of the methods used by the ruling class in Europe to keep the people down. These practices continued thru the 16th and 17th centuries. Torture was also used to force people to confess or incriminate others as well as a form of punishment. Other common punishments meted out to the people included mutilation (cutting out the tongue, hands, burning out the eyes, and cutting off the ears), branding, flogging, dunking, and such forms of public humiliation as the stocks and pillory. In many instances, obviously, the punishments inflicted were worse than death, and often death itself followed. It was the workers and common people struggling against the cruelty of the state during the time of the rise of manufacture and urbanization in England who finally got the death penalty for shoplifting in the amount of 5 shillings, abolished. At that time in England the number of offenses for which death was the punishment numbered over 350.

In 1632 the first efforts in America to substitute imprisonment for corporal and capital punishment were made. In this year the Massachusetts Bay Colony, built in Boston a wooden prison that existed for the entire colony for 18 years until prisons were erected in other towns. After 1780, the first prison for the entire commonwealth was established on Castle Island in Boston Harbor (1784-85). Courts sentenced men to hard labor for long terms and often life in the fortress prison.

Quaker initiated reforms are responsible for some of the first organized transitions from flat-out corporal/capital punishment to imprisonment. Between 1682 and 1718 the Quakers in Pennsylvania initiated what was, for its time, a more human criminal code. In 1718 it was repealed and a more barbaric one re-instituted. The Quaker reforms did not go very far and were fought by the rich all the way. In 1794 an act was passed which reduced the list of capital crimes to first degree murder and prescribed imprisonment for other offenses. Between 1790 when the prison system was born in Philadelphia to 1828 when N. Y.'s infamous Sing Sing prison was opened the system grew rapidly from North to South, and East to West. By 1823, the Auburn N. Y. system had evolved as one of the major models for prisons. It included solitary confinement, enforced silence, isolation, and exploitation of prisoner labor. These practices represented the calculated institutionalization of the program of humiliation, degradation and oppression that still earmarks the US prison system today. This change was promoted as a great effort at reforming prisoners.

In 1870, the American Correctional Association was founded. Their first order of business was actually a re-statement of the rhetoric of the early 19th century. In their philosophy of US corrections, prisons are for 'rehabilitating' and only secondarily for punishment and keeping 'dangerous criminal' or radical elements of the people off the streets. With much ballyhoo this line came out in the period just following the Civil War. Reconstruction was still making progressive social changes in the South, and the memory of the prison camp atrocities during the war were still fresh in peoples' minds. However, history bears out that this new philosophy has never been practiced for the majority of the population; and has in effect been a propaganda attempt to gloss over the class, racist and population control functions of the 'criminal justice' system.

The risks of being 3rd World in white Amerika, of being trapped in the law enforcement system are high and they get greater at each stage from arrest to imprisonment. Once a person commits a 'crime' he or she becomes subject to a two-pronged attack. He or she becomes a 'police problem' to be dealt with immediately, and often brutally. The war is on in the cities and in the South, wherever poor, 3rd World, unemployed, strikers, youth, etc. are. The police who are the armed organized agents of the state have defined the 'offender' (especially during those times of crisis) as the enemy. The police are the first point of contact with the 'law' for most offenders. The police initiate the relationship between the people and the "criminal justice system". The police are the faithful ambassadors and representatives of the "society" as defined by officialdom. Police often have the decision whether to bring charges; these decisions are usually made racially, culturally, and according to class. This starts the process by which many people are imprisoned sometimes for years for crimes they have not committed. When the two factors of color and crime converge in a racist atmosphere people are conditioned to see color as sufficient reason for suspecting crime.

After arrest the person is taken to the station where he/she is booked. If he has money he/she goes free to wait trial. If he/she cannot raise bail he/she goes to jail. Those who become inmates are predominately Black and Brown, young, unemployed from large cities. Those who become prison guards are overwhelmingly white, middle aged, from small rural towns. When prisons are near army bases the guards are almost all ex-servicemen who find the transition from racism in the military to the racism in prison an easy one to make. 40-60% of the nation's prison inmates are 3rd World, but less than 1% of the prison staffs are, 30% of all inmates are veterans.

The oppressive class and racist nature of the US bail system is widely recognized and documented. The defendant with money can afford to pay bail. He can afford to buy his freedom. But the poorer defendant cannot pay the price. He languishes in jail weeks, months, and sometimes even years before trial. These people do not stay in jail because they are guilty or any more likely to flee before trial. People stay in jail for one reason only; because of poverty. Between corrupt bail bondsmen and judges whose interests lie with the rulers and not with those suffering under the brunt of the system, the person awaiting trial is subjected to the 'criminal justice system'. In most jurisdictions a police agency has control of her/his body; a judicial officer and then a private bail bondsman controls one's liberty; and a prosecuting and defense attorney have control over how long this status will continue. Pretrial detention falls hardest on 3rd World people who have jobs. Not only is their source of income cut off but they often lose their jobs as well.

The next step in this high-stakes game is the determination of guilt or innocence by the court which plays a dual role in the system; it is both a participant in the process and supervisor of its practice. The pseudo-legal practice of plea bargaining, or copping to a lesser offense, facilitate class domination by handing down more convictions. The excuse the courts use for this is "to alleviate the overburdened court calendar, or for financial reasons." Approximately 90% of those convicted for felonies and probably a larger proportion of misdemeanor cases, plead guilty either on their own initiative or as a result of negotiations.

Control of sentencing usually falls upon the trial judge or an Adult Authority appointed by the Governor and is mainly composed of correctional personnel as in California. The sentences are total, arbitrary, and despotic with no appellate review. These officially licensed vultures little know or care of the fate of the person they condemn to long terms or to death in prison. Few judges ever visit prisons or get confined there, few wardens work with defense attorneys, few jurymen know about the internal contradictions of the police. The much publicized indeterminate sentence has been a chief weapon of the courts and prisons in the containment and control of the people.

A 1970 survey conducted for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration showed that nearly half of all jails in cities of 25,000 or more population have no medical facilities. It is almost impossible to find out exactly the total number of jails that exist in the US. For far too many prisoners, the rights to minimum standards of decent food, clothing, shelter and medical care, protection from physical assault and the right not to be punished by torture exists only in words.

There is a theory that is very popular among liberal reformers, administrators, judges, prosecutors, police and others that law breakers are suffering from mental illness. Convicts are labeled 'deviants' discredited as responsible human beings and subjected to humiliating punishments, defined and disguised as treatment. It offers a convenient scientific sounding explanation for the difference between the white middle and upper middle class citizens who administer the justice system and the law breakers and other 'deviants'.

Under the guise of treatment, drugs have become the 'chemical straight-jacket'. Correctional officials in the American prison system have allowed and in some cases promoted (centers to study 'criminal violence' as at UCLA) many forms of cruel and unusual punishment. Among these are: Sensory Deprivation as perfected in the San Quentin Adjustment Center. This means total isolation, permanently darkened cells - the HOLE. Stress Assessment: open dorms, no privacy, slave type labor, baited group therapy sessions. Chemotherapy: the use of drugs (some experimental) as 'behavior modifiers' including Prolixin a powerful central nervous system depressant with sometimes irreversible side effects, and Anectine, a derivative of the South American 'arrow tip poison' curare. When administered in massive amounts it causes the loss of control of all cessation of breathing for a period of approximately 2 minutes. The drug induces sensations of suffocation and drowning as though on the brink of death.

Many drug companies among them Wyeth, Sharp & Dohme, Lederle, Upjohn, Bristol-Myers, Squibb and Merck have huge financial stakes in experimental testing on human subjects. Inmates who are labelled incorrigible are often subject to these tests;

also in prison it is easier to coerce and recruit subjects because prisoners have no money. The experimenters pay about one dollar a day for these painful and risky tests. After World War 2 during the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, Nazi's who ran experiments like these in the concentration camps of the 3rd Reich were sentenced to death.

Many less sophisticated methods of oppression are also used, bribery, extortion, beatings, verbal abuse and threats, race war. All of the crimes committed by all the failed driminal offenders do not equal in total social damage that of the crimes committed against them by the state. --

If an inmate is 'fortunate' enough to be released on parole she/he stands a better than 50% chance of being returned to prison. Not only does the newly paroled convict face staggering difficulties in such rudimentary matters as finding a job, and a place to live; he/she must adjust to an unfamiliar and hostile world after long years in prison. Paroled prisoners live constantly under the shadow of re-imprisonment at the decision of the parole agent. When a convict breaches his/her parole 'contract,' he/she is not charged with a crime in the legal sense of the word. He is charged with the 'deterioration of behavior and attitude' in violation of parole. If he is found guilty of that the Adult Authority automatically resets the sentence at the maximum.

The 13th Amendment states that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the US." The courts in interpreting this have taken the position that the prisoner because of criminality has forfeited virtually all individual rights.. The belief is common that virtually anything can be done with an 'offender' in the name of 'correction'. Courts have, for the most part, refused to intervene claiming that supervision is in the hands of the prison administration: administrators who have shown time and time again their ruling class hatred of the people.

In view of the overwhelming body of evidence, it is clear that compulsory cure or coercive retraining, "rehabilitation", the supposed reason our prisons exist, is not the way to reduce crime, or cure 'deviant' behavior. Increasing numbers of inmates are looking upon the whole Amerikan 'criminal justice system' with the pennitentiary at the end of it, as a weapon of class and race war. Protest behind the walls, when heeded and acted upon by outside agitators and supporters, has historically been the only significant factor in calling public attention to the plight of inmates; and in wresting from prison authorities or the courts any sort of improvement in conditions. The people who have lain down their lives, experienced torture, and incredible sentences have faced the brutal terror of this system in upsurges during the late 1960's and 1970's. In Attica after months and months of peacefully demanding reform the inmates rebelled, shortly after George Jackson's assasination in San Quentin. In their first public statement after taking over the prison they said:

We are MEN! We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. The entire prison population has set forth to change forever the ruthless brutalization and disregard for lives of prisoners both here and throughout the United States. What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed. We will not compromise on any terms except those that are agreeable to us. We call upon all the conscientious citizens of America to assist us in putting an end to this situation that threatens the lives not only of us, but each and every one of us as well. We have set forth demands that will bring closer to reality the demise of these prison institutions that serve no useful purpose to the People of America, but only to those who would enslave and exploit the people of America.

The jails are filthy examples of class 'justice'. Attica means fight back! It should not surprise anyone that in this racist, class society in which we live that the white middle class people fear crime from blacks more than blacks fear crime from whites, but in fact in interracial crimes of assault and battery blacks are more victimized than whites. It should not surprise anyone that prisons are largely peopled by 3rd World, and poor people. The Amerikan justice system has made racism a legally accepted custom. It should not surprise anyone that the very fabric of our society is such that while virtually everyone engages in punishable criminal behavior only the poor and 3rd World go to prison while the rich go to San Clemente. It should not surprise anyone that the Governor of New York, Rockefeller, arranged to have 41 men murdered at Attica and hundreds tortured and brutalized in the name of justice; and then was appointed Vice President of the United States.

SECTION V

World War I brought with it revolution, the midwife of all great changes in the state of the world. The October Revolution of the workers and peasants of Russia shook up the entire modern world as never before. As the capitalist rulers of Europe fought to recover amid the ruins left by this imperialist war, which aimed at dividing the entire earth, the lives of hundreds of millions of people experienced profound changes. Masses of the exploited and oppressed successfully challenged feudal and capitalist rule, seized state power their own selves and dared to begin to construct a socialist society.

The United States was also swept by the winds of great unrest before and after World War I. Many people, immigrants, Blacks, white workers who fought in the war and whose labor was building 'modern industrial America', struggled for a better life and for recognition as human beings and against any more wars of conquest. Folk songs, folktales tell of these struggles. Groups now legendary like the IWW and other workers' associations flourished. These were often made up of immigrants from Europe. Some became well known revolutionary martyrs like Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti who were executed by the state for organizing workers, although the official 'legal' charges were for murder.

During the Palmer Raids of the early 1920's thousands of poor and foreign born 'radicals' and communists were rounded up and imprisoned with no pretense of due process of law. At this time, J. Edgar Hoover rose to leadership of the FBI; the US had created its first national police organization to repress and attack third world and radical working people who were advancing their struggle against the exploitive and evil capitalist system.

From 1867 to 1895, Blacks had been stripped of the rights they had won in the reconstruction period after the Civil War -- in the process some 10,000 were brutally lynched. Now, between 1910 and 1920, seeking a change for a better life, 300,000 of them moved north, entering heavy industrial areas like Detroit and Chicago. Working in the basic industries of auto, steel, railroad, meat packing, etc., Blacks were the last hired and first fired and were given the heaviest and most menial jobs in their new locations in the north. Black men also joined the segregated armed forces and over one third of all US troops in Europe were black. In this period Blacks were often the target of racial attacks. For example, in Tulsa Oklahoma, in 1921, the white mayor ordered an aerial bombardment of the Black section of town which was resisted by the community with the attackers temporarily driven back. It was also in the period that the Womens' Suffrage movement culminated in women getting the vote.

Prison riots numbered over 25 in the ten years between 1910 - 1920. In the 50 years between 1850-1900 there had been around three dozen. After 1900 the speed and tempo of prison uprisings continued to rise rapidly until the Great Depression of the 1930's. At this time the cities of the US were lined with people out of work. At the bottom of the crisis there were over 17 million Americans out of work fighting to survive day by day. The rural South was again uprooted and mass migrations to the northern cities and to California continued.

Between 1929 and 1940 there were over 60 major prison uprisings. Most of the uprising were built around demands for human dignity and survival against vicious punishments and lack of food, exercise and medicine. Riots continued to grow bigger as prisons grew larger. During periods of political or economic crisis, riots increased and prisoners with a political consciousness and a social consciousness emerged from within the population. For example at Joliet Prison in Illinois in 1917, National Guardsmen had to be called in to suppress an insurrection of 1000 inmates who set fire to buildings. The National Guard had to fix bayonets and drive into their cells the last 200 men who stood their ground in the face of the rifles. Military prisoners at Leavenworth in 1919 fought their jailers often. There were three major strikes there in a six month period. Riots continued to grow at California's Folsom prison in 1927, 2000 inmates fought the National Guard. Hostages were held and 400 guardsmen surrounded the building which prisoners defended. Tanks, airplanes, one pound artillery were set up; a Southern Pacific Railway engine trained lights on the building. Troops fired round after round. By the time the attacks ceased, nine inmates were dead as were two guards. At Clinton Prison in New York, 1300 men rioted for five hours. Three inmates were killed, buildings and lumber were burned and the power plant was sabotaged. Armed white townspeople and units of the US Army repelled the convicts as they rushed the walls. A new record for property damage in prison riots was

set here, at \$200,000. At Auburn prison in N.Y., in 1929, 1700 inmates battled guards and seized the warden's office and arsenal. Six guards were killed as well as two prisoners. The greatest loss of life reported from a prison uprising was the Ohio Penitentiary fire in 1930, where 317 men were killed.

The economic crisis which began in the US in 1929, became world wide and continued throughout the thirties. There were years of great mass suffering and social unrest. This was expressed in mass marches of veterans on Washington for jobs and bonuses, by hundreds of strikes, by the growth of unemployed and union organizing, and in the activity and growth of the Communist Party, USA. Black people took an active and leading part in many of these struggles. This crisis did not really end until the beginning of World War 2. By that time, however, millions of workers in the basic industries became organized for the first time, through the CIO and many in other trades joined both AFL & CIO unions,

In World War 2, a shaky alliance of US and Allied European capitalist countries, fought German and Italian and Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Red Army and Air Force broke the back of German empire at the devastating cost of 20,000,000 soldier and civilian dead. In Asia, the Chinese Revolution united hundreds of millions of Chinese to fight the Japanese invaders. Together with Korean and Vietnamese resistance they led in defeating Japan's march to conquest.

Throughout World War 2, the US was the only major country in the world that suffered no invasion, no armies of conquest, or machinery of death within its borders. With Asia and Europe in ruins at wars end; facing the need of massive reconstruction, with revolution threatening, the US seized its chance to expand and consolidate its empire deeper and more widely than ever before. Germany and Europe were bailed out by the Marshall Plan. The US military spread out through a network of 3000 military bases to cover the earth and boasted as its slogan, "This is the American Century."

The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, came four years after the defeat of Japanese and German imperialism. Hundreds of millions of people in the most populous nation on earth went over to socialism after decades of struggle against a feudal ruling class and Japanese invasion. For the second time in the century, capitalism and imperialism was challenged and beaten by the people, the workers and peasants, of a major nation. Once again the world turned over, and the word came out from the rulers of the US that China must be contained and Chiang Kai Shek restored to power; China was a threat to world 'freedom and democracy' as defined by Harry S. Truman, General Marshall, and John Foster Dulles. During these same years, the Soviet Union gained an advantage against the US cold war by exploding the hydrogen bomb before the US was able to. At this time the USSR was seen as the main enemy with China considered only a secondary threat due to lesser industrial and military strength.

In 1950, the US instigated counter-revolutionary war in Korea and invaded when its puppet, the regime of Syngman Rhee was about to collapse. Chinese volunteers then joined with the North Korean Peoples Army to defeat and throw all the invaders out of North Korea. (1950-1953). However, a puppet regime, still dependent upon US troops and money (like Saigon was) still hangs on in South Korea.

The years of World War 2, were the only years of the 20th century marked by both declining national crime rates and declining prison population. After the war, the population and the struggles began to rise again, with prison riots marking both 1950 and 1952. Parallel to the cold war and the Korean war, there was a time of rising post-war unrest that culminated here at home in big prison riots in Michigan and abroad in the Koje prisoner of war camp in Korea. In February 1952, 1,500 communist led civilians, (Korean pows, held by the US) battled US guards and troops until 69 pows and one US person was dead. The Korean people charged brutality and massacre. On March 13, 1952 a new battle occurred, and 12 more Koreans were killed. On May 9, 1952, General Dodd the US commandant was dragged through the gates of the stockade during a conference and held hostage. After US concessions he was released. From 1950 through 1953, there were at least 82 major prison riots in the US. And between 1953 and 1955, there were over 51 major prison riots.

In 1954, the French were defeated at Dien Bienphu by the Vietminh. From this time the US became more openly involved in Indochina; it now attempted to take over where the French colonialists had left off.

The occupation of Germany and Japan, the cold war, seizing Taiwan, intervention in Korea and Vietnam, opposing China, are some of the high water marks of the "American Century" bid for world domination; at the same time the resistance of the peoples and the military, political and economic defeats suffered by the US (including a bit later, failure to reverse the Cuban revolution), marked the beginning of the end of three centuries of expansion of US continental and world empire. It is from this context that we will be able to understand the rise of the movements

for liberation of 3rd world peoples inside the US, that so decidedly shape present events.

A serious bid by the US for world power would have been impossible without the 'cold war' to discredit the Soviet and Chinese allies who had been decisive on the western and eastern fronts respectively; it would have been equally impossible without creating an anti-communist and 'foreign agent' hysteria at home to replace the postwar hopes of our people for friendship and peaceful constructive lives. In particular, admiration for the Red Army, its generals and commander and for the Soviet peoples resistance was widespread in both civilian life and in the armed forces; that had to be changed as the first order of business.

Therefore, the 1950's became the era of another great attack by the ruling class upon the peoples of this country. This became the era of McCarthyism and saw the birth of Nixonism. Millions of people watched on tv as the alcoholic, irrational McCarthy from Wisconsin, representing the most plunder-hungry section of the ruling class, attacked communism and all progressive people and ideas in the US. This is how imperialism opened its war to contain and destroy revolution world-wide as they hunted their super-profits from new sources of materials, labor, and new markets. These super-expansionists found in the Rosenberg case a way of simultaneously setting up and attacking the growing 3rd world and workers movement at home. The Rosenbergs were executed based on lying and invented charges of foreign espionage and treason. This combined an attack upon the USSR (also needed by the government as a scapegoat for the successful Russian explosion of the hydrogen bomb before the US), and as a way to spread the poison of anti-communism at home. This same anti-communism laid the basis for later US invasion of Southeast Asia. A further result was that the CPUSA was partly driven underground, its leaders tied up in courts, and imprisoned, the party heavily infiltrated with agents and in effect destroyed as a revolutionary force. The left suffered a very serious defeat.

The late 1950's and early 1960's birthed a qualitatively new era in this country. Black people, South and North, by the tens of thousands launched their struggle for civil rights; the right to vote, and to end unemployment and poverty; all this in direct defiance of racist attacks by the KKK, police, and FBI. Black organizers and citizens were brutally murdered as were some white supporters who joined them in struggle. Many of us grew up watching police with dogs and cattle prods attack people. The murder of the 3 civil rights workers: Cheney, Goodman, and Schwerner, tortured to death by racist vigilantes shocked the whole world, exposing the true nature of "justice" in the US. There was a real groundswell: millions of people were touched, some to the point of active support, as thousands of people in this land fought the police, took on the courts and political system together. In 1963, 250,000 people marched on Washington led by Blacks for the first mass protest of a decade that would see many such protests sweep the nation.

The elementary class and racist nature of the police and courts was thereby exposed to many American people. Civil rights leaders were assassinated, their killers walking the streets arrogantly boasting. President Kennedy began introducing American 'advisors' into Vietnam. Daniel Ellsberg, who later released the Pentagon Papers, and successfully challenged the government in public and in court, was one of those sent to Vietnam at that time. In 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was the first nationally organized group in the US to openly denounce the war in Vietnam as imperialistic. They raised the cry, "NO VIETCONG EVER CALLED ME NIGGER!" thus siding with the people of Vietnam against US invasion. By 1964, it was clear to many of us that the US ruling class (the term then most used was 'military-industrial complex') was setting its sights on Pacific Asia as their world strategic focus. The expanded empire of the US that emerged out of World War 2 saw its strategic future at stake in the military and economic population control that a land base in Vietnam represented. The containment of China as well as the base for penetration west and towards India and the Middle East; and South Indonesia, Australia, Malaya & continued control of the Philippines. Penetration of our economic and military system into areas of great revolutionary potential and great natural and human resources to be exploited.

In 1965, SDS (students for a democratic society), called the first anti-war march in Washington D.C.; 25,000 people came. Hundreds of thousands of people have since drawn some lessons from our history, facing the understanding that time is running out for the empire. Tens of thousands refused to fight, burned draft cards, demonstrated and later fought in the streets and campuses of this country against the draft, racism, the war, and cultural oppression. It was in this period that the institutions of 'justice' began to be severely discredited to many young white people who were proud of being arrested, of doing time in jail; proud to fight for a just cause, and who often had their first real contact with exploited and oppressed people in those jails.

The Black movement quickly grew from civil rights to Black Power and Black

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Revolution. Malcolm X rose to speak out for great followings at home and abroad only to be assassinated by agents of the power structure. Robert Williams organized Black people in North Carolina in self-defense groups and revived the US tradition of armed self-defense struggles. In the summer of 1965 the Watts rebellion erupted in which 4000 people were arrested, 34 killed and \$35 million dollars in property damage done. This was the heaviest act of Black resistance since the Detroit riot of 1943, and until Detroit in 1967. In tens of cities across the US there were to be riots by Black, Puerto Rican, and white youth over the next years. Some of the major urban insurrections were in: Chicago, Cleveland, Nashville, Jackson, Houston, Tampa, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Newark (where 22 people were killed) and Detroit where 100 square blocks became a battle zone. It is significant to note that the incident that touched off this riot was a police raid on a black social club where a group of returning Vietnam War Veterans were partying. By the end of the rebellion 43 were killed and \$40 million in damage was inflicted. There was talk in the US of revolution in cities as the US began losing the war in Vietnam, and with it the imperial dream of an "American Century", based on control of the vast continent of Asia.

1968 was a watershed year. The Tet offensive in Vietnam showed that US imperialism was being and could be defeated by peoples' war. The Black Panther Party and other groups got themselves organized. The Panthers was a serious attempt to create an armed revolutionary political party; it built a large following among Black street people in those cities across the US which have large Black populations. The BPP openly advocated communist revolution, armed self defense, mass and armed struggle against the "White power structure", the US ruling class. The Panthers successfully defined for hundreds of thousands of people that the police are the occupying army the ruling class—and changed popular vocabulary for them from 'cops' to 'pigs'.

1968 was also the year of the riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where police ran wild in the streets and many of the children of white America were arrested and beaten for daring to protest the genocidal and oppressive nature of life in this country. People began to speak of a coming depression in the US—a total crisis in the system running the gamut from the barbaric war in Indochina to the movement against Women's oppression, to the movements in this country for third world liberation. The authorities feared they might lose a whole generation of young people. Revolutionary and progressive movements engaged the state on many levels. The true nature of the institutions of the US was exposed by popular struggle inside and out. Leaders were assassinated or brought to political trials (conspiracy trials) by the state. The system tried at first to meet the upsurge of a new peoples movement head on. The people won overwhelmingly in the majority of these trials.

The Revolutionary 3rd world organizations came under murderous attack. The 1960's became known as the decade of assassination. From the Rosenbergs you can trace a clear thread thru the murders in the civil rights movement, to Malcolm, the Kennedys', King, Fred Hampton, the destruction of the Black Panthers as a revolutionary force, Kent State, Jackson State, etc. The terms of war were set. The police, courts and prisons lining up against the people consistently. Inside the military fighting in Vietnam, a revolutionary movement of GI's was created. Men who realized that they were fighting to put down a people who have a right to control their own destiny. That GI's were cannon/conquest fodder for the rich back home. Fraggings, open mutiny at Long Binh jail in Vietnam by GI's, acts of resistance and sabotage within the military itself rose into wave after wave of order refusal, desertion, non-cooperation, defiance of court martial, and a counter "Turn the Regs Around" movement to expose the brass. The military backbone of the Empire was being destroyed from within by American people as well as from without. Groups like the revolutionary minded Vietnam Veterans Against the War formed, and often took the lead in anti war and anti-imperialist struggles.

The overall crisis in the US is expressed also in the whole new level of consciousness and struggle inside and outside the prisons. There are today many many revolutionary and progressive people in prisons all across this country. We have learned that just as the US through its military and CIA export counter-insurgency and fascism throughout the world as it did in Vietnam, Korea, Greece, pre-revolutionary Cuba, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, S. Africa, and the Philippines, so does it maintain fascist like operations for certain sections of its domestic population. On the outside of prison this oppression and terror is mainly directed at 3rd world people, Indians, and to an increasing degree at white working class people, unemployed and youth. Accordingly, the people in prison today, are also overwhelmingly 3rd world and working class women and men. As a group prisoners experience fascism and retribution. A convict has no rights and is at the mercy of the class, racist, and sexist prison administration. As a group prisoners experience extreme repression together, even though of different degrees. It is because of this that the basis exists between different races for unity. There has always been a strong urge for unity in the prison rebellions of the 60's and 70's that cut across race lines. Oppressed convicts are now more than

ever uniting against common oppression, for more rights, survival and revolution.

Because many veterans returned home from Vietnam with no jobs, and many also experienced arrest and prison, because of the civil rights and Black liberation movements, because of maximum repression existing in prison, the movement has become decidedly revolutionary. The struggles at San Quentin first in the 1960's and at Soledad and the struggles led by Jonathan and George Jackson and at Attica demonstrate that it has been Black and 3rd world prisoners, who have led and made the leading contributions to these struggles. The people have also paid the highest price. Ruchelle Magee clearly understood the whole system of genocide, racism and Empire when he said, "As an enslaved Black man I am not bound to the courts of the oppressor class and nation." The following quote from inside of Attica also illustrates this point:

When I first got to Attica the biggest problem we faced was developing the political consciousness of the masses. Being white and trying to be absorbed by the white masses wasn't easy. But after going thru all the changes of being called 'nigger lover', 'white nigger', 'dirty commie', etc we finally came away with a handful of good dedicated comrades. We formed strong ties and coalitions with a handful of our black comrades. The first thing to be done was to set up political education classes, cells were set up all over, and everybody had something going. By this time our unity was rubbing off on the population. Slowly but surely we were growing in numbers and strength. And we were becoming a strong threat to the head hog and his pigs. So many attempts were made by the head hog to destroy our organization and unity. Many of us were boxed, locked up for long periods of time, shipped out, and finally physically beaten. But our loyalty to the struggle and to each other could not be broken. September 9-13, 1971 speaks for itself. (date of Attica rebellion) (Quoted from Comrade George, by Eric Mann p.5)

Inside the walls of America prisoners have been among the strongest voices and fighters exposing and taking on the brute force of the state dedicated to exploiting and keeping down the human race. THE BATTLE CRY OF THIS MOVEMENT HAS BEEN: 'WE ARE NOT ANIMALS THE SLAVE MASTERS WILL NEVER DEFEAT US'.

Cap
Talk

The period that began in the early 1960's is moving in transition towards something else. Conditions and chaos have gotten worse here at home. We are confused, we see pieces and trends, yet the comprehensive picture and ramifications, are just emerging in us. The four signposts of this transition are: the turning back of US imperialism in Indochina especially but in other places as well: Africa, Cuba, Latin America. The crisis in the US reflected by Watergate; Nixon and Agnew's being forced from office weakening and undermining forever the credibility of the entire political system in the eyes of a majority of people. The economic crisis of depression and inflation and unemployment-stagflation is qualitatively deeper than preceding crises; with the defeat of the Pacific Rim Strategy for Asia. Government economists admit that there will be a minimum of 7.5% unemployment for the next ten years for the overall population and a minimum of 40% unemployment for Black youth (the figure is already at 40%). These ruling class economists are now preaching official optimism while privately warning their sponsors to prepare for the worst. Lastly, sooner or later, the system will confront a truly peoples movement in the US too, of Black, Brown, Women, workers, GI's, Vets, Indians, young people, and this will also include substantial representations from the white majority population. And events will require of our revolutionaries and their organizations that we also unite around a common analysis and strategy to oppose and demolish the US empire, with the revolutionary decisive aid and assistance of all the anti-imperialist people counted in billions --around the world.

The overwhelming reality of the first 75 years of the 20th century is the growth and victory of world-wide revolution. People are winning, all systems of class, sex, racial, and national exploitation and oppression are on the defensive.

Imperialism the highest and the last stage of capitalism is finally on the decline. Spokesmen for the system and its US government now admit that the people of this country will never be able to return to the standards of affluence that many enjoyed during the 1960's. In reality, that amounts to informing the 3rd world people that they will be much worse off than ever before and that many white workers, women, youth, younger workers, will experience unemployment, and hardship as never before; many who up to the present have managed to save something, pay on a house, have health and retirement benefits, will lose much or all of that.

More 'crimes' are committed for survival and in harder fights against the system in times of economic and political crisis. 'Crime' that catch-all term rulers use to disguise the real social causes and responsibility for violence and anti-social acts, is bound to increase as the system decays and its upholders become more dishonest and vicious. And our response, of course, must be in the direction of more united political struggle and mutual aid to each other to survive, and to defend our communities and our fighters.

As people expand their struggles, we face some dangers. One is an increased attack from the defenders of the dying old system. We analyze their most recent strategies in the next section. A second danger is that of new attempts at economic and military aggression and expansion--new wars. So long as imperialism exists, this will carry the danger of confrontations between the great powers--which are also nuclear powers. One danger zone now is the effort of the US to dominate the oil reserves and strategic positions of the Middle East. Israel, which may already have atomic weapons at its command, hopes to continue as the major instrument of the US in controlling this crossroads of the world.

The crisis that the US sought to forestall by expanding throughout SE Asia via war in Vietnam, coming home multiplied a thousand-fold. As Malcolm X had it, the chickens are coming home to roost. War in the Middle East or (elsewhere) could mean world war, nuclear war; a war from which no country on earth, including the US would escape being a target. We must unite to make such wars impossible.

In the present conditions of spreading chaos and massive crisis, the system seeks its insurance in the form of a strategy for domestic controls of the entire population, this equals domestic counter-insurgency; the subject of the next section.

SECTION VI

Right now, large numbers of federal policy planners spend most of their time tooling up new fascist trends in state control. Many of these planners got their start as junior brain-trusters devising secret strategies for the allies during World War 2, and in the cold war period that followed. Some of these were initially trained in intelligence work; others were recruited to intelligence for the shock troops of the New Deal. A host of bureaucrats had descended on Washington with the election of FDR, and remained there in the galloping inflation of government agencies set off by the demands of World War 2, and the world thrust of US power afterwards.

The OSS (an early spying outfit) was populated with such people and it was led by General "Wild Bill" Donovan, who went up and down the country preaching the doctrine of active anti-communism and demanding that the CIA be made the first line of defense in the Cold War. Allen Dulles, Richard Helms, Vannevar Bush, James B. Conant, Nelson Rockefeller, and others were more sophisticated than the traditional American right; they were consciously internationalist and imperialist in their foreign affairs philosophy. For the most part they believed that keeping up a democratic cover was essential to continued success of a hidden but aggressively waged interventionist cold-war strategy.

The Dulles-Jackson-Correa report, prepared in 1948, in the expectation that Dewey would win the presidential elections, has probably had a greater impact than any other document study of the federal intelligence function. Described as the "CIA's Mein-Kampf", this document prescribes how the CIA could be built up from a low-key intelligence coordination center to a major power center in the US government. In the process, Allen Dulles foresaw, that he would become the closest advisor to the President. The report urges the necessity of a vast secret intelligence organization. It calls for a top secret intelligence operations center directly out of the Whitehouse, and for a hidden infrastructure throughout departments and other agencies of government. It was an effort to outdo all world records in cloak and dagger spying and subversion.

Such OSS trained (later CIA) federal functionaries served together with their military and multi-national corporate sponsors to dictate US foreign policy throughout the cold war. The military and CIA used the refugee and displaced persons programs of WW2 to organize Phoenix type programs of mass murder as the Cold War dragged on. Ultimately, Vietnam challenged and defeated these most rapacious and ambitious schemes of the US. Now there is world-wide capitalist crisis and chaos brought on by the inability of the great empires to expand further, (or even to hang on to old conquests.) So these federal policy planners have to try to bring their kind of war home again to meet the crises here; naturally, they apply the same methods of coercion and control that they felt so free to use in

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SE Asia. They want to dope and control us too, to prevent what they see as the greatest danger to themselves and their bosses: unity of action of people here with all the other enemies of US imperialism which it has so expertly and efficiently made for itself in the rest of the world.

This internal strategy is an ambitious and well co-ordinated one. Federally-financed and sponsored study groups, like the National Advisory Council on Civil Disorders, and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, work on plans and changes at every conceivable institutional level. These changes are intended to seem 'humanitarian' or 'reform-minded' when looked at in isolation, but, when one examines these schemes carefully, they reveal their hidden but true purposes: for total government control of people. The cutting edges of the entire governmental repressive system are the police, the courts, and the correctional institutions. The state determines which 'laws' it will pass, and enforce, and looks to all these administrative arms for the day-to-day handling of the repressive machinery. Now the think-tanks are busy trying to put together a strategy to ride out the heaviest storms ever to face the system.

Much of the work done to re-form (for again, or form over) the police, courts and prisons on the federal levels is done by the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration), which designs new programs and develops new philosophies throughout the whole range of "criminal justice" practices. LEAA has been a leader in the emerging federally directed criticisms of the entrenched (but also embattled), and parochial state systems of corrections, courts, and police. The LEAA gets up councils of revision to determine how the law and law enforcement should be changed to make it more efficient and to prop up shaky parts of the state. It has also operated as an ultra efficient goon squad in the more recent attacks by the state against radical political groupings, largely replacing the outmoded and often ineffective FBI in that capacity.

LEAA was established under legislation in Title I on the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. It had been in the planning stages for two or three years by then. Doing the planning were men like James Vorenberg, an ex-Harvard professor who had had extensive counter-insurgency training with the CIA; and Arthur Brandstatter, a community relations specialist who worked for eight years (1954-1962) with the Ngo Diem regime in South Vietnam for the CIA. The main concern of these men was the control of 'civil disorder', whether ghetto riot, or militant anti-war demonstrations.

White supremacy, male supremacy, and anti-communist philosophy has always dominated the CIA and indeed the entire foreign policy apparatus, state and private. This follows from the entire history and structure of the US empire, continental and worldwide. The recent interventions in Indochina, Latin America, & Africa are but the newest and most extreme and disastrous examples. The earlier cold war controls proved ineffective in the middle 1960's to deal with the new and massive Black Power and anti-war struggles. There had to be a new plan to condition, imperialize, and control the progressive forces inside the country. One major effort during this period was the importation of an anti-revolutionary Cuban community in Miami Florida, as a base for covert operations at home and abroad by the CIA. The US empire was already entering into decline and now Vietnam has exposed this to the world. No longer can the plunder of Third World resources, and labor be relied upon as a sure thing. No longer can the US so easily skim from the rest of the world and use the cream to buy off corrupt labor union bureaucracies and crime syndicates.

The open and aggressive use of violence and bribery, perfected by slavery and genocide in North America and exported to the Third World, has always been basic to capitalist rule. Politically, this has now become less 'saleable' in the US too, where strong democratic and even some revolutionary minded resistance movements have developed. Waves of criticism and protest would erupt if these hard-eyed cold warriors of the CIA were to admit that they had been studying to adapt Gestapo techniques of psychological and terrorist control as models for the creation of a similar national police force for the US. So a cover story was devised and a many pronged attack was launched. (This also includes 'learning from the enemy': which means studying guerillas for military counter-measures, and liberated and socialist countries like Cuba and China for social techniques to that imperialists can try to sneak around with imitations of friends of the people.)

The preferred cover story is that there is a 'crime wave' which has to be stopped or the whole social fabric would be weakened. Their slogan for this offensive was: LAW AND ORDER. The media has barraged us with crime statistics, and Law n Order became a codeword for racism, victimless crime, and social and political protest have been singled out as primary targets because their attack upon these 'criminal activities', which threaten state rule, can be concentrated in working class and Third World communities. White collar crime, political corruption, and organized crime do not threaten the capitalist system, and thus do

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not become real targets; in fact, these social groups often are useful to LEAA as allies (or sometimes as fake targets like the 'Mafia' and 'Cosa Nostra' scares), in the real struggle against the progressive and revolutionary forces in the US. All this to help contain the overall population.

To establish a national police force capable of controlling dissenting and economically exploited people, requires a new definition of federalism. There are traditional constitutional and legal limits on federal police powers. LEAA moved in to criticize local and state level police departments as hopelessly out of date, reactionary, and corrupt. They kept on reminding the local officers that they could not hope to deal on their own resources with the kind of insurgency that would inevitably arise in their own communities as the world situation got worse and depression became a recognized fact etc. LEAA and other federal advocates of this police state strategy undercut the areas where they expected the most bureaucratic resistance. Under the banner of professionalization and liberalism, and community relations (read networks of population control and counter-insurgency), the LEAA has started to change the character of most of the major city police forces through the influx of over 2 billion dollars of federal money. Much of this money was at first spent for riot control weapons, criminal history search and retrieval systems (computers), SWAT type training programs, community relations divisions and on whole networks of informers and provocateurs in ghetto and counterculture communities.

LEAA wants this national police force to be ready to meet any insurrectionary challenges on the double, (be they political, economic, or cultural), and with ruthless efficiency. They want system of agents provocateurs and informers to monitor all political groupings that might threaten ruling class interest. This has already been done several times during the last decade. They have organized networks of informers, and nark agents and dealers within Third World and white drug culture, on the theory that drugged, debilitated youth, especially ghetto youth, will be less able to organize political and social resistance no matter how bad conditions of life become. They also use the drug scene as an excuse for police terror and to justify racist attacks and busts, removing the militants and politicals from the communities to the confines of prison. Finally, in the typical ruling-class style of the slavemaster, they will try to employ people from national and racial groups as front line agents of their domestic control and counter-insurgency. Community relations units of the police are turned into teams of community repression. Welfare dependency and probation board dependency are the carrot and stick in this act.

In its Corrections volume, (Report on Corrections of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, produced for LEAA with its funds) LEAA boldly states that prison administration for the last 104 years is nothing but a failure. This report criticizes the existing prison system for not being able to carry out their own stated goals. (p.1). The LEAA pitch is that the present ineffective 'corrections' apparatus is a product of an outmoded and narrow point of view that is blind to modern social and political reality and the dangers thereof. LEAA holds that more scientific, streamlined, and modern methods and a real sense of urgency are needed. They state that these old style penal institutions do not rehabilitate anybody, but instead create a lot more crime than they prevent. (p.2). Under the guise of reforming the prison, new tortures (which do not replace the old ones, but are only added on) are introduced as therapies, social scientists and behaviourist medical technicians try whatever they think might work to modify the behaviour of those they term 'criminal deviants'. Shock and drug treatments are given under the same label of therapy, yet a close examination of the reasons offered and the selection of victims reveals: 1st, that nobody can say what is the 'cure' for any particular type of crime and, 2nd, that the main concern is the control of potentially violent socio-paths, most of whom were so classified simply because they were politically motivated or because they would not submit passively to the brutality of the guards and the state system.

LEAA piously states that perhaps 80% of all prisoners should be released or returned to their communities and the jails maintained for only the remainder, the 'hardcore' about whom these same vague 'experts' would make the controlling decisions. The planned community release programs are designed primarily to give the ambitious federal planners more plausible methods of extending their control systems into previously hard to reach areas. If they can integrate as they plan the entire network of parole and probationary facilities, work release supervision, half-way-houses and mini-jails plus local police and liberal community cooperation plus massive federal financing of projects and local organizers and leaders, they will have the tightest control over local communities ever achieved in the US; or perhaps anywhere. LEAA IS NOT THINKING of staffing these facilities with 'well intentioned' social workers whose purpose is to help offenders re-integrate into the normal community. Communities are already changing before our eyes with the economic crisis, redevelopment, etc, things could get out of control. LEAA is interested in direct and effective mechanisms for police and court agents to

control all our peoples. Conferences like the rash of "changing the jails" gatherings like a recent one at USF, are bait to bring in unsuspecting community and liberal groups into participation with those who intend to become their complete masters. Communities are to be split further along class and race lines. The next step is already starting: turning the local groups into something like a junkie, running after the promised federal money. These grants will go on for a time, they can be cut back or ended at any time that suits the pleasure of the federal authorities.

There are divisions and competing strategies among various factions of the capitalist class; these are reflected in competing factions among the police, court, and correctional establishments roughly expressing the class groups whose interests they protect. This makes for difficulties in the overall LEAA strategy. The internal wars can be vicious. The CIA schemes against the FBI as in Watergate, and federal drug snoops (IRS) berate the locals, and new prison administrators scorn the old entrenched hard liners. All sides rush to gain the advantage and for a moment a la Pentagon Papers and Watergate the secrecy cover gives a little and people can see how they have been deceived and gulled. And in truth, this counter-insurgency activity is so monstrous and profoundly undemocratic that it can only operate in dense secrecy.

At this point it is necessary to stop and take a closer look at the special role of the courts. The state in general is the instrument of power of the dominant class in society. The laws and courts are most necessary pillars of that state power. The special labor of the courts is to make that power and will of the dominant class appear as something else, as the mythical will of the whole people, or sometimes even as the will of God via the ten commandments and the Holy Bible.

Mainly this magic is accomplished by treating the important but subordinate functions of the state as if they were the whole and only purpose of the legal system. Among these functions of the state are the peaceable settlement of disputes among the people and the orderly (more or less) regulation of disputes and conflicts among the various power interests, governmental, financial, military, religious, moral educational and propagandistic etc.

The civil courts act as agents of repression when they are enforcing pre-existing class inequalities. When the courtroom adversaries are equal (poor v. poor, men v. men, etc. or IBM v. Sperry Rand), the civil law can indulge the luxury of fair procedures and techniques for resolution. The propaganda mechanisms of the state are then used to attempt to convince people that the fairness of administration applies to all the legal process, but this of course, is a transparent falsehood.

Here in the US, the final word belongs to the US Supreme Court which orbits high above the conflicting motivations of ordinary people and it hands down impartial decisions of infinite wisdom and constitutional profundity. All this seems as far from any taint of class bias as the earth is from heaven.

But somehow, all this impartial judicial power does not enforce the outlawing of white supremacy, or male supremacy, or strike-breaking, or profiteering, or even a totally unconstitutional, murderous and disasterous war in Vietnam. All this should not really surprise us that much for our court system is not rooted in any democratic revolution or tradition, but rather in the institutions of monarchy and high church authority. In particular, our higher courts stem from institutions like the king's privy council of England, (the Star Chamber) and the high ecclesiastical courts (the high commission in England and the Holy Inquisition in Europe-- it is from the inquisition that we get compulsory testimony and the fact if not the law of compulsory oaths--To tell the Truth, the whole Truth etc.)

Even the so-called adversary procedure, the much boasted revelation of truth by the clash of prosecutor and defense attorneys is of the same aristocratic line, it is no more than a modern version of the trial of guilt or innocence by battle of armoured knights in feudal Europe. And the outcome is just as dubious in point of fact or justice. The proceeding guarantee only one ultimate winner-- the system and the class in power. An ordinary poor or Third World person will sooner win a fortune in Las Vegas than get justice if hailed into one of our courts.

It is true that the struggles of heretics and witches and martyrs and other resisters and several revolutions forced some changes and reforms, the Bills of Rights in the US and France, some of the more horrible kinds of punishments were dropped etc, but the essence remains. The courts still represent the rich and powerful, the people have to fight to survive, and rights are worth just what people are strong enough to insist on.

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The particular function of the most honorable judges is to act out the various kinds of roles in the law and enforcement drama always as some kind of superior being. Sometimes it's agonized weighing between a display of sympathy for the accused and duty to society; other times it's indignation and God's wrath, stern justice in the name of society and the people against the scum who dare to violate the law. Still again, it's wise and fatherly guidance for the benefit of both sides who are bumbling along in a state of incompetence and ignorance; or it's sleepy boredom with the limitless depravity and monotonous sameness of human weakness; sometimes, by way of exception, to prove that justice still lives, it's to the rescue of some otherwise helpless victim.

It all adds up in the end to judicial sensitivity and action to serve the state and mere words and tokens, or vague and futile half-measures for lowly victims of the system. But always with perfect assurance that once more justice has indeed prevailed according to the law.

LEAA adapts to this pattern by making the courts the pivot of its show of really, now, and at last seriously, pitching in to reform the prisons and the whole law enforcement mess.

LEAA praises the 'initiative' of the courts. Elsewhere it takes care to note that the courts intervened to require some changes in prison violations only because these same courts were pushed by the Black Power and anti-war and cultural movements of the mid-60's; still elsewhere, it states that bad prison conditions exist because the people are apathetic; in still another case it is said that prison walls are used to keep the public out as much as the prisoners in; all these things are mentioned in the report on Corrections referred to above. (p.18, p. 600).

LEAA warns prison administrators to cooperate with courts and even to adopt 'reforms' in advance to avoid unnecessary conflicts. It also is careful to point out that reforms don't have to go beyond a certain point, just enough for appearances--They are out to strengthen the real mission of 'corrections', and properly see that as identical with the real mission of the courts, although the roles are not the same.

The central strategy at this point is to separate the submissive from those held to be incorrigible; involving community people with the submissive and venting the wrath and vengeance of the state on the Black and Brown and Red sub-human animals who are the real cause of all the problems in their Law and Order rantings.

That this is not at all invention is proved by the circus spectacles staged in court in the last 6 years. From Bobby Seale in Chicago, one Black man chained among 7 whites not chained; Ruchell Magee, again chained, a Black man defying the entire judicial system as a slave in revolt; now the Foster trial, the 'Zebra trial, and the San Quentin 6 trials all at one time with 5 of the last six all chained to their chairs and to the floor, without the slightest justification, while whites with equally or even more serious charges are not so treated.

Examples of the hypocrisy of the pretended impartiality of the courts and the judicial system are many: political prosecutions are directed from the Justice Department and are aimed at eliminating any effective opposition forces. Grand juries are turned into weapons of repression, fear, and intelligence gathering and for punishment of people who refuse to inform. Laws are made like the Rap Brown law to make travel a crime, and the No knock law to allow cops to break into your house without warning.

People get charged with 'crimes' that were created by officials and police in the first place. Trial jury as well as grand jury panels are rigged and selective; there are moves to allow criminal convictions with less than unanimous votes and with fewer than 12 jurors. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary people and political activists have been illegally wire-tapped, but only when the targets are famous establishment figures are the tappers prosecuted.

The National Advisory committee of LEAA mentioned before, is trying to coordinate and team up all branches of law enforcement with one unified strategy. Besides the Corrections report they publish reports on the courts and the police. The whole purpose is to change the face of 'criminal justice' by 'humanizing' it and giving it a seemingly positive community presence and function and at the same time to justify more and heavier arms and training for police-- in short for a full blown police state.

To this end, LEAA is also hooking up with the International Association of

Police Chiefs, the National Advisory Councils, the American Correctional Association, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the Office of Policy Coordination and the Office of Public Safety as well as the Office of Emergency Preparedness and other overtly military and CIA think tanks: All the directors and shock troops of US counter insurgency. The one fatal flaw in the scheme is that it doesn't and can't give the people the one thing they really need: power to deal with their own problems.

Still the whole gang is working from historical examples. Hitler and the fascists did pull such a thing off for a time. And the US has no small amount of the racism, chauvinism, and sexism that builds such a system. And a deal of the Cynicism and defeatism....

In the 1930's, the German ruling class used the resentment of defeat in World War I and the Versailles Treaty to build German racism and anti-semitism & anti-communism into a national frenzy in which people were stripped of identity as humans, of property, of life and of the use of their own labor power because of their religion, their race, their politics. To complete the victory over the scapegoat jews and the once strong Communists and labor movement, a strong organization was called for. The Nazi's met this need by promoting the ruthless and efficient SS to replace the vigilantism of the SA (brown shirts).

Even more elite was the Gestapo, heavily indoctrinated, heavily privileged national secret security police of the Third Reich. OSS officers of the US closely examined these German officers during the first period of US occupation of West Germany. Some of these Germans were recruited to come to the US and push fascist philosophy here (Gehlen). Their OSS sponsors often re-appear later as staffers of CIA and LEAA. And already in various positions and levels of power are many others of like mind and purpose: the Agnews, the Wallaces, and other unfulfilled Nixon types. And the targets are all selected, the Blacks, Browns, Reds, and even some 'Jewish communists.'

There are plenty of US fascists outside government; the most dangerous and organized ones are already inside it, in leading positions. Many were there in the cold war 1950's making profits from war research and anti-Soviet missile systems and the atomic bomb scare. They set up the first large scale heroin runs from Indochina with the help of Marshall Ky, (McCoy, Politics of Heroin in SE Asia).

Common training facilities and instructional methods are shared by the CIA and LEAA at Fort Gordon, Georgia. Systems established by the CIA are computerizing the 'criminal' histories of every person in the US- to be instantly available to the whole nation wide police grid.

The whole national internal and external security mob have a vested interest in expanding the federal control bureaucracy. Their cynical self-interest fits exactly the requirements of the multi-national corporations- who sponsored LEAA etc. , in the first place. But the conspiratorial side, while important, is not the real point. What is important is that all this is being institutionalized, built into the system structurally. There is some little strain but no real incompatibility, in the end it fits.

This system puts a lot of energy into disguising problems so as to hide its true nature and its weakness. At the same time that it tries to keep up its false democratic front, it also wants to maintain and strengthen its monopoly of police arms and power. That is what domestic counter-insurgency is about.

"This report presents a strategy to change the face of corrections."
(our emphasis. ed.) LEAA.....CORRECTIONS p.595

SECTION VII

On the home front, we've shown that the state, through the LEAA, is trying to come to terms with the fact that the accelerating economic and political crisis is throwing more people into conflict with the government and its 'criminal justice system', than the courts or prisons will ever be able to deal with 'democratically', 'constitutionally', and without further severe changes in these institutions. We've focused on the 'criminal justice system', because it is the means by which the overall state superstructure works to control, suppress, and channel poor, working class, and 3rd World peoples on a day to day basis in this country. The ruling class needs to impose its will by every means on all fronts.

economic, cultural, legal, and punitive.

There is more than a whiff of fascism in the US today. Operation Gemstone (the overreaching domestic counter-insurgency plan that Nixon and the Watergate conspirators tried to coverup), the LEAA plans, CIA disclosures of domestic operations, are burning examples. This is not a new development. Historically, in every crisis this activity has increased in an upward spiral towards greater and greater state control. Nixon's resignation has not fundamentally changed anything, in fact, we've shown that the ruling class felt compelled by Nixon's outmoded tactics to remove him from office before he did even greater damage to their credibility. They required a more sophisticated application of the "Pacification of America."

Fascism has traditionally been defined as what happened to majority white populations. England was considered most democratic; yet as the home base of the British Empire, it clearly carried out fascism through the slaughter and economic and social control of millions of people in its colonies. During World War 2, it was the ethnic minority (the Jews), the Soviet Union, and revolutionary movements of communist workers in Europe, that the 3rd Reich sought to remove from its path on its way to revive Germany as a world empire. It was for this purpose that the Gestapo, kangaroo courts, and prison camps were created. The majority population of Nazi Germany went along with the state up to the bitter end. Many of the strategies and tactics of fascism did not originate in Germany. The British Empire and the historical continental & world expansion of the US, set forth many of the strategies and tactics that were called in our time: Nazi fascism. We are referring here to the slave trade, lynching, importation and exploitation of immigrant labor, company towns, the Indian and Mexican Wars of conquest, and the annexation of territory.

In the second half of this century the majority white populations could not have been controlled by state force and violence alone. State force had to be re-inforced and facilitated by social deceit; corrupt unions, economic privilege, and especially the whole institutionalization of RACISM, SEXISM, AND NATIONAL CHAUVINISM. The Third World and poor peoples have always been subject to police terror, racist and class court systems, and brutal prisons. In order for the state to pose as democratic while actually selectively applying heavier fascist type repression, significant sections of the majority population must see these measures as in their interest, or at least, as not threatening to them. It is in the interest of respectable white people to go along with police state measures, because, the state says, Niggers, spics, slopes, freaks, bums, social scum, crude blue collar workers, chicks at the bottom, want what the more economically privileged people have; and there is not enough to go around.

These fascist tactics and strategies have always been in effect for the oppressed; this refutes the contention that because these forms of control don't come down on the majority white population that they don't exist. The inherently fascist state reserves its more democratic face, in part, for white people and applies a more openly fascist treatment for 3rd World people. This dual reality is made possible by the institutionalization of white supremacy. The growing economic crisis is seeing more and more of the working class, unemployed members of the majority population under attack. Those parts of the white working class who fight back will then become targets for heavier repression. The use of fascism against oppressed people at home and abroad, while maintaining the democratic facade at home for the majority, has always been part of imperial strategy. It is racist to deny that fascism has always been exported (Vietnam, Brazil, Chile, etc) by the system, or that it has not always existed for the oppressed at home. It is dead ended and defeatist to believe that the people cannot unite and turn back this attack against us all. The people of Indochina have won; showing that a comparatively small and poorly armed weaker people can defeat a seemingly stronger power.

As the reality and finality of this defeat is driven home as it is now (May 1975), the ruling class desperately attempts to find ways to hang on to something, and, if any way possible to make good its losses elsewhere. But to move on to the Middle East or other possibilities requires dealing with the wounds and dangers to the system that have grown out of the popular liberation and anti-war struggles; and the ignominious defeat of the US.

Vietnam is a great victory for the peoples' of the world including the people of the US when we are able to understand it. The ruling class starts out with the lying proposition that their defeat was also a defeat for the US people. Then they try to teach the people that the defeat in Indochina is incidental and not

a central pivot of their whole developing crisis. The rulers say that the defeat was a result of internal treachery in the US (protestors, communists, Congress that finally curtailed war aims under public pressure). With the undocumented accounts of communist blood bath in Indochina and a complete denial of the genocide, ecocide, and terror inflicted on millions of people in South East Asia, the state is trying to reinstate anti-communism and racism as a national phobia in the United States. We should remember that more bombs were dropped by the US on Indochina than in all theaters of World War 2 combined. The ruling class says that the issue in Vietnam was communist aggression from the North against the democratic friends of the US puppet state in Saigon. That claim is a false and lying cover for aggressive and genocidal war; that is the reason the US was defeated. Tens of millions of people understood that the majority of Vietnamese united to defeat US conquest and throw the tiny clique of Thieu, Ky, LonNol, Diem types out of their country forever. That is why defeat of US armed forces and policy was not a defeat but a victory of all people--those of the US included.

The US is concerned with keeping up a front of democratic rights at home. It puts over fascist strategies either in profound secret, or by trying to convince the majority of people that these changes are in their interest. It smuggles fascism in under the guise of streamlining, preserving, updating 'democratic rights.' It sneaks fascism in via 'administrative means and directives' and through its courts. It is now adding a heavy attack upon the slackers and 'traitors' to the war in Vietnam- and Governor Wallace now says we fought on the wrong side in World War 2. Institutionalized White supremacy, Sexism, and National Chauvinism (patriotism -the America firsters) desperately wants to bring the majority white population back in line with the ruling class.

The fact that possibly a majority of white people in the US feel in some sense defeated or humiliated by the defeat of the US government intervention in Vietnam is something that the system is going all out to use to create a new patriotic, chauvinist "National Unity". This effort has to be defeated by all means.

We are convinced that such a catastrophic leap backwards can be prevented. Ways we see as important in moving to deal with these pressing issues are discussed in our final section.

POEMS BY PRISONERS

The body is in prison,
The mind escapes outside:
To bring about great things
The mind must be large and well-tempered.
-----by, Ho Chi Minh

Struggle to be Free

Struggle to be free
Ship me from home
Promised me riches
Put me in chains
Struggling to be free
Call me Pete, John & Joe
Couldn't say my name
Struggling to be free
Sold me, Stole from me
Struggling to be free
Took my respect
Sent me to the back door
Calling me hay/girl
Split my family
Sold my children, Still calling me
hay/girl. Struggle to be free
Put me in a rundown, broken down shack
Expecting me to call this home
Struggle to be free
Looking for a yes Master, no Master
When he know's and I know there's
but one Master... Yet I struggle to be
free
-----One of the Bedford 28 Coalition
Bedford Hills, N.Y.

People who come out of prison can
build up the country.
Misfortune is a test of people's
fidelity.
Those who protest at injustice
are people of true merit.
When the prison doors are opened,
the real dragon will fly out.
-----by, Ho Chi Minh

Work Stoppage

Work stoppage has come to Terre
Haute, Boldly displaying its human
courage, Prisoners united, as birds
in flight
Standing with heads high amidst
fiery winds. Believing (with our
lives) for what we feel
Flying eagles soaring above death
traps, Knowing that fear only
prolongs progress. Black, Spanish
and white have gather to strike
Gathered to stitch one seam for all
seasons-
To reclaim the fruits shaken from
our trees
-----Menard, Illinois

SECTION VIII

In our paper we have tried to be clear about the real class nature of the state and its legal and enforcement machinery. We have described and analyzed the purposes and uses of police guns and weaponry, of prison keepers and guard towers; we have drawn attention to the contrast between this naked force and violence and the fake impartiality of the law, between the sanctimonious ceremonials of the courts and the walls of prisons which keep its victims in and the people out. We have shown how these things mask and hide the fact that the state wars upon the people it pretends to represent. We have described the strategems (common to all reactionaries and fascists and establishment liberals too) of institutionalizing things like race and nationality, color, sex, privilege, religion, class and that this is done in order to enlist or draft one part of the people to help the authorities against the others.

We have shown that the 'legalized' and somewhat more concealed class and race war at home is just as fundamental to a capitalist empire as are its aggressions and genocide and looting in the world at large.

What we need to do now is to make sure that our movement and peoples strategy is built on these realities and takes into account all the consequences. The place to start is with the overall situation described in our introduction. The US is necessarily part of the whole set of crises in the world: crises that show signs of ending the age of world empire not too much further down the road.

What this means for our strategy is that the system and its state is not really strong---it is weak. Overall, that is; here and now it can still do a lot of damage. But the system is weak, and what is more, it showing that it has no real answers for the desperate and ferocious mess that it has landed us in.

This means that if we are clear and open about the fact that we can't patch up the system; we can't make the state or its legal nuts and bolts and grind-stones work for us, that will be real and it will be honest. What is more, it won't be narrow or sectarian---facts never are, once they are understood. Now is the best time ever for us to improve our understanding---all of us, tens of millions of us are now being forced by events to question whole generations of US-KKK type brainwashing. It's the same with internationalism---people in the world on the anti-imperialist track number in billions. We welcome and support third world struggles abroad and at home as our own, this does not weaken or isolate us, it makes us stronger. Victory will be sooner, easier, less costly, Working class and peoples anti-imperialist revolution and social transformation, as a result, is the most growing thing in the world. This also means that Third World and white revolutionaries in the US are also a necessary part of the strength of any fundamental struggle for changes in this country as well as in every smaller action aimed at survival and preparation.

In this process it is important that revolutionaries do not see themselves as the whole movement; nor should they adopt the practice of trying to take command by maneuvers or cutting up 'competitors' which follows from such concepts. We who are writing this feel that those who wish to play a revolutionary part must at the same time be totally bound-up with the struggles of our class and all oppressed and liberated peoples.

People who do not now hold revolutionary views about the necessity of replacing the old system with a new one (and in our country this still means most people) still have to fight to survive; most hate the evil things that capitalism does to them and to others. Our basis of unity with all of this majority is that we too want to survive and to survive we must resist together, collectively; we must help each other. The best way to conduct that struggle is by knowing the nature of the enemy and each of his moves and strategems. To know the best way to win; that understanding comes by combining the wisdom of the people living the day to day struggle to survive with the accumulated experience of revolutions in all countries.

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Of all the things that revolutionaries must eventually contribute to this process, perhaps the most important right now in the US is our feeling of strength and our sense of being part of a culminating world-wide peoples victory after so many long centuries of class rule-rooted in exploitation and various kinds of slavery.

So long as these things hold true, there are certain conclusions for our strategy and practice: From the knowledge that the system may appear strong but is really weak and failing and that we the people may be weak and divided in many ways, but are really strong and growing more so, we can define our strengths. People can survive ups and downs, people will renew the fight again and again because they must and because we have always before us the example of others who have won and are winning. The world does change, it changes daily and hourly. Gaps in our ranks will be filled, we will help prepare our own successors. Those who have fallen are not defeated- they show us how to fight and how not to fight.

Besides confidence in ourselves and our people and in victory we have some particular things to keep in mind:

The enemy is always involving us in his networks of laws, police, courts, prisons because this is his machinery of control and power; it is his battleground where we are always at a disadvantage. If we do get dragged into these traps we can only try to turn this bad thing into a good thing by the way we conduct our resistance and turn it into an offensive.

This means that we do not try to make the legal system work for us, it won't do that. We try to stop it from working against us, by any means available or necessary. Something of this spirit is contained in the "Turning the Regs Around" concept and practice of the resistance within the armed forces to the special oppression of military laws and orders of the brass hats.

This is the difference between the usual liberal view of legal battles and a class view; between that of the usual legal expert and a fighter for the people (who may sometimes be a lawyer, but that is a class description not an occupational one).

It is right to use legal points that may prove helpful and to employ legal advice when you need it. It is right to use whatever is in the constitution or other laws that people have put there by fighting for them at one time or another in the past. It is self-defeating to just put down those things and refuse to use them, because the legal system uses them hypocritically only as cover. Legal 'rights' should be used like the prison movement and jail-house lawyers use them, for whatever they may be worth toward freedom, but always to show how the enemy is so depraved that he refuses to honor his own boasted laws and standards.

The sum of it is that any legal battle worth doing has to be seen at one level or another as part of the class war--the people vs the system and the people have to control the issues and the strategy themselves utilizing law and expert assistance as needed.

We need to use every opportunity to expose and act against the class and frame-up 'railroad' nature that is built into the laws and courts. We use our rights best when we prove (and convince) people that the courts and the police really hate every concession that the people have forced into the laws, and we constantly show how the police and courts and prosecutors violate all of their own laws that might still give us some space to resist. And we have to show that this is not the product of a 'hanging judge' (although there are many of these), nor of a nasty cop or a killer employed as a prison guard (there are also plenty of these); these things follow from the very nature and function of the bourgeois legal process..

The aim then, is to disintegrate, clog up, frustrate, the attempts of the legal system to control and use and punish us. And we also want to spend more of our time, energy, and resources in our communities and streets than in courts and jails. This points up another strategic priority: to keep the enemy law enforcers out of our lives and communities and organizations as much as possible. This means to continue and expand the healthy class struggle and peoples tradition of keeping uniformed police and hidden informers and provocateurs OUT. (And now we have to also include all the LEAA troops and snoops and their money bait too.)

The other side of keeping the man's law out, is to avoid as much as possible entanglements that aren't necessary to our own

struggles or self defense. Differences between people need to be cooled out and settled among and by people themselves as much as possible. To do these things means to begin to organize a kind of elementary dual power-community power, worker power, our power, and cut down the reach of the law. This is the only possible real answer to the 'law and order' propaganda of the government. The 'crime in the streets' problem, such as it is, is one of the advanced decay of the existing social order, showing up on the streets. Until society is re-organized along human lines, only the consciousness and self-organization of people can help some. From the legal system we don't get protection, we need to protect ourselves from that system.

There is a lot of educating and self-education and organizing to do to unite around this kind of people power. Educating having to do with fighting racism, sexism, age-ism, elitism. Not by wiping out who we are or just using words like equality, but by respecting each other and really working out how to help each other and the priorities and needs of the different ways in which we move against the common enemy. The old unity slogan still holds good: 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'

We need to improve a lot in how we understand and support the sisters and brothers in prison who have been chosen by the system to pay the price of being bad examples, to show the rest of us how to behave or else. The prisoners movement is one of the very most important proofs that the system is cracking up. The people who used to feel guilty about being victims, and no-good for being convicted and thrown away into jail, have stood up. They not only declare themselves as human beings, part of their communities, their class and their people, they have also produced ideas and leaders for the entire country--Malcolm X, George Jackson, Assata Shakur, Lolita Lebrón, Jo-Ann Little, Inez Garcia, Rap Brown, Sam Melville, Marilyn Buck, Ruchelle Magee, Martin Sostre, Ahmad Evans, Geronimo, Herman Bell, Oscar Collazo, Gabriel and Francisco Torres, all the Attica Brothers, the Soledad Brothers, and the San Quentin Six.

Our response to the prisoners struggle is highly strategic, not only because their struggles and their victory over their own suffering and the degrading conditions of their daily lives, but also because their fate is now linked up tight with the rest of us.

The prisoners who resist and hit back, especially the Black and Brown--have been chosen as the special targets of the new mass circus trials that are meant to call forth a national 'white back lash' against those now being paraded as ferocious and less than human wild animals, as the real enemies of the free, respectable, and white part of the citizenry.

Attica, San Quentin 6, Zebra, SLA, these are the names of some of the 'small' US versions of the Reichstag fire being lit in Amerika. To prepare the way for bigger and more organized police and civilian SWAT teams and lynch mobs that will seal the 'soft' police control being pushed by LEAA. Most of these were chosen for resisting brutal attacks, some for hitting back at the system, the particulars are not as important as the pattern. What is being set up is an excuse for organizing domestic counter-insurgency: to perfect the war on prisoners and captives that is over 300 years old in this country, and to apply it to the whole population; but selecting first those unwilling to submit completely to slavery in disguise. This is the point where 'an injury to one is an injury to all' comes in if we are to defeat the whole process.

As to prisons as an institution, our objective is to take them apart stone by stone and use pieces to build something of human value. Not prisons, for sure.

One last shameful aspect of LEAA's strategies is that their schemes for the communities appear in some ways to be partly copied from Cuban and Chinese practice developed in their efforts to remove the causes and effects of harmful and anti-social acts and attitudes that still exist in these very new socialist societies. This is something like their effort to copy guerilla methods and tactics in the Third World, from Koreans, Chinese, Cubans, and Vietnamese, as done by the CIA, Green Berets, etc. But that effort has been a failure. The US can't imitate or defeat peoples war because imperialism is a monster system. Guerillas rely on the power of the people. The US cannot imitate peoples courts and criticism, self-criticism and re-moulding and changing human beings to help each other more because the system doesn't dare give the people power. It only wants to use community organizations and leaders to work for it while it extends the power reserved for itself further into our lives. AND THIS IS THE FINAL REASON IT WILL FAIL AND PEOPLE WILL WIN.