

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
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September 30, 1997

Inhe Choi, Program Director
Crossroads Fund
3411 W. Diversey, Suite 20
Chicago, IL 60647-1245

Dear Ms. Choi:

Please find attached a proposal for funding from the Crossroads Fund, to support a Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society during the summer of 1998.

As you may recall, we submitted this proposal during the last funding cycle (March, 1997). At the time, we expected to operate the Youth Institute during the summer of 1997. On the basis of that proposal, we were granted an interview in May, 1997. Due to a variety of circumstances, we determined that the Youth Institute would not have been possible this past summer, and we withdrew our proposal before final selections were made in June.

After much discussion, we have decided to re-initiate the Youth Institute for the summer of 1998. We feel the additional time available to us now, combined with new people committed to working on the project, will ensure its success this coming summer. Thus, we are resubmitting the proposal, with only minor changes from the version given to you in March. Key among these changes is the removal of Akil Al-Jundi from the list of guest instructors; Akil passed away in August. (In his memory, we are co-sponsoring an evening in commemoration of the Attica prison rebellion, the flyer for which is included with our proposal.) We have also added to the packet copies of the flyer we developed last spring to recruit for the Youth Institute.

Please feel free to contact Anne Meegan (773-276-3559) or Nancy Kurshan (773-472-1549) if you have questions or need further information. We look forward to working with the Crossroads fund in the coming year, and to making the Youth Institute a reality at last.

Sincerely,



Michael Staudenmaier,
on behalf of the Committee

(Note: This completed sheet should top and be stapled to each copy of your proposal.)

NAME OF ORGANIZATION Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML)
ADDRESS POB. 578172 PHONE (773) 472-1549 CITY Chicago
Chicago STATE IL ZIP 60657-8172 CONTACT PERSON(S) Anne Muegan ADDRESS _____

2734 N. Francisco Chicago 60647 PHONE (773) 276-3559 Please give a summary of your proposal. Who are you? What do you want to do with the money from Crossroads? How do you want to do it? (Please limit your description to the space provided below.)

The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML) is a Chicago-based volunteer organization originally founded in 1985 to bring public attention to the inhumane treatment of prisoners at the Marion Federal Penitentiary in Southern Illinois. Over the past eleven years, the Marion Lockdown has become the model for the development of control unit prisons in the federal prison system and for thirty-six states throughout the country. In control unit prisons all standard educational, vocational, recreational and religious activities are denied. Further, control units establish an atmosphere of sensory deprivation and isolation often resulting in severe psychological and physical deterioration. While our focus initially centered on ending the particular abuse at Marion prison, our work has expanded over the past decade to address the "Marionization" of the entire U.S. prison system. As control units have proliferated, the work of CEML has helped to generate a national movement of prison activists. CEML publishes a national newsletter entitled *Walking Steel* and serves as a resource center and clearinghouse for information. In 1994, CEML joined over 50 anti-control unit activists from around the country in founding the National Coalition to Stop Control Unit Prisons (NCSCUP). CEML then co-founded the Midwest Regional Coalition to Stop Control Unit Prisons which includes ten other Chicago-based groups as well as activists from Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin. Over the past two years, CEML and the Midwest Regional Coalition have organized successful activities including public hearings on criminal justice abuses held in Chicago, a bus caravan and demonstration to Indiana prisons, petition campaigns and fundraising events. In our work throughout the country, the NCSCUP has encountered students and youth from colleges, universities, high schools and programs targeting youth who are involved in activities to change the criminal justice system and who are interested in learning more from other prison movement activists. Here in Chicago, there is a wealth of resources — people, written materials, audio-visual materials, and real-life, real-time events — that could be tapped by these young activists to help facilitate a meaningful praxis in this crucial area of social involvement. In order to bring together these elements — young people working on criminal justice abuses and older educators and activists with a great deal of experience both studying issues of criminal justice and trying to transform the current system, CEML submitted a proposal to the NCSCUP to host a "Youth Institute Education and Action Project" in Chicago during the Summer of 1998 with the theme "Prisons, Racism and Society." The purpose of the Institute would be two-fold: 1.) To develop an understanding of crime, prisons and racism through readings, presentations, and discussions, and, 2.) To develop the skills necessary for participants to take action to change the current system. The Institute will be two-weeks in duration during the summer of 1998. To accomplish the education and action objectives, the Institute will begin most mornings with a guest speaker to present information and lead discussions on specific topics such as control units, the death penalty, women in prison, the relationship of prisons to racism, political prisoners, and the economics of imprisonment. The afternoons will generally be devoted to strategizing about how to do this work effectively and to the development of skills necessary for activism in the area of criminal justice. The proposal was enthusiastically received and NCSCUP members from around the country agreed to recruit participants and to raise funds to support travel, stipends and meals for participants to attend from outside of Chicago. CEML estimates that the Institute will cost approximately \$13,000 in total. CEML is requesting a total of \$7,000 from Crossroads primarily to support the participation of Chicago-area youth in the Institute. This request includes \$5,100 toward stipends and meals for 15 Chicago area participants. Paying stipends is essential in recruiting people to the Institute while being attentive to economic difficulties and the need for summer employment. To keep participant expenses to a minimum, the Institute will also provide both lunch and dinner to participants each day. This request also includes \$1,900 toward expenses related to hosting the Institute including a recruitment brochure, travel for three out-of-town instructors, local transportation for participants during the Institute and office supplies.

Period of time in which grant will be used: January - August 1998
Is request for general support or a project? Project Request
Organization's annual budget: \$5,500
Project budget, if applicable: \$13,000
Amount of request from Crossroads: \$7,000

**Grant Proposal from the
Committee to End the Marion Lockdown**

**PROJECT: PRISONS, RACISM & SOCIETY
YOUTH INSTITUTE EDUCATION AND ACTION PROJECT
SUMMER 1997**

1. **Brief History:** The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML) was formed in 1985. The initial purpose of the group was to bring to public attention the inhumane treatment of prisoners at Marion Federal Penitentiary in Southern Illinois. Under the "lockdown" situation, prisoners are locked in their cells 23 hours a day, and all standard educational, vocational, recreational, and religious activities are denied. It is a situation of complete sensory deprivation and isolation, which often results in severe psychological and physical deterioration. Originally described in 1985 as a "temporary" response to prison unrest, the Marion lockdown has never been lifted.

Marion was the first "control unit" prison in the United States. When we started our work, the Bureau of Prisons stated that Marion was necessary and that if they were allowed to maintain Marion on lockdown status, they would put all the "bad apples" there and thus free up the rest of the prison system. CEML argued just the opposite — that the existence of Marion would serve as an anchor, pulling the prison system in an ever more repressive direction. Unfortunately, we were correct. Since the lockdown began, Marion's "control unit" concept has been enthusiastically received by states and the federal prison system. The number of control units around the country has proliferated. Since 1983, thirty-six states have constructed control units. In 1995, the federal Bureau of Prisons updated its Marion model for the federal system and built a new, high technology control unit prison in Florence, Colorado. While our focus initially centered on ending the particular abuses at Marion Prison, our work has expanded over the past eleven years to address the "Marionization" of the entire U.S. prison system.

During the 1980s, we organized conferences every year; held annual demonstrations at Marion and at other prisons throughout the Midwest; conducted petition campaigns; and forced the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) to hold congressional hearings. In May 1991, we coordinated demonstrations in 7 states opposing the use of toxic water at Marion and in May 1992, we helped to organize demonstrations in 10 states against control unit prisons. When Indiana opened its first super-max prison in 1991, CEML lawyers worked closely with prisoners in a lawsuit and in a series of demonstrations in Indiana.

Until recently, Illinois did not have a supermax prison. However, in 1993 a rigged "task force" recommended that Illinois build such a prison in the southernmost town of Tamms, Illinois. Funded in part by a \$2,000 grant from the Crossroads Fund, CEML fought against the task force every inch of the way. We attended meetings, interrupted them when they wouldn't let us speak, wrote position papers that they ignored, petitioned the governor, joined in coalition with many other community-based organizations in Chicago, and held demonstrations. Unfortunately, the supermax was moved forward, and, we have heard, will open for business in early 1998. This was a serious loss for people in Illinois, especially for people of color. Now, 12% of the population of Illinois is Black, 65% of the prison population is Black, and 85% of maximum security prisons in Illinois are Black. No doubt the supermax will be filled almost entirely with Black prisoners — all of them to be guarded in their cages 24 hours a day by the white people who can find no other jobs in desolate southern Illinois.

As control units have proliferated, the work of CEML has helped to generate a national movement of prison activists. CEML publishes a national newsletter entitled *Walking Steel* and serves as a resource center and clearinghouse for information. We are contacted weekly by individuals from around the country, as well as the world, requesting information and resources on prison organizing.

Determined to coordinate activities that were taking place throughout the country to oppose control unit prisons, CEML members joined more than 50 anti-control unit activists from across the United States who traveled to Philadelphia in December 1994. The result of that two day meeting was the founding of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons (NCSCUP). After almost a year of informal discussions, a second national meeting

was hosted in Chicago by CEML in October 1995. There we settled on a seven-month plan to culminate in coordinated regional activities in opposition to control unit prisons in the Spring of 1996.

After this vision was established, those of us in the Midwest region established a regional coalition and began to plan for the spring. In addition to CEML, the Midwest Regional Coalition includes the following organizations: National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, Crossroad Support Network, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty, Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers, Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project, Prison Action Coalition, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the Aaron Patterson Defense Committee, 8th Day Center for Justice, the Autonomous Zone and several other individuals.

In April 1996, the Midwest Region sponsored a day long hearing in Chicago on control unit prisons and political prisoners attended by over 150 people. The hearing was presided over by a panel of "eminent" persons including Illinois Representative Coy Pugh, U.S. Congress member Danny Davis and Dr. Quentin Young. Powerful testimony on a broad range of criminal justice system abuses was provided by witnesses including Illinois Clemency Project for Battered Women Director Margaret Byrne, former death row prisoner Delbert Tibbs, Cook County Hospital Women and Children's AIDS Program Director Dr. Mardge Cohen and numerous ex-prisoners and current prisoners of control units who provided written and audio-taped testimony.

Two weeks later in May 1996, the Midwest Region organized over 100 people from Chicago, Indiana, Missouri and Ohio to caravan by car and bus to two demonstration points in Indiana — the Wabash Valley Secured Housing Unit in Carlisle, Indiana's second control unit prison, and the U.S. Penitentiary at Terre Haute, where Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Edwin Cortes is currently incarcerated and the site of the federal death row. Participants included over two dozen young activists from Antioch College, Columbia College, Northeastern Illinois University, Pedro Albizu Campos High School and the Hull House Advocacy Program for wards of the state.

The Midwest Region was one of numerous locations across the country that sponsored activities in Spring 1996 as part of the NCSCUP initiative. Activities were also held in Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Boulder, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. At its third meeting in October 1996, the NCSCUP declared its Spring 1996 activities a success and considered proposals for coordinated projects in the coming year. Student contingents present from Oberlin College, the University of Colorado, the University of Maryland and Antioch College noted the significant interest and involvement of youth in the Spring activities and the need to provide support and assistance to students/youth groups organizing to protest criminal justice system abuses. In response, CEML proposed that a "Youth Institute Education and Action Project" focussed on "Prisons, Racism and Society" be held in Chicago over the summer of 1996. CEML in collaboration with the Midwest Regional Coalition, offered to take the lead in developing and hosting the Institute as well as recruiting Chicago area youth. Other cities agreed to organize youth from their areas to attend and to raise funds to support their participation. The Youth Institute Project will be the central activity of CEML through the Summer of 1996.

2. Structure: CEML is a small committee with a core of 7-10 very active members and a mailing list of 500 in the Chicago area, and 1,200 others (including 300 prisoners). Membership is open to all and currently includes activists from many different movements and social service professionals. Our demonstrations regularly draw 100-200 people and our conferences and programs draw 150-300 participants. We are entirely voluntary; we have no office or paid staff; and finance our activities solely through donations, fundraising events and sales of materials. Decisions are made through consensus at bi-monthly meetings. We will work closely with the Midwest Regional Coalition on the Summer Institute Project (see list of organizations above). All decisions regarding the project will be made by consensus with the Midwest Regional Coalition through bi-monthly planning meetings with input from the NCSCUP Steering Committee through its monthly conference calls.

3. The Community We Serve: We view ourselves as serving 1.) Prisoners in control unit prisons throughout the U.S., 2.) Political prisoners, 3.) Family and friends of prisoners, 4.) Prison activists from around the country (through our conferences, resources, newsletter and participation in regional and national organizing activities), and 5.) The general public through our educational activities. We receive correspondence from prisoners across the county and respond personally to all requests. We seek to encourage direct communication between those inside and those outside. We publish collections of prisoner's

writings and have received tremendous feedback from prisoners on the impact of our demonstrations outside of their prisons.

4. The Problem – Our Purpose/Goals: Imprisonment is a critical instrument of social control, particularly used to control people of color, working class people, and the working poor in this country. The incarceration of 1.5 million people in the U.S. is having a devastating affect on communities of color. Increasing numbers of men and women are being removed from their communities, often leaving behind children to be raised by other family members or state foster care. Imprisonment is now at explosive proportions impacting on local economies, state budgets and on public ideology. There is a growing consciousness about the imprisonment binge among pockets of young people around the country as evidenced in the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. We have also seen youth consciousness in those who have been attracted to the Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons, including people from diverse places such as Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey and Ohio. Additionally, these last few years there have been anarchist gatherings of predominantly young people around the country. Many of them have had a criminal justice component.

On the one hand, young people are working on their own, trying to organize around a difficult set of issues at a difficult time in history. They need support and assistance. On the other hand, there are many older educators and activists who have had a great deal of experience both studying issues of criminal justice and trying to transform the situation. Here in Chicago there is a wealth of resources – people, written materials, audio-visual materials, and real-life, real-time events – that could be tapped to facilitate a meaningful praxis in this crucial area of social involvement.

CEML proposes to join these different elements through sponsoring a Summer Youth Institute Education and Action Project with the theme "Prisons, Racism and Society." The Institute would be two weeks in duration during the summer of 1998. Participants will include 25 young people from across the United States with 15 spaces reserved for Chicago area residents. We will strive to develop a diverse group, particularly recruiting people of color and women. We will pay a modest stipend to those who could not afford to participate otherwise. Other groups in the NCSCUP will aid in the recruitment resulting in a geographical diversity as well.

The goal of Institute is two-fold: 1.) to develop an understanding of the relationship of crime, prisons and racism through readings, presentations and discussions, and 2.) to develop the skills necessary for participants to take action to change the current system. To accomplish the education and action objectives, the Institute will begin most mornings with a guest speaker to present information and lead discussions on specific topics such as control units, the death penalty, women in prison, the relationship of prisons to racism, political prisoners, and the economics of imprisonment. A roster of facilitators and speakers is in the process of being assembled. Readings related to discussion topics will be distributed in advance and during the Institute.

The afternoons will generally be devoted to strategizing about how to do this work effectively and to the development of skills necessary for activism in the area of criminal justice. Participants will learn how to put together story boards and a simple newspaper through the actual productions. They will also visit prisoners, including some on death row. At the beginning of the Institute, a demonstration will be planned at some logical target in Chicago to be held toward the end of the two week Institute. The students will also work on planning and implementing the demonstration as part of the Institute.

Through the Youth Institute and Education Project, CEML hopes to have a substantial affect in deepening and broadening the consciousness of participants in the area of criminal justice abuse. Ultimately we hope to contribute toward the development of a movement of people in this country opposed to current criminal justice practices and a different and humane vision for the future. In the short term, we hope the Institute contributes to the initiation of a "Fall Offensive" around criminal justice issues, whereby participants would agree with one another to organize coordinated activities in the Fall in the various locales to which they will return. For example, the participants might decide on a national student/youth newsletter, or a series of simultaneous demonstrations, or a to establish a prisoner visitation program in many states.

5. Our Activities: 1.) Production of a wide range of educational materials on control unit prisons and the prison system in general - newsletters, books, pamphlets, videos, Internet web site etc... Because there are small numbers of prison activists scattered all over the country, these materials have played an invaluable role

in educating the public and creating forums for communication among activists. 2.) Annual Conferences/Educational Programs – CEML has conducted dozens of educational programs and numerous conferences related to control unit prisons, racism and incarceration and other issues related to imprisonment in the U.S. CEML sponsored a video presentation in February 1997 to mark Black History Month where it showed "The Fire This Time" and facilitated a discussion on the role of police in African American communities. 3.) Demonstrations – annual demonstrations at control unit prisons around the country. 5.) Prisoner Support – correspondence with prisoners, publication of their writings, documentation and publicizing abuses. 6.) Petition Campaign –in the summer of 1996, CEML circulated a petition calling for the transfer of six Black prisoners in Indiana who had been placed in a control unit as punishment for a hunger strike they undertook to protest the execution of a prisoner believed to have been framed by police. CEML members traveled to a popular shopping mall near the prison in Indiana to distribute educational information regarding the case. 7.) Emergency Response Network (ERN) – a telephone and e-mail tree of activists to respond to emergency situations. The most recent ERN call was issued in February 1997 asking activists to call the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons to protest reports received from Black prisoners at Marion that guards were inciting fights between Black and White prisoners and using the outbreak of violence as an opportunity to beat the Black prisoners including breaking one prisoner's wrist.

6. **Social Change:** We believe our work clearly falls within the Crossroads' social change guidelines. Directly, our work defends the political and human rights of one of the most marginalized and yet rapidly growing sectors of our society, while addressing wider issues of inequality, racism, political repression and social control. CEML members do not view this work in isolation from the many other struggles for social justice taking place.

7. **Grant Request:** We intend to operate a Youth Summer Institute for Criminal Justice Issues in Chicago, during July of 1998. We have received in-kind donations from individuals and groups to cover the major expenses of this project, including housing and space in which to hold the Institute. It is our intent to cover costs completely so that students can attend for free. Expenses the Crossroads grant would cover can be broken down into the following categories:

Operational Support to Sponsor the Institute:

- **Brochure to Recruit Participants** = \$500
Requested funds to be used for printing and mailing costs for an informational brochure and related material for potential students.
- **Transportation to Chicago for 3 Out-of-Town Instructors** = \$900
Funds will be used to pay for transportation to Chicago for three prison activists to serve as instructors for the Institute, including Ethel and Julius Rosenberg Co-Defendant Morton Sobell from San Francisco and NCSCUP National Coordinator Bonnie Kerness from New Jersey.
- **Local transportation** = \$300
Funds will pay for a portion of students' transportation costs while in Chicago including class-related field trips to prisons, etc.
- **Office Supplies** = \$200
Funds will pay for office supplies such as pens, paper, overheads, folders etc. for both organizers and participants.

Support for 15 Chicago Area Participants:

- **Stipends for 15 students @ \$100/week for 2 weeks** = \$3,000
Paying stipends is essential in recruiting people to the Institute while being attentive to economic difficulties and the need for summer employment.
- **Meals for 15 students @ \$10/day for 14 days** = \$2,100
In order to keep participant expenses to a minimum, the Institute will provide lunch and dinner to participants each day.

TOTAL CROSSROADS REQUEST = \$7,000

CEML expects expenses related to sponsoring the Institute to total approximately \$13,000. The Crossroads grant request covers over 50% of the effort. Additional resources to support out of town participants and other

Institute related expenses will be pursued by CEML and other member organizations of NCSCUP.

8. Current Fundraising Activities: Our ongoing fundraising efforts include a.) Requests for donations, b.) Sales of resource materials, and, c.) Fundraising benefit events such as movies and programs. CEML also writes grant proposals to fund specific projects. In April 1996, we applied and received an emergency award of \$500 from Resist to fund buses for Chicago participants in a caravan to an Indiana control unit and the federal death row in Terre Haute, Indiana.

9. Organizational Status: The Eighth Day Center for Justice serves as CEML's tax exempt sponsor. Address: Charles Carney, Eighth Day Center for Justice, 205 West Monroe, Chicago, Illinois 60606, telephone (312) 641-5151.

10. Evaluation of Effectiveness: The success of the Institute will be evaluated based on the following indicators:

- recruitment of twenty-five young people to participate in the Institute as students;
- student satisfaction with the Institute as demonstrated in an exit questionnaire provided to participants;
- successful completion of group projects including production of a newspaper, a story board and the staging of a demonstration to protest control units in Chicago at the end of the Institute;
- students return to their own communities and initiate further campaigns and projects related to criminal justice issues as demonstrated in ongoing communication between student groups and members of NCSCUP.

The staff and board of Crossroads will be supplied with copies of written materials produced as a part of the Institute, including student publications and will be invited to participate in the demonstration planned by Institute participants. CEML will respond to all requests for information from Crossroads and will submit requested program and fiscal reports on the project.

11. Membership: CEML has no formal Board of Directors or Steering Committee. Membership includes any active member who regularly attends meetings. We are an all-white group, although we work very closely with organizations in the Puerto Rican and African-American communities. We feel that our responsibility as white people is to do anti-racist organizing within the white community, and our focus has been to educate and organize white people in particular about the racial injustices in imprisonment. However, most of our programs and events are carried out through co-sponsorship and participation with organizations of people of color. The attendance at most of our events is usually about 30-40% people of color; and our speakers are typically 50% or more people of color. We welcome and have lesbian/gay members. We have co-sponsored events on AIDS in prison with ACT-UP Chicago. We also attempt to educate our constituency about the particular oppression of women in prison and featured speakers and writings from feminist groups including Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers and the Illinois Clemency Project for Battered Women. Additionally, the Midwest Regional Coalition is multi-racial in composition and includes organizations representing the African American/New Afrikan community including prisoners and ex-prisoners, the Puerto Rican community, women in prison, lesbian/gay rights activists, death penalty activists, anti-racist and anarchist activists.

CEML Members:

Russell Brinkman, active in Puerto Rico solidarity and anti-racist work
Tony Hintze, case worker for low income elderly persons and peace and justice activist
Nancy Kurshan, social worker, anti-war and women's movement activist
Tim Looney, anti-death penalty activist
Anne Meegan, lesbian feminist, anti-racist, women's movement and queer activist
Michael Stanek, Plowshares member, peace and justice activist
Steven Whitman, health researcher, longtime prison support organizer

CROSSROADS FUND GRANT APPLICATION -- FINANCIAL INFORMATION

Organization Name: Committee to End the Motion Lockdown (CEML) What is your organization's fiscal year? (Begins in month of January to (Ends month of) December)

INCOME	Actual Income & Expense in Last Completed Year	Budget For Current Year	Budget For Next Year**
OPENING FUND BALANCE		(-500)	(-500)
Membership Dues			
Contributions	3,000	3,500	6,000
Special Events	1,000	1,000	1,000
Corporate Gifts			
Foundation Grants			13,000
Government Grants			
Fees for Service			
Literature Sales	1,000	1,000	1,000
Other (what?)			
TOTAL INCOME	5,000	5,000	20,500
EXPENSES			
Salaries/Wages			
Employee Benefits			
Payroll Taxes			
Occupancy (rent, utilities, etc.)			
Supplies			200
Telephone	800	800	800
Postage/Mailings	1,200	1,200	1300
Printing/Copying	3,000	3,000	3300
Fundraising			
Equipment			
Travel			4200
Meetings/Conferences			
Subscriptions/Publications			
Miscellaneous	500	500	500
Other (what?)			10,200
TOTAL EXPENSES	5,500	5,500	20,500
YEAR-END FUND BALANCE	(-500) *	(-500) *	Ø

* This figure becomes the following year's Opening Fund Balance.

** You must complete this column if your current fiscal year will end within 3 months from when a Crossroads' grant would be awarded (e.g., if your current fiscal year ends on December 30, and you are applying for a grant to be awarded the following January; or if your current fiscal year ends on June 30, and you are applying for a grant to be awarded that month). You do not need to complete this column if your fiscal year will end more than 3 months after a grant from Crossroads would be awarded.

Description of CEML Member Responsible for Project Oversight

Nancy Kurshan will be the lead person responsible for oversight of the Youth Institute and Education and Action Project. Nancy is a founding member of CEML and has been a leading member throughout the organization's eleven year history. Nancy is a professional social worker in the Chicago Public School system. Nancy's work schedule will allow her to focus her attention full-time on the Youth Institute during the summer.

Nancy will be assisted by other members of CEML and the Midwest Regional Coalition in recruitment of Chicago area youth, development of the Institute curriculum, identification of reading materials, housing and meal arrangements and logistics.

CEML References

1. Dr. Mardge Cohen
Women & Children's AIDS Project
Cook County Hospital
1825 W. Harrison Street
Chicago, IL 60612
(312) 633-3327
2. JoAnn Archibald
Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers
205 West Randolph Street, Suite 830
Chicago, IL 60606
(312) 332-5537
3. Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake
Prisoners of Conscience Project
2744 Bryant Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201
(847) 328-1543
4. Delbert Tibbs
Poet, Former Death Row Prisoner and Anti-Death Penalty Activist
5451/2 East 60th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
(773) 363-4140

**Invited Guest
Presenters at the
Youth Institute on
Prisons, Racism
and Society:**

Akil Al-Jundi

participant in and survivor of the
Attica Prison rebellion

Bonnie Kerness

Coordinator of the
National Campaign to Stop Control
Unit Prisons

José López

leading member of the
Puerto Rican independence move-
ment

Morton Sobell

co-defendent with Julius and Ethel
Rosenberg

Delbert Tibbs

Former wrongly convicted death-row
inmate

**Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society
c/o Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172, Chicago, IL 60657-8172**

**YOUTH
INSTITUTE ON
PRISONS,
RACISM AND
SOCIETY**



**Chicago, Illinois
July 7-20, 1997**

**Sponsored by the
National Campaign to Stop
Control Unit Prisons**

Are you a young activist working on prison issues — freedom for political prisoners, shutting down control units, fighting for the rights of women in prison, ending the criminalization of youth, combatting AIDS in prison, eliminating the death penalty? Are you interested in working on campaigns like these? Are you between the ages of 18 and 22? If the answer is yes, we would like to invite you to Chicago for two weeks in July, 1997, for a Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society. We have an exciting program designed to help young activists develop the knowledge-base and skills for radical prison activism.

What is the Youth Institute?

The Youth Institute will run from July 7 to July 20, and is being organized by the Chicago section of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons (NCSCUP). As one of thirty participants from around the country, you will develop an understanding of crime,

prisons, and racism through readings, discussions, and presentations. Simultaneously, you will gain the skills necessary to organize and participate in campaigns to change the current "criminal" "justice" system. By addressing both these needs, the Youth Institute will help you and other young activists become more knowledgeable and experienced. Emphasis will be placed on developing models of community and campus organizing.

Planned activities at the Youth Institute include presentations and roundtable discussions; step-by-step, how-to workshops; and visits to area prisons, as part of a protest, a visiting delegation, or both.

Mornings will be devoted to guest speakers and discussions on topics such as control units, the death penalty, women in prison, prisons and racism, political prisoners,

and the economics of imprisonment, among others. These discussions will draw heavily from readings as well as the experiences of speakers and participants.

Afternoons will focus on the mechanics of prison activism, including hands-on workshops on desk-top publishing, the creation and distribution of press releases and leaflets, and other skills. These skills will be put to use as participants develop and carry out a demonstration toward the end of the Youth Institute. This final project will be student-directed with the assistance of the staff of the Youth Institute, and will draw together the different experiences the two weeks offered.



The Staff of the Youth Institute

The Chicago section of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons includes activists with decades of organizing experience in Puerto Rican, New African, and white communities. The Youth Institute Director, Nancy Kurshan, a founding member of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, has decades of experience working on issues of racism and imprisonment. Her writings on the topic of women's imprisonment have been published widely.

Nuts and Bolts

The Youth Institute will take place at the Puerto Rican Cultural Center (PRCC) in central Chicago. The PRCC has been a hub of prison activism for over twenty years, and houses a small alternative high school. Participants in

the Youth Institute will reside for the two weeks with staff and with other activists in Chicago. Participation in the Youth Institute will be free of charge, and room and board (two meals daily) will be provided. Stipends will be available to cover portions of travel costs, as well as to assist working youth in participating by compensating for income lost during participation. These stipends will be awarded on a cash-available basis to students demonstrating need.

How to Apply

There is no standard application form for the Youth Institute. To participate, please write a letter of application, containing your name and contact information, and describing

your previous experience, the source of your interest in prison activism, what you hope to get out of the Youth Institute, and your future plans. Your letter should be no longer than three pages. Also, if you need financial assistance, please describe

your situation and your needs in an additional page. We encourage early application: letters should be received no later than June 2, 1997 for priority consideration, and students will be notified within one week of this deadline whether they have been accepted. After June 2, applications will be considered only on a space-available basis.

We hope you will join us in July as we continue the struggle to change the "criminal" "justice" system, on the road to bringing about a more just and free society.

Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society
c/o Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
POB 578172, Chicago, IL 60657-8172
773•472•1549 (phone) 773•342•6609 (fax)

Addendum

1. **CEML Resource List and Sample Publications**
2. **Sample Event Leaflets**
3. **Sample Emergency Response Network Notices**
4. **Newspaper Clippings from Spring 1996 Activities Sponsored by the Midwest Regional Coalition to Stop Control Unit Prisons**
5. **National Coalition to Stop Control Unit Prisons Spring 1996 Newsletter**
6. **Information on Proposed Youth Institute Instructor Morton Sobell**
7. **Sample Correspondence from Youth Activist in Arkansas Received by CEML**

**RESOURCES AVAILABLE
from the
COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN**

<u>Item</u>	<u>Price</u>
The Continuing Crime of Black Imprisonment - Control units sit on top of the U.S. prison system which incarcerates Black people at a rate five times more often than in South Africa. And this imprisonment does not prevent crime. So what is its purpose? This article describes the racist nature of imprisonment in this country.	\$1
The Prison Quiz - Asks and answers the main questions people are posing about prisons, the questions that, if left unanswered, myths are made of.	free
Reflections on Ten Years of the Lockdown - People who are or who have been prisoners at Marion speak out on how the lockdown impacted their lives and what control units mean politically. Assembled on the tenth anniversary of the lockdown.	\$5
Walkin' Steel - CEML's semi-annual newsletter, devoted to abolishing control units, containing documents and reports about the planned control unit prison in Florence, CO. Much information; good analysis. Contributions are requested for subscriptions.	\$2 per issue
From Alcatraz to Marion to Florence: Control Unit Prisons in the U.S. - Two members of CEML have written this extensive analysis of control unit prisons. Included is a partial list of such prisons, a definition of them and some suggestions for combating these prisons.	\$3
Amnesty International Report - The first time ever that AI condemned a U.S. prison. This report demonstrates that "there is hardly a rule [in the U.N.'s Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners] that is not infringed in some way or another" at Marion.	\$3
Poster - "From Attica to Marion to Florence, the Inhumanity Will Continue Unless We Stop It!" 3 colors, 18" x 24"; designed to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the great Attica prison rebellion and to remind us all of the need to fight against the brutality of prisons.	\$10
T-Shirt - 100% cotton; front says "No Super Max Prison" while back contains facts on the racist nature of imprisonment. Available in white on black, black on white, or black on gray. Sizes are medium, large, and extra large. Indicate style and size.	\$15

VIDEOS AVAILABLE FROM CEML

Shut Down the Control Units! Video - This 30-minute, professionally-produced video discusses the conditions at Marion, the history of control unit prisons, their relationship to U.S. society in general and racism in particular, and some ways in which we can work to abolish them forever.	\$33
"20/20" Show on Marion - This segment from March, 1988 vividly demonstrates the violence of the prison using never seen before footage from inside the prison. It includes interviews with prisoners who describe their innermost fear and fury.	\$12
Attica - This movie, made in the early seventies, documents the great rebellion that took place at Attica prison from September 9 - 13, 1971. This 81-minute film has become one of the most important documents in the history of the prison movement. Now essentially unavailable on film, it has been converted to video by CEML.	\$53

(over for more)

CNN on the Just-Opened Control Unit at Florence and 60 Minutes on the Control Unit at Pelican Bay - Brutality piled upon brutality is exposed. Both segments on one tape. \$15

Program on the Racist Imprisonment Binge - Featuring Jerome Miller, well-known anti-prison activist, Randy Stone, law professor, and Carlos Vega, prisoner for 13 years. All address the evils of mass incarceration at a program in Chicago attended by 400 people. \$15

Please circle the items you want, indicate the quantity desired, and return with payment to:

**Committee To End The Marion Lockdown (checks made out to this name)
P.O. Box 578172, Chicago, Illinois 60657-8172 (312) 235-0070.**

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Total Amt Enclosed _____

(Please contact us for special bulk rates.)

RESOURCES ABOUT PRISONS AVAILABLE FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Libertad - A publication of the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners. This is written by these prisoners in a clear and decisive manner. Published in both English and Spanish. Yearly Subscriptions are \$15. Order from the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 476698, Chicago, IL 60647.

Crossroad - A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter. This publication contains news updates and detailed analyses of relevant topics written by New Afrikan prisoners and supporters. Issues are \$3 each, \$1.50 for prisoners. Write to: Crossroad, 1340 W. Irving Park Road, Ste # 108, Chicago, IL 60613.

Can't Jail the Spirit - A collection of biographies of political prisoners and prisoners of war. This 200-page book is now in its third edition. It is an essential resource that refutes the government's lie that there are no political prisoners in this country. \$15 including postage. Mail to CJTS, Ellen Youniss, 59 E Van Buren, Ste 1400, Chicago, IL 60605.

Prison News Service - A comprehensive newspaper that carries information about prisons and repression around the world. Subscriptions are available from Bulldozer, POB 5052, Stn A, Ontario, Canada M5W, 1W4.

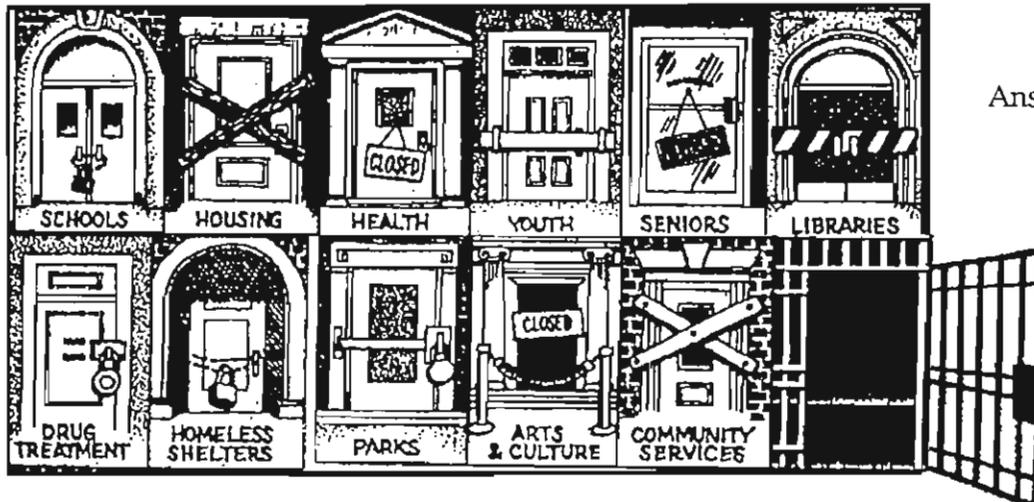
Prison Legal News - A monthly newsletter published and edited by two Washington state prisoners. An excellent resource for anyone interested in prisons in the United States. Subscriptions are \$12 per year or \$1 for a sample copy. Write to PLN, Box 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460.

Shut Them Down - Newsletter of the Colorado coalition to shut down isolation prisons. A special newsletter from a very active group of people. A must! Subscription price is by contribution. Write to them at Rocky Mountain Peace Center, Box 1156, Boulder, CO 80306.

Pelican Bay Express - The newsletter published by people opposing the incredible horrors of the special housing unit (SHU) at Pelican Bay, CA. Presents the details of one of the most important prison struggles. Order from Pelican Bay Information Project, 2489 Mission Street, #28, San Francisco, CA 94110. \$15 for a one-year sub.

THE PRISON QUIZ

1. Over the past 25 years (1970-95), violent crime in the U.S. has:
 - a. increased by 15%
 - b. increased by almost half
 - c. more than doubled
 - d. remained approximately the same.
2. During the past 25 years, the rate at which people have been incarcerated in the U.S. has:
 - a. slightly increased
 - b. slightly decreased
 - c. almost doubled
 - d. almost quadrupled
 - e. remained approximately the same
3. Studies have shown that higher imprisonment rates will lower the crime rate.
 - a. true
 - b. false
4. The incarceration rate for black people in the U.S. is approximately ____ that of white people.
 - a. the same as
 - b. 8 times
 - c. 2 1/2 times
 - d. 5 times
5. Black people are 4 times as likely to be arrested on drug charges as white people, even though the two groups use drugs at almost the same rate.
 - a. true
 - b. false
6. Although the incarceration rate for black people in the U.S. is high, it is significantly less than the incarceration rate for black people in South Africa.
 - a. true
 - b. false
7. There are more black men in prison today than are attending college.
 - a. true
 - b. false
8. It costs more to send a person to prison for a year than to Harvard for a year.
 - a. true
 - b. false
9. U.S. inmates are serving shorter prison terms today than in the past.
 - a. true
 - b. false
10. Approximately _____ percent of inmates in prison today have been convicted of a violent crime.
 - a. 50%
 - b. 72%
 - c. 25%
 - d. 36%
11. Politicians have proposed tough crime legislation because the public almost uniformly favors "lock-em-up" solutions to crime.
 - a. true
 - b. false
12. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have criticized and condemned U.S. prisons for violations of the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners.
 - a. true
 - b. false
13. By the late 1980's, the U.S. far and away led the world in the rate of incarceration of its own citizens.
 - a. true
 - b. false



Answers on back...

CCRIB (Campaign to Confront the Racist Imprisonment Binge)
 P.O. Box 578172, Chicago, Illinois 60657-8172
 Telephone (312) 235-0070, Fax (312) 235-6699

ANSWERS

1. **d. remained about the same.**

Although we have witnessed some new phenomena, such as drive by shootings, for example, there has been no significant change between the rate of violent crime in 1970 and that in 1994.

2. **d. almost quadrupled.**

Despite little or no change in the crime rate we are putting people in prison at an altogether unprecedented rate.

3. **b. false.**

Studies have shown that crime stems from societal causes and that higher imprisonment rates do not affect the crime rate. Similarly, it has been repeatedly shown that the death penalty does not deter murder.

4. **b. 8 times.**

In addition, the rate for Latinos is approximately 4 times that of whites. In Illinois, the rate for black people is 14 times that of whites.

5. **a. true**

It is also true that the penalties are much higher for use of crack cocaine, a drug often used in poorer communities, than for cocaine, a drug preferred in wealthier communities.

6. **b. false**

In 1992, the incarceration rate for black people in the U.S. was 4 1/2 times as great as that for black people in South Africa.

7. **a. true**

In 1992 there were 583,000 black men in prison compared to 537,000 in college. Since that date the margin has widened.

8. **a. true**

The extremely high cost of keeping a person in prison, it should be noted, is almost entirely due to the physical plant and to the security measures involved, not for the needs of prisoners. (beyond basic needs)

9. **b. false**

Since 1923, the average length of stay for prisoners has always been about 2 years. However, because of harsher sentencing policies implemented in the 1980's and 90's, the average length of stay is increasing.

10. **c. 25 percent.**

Most prisoners have committed crimes that involve no violence and little financial loss to the victim.

11. **b. false**

Nationally, four out of five Americans favor community corrections programs for offenders who are not dangerous.

12. **a. true**

Many of the new control unit prisons in the U.S. have been cited by groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for practicing psychological torture. These prisons, ostensibly, were created to hold violent and disruptive inmates but have also been used to hold political prisoners and to curb dissent.

13. **a. true**

By the late 80's, the U.S. had a much higher incarceration rate than any other country in the world. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russia's incarceration rate has increased and, at times, surpassed even that of the U.S. Today, the U.S. and Russia continue to, far and away, lead the world in imprisoning their own citizens.

You may find the answers to these questions surprising and troubling. Why are we putting so many people in prison in the U.S.? Why are we putting an extraordinary number of black people and other people of color there? Why are we willing to spend so much money for prisons, when it would cost less to fund programs like job training, drug counseling, etc.? Why have some U.S. prisons taken a turn, so mean as to use methods of sensory deprivation and torture? Why aren't politicians acknowledging and discussing these facts?

We have been considering all of these issues. If you would like to find out where we got our information, gain more information or if you would like to be a part of our group, please contact us at :

CCRIB (Campaign to Confront the Racist Imprisonment Binge)

P.O. Box 578172

Chicago, Illinois 60657-8172

Telephone (312) 235-0070

Fax (312) 235-6699

THE MYTH THAT THE PELICAN BAY CONTROL UNIT HAS REDUCED VIOLENCE

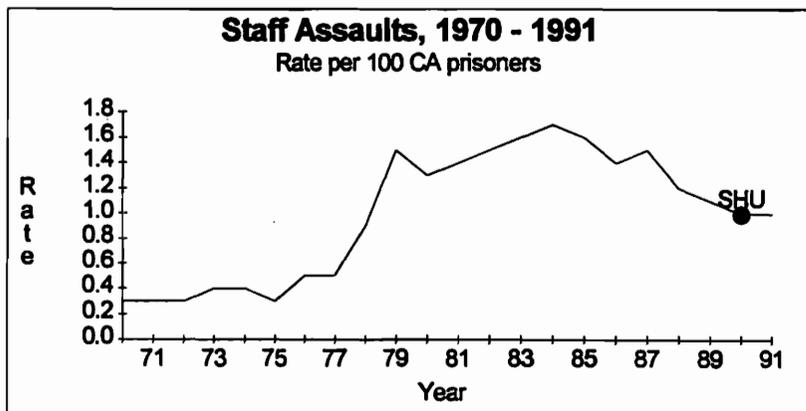
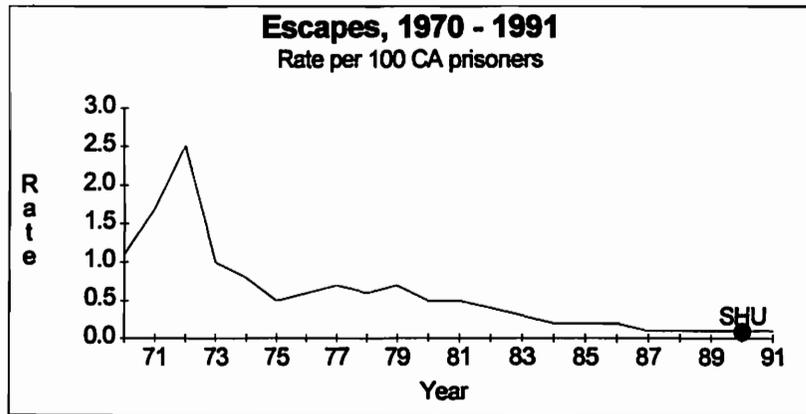
In the Fall of 1993 Pelican Bay prison, located in northern California, went on trial for violating the human rights of the prisoners caged there. Much of the testimony has come against the control unit prison, the Special Housing Unit (SHU), which is part of the Pelican Bay complex and which holds 1500 prisoners. As we write this, at the end of 1993, the trial, Madrid v. Gomez (one of the prisoners filing the lawsuit versus the director of the California Department of Corrections), has just come to an end but a decision is not expected for several months.

During the course of the trial members of CEML were often asked to comment on what was happening there. Whenever we would speak about the human rights violations of USP Marion and all other control unit prisons, including Pelican Bay, people would say to us "But it works in reducing prison violence, doesn't it?" We would respond by saying that even if it did reduce violence it still wouldn't be ok, and that we were certain that structurally it couldn't reduce violence, just as prisons structurally cannot reduce violence or crime in general.

(See the first-page article of the Fall, 1993 issue of CEML's newsletter, "Walkin' Steel," for a detailed explanation of why this is the case.) In response to this formulation our questioners would show us some numbers distributed by the California Department of Corrections, and published in major newspapers across the country and used on tv stations throughout Chicago. What these figures showed was a reduction in violence in the California prison system since the SHU in Pelican Bay opened in December of 1989.

Many people used such data to "prove" to us that the SHU was acceptable. One of the main proponents of this mode of argument were leaders of the Illinois chapter of AFSCME, the allegedly progressive union, which was the major force in the pursuit of a control unit prison for Illinois. This prison, they maintain, will serve as a device to protect the guards in the state prison system, one of the many groups represented by AFSCME. Others, of course, use this argument as well. California Corrections director James Gomez was quoted by the media as crediting the SHU with greatly decreasing violence in the system. Similarly, California Deputy Attorney General, Peter Siggins, has informed the media: "The simple truth about Pelican Bay is that it is working. Assaults by prisoners and lock downs have declined throughout the prison system." Let us examine this "simple truth."

CEML has just obtained the most recent annual report of the California Department of Corrections,



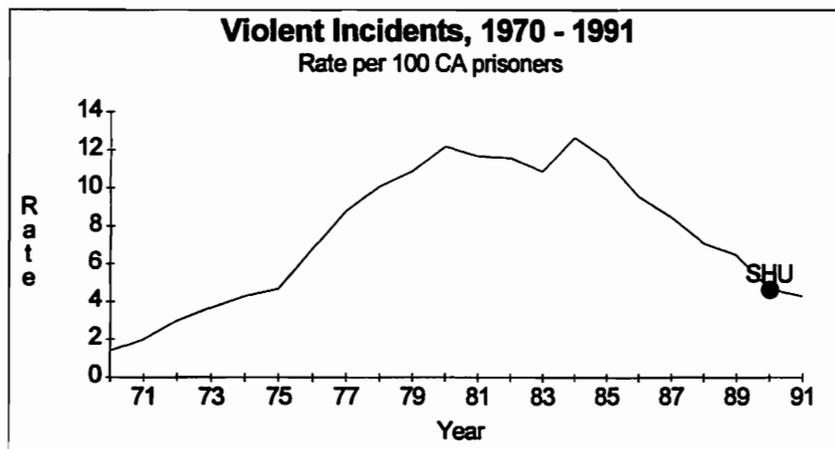
"California Prisoners and Parolees." This 95-page report contains thousands of numbers. Three of these sets of numbers are related to the stated purpose of the SHU. These are prison escapes, violent prison incidents, and assaults on staff. We have converted these numbers to rates per 100 prisoners (a common analytic tool) and plotted each set of rates over time, since 1970, the first year given in the report.

The results are astounding. Although the California Department of Corrections has informed everyone that violence decreased from 1989 to 1990 (the first full year of the SHU) and then again from 1990 to 1991, these correctional experts forgot to mention that all three measures have been declining, although in different ways, for as much as a decade.

**** Prison Escapes --** These rates were about 2.5 20 years ago and have declined steadily since then until 1991 when the rate was about 0.1. In fact this rate has been 0.1 since 1987.

**** Assaults on Staff --** These rates were 0.3 20 years ago, rose to 1.7 in 1984 and have been falling ever since. In fact, the rate did not even decline between 1990 and 1991.

**** Violent Incidents --** These rates were about 2.0 20 years ago, rose to 13.0 in 1984 and have been falling ever since.



Thus, according to California's own data, there is no evidence at all that the SHU has reduced violence. All three of these measures have been declining for some time now, and none of these declines have been speeded up by the SHU. In fact, two of the three measures did not even continue their declines in the most recent year.

The issue here is not so much that the SHU did not decrease the violence. The issues rather are twofold. First, the California Department of Corrections has lied to the public and deliberately deceived us. Second, the SHU was not "needed" even if you believe their motivation for building it, since all indicators of prison violence were steadily improving.

Thus, still another multi-million dollar fraud designed to destroy thousands upon thousands of people of color has been perpetrated upon us. Now, what will we do about it?

This pamphlet is published by:

The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown

P.O. Box 578172

Chicago, IL 60657-8172

(312) 235-0070

Contact us for more information about control units, the racist nature of U.S. imprisonment, and how you can get involved in the efforts to combat these evils.

For more information about the Pelican Bay SHU, contact the

Pelican Bay Information Project,

2489 Mission Street, #28, San Francisco, CA, 94110.

(415) 821-6545

A Proposal for How To End the Fiscal Crisis in the Schools

The answer is: Stop the Insane Prison Building Spree in the State.

When Gov. Jim Edgar announced his budget in the Spring, he proudly proclaimed that his program was one of "Kids, not Concrete." Edgar obviously was proceeding along the lines of politicians who feel that "truth" is whatever they say it is and can get the media to say it is. Since his "kids not concrete" statements, Edgar has failed at every step to help our children.

As a result, we have not only the school crisis but also

**** the AFDC crisis;**

**** the fact that Illinois' "budget cuts in welfare last year ranked among the most severe in the nation" (Craines Chicago Business, 2/15/93);**

**** the fact that "For the second consecutive year, Illinois was singled out . . . for its harsh treatment of poor people" (Chicago Sun-Times, 2/10/93);**

**** and the fact that Illinois was found to have the 46th worst infant mortality rate in the U.S. and to be the 35th worst in overall child health (Center for the Study of Social Policy, Winter, 1993).**

While all of this devastation of children is going on due to Edgar's budget, he is proceeding to build more and more prisons, including a current proposal for a super-max prison. This prison will be incredibly expensive and will fail in every one of its goals. Consider the following.

During the past 15 years, Illinois has built 15 prisons and nothing has improved – crime is not down, no one feels any safer. Experts across the country are noting that we cannot build our way out of the crime problem – that it must be solved with preventive programs that foster human growth, with programs that provide jobs, education, and housing. Even Edgar's own hand-picked Task Force on Crime and Corrections, consisting predominantly of rich, white men, noted this in its final report to him. Nonetheless, Edgar's only response to this is to build more prisons, including the "Super-Max."

The costs of such a building frenzy are enormous. The cost to build the "Super-Max" is alleged by Edgar to be \$66 million, although realistic estimates suggest that the real cost will be over \$100 million. Other cells that

are being added on as you read this will cost another \$100 million. Finally, it will cost about \$90 million a year to run these prisons. So, there you have it. \$100 million for the "Super-Max," \$100 million for current prison construction, and almost \$100 million to run these prisons for one year. You need \$300 million to solve the fiscal crisis in the schools?? There it is.

There is one additional irony in all of this that you should know. Since most experts agree that providing a good education will help keep children out of prison, keeping the schools shut is a good way to help send our children to prison and to justify the building frenzy. And please don't miss the larger issue here -- 80% of our school system consists of African-American and Hispanic children and 80% of the prison system consists of African-American and Hispanic prisoners. In one case, the transfer is direct. Edgar is turning a high-school in East St. Louis into a prison.

Don't let Edgar use our money to build still more useless prisons. Demand that the money be used to open the schools -- today! Demand that Illinois not spend \$40,000 a year to cage a prisoner in the Super-Max prison and only \$3,600 to educate a child in Chicago.

This leaflet is prepared by the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML). We are a Chicago-based organization that has opposed control unit or super-max prisons, all of which are based on the notorious federal prison in Marion, Illinois. For additional information or presentations to your organizations, please contact us at:

CEML

P.O. Box 578172

Chicago, IL 60657-8172

(312) 235-0070

ILLINOIS SUPERMAX – NOT A SOLUTION!

ISN'T IT TIME TO FUND HUMAN NEEDS -- NOT PRISON?

In June, Governor Edgar publicly endorsed the proposal of his Task Force on Crime and Corrections that Illinois construct a \$60 million "Super-Max" prison. The Task Force has further recommended the construction of over 3,000 more new prison cells. These proposals come in the face of massive budget cuts in Illinois social programs and welfare services, a crisis in funding for public education, the elimination of General Assistance, and soaring infant mortality and homelessness rates. We feel that the true construction cost for this single "Super-Max" prison will be over \$100 million.

Can we really afford another prison? The state of Illinois has just completed a massive prison construction program, building 15 new prisons and doubling the state's prison population over the last 15 years. However, it must be clear by now that more prisons is not the solution. While Chicago can barely afford to spend \$5,000 per child on education, the State willing to spend over \$40,000 per prisoner a year for incarceration in a Super-Max prison.

What is a Super-Max prison? Conditions in these "Super-Max", more accurately called "Control Unit" prisons, are simply horrendous. Prisoners are kept in their cells 23 hours a day, subjected to extreme sensory deprivation and lack all social, educational, and rehabilitation programs. These conditions result in extreme psychological and physical deterioration. In 1991, Indiana opened a Super-Max prison and it has quickly drawn the criticism of Amnesty International. Amnesty has already written two letters of condemnation to the Indiana Department of Corrections, warning that the conditions there violate the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

Super-Max Prisons Don't Work. Proponents say that Edgar's 500 bed "Super-Max" prison will get rid of the "baddest of the bad." However, last year "there were 45,839 disciplinary reports written" in Illinois prisons, and "on any given day more than 900 prisoners are in segregation." Thus, it should be clear that the problem is much deeper than 500 "bad apples." Moreover, evidence shows that inmates are often arbitrarily assigned to Super-Max prisons; these are often "politically active" inmates, jailhouse lawyers, political prisoners, or inmates who file too many grievances or lawsuits demanding their rights.

There is absolutely no evidence from any other state that Super-Max prisons succeed. I.e. there is absolutely no evidence that the Super-Max prisons deter crime or create safer prison systems. The Governor's Task Force itself acknowledged this lack of total evidence in its original report. Should the state of Illinois commit over \$100 million to a project which will most likely lead to expensive lawsuits, condemnations by human rights organizations, and *increased violence* once those incarcerated in these inhumane, degrading, and dehumanizing conditions are eventually released?

The Governor's Task Force itself has admitted that building more prisons is not the solution. The Illinois prison system was designed to hold about 22,000 inmates; it now houses over 33,000. Illinois has the fastest growing incarceration rate in the nation. By July 1994 the prison system will have reached its capacity ceiling of 36,000. This creates an explosive situation. Meanwhile, increased incarceration has not solved our problems. The Governor's original mandate was for the Task Force to "study alternatives to incarceration" and to "identify solutions . . . in a manner the taxpayers of Illinois can afford." Many of the Task Force's recommendations to ease overcrowding are positive. For example, the Task Force has proposed giving inmates more opportunities to earn "good time," increased spending on community-based programs, increased funds for drug and rehabilitation programs, and modifying the state's mandatory minimum sentencing laws. These are positive steps. However, in order for state legislator's not to appear "soft on crime", the Task Force has included a Super-Max prison as part of a "package deal". Thus, instead of educating citizens to the fact that building more prisons is not the solution, state legislators can continue to exploit the public's prejudices and fears.

Racism in Imprisonment. One has to be seriously concerned with the racist nature of incarceration, and the increasing numbers of young African-American and Latino males who are being imprisoned. In Illinois, where African-Americans are 15% of the total population, they are 63% of the total prison population. In other words, out of a prison population of 32,000 people, about 21,000 are African-American and another 5,000 are Hispanic. What does this suggest about possible racial bias in imprisonment in our state?

Who are we? The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown has been in existence for nearly ten years. We began as a very small group opposed to the "lockdown" situation and human rights abuses at Marion Federal Penitentiary in Southern Illinois. Marion was the first Super-Max/Control Unit prison in the U.S. We know that opposition to prison expansion and/or support for the human rights of prisoners has never been a popular cause. We hope that you will take the time to carefully consider the points we have raised. If you would like more information or would like to get involved, please mail:

Name: _____

Phone: (w) _____ (h) _____

Address: _____

Where did you receive this leaflet? _____

CEML, PO Box 57812, CHICAGO, IL 60657-8172 (312)235-0070

U.S. : INCARCERATION

Walkin' **Steel**

A Production of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172; Chicago, IL 60657-8172; (312) 235-0070



THE CRIME & IMPRISONMENT QUIZ

- During the past 25 years (1970-95), violent crime in the U.S. has:
 - increased by 15%
 - increased by almost half
 - more than doubled
 - remained approximately the same.
- During the past 25 years, the rate at which people have been incarcerated in the U.S. has:
 - slightly increased
 - almost quadrupled
- There are more Black men in prison and jails today than are attending college.
 - true
 - false
- It costs more to send a person to prison than to Harvard.
 - true
 - false
- U.S. inmates serve shorter prison terms today than in the past.

THE CONTINUING CRIME OF BLACK IMPRISONMENT

BY THE
COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN

The least controversial observation that one can make about American criminal justice today is that it is remarkably ineffective, absurdly expensive, grossly inhumane, and riddled with discrimination. The beating of Rodney King was a reminder of the ruthlessness and racism that characterize many big city police departments. But the other aspects of the justice system, especially sentencing practices and prison conditions, are every bit as harsh and unfair.¹



The Roadside Chain Gangs are returning to Alabama! The men will wear striped uniforms, as they did in in this 1937 photo. They will be shackled together with leg irons and will work from "can't see in the morning to can't see in the evening," just like the slaves did. The purpose is to humiliate and degrade the the prisoners. The New York Times quotes Alabama's Prison Commissioner, Ron Jones, on his decision to revive chain gangs: "People say it's not humane, but I don't get much flack in Alabama."

The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML) was founded in 1985 to fight against the brutality of the United States Penitentiary at Marion. In 1987, we wrote that by the year 2000 the U.S. might have 1,000,000 people in prison. At that time U.S. prisons held 561,000 people, and most of our friends thought the notion of 1,000,000 prisoners was foolish.

report authored by Marc Mauer, its assistant director, entitled "Americans Behind Bars: A Comparison of International Rates of Incarceration."⁶ The report, which used data from 1989 and 1990, found that the U.S. had the highest incarceration rate in the world (426) compared to a distant second South Africa (333) and third, the Soviet Union (268).⁷

U.S. Prisons — in Black and White

Consider the racial nature of imprisonment in the U.S. Using U.S. Census and estimates derived from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, we have calculated imprisonment rates (we are now using only people in prison for these calculations) as of June 1994. These are shown in Table 2.

Alan Berkman is a former political prisoner who served two years at Marion Federal Prison and eight years altogether. He has been a revolutionary since the 1960s. As a physician, he has always placed the needs of people first; whether it was at Wounded Knee, the South Bronx, Lowndes County (Alabama), or from one of his prison cells. Inside, he gives a first hand account of time in Marion, the first control unit prison.

Nozomi Ikuta is a minister with Liberation Ministries, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ. She is an active member of the "The National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons" and discusses the emergence of this new organization and how you can become involved.

Sanyika Shakur was a prisoner at Pelican Bay Special Housing Unit (SHU) having been released in September, 1995. Shakur was formerly known as **Monster**. His autobiography, Monster, detailing gang life in LA, was on many best seller lists for several months. He was also featured in the best-selling book, Do or Die. While in prison he converted to New Afrikan politics and has since written extensively on the relationship of prisons and white supremacy to the struggle for New Afrikan Independence. He will speak on this struggle as well as the horror of being caged in one of the worst prisons in the U.S.

Jose Lopez is a spokesperson for the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriqueño, Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, and a leading member of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. He is also a professor at Northeastern and Columbia Universities and served almost a year in jail for Grand Jury resistance. He will speak on mass incarceration as a social control mechanism of people of color.



Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657-8172
(312) 235-0070
or email us at <ceml@aol.com>

\$4

Mass Incarceration and Control Units: Crime Control or Social Control?



Despite the current political climate, or rather because of it, the question "Which side are you on?" has never meant more than it does today. This pamphlet is one part of a national organizing effort to combat control unit prisons and the racist hysteria facilitating mass incarceration. We urge you to join us and work with us as we declare our side against U.S. insanity and for Humanity.

This pamphlet contains the transcript from a program held on October 21, 1995 in Chicago, Illinois. The program was co-sponsored by:

**The National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners & POWs
and
The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown**

Presentations from:

Alan Berkman

Nozomi Ikuta

Sanyika Shakur

Jose Lopez

Women & Imprisonment In the United States:

History & Current Reality

by Nancy Kurshan

MONKEYWRENCH PRESS

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD - PHILADELPHIA GMB
4722 BALTIMORE AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA, PA 19143

MONKEYWRENCH PRESS

Reflections on the First Year of the Control Unit Prison at Florence

Sent to the October 21, 1995 Program

At the beginning of September, 1995 CEML sent letters to all the prisoners we knew of at the Florence Control Unit (the "Administrative Maximum Facility" in prisoncratese, or ADX or Ad Max) and asked for their reflections on the first year of the prison, which was officially opened at the beginning of 1995. These reflections follow. They are printed in the order they were received. We urge everyone to write to some of the Brothers caged at Florence. The address for all of them is the same: name, prison number, P.O. Box 8500, Florence, CO 81226-8500.

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
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Dear Friends,

There are prison "control units" all across the country and many of the older ones are tougher and more brutalizing than Florence. One of the things that makes ADX-Florence the idea of Florence as a full-time Control Unit, so vicious, so threatening to individual and collective liberties, is that its purpose is court-approved and its design is pimped by the federal BOP as something to be emulated.

In most of the country's older seg blocks, prisoners (federal and state) still face the likelihood of beatings, passings, restraints, forced medications, multiple celling, poor to non-existent health care, and any number of routine degradations. That'll all be happening in ADX-Florence -- and in the other shiny-new Control Units -- when the spotlight goes off it a few years down the line.

For now Florence is the showcase -- and its methods of controlling and breaking its convicts are subtle. These places are designed to break the spirit of the men and women and teenagers they cage . . . and it is a frightening thing to see. This super maxi-max prison has been in operation for less than a year and I can see that the joint is having a spiritually crushing effect on all of us -- and on a couple of men the effect is frightening. The other day during rec in the small yard, my neighbor lamented to me that he felt like a captive mouse on a spinning wheel, running and running and running, trying desperately to keep ahead of whatever was chasing him. But he couldn't get ahead, he said. Every day, every waking hour he'd jog in place, do situps, try to read, write a letter, pray, try to juggle some soap bars, wash his walls. Try to study -- anything, everything "to keep busy, to not let the place get to me, to not brood on how they are constantly f---ing with my mail, my people . . . ". I could only nod and encourage him to hang tough. I know his battle -- we all do. If you don't fight you lose -- big time.

I went to Marion in July 1987 and my survival technique includes daily self-admonishments not to brood, not to take routine aggravations personally, not to dwell on the past pains, and so on. It doesn't mean I've a short memory or am meekly all-forgiving, only that I've seen men become twisted by hate and suppressed fury in Marion, and I want very much to survive with my spirit and integrity as well as my brain intact. I know you understand and so I will pass on the opportunity to recount some of my own experiences inside these walls.

In closing I want to emphasize that to get out of a control unit situation, the prisoncrats point to a "program" that must be completed one step at a time. Fine. Where's the starting line? Some prisoners go right through the program in 3 years. But once you have a certain label (the prisoncrats admit to labels like gang leader, gang member, organized crime, escape artist -- but they always deny the existence of political prisoners: at best they are terrorists and malcontents) -- once you are targeted, you routinely get what we call situational shots. You won't get such a shot somewhere else: towel on the cell bars, being disrespectful to staff, not jumping inside your cell fast enough, abusing the telephone. Real shots for minor infractions. No big penalty -- just "bad" enough to have you start over again. And that's the way it's been for me and my political comrades -- and for all of us in control units everywhere.

Jim Barrett, #10374-016

Dear Companeros(as)

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of CEML for all your endeavors against the control units. We know that the fight against control units or the punishment industry is not an attractive and glamorous one. To wage it and achieve a modicum of success is almost an impossible task. But such a reality should not discourage you and those of us in the gulags, who love freedom and justice, to continue struggling against control units.

The moment might require more creativity and to look for ways to reach more people. The punishment industry has its weak points and we must look for them in order to wage a better fight. Some of the things done here have produced a couple of small changes. Your efforts and those of others have helped, if in nothing else, at least to keep the jailers in check. They didn't expect for people from the outside to express their concern and support for us. If that support and concern had not reached their ears, conditions here would be more intolerable. So let's continue the struggle.

En resistencia y lucha,
Oscar Lopez-Rivera, #87651-024

Dear Friends,

The dream of everlasting freedom and world citizenship and the rule of international morality will remain but a fleeting illusion to be pursued but never attained until the ignoble and unhappy regime that now holds our brothers in Florence, Marion, Attica, etc. in sub-human bondage has been toppled and utterly destroyed. Until that day, the incarcerated will not know peace.

We brothers will fight if necessary and we know we shall win, as we are confident in the victory of "good over evil, of good over evil."

De-
Rastafarians!
Love
-ñ-
Reality

Leroy Martin, #38687-066

To: The American Public

Hello, my name is James Joseph Owens and I am a federal prisoner who's been at Marion, Illinois effectively since April 12, 1982 and moved to the ADX when it took over the mission of Marion. I was with the first group to arrive at the ADX on November 30, 1994.

Who ever discovered the idea of conceiving of an ADX, of investing \$16,000,000 of tax payer dollars in its construction, and millions more into its operation, necessarily had to have been a very sick individual or group. For only a for real racist mentality could be so inhumane. His national origin is insignificant. Even if he was Black, he was a damned fool who's able to psychologically disassociate his-herself totally from 90% of this entire society. For the ten months into the ADXs existence has made it the revelation of an ancient old prediction, just as the Supreme Court done in the case of Cleavenser v. Saxner 88 L.Ed 2d 29 page 517 "prison administrators will violate the 8th Amendment Cruel and Unusual Punishment clause if there is no protection by way of community observation." The Supreme Court, though correct, was short sighted. The ADX is committing murder.

I personally nearly died from sleep deprivation on March 10, 1995 when my blood pressure became abnormal after no sleep in four months from multiple counts per night.

Also, I was placed in a cell with human feces cluttering the walls for the mere fact that I chose to exercise my right at a disciplinary hearing demanding to see the FBI to take my fingerprints as law allows at 28 CFR Sect. 0.85 cb after three officers placed a real handcuff key in my cell when I was mourning a third brother's death in an eleven month period; when I had no property in my cell and had only been in there 1 1/2 days.

The good thing about a multi-racial society is that it shows to all mankind that he is related to everyone on the planet and should have love them if he can. The problem with a multi-racial society is that if one is a RACIST-IN-POWER he ignorantly disowns everyone other than his mob, and finds ways to murder his fellow countrymen with the likes of the ADX.

Write to your Congressmen, tell them you do not support sophisticated murder such as the ADX.

Thank you for this moment.

James J. Owens, #a0305-131

Dear CEML Members,

On November 28, 1994 the entire E-Unit at Marion was transferred here! The following is a summary of what has occurred since that time.

1. Prisoners are confined in box car type cells. Women are employed here but male guards began to antagonise and write inmates up placing them in the hole, on bogus assault charges. It came to my attention that when ever a staff says a convict assaults them, they are given a couple of days off with pay. But with 51 females here and 271 males for a year in a closed in building. You may infer why our transfer here was resented.

Two Marion prison guards were seen here. A Lt. Ramey told inmates on the yard, "If you all raise hell in here and tear up things these people will give you what you want." I have 3 witnesses who heard him say this. Leroy Martin 38687-066, Mario Villabona 89696-012 and Antonio Coleman. But I warned them that it was a trick by Ramey to get more of his goons from Marion up here. I was in E-Unit from November 28 1994 to May 1995. During that time, a prison guard, Marty Maness, was left in E-Unit for 3 quarter changes to write inmates up and aggravate their use of the law libraries! Or those who file writs or B-P-8s, i.e. administrative grievances.

2. The guards who were writing the incident reports are "white mates." I have filed for FOIA information for this, but they have not produced information yet.

I know there is sexual harassment here for I've heard females holler "Turn me loose!!", "Why do you keep fucking with me!!" It's a shame a woman must put up with such in order to have a job! But, with 271 males to 51 females and all males are in investigative and decision making, the women are vulnerable and helpless! The captain, a tuberculosis looking employee from Marion with Ramey, has initiated the same aggravation and harassment used at Marion, but here they have more toys, electronic gadgets to play with.

A. Spike mikes, they listen during the day and night and transmit thumping and sharp cracking sounds.

B. Built in sirens in each unit. Used at one time every 2 hours, 24 hours/day.

C. Multiple opening and slamming of doors all through the night.

D. And the old favorite of Marion by shining bright search lights in your face, i.e. eyes, at night, to deprive of sleep.

3. The education programs allowed here will be of no benefit to anyone on the streets. Nor is a rightful alternative allowed! My release date is 1/2/96. But with the 5 write ups by Marty Maness, that's an extension to that date! But no education course is available to which there is a current market for!

4. You have heard of the Furhman Tapes in L.A. California! Well a lot of racism exists here by the guards and discrimination practices. Why is so little percentages of Black women, Black men, women and minorities hired here, but 67% of all employees here are white males! I've filed in court for injunctive relief. But it was denied. Evans vs. Bill Story U.S., denied without a hearing. But see 28 C.R.P.50. 14. 3. My position is that if more

women and minorities are hired, the climate would change. This prison is the safest for women to work in. No contact. Out in cuffs only!

FIGHT THE POWER.
Isiah Evans III, #80146-020

P.S. There is a type of parasite, a tick, which guards in Marion use to put on people or in their clothes. It burrows beneath the skin and itches. Well here they have a full epidemic of them. And how can a tick get into a prison? If they are brought inside and planted.

Will you believe that in talk about lack of prison space, a whole unit has been closed down up here for lack of convicts. Also a whole section of B Unit has been closed down. I wonder why?

To CEML:

The manifestation of control units in America ushers in the existence of apartheid for the 21st century secure in the rubric of conspiracy disguised as constitutionally confronting crime. The real question is does it reflect human rights violations?

In actuality the political and social containment of growing discontent, and the resistance against the trend of racism and economic oppression are the motives which are disguised by double speak thru Madison Avenue promotional mix for the Government and its agencies.

Wall Street's marketing strategy for investment in the privatization of prisons and related industries, coupled with proliferation of state and government prisons all over the United States and its colonies, securing continued labor forces, using the strategy with NAFTA Agreement, insures a protracted struggle for human rights protection against human rights violations.

Clearly, the rush to pass the new Crime Bill's death penalties were not aimed at the protection of the "citizen" or victims of crime but rather, by their nature, the 60 new death penalties under federal statute are aimed at the protection of the state and their anticipation of resistance.

The role of control units to contain the most politically aware, as well as the political prisoners and prisoners of war of National Liberation Movements and the seasoned veterans against prison repression serves as a reminder of the true intent which accounts for the vast amount of time given for non-violent offenses with no anticipation of release. These conditions provide a vehicle to raise the level of public conscience.

The major question we must address is, will we be able to present these circumstances against this force which would shock the conscience of the masses, guiding them to respond effectively and decisively.

The task facing CEML which historically has attacked the control unit at Marion at the onset of its tactical use, in 1983, with the federal prison system remains to continue its work by effectively presenting the correct analysis and work.

Support for CEML and the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons provide a very important vehicle to raise their level of struggle.

The battle to expose prisons and the inter-relationship to racism and crime is an old one but now there exist new tactics and strategies.

The re-emergence of chain gangs in various states, the legally justified acts of brutality in the many gulags in America must be confronted on all levels.

The work is essential by members of the New African Liberation Front, as well as Sister Tanaquil and Brother Dhoruba, and the Pelican Bay Information Project of California. These forces are maintaining the umbilical relationship between those of us inside with the "Free World," humanizing the prisoners in the face of demonization.

The question of fighting crime in the community in America is a real issue that must not be side stepped or evaded. The root solution for crime today must be a mass based community control solution in order to effectuate real results as well as its essentialness to self-determination and liberation.

To allow conditions which predispose people to crime and the results thereof, by evading our responsibility which will allow the implementation of fascist, racist and abusive power, creating conditions of totalitarianism, is a grave mistake. We must not be fooled.

The battle to stop control units will become a very important endeavor in the ensuing struggle in the 21st century. Hopefully, it will enlist an element which has not as of yet been motivated.

As a prisoner of war who has been in two control units, I'm encouraged by your work and presence. The struggle will be intense.

We want our freedom anyway. Our freedom is your freedom anyway.

Stiff resistance,
Dr. Mutulu Shakur, #83205-012

Dear CEML:

I received your letter, dated, 8-25, and I appreciate you taking the time to write to me. I also appreciate your efforts and work at CEML. I hope the fall program goes well, and I send my best regards and best wishes to everyone who attends. It's very heartwarming to know that people care and are concerned.

You asked me to comment about Florence ADX, and I shall do so, even though I'm not sure I know the words which can adequately explain some of my feelings and opinions. I doubt seriously if the words exist which can truly portray the deep feelings of loneliness, depression, degradation, alienation, and despair, which I've experienced in only seven months of being caged in Florence ADX. I speak my feelings, regardless of the reprisals that are sure to come, even if they're indirect. My mind, soul, and body, have become numb to harassment, ridicule, censorship, broken promises, and nothingness.

In court, a person found guilty of a crime, is sentenced to serve time in a prison, and their physical freedom is lost. The sentence and the loss of freedom is their punishment, and they aren't supposed to be punished again while in prison, month after month, year after year, in the most abject manner.

I constantly ask myself if this is the humanity which the Constitution implies, and is this what a so-called Christian society calls justice. Even animals at shelters are treated more humanely. The government brainwashes and teaches society to want this and to pay for it, as prisoners are exploited and used as scapegoats for all of society's problems, and for all of the government's problems.

It would seem that being warehoused in cages for years would be punishment enough, yet here at Florence ADX, we're viewed by many of the staffers, as being feral and implacable, and that we must be tamed. All I recall ever asking for or expecting, is to be treated and recognized as a human being.

Our mail is harassed, read, copied, and often delayed, while our two fifteen-minute phone calls each month, are listened to, recorded, and listened to again and again. Visitations are often very difficult to get approved, if at all, and even when family members visit, they too are treated like prisoners. They resent us having any outside ties with friends and family, and they try very hard to discourage it. Often at night, we can hear them laughing as they read our outgoing letters, or hear them discussing things we say. Many of them think (very wrongly) that our personal lives and the personal lives of our friends and family members, is/are some of their business or concern. It isn't; not at all.

One gets the feeling that many of the people working here, were sent here from other prisons, either because promotions were very slow for them, or else they had problems in other prisons and couldn't adjust to the environment. Therefore, after arriving here, they become overeager and attempt to exude their very little power over the totally powerless, and prisoners are exploited for promotions.

Some staffers also develop personal vendettas, and they take our legal cases personally. I've never murdered anyone; I've never raped a woman, and I've never

molested a child, or harmed anyone. I'm in Florence because I escaped, which is the crime that the Bureau of Prisons views as being the worse crime there is, thus, I'm hated here by staff members.

The media was correct when they said that the Florence ADX prison would house the "worst of the worst." They forgot to mention that they meant the staffers (some of them). Thank you.

Note: Carolyn sometimes asks me why I never smile when I take pictures in here. I really try to smile, but somewhere between my lips and the camera lens, my smile fades. Maybe it's because of the environment, or maybe it's the way the staff members look through me, as if I don't really exist. In here, it can only be existing, because we aren't living.

In love & togetherness,
Woody Raymer, #09346-074

Dear Friends.

I've been in Florence, Colorado since February 15, although I've yet to see a buffalo. Since entering ADX I haven't seen anything that falls into the category of living except for my few neighbors. When another political prisoner was transferred from Marion to ADX on February 14, I was ready the following day because they've shown a propensity to run these so-called "high profile" shuttles back to back (2 prisoners per Lear Jet). Sure enough, they're at my cage the morning of the 15th. Breakfast in Marion, Illinois; lunch in Florence, Colorado.

February 15, morning, I get taken to R&D (processing) and then to what passes for a hospital in the joint. Legironed and cuffed I get a government memo put under my nose. The BOP regional director has authorized them to do an abdominal X-ray. I refused to sign a consent form, but it was of no consequence. Up goes the shirt, down go the drawers, and I get radiated (but missing my head where the real dangerous stuff is). They went into my nose, ears, and mouth with fingers and penlight. Next was a "non-intrusive" rectal search-- meaning the hack doesn't go into your rectum, but he does put his grubby hands all over your ass while snooping around with a light. If they weren't prison guards, they could be indicted for assault.

I get further trussed up and black-boxed by the UNICOR manger who ain't hardly forgot what I once told him to do with their military production. With simple movements of his thumb and fingers he made me pay for my indiscretion.

Out the door we go into a light drizzle and a gang with guns. I'm in the company of one other prisoner. The flight took approximately 2 1/2 hours -- mostly over heavy cloud cover so didn't see much until we began a descent over Colorado. This particular part of the state is scrub brush, soil erosion, and various wastes. One beauty spot is the distant allure of snow-capped peaks. We land -- my first time in Colorado since 1975 when I found myself uncomfortably close to the war the police were waging against Mexicans. The commercial areas near the prison(s) are the ultimate in tackiness, about what you'd expect from people who beg to have prisons built here. Most of the surroundings disappear as you enter the federal complex. It all disappears in ADX.

As you approach the compound, it's a bit deceiving. First thing I saw was the minimum security "camp" with its New Age veneer that houses small-time corrupt politicians, thieving public officials, embezzlers, and snitches. Next we pass by the medium security FCI, which is not quite so art deco, but no assault on the senses either. You know you're getting warm as you pass by the maximum security USP with its multiple fences, rolls of razor wire, and gun towers. (I would've been satisfied to get dumped here.) Unfortunately, we proceed to the literal end of the line for both the compound and the federal prison system -- Administration Maximum(ADX)-- looking half-buried. It isn't, but it might as well be once you're inside.

They're anxiously awaiting to process the two of us (the money, the money!). SORT's toy soldiers had told us to expect a high intensity processing at first. (SORT is the BOP version of SWAT, part of the security detail.) Basically it amounted to little more than posturing by muscle-heads with clubs. After all I've been through over the years I pay

little attention to such displays unless they want to get physical. Besides, I was still pissed over that Marion pig fumbling with my ass.

My wrists were cut and bleeding from the black box so I got swabbed and bandaged. They made out a medical report stating that this was the condition I arrived in. Ever watchful over their little corner of the fiefdom.

Further into the bowels becomes disorienting. Can't see outside. I'm in here and everything else is out there -- somewhere. Took me several days just to figure out the configuration of the cell block, 12 cells per tier, 3 tiers per block, over and under. My traveling companion and I opened up a new tier. The cells are sound-resistant, designed to suppress human sound. Forget casual conversations. And yet, there really is an echo in the cell when you speak (which isn't often unless you want to talk to yourself). A cough sounds like a racket ball carom.

You get a standard B&W idiot box. First time I snapped it on I see the face of Flush Rush Limbaugh spread across the screen. He plays like a bad omen. I got a concrete bunk, felt strip mattress, and steel toilet. A telephone booth-size shower further restricts our movement outside the cell. Water comes out in 90-second sprays that makes me feel like a house plant. The outer door is solid steel with a peep show panel of plexiglass. Through this door is a small trap of dead space, then a second door of steel bars. Can't see left nor right-- only the wall across from the cell. Meals are in cell. Lots of strip searches and cell shakedowns. All movement is in restraints.

"Outside rec" is an area at the base of the cell block. There are high concrete walls with numerous sides -- I'd guess the longest about 140 feet, another about 2/3 of that, and the others considerably shorter. As a runner I find this particularly troublesome. The surface is concrete and very uneven. Look straight up and it's criss-crossed with I-beams and covered with steel mesh. Look through this and you can see a patch of blue. Two other prisoners were recently added to this tier so four of us rec in this area. "Inside rec" is a cell about 30 x 15 feet with chin-up bar. Sound resistant plexiglass walls separate each rec cell, with only one prisoner per solitary rec. They alternate outside and inside rec.

When I first arrived there were approximately 58 of us here, spread out through various cell blocks. On Feb. 21, forty prisoners from Marion's D-block arrived. These are the same guys the BOP tried but failed to transfer to ADX on Jan. 11. (I've written about this fiasco elsewhere). ADX capacity is 550.

Isolation appears to be the cornerstone of ADX. One underlying purpose is to inflict enough sensory deprivation and psychological pain to have prisoners desperate for transfer. (Once they're gone, they're someone else's problem.) It won't work for any constructive end, but that's beside the point.

This yellow ribbon war on crime is about money and power, who profits and who suffers. Corrections used to be the bottom feeders slowly but steadily eating up their relatively small portion of taxpayers' dollars. No more. Today we have this huge swine with its snout deeply implanted in the public trough. Neocons, liberals and closet fascists make noise about money spend on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, yet throw enormous sums into a bottomless rat-hole of concrete dungeons.

The only program I'm in is sleep deprivation, with the constant clanging and banging of electronic doors throughout the night as well as the periodic flashlight beam in the face and cacophony of idle guards. It sometimes feels like the methamphetamine boogie.

This is the first time I've occupied a virgin cell. No one has lived in this cell before me. I've never had a new house, new apartment or new car, but now I've damn sure got a new cell. There's something about occupying a proto-techno-fascist's architectural wet dream that leaves me feeling the loneliness of the long-distance runner in worn out shoes. I may already be in my grave.

Shortly after arriving I received a copy of the Feb 5 Sunday *Denver Post* with bold front page headline "America's Most Dangerous." There are 7 show-and-tell photos, including mine. If I hadn't been subjected to so much of this yellow dog journalism in the past, I'd think the *Post's* editors have lost their minds. The article purports to profile the type of prisoners sent to ADX and expresses wonder with the Administrative control-unit model.

Ray Luc Levasseur, #10376-016

Dear CEML,

I hope this information finds the committee well. We have boredom, tedium, depression, sadness, or simply the blues of sensory deprivation and mental stagnation of 23 hours a day of confinement. In most cases prisoners are merely looking at a blank wall or the steel bars with no conception or pictures of the voice he is hearing entomb him 23 hours a day. This sometimes creates psychopathic, emotional distress, memory loss. *deja vu* for surely this is the twilight zone. I hope that you find this interesting. Let me hear from you upon receiving this info that I'm providing you. Good luck

Troy Hicks, #17887-034

P.S. Give everyone my regards.

Dear Friends,

A friend of mine told me to write you, that you wanted to hear from some of us. I got to U.S.P. Marion, Illinois on 6/95. Guards that's what they told me I had to work my way out of U.S.P. Marion. The "Program." Apparently as a result of the first congressional hearings and observations by congressional consultants, Marion authorities developed what they call a graded unit program, whereby one can supposedly "earn" one's way out of Marion. The program provides for a person to move from the least privileged setting (22.5 hours a day in cell) to the next level ("C-Unit") (21.5 hours a day in the cell) to other privileges permitted, yet still no contact visits). "As a general rule for an inmate to be considered eligible for C-unit, he will need at least 12 months clear conduct." B.O.P. Marion institutional Supplement 5220.4b. One is eligible to move to B-unit after 18 months clear conduct at Marion. B.O.P. Marion institutional supplement 5220.3a. The "program" is totally stopped up, such that people with 24 and 36 months of clear conduct have not been moved out of the least privileged units.

Often those who have accumulated this much time with clear conduct receive arbitrary disciplinary reports. The same conduct which is condoned on one day is condemned the following day. The effect of a disciplinary report is to wipe out all the accumulated clear conduct. Men have "forfeited" years of clear conduct for "offenses" such as having a towel placed on the bars. At one point the warden indicated that at least half the population was eligible to move up. What does this say about the legitimacy of authority? Now they (staff) play that same B.S.! here a very good example of this. They (staff) would not let convict Huerta Heriberto #38827-115 send money to his mother from his inmate account. They gave him an incident report for asking a family member to send money to his mother and son. There's nothing wrong with that at all. It ain't against policy to call and ask to send money, to a family member that is also in prison. I got here on 2-21-95 and their policy here is the same B.S. Like Marion they send who they want. I have over two (2) years clear conduct and I went to this hearing for J-Unit on 3/3/95. I was shot down 6 months, no reason given to me.

But here is a very good example. They do what they want. Nich Gonzles came with me from Leavenworth K.C. to Marion. He has the same clean conduct of time. He was allowed to go to J-Unit. I have seen convicts go to this unit but not me; that's discrimination towards me. To date, no justification has been presented to me to determine why any other convict should be treated any differently than me here. This General Population and step-down unit operations is just like the Marion program, just different words and a lot of Bull Shit. Here is a BP-a and you will see they never answer the issue at all.

I believe the ADX regimen of extreme isolation amounts to a form of psychological warfare. I don't think it's designed to drive people crazy exactly, but to break them. That's why they have the "nuts" rec by themselves and other inmates that don't come out of their cells. The files and logs here prove that! I have to deal with not only the Catch 22's of B.O.P. policy but the long-term effects of solitary confinement, about which little is known -- none of it good. If I lock you up in your room for 22 hours a day, you're not going to get into too much trouble. But when they let you out, you're going to get into trouble you would never have seen before. I have never met anyone who's been exposed to isolation and abuse whose attitude didn't harden. I know a lot of people that

were sent here that never got shots or caused any problems at all. Ronnie Brusino is one of them. He got sent to USP Marion from Lompoc, CA. They just didn't want him at Lompoc no more. He has the paper work to prove it! I'm a very good friend of Luis Talamantez. Him and his staff did a good job on that Pelican Bay case in California. Well I better close this for now. You can use this letter and BP-a for your article or whatever you want to say or write. Take care of yourself.

Always
with lots of respect

George Bustamente, #68872-012

TROUBLE COMING EVERY DAY: ADX -- The First Year

"And so beneath the weight lay I
And suffered death, but could not die."
--Edna St. Vincent Millay

SOCIETY REFLECTS ITSELF in the microcosm of prison. From a class-based, economically driven, racially motivated construct devolves life as a series of Chinese boxes -- a set of boxes decreasing in size so that each box fits inside the next larger one. I am in the smallest box.

I AM IN Administrative Maximum (ADX) prison, the Federal governments latest boondoggle to contain prisoners rebellion and dissent. I am in a "boxcar" cell. Picture a cage where top, bottom, sides and back are concrete walls. The front is sliced by steel bars. Several feet beyond the bars is another wall. In this wall is a solid steel door. The term boxcar is derived from this configuration: a small, enclosed box that doesn't move.

I AM CONFINED to the boxcar cell 157 hours of each 168 hour week. Eleven hours each week I'm allowed into the barren area adjacent to this cell. Each morning begins with the noisy rumble of the steel door opening. A guard steps to the bars and slides food through a small slot. Feeding time. The guard steps back and the door slaps shut with a vengeance.

THE PURPOSE OF A BOXCAR CELL is to gouge the prisoners senses by suppressing human sound, putting blinders about our eyes and forbidding touch. Essential human needs are viewed with suspicion. Within the larger context of a control unit prison, the boxcar cell is designed to inflict physical and emotional isolation that wears down a prisoner's will to resist. When this regimen undermines a prisoner's health or distorts his/her personality, it's considered the cost of doing business.

IT SEEMS ENDLESS. Each morning I look at the same gray door and hear the same rumbles followed by long silences. It is endless. Subjected to humiliations designed to buckle our knees we are: bent over, arms clamped behind our backs, pawed, prodded, cell-searched, strip-searched, commanded, marched distances of 50 feet, silenced, and hooked to a chain running through 1,500,000 prisoners. All this is enforced by a porcine abomination called the Goon Squad whose idea of combat is to jump on handcuffed and caged prisoners while applying boots, truncheons and blasts of chemical agents to faces that are pushed into unforgiving concrete.

I'M DEEPLY CORNERED in their prison. My sight is diminished, but I maintain my vision. I see their hand in the use of four point "restraints" to spread-eagle prisoners, something inherently abusive regardless of the excuse. I see forced feedings, cell extractions, mind medications and chemical weapons used to incapacitate. I see a steady stream of petty hassles, harassments, verbal barrages, mindfuck games, disciplinary reports, medical neglect, and the omnipresent threat of violence. Airborne bags of shit and gobs of spit become the response of the caged.

THE MINDS OF SOME prisoners are collapsing in on them. I don't know what internal strife lies within them but it isn't mitigated here. One prisoner subjected to four-point restraints (chains, actually) as shock therapy, had been chewing on his own flesh. Why is a prisoner who mutilates himself kept in ADX? Is he supposed to improve his outlook on life while stripped, chained and tormented by a squad of guards and prison functionaries?

SOME PRISONERS RARELY come out of their cells. Others never come out. I don't know why. Meanwhile, psychologists with heads full of psychobabble roam the tiers supposedly sniffing out pockets of mental instability.

I WAS IN TENNESSEE'S Brushy Mountain penitentiary in 1970-71 when it was locked down. The media (finally!) did a shocking expose demonstrating that up to one third of Brushy's prisoners were mentally ill and didn't belong there. Left unanswered was whether they arrived in that condition or whether Brushy drove them over the edge. It never will be answered because Brushy prisoners rebelled in a conflagration that claimed lives on both sides of the bars. Brushy Mountain is no more.

ADX WAS DESIGNED the way corporations design schemes to poison the environment while avoiding responsibility for doing so. They cut into sight and sound with ubiquitous walls and boxes. We exercise in something resembling the deep end of a cement-lined pool. Every seam and crack is sealed so that not a solitary weed will penetrate this desolation. Smell and taste are reduced to staleness and sameness. Every guard functions as a spy, watching and listening with prying, voyeuristic eyes cameras, and microphones. ("Intelligence gathering by the staff is critical") 1) When they're done with us, we become someone else's problem.

TELEVISION DESERVES SPECIAL mention. Unlike other prisons, every ADX cell is equipped with a small black & white TV, compliments of the Bureau of Prisons (BoP) pacification program. Hollywood and Madison Avenue images are churned out through a barrage of talk shows, soaps, cartoons, and B movies to give us some vicarious social interaction. Feeling rebellious, lonely, angry, miserable, alienated, unskilled and uneducated? Turn on the face of Amerika. The administration replaces a broken TV quicker than fixing a toilet.

THERE ARE NO JOBS for those in boxcar cells. Like millions of others, we are punished with unemployment. Education is restricted to inadequate videos on the TVs. One such program featured "The Criminal Mind". I was expecting some analysis of U.S. corporate criminals and politicians. Instead, we got a sketch of drug abusers stealing and cavorting in a landscape of dilapidated houses and abandoned factories. A school we had already been through.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES ARE relegated to TV. Recently, the prison chaplain presented his video analysis of the U.S.'s decline caused by homosexuality, AIDS and women's rights. Lifting this blight would "make America great again" -- like in the good old days of land theft and chattel slavery. The chaplain said nothing about the scourge of poverty, racism, unemployment, or killer cops and their connection to the prison industry. The chaplain said nothing about the ADX visiting room where floor-to-ceiling partitions rub "family values" into our wounds. "Christianity" rules. There is no Imam for Muslim prisoners.

EVERY MORNING, I GO through my own ablution. Every morning there is a layer of chalky dust settled about the cell. It comes through the single air vent. It never stops. Each morning I busy myself with a wet rag mopping up all that is not in my lungs.

THE GOVERNMENT SAYS WE don't have much common cause with humanity because we are "the worst of the worst" -- an incessant BoP incantation which has become an effective soundbite. The government successfully monopolizes and manipulates information pertaining to crime and punishment. But was the government to be believed about Viet Nam or the S&L ripoff? Was Nixon to be believed on Watergate? Was Reagan to be believed about the mass murder in Central America? Was Clinton to be believed concerning the human ashes in Waco? If they were, maybe you'll buy a Brooklyn Bridge named ADX. The government has a major credibility problem, yet tax dollars continue to bleed away into the sordid business of the world's largest prison system.

WHO ARE WE? WE ARE part of the chain gang; a human chain of one and a half million prisoners that runs from the "evil and unnatural construction" 2) of impoverished communities to the evil, unnatural construction of children's prisons, penitentiaries, control units and death chambers. With each repressive step, the "troublemakers" AKA "the worst of the worst" are removed, as if WE spawned conditions in Roxbury, North Philly, East LA, and Appalachia.

christianity rules...

WE ARE MEN OF NO property, predominantly black and brown, and increasingly younger, who enter one of the few doors open to us: the penitentiary. We are too uppity, too rebellious, too subversive, and too quick to piss on prison policies. At times we are so outrageous that we destroy government property, and challenge the State's authority to treat

us like dogs. We are quick to defend ourselves, our rights, our religions, and our principles. Sure, there are some happy killers and heavy bulk dealers that cashed in on other people's suffering, but they are a small minority. Most of those dealing in crimes against humanity remain on the street. No one in ADX left as many bodies in his wake as Reagan did in Central America. Not even close.

WHO AM I? I AM ONE subjected to the collective punishment within the common ground of ADX. I was sent to prison for political offenses and I was placed in a control unit prison because the State maintains my radical political beliefs and associations warrant extreme measures. Recently I was cited with a disciplinary infraction for allegedly making a derogatory comment about an ADX administrator during a media interview. The constitutional expression of my views is considered conduct unbecoming within the master/chattel relationship.

"WORST OF THE WORST" is where the illusion clashes with the reality. The illusion -- that the criminalization of poverty and the isolation and degradation of prisoners provides an effective, humane response to social ills. The reality -- that crimes begin at the top with predatory capitalists profiting grotesquely, while the results of their activities mire the rest of us in economic and social rot.

IN A 1993 COMMEMORATION of the Marion lockdown I wrote that ADX (then under construction and slated to replace Marion) "awaits those who continue to refuse and resist." 3) Sure enough, ADX became the destination for those prisoners held responsible for the recent uprisings throughout the federal system. The best were sent to ADX after running gauntlets of gunshots, beatings, tear gas, and the destruction of their few personal belongings. A baptism into the ranks of resistance.

OTHER UPRISING PARTICIPANTS were sent to Marion, still locked down since 1983. To the public, the BoP maintained that once ADX became operational, the lockdown would end. They lied. They doubled their control unit capacity by keeping both prisons locked down.

FOR YEARS, PRISONCRATS RAVED about the deterrent effect of Marion. If it works so well, why hasn't it put itself out of business? Marion/ADX didn't deter the October uprisings, the most widespread and destructive in the Federal prison system's history. They didn't deter USP Atlanta from grabbing headlines with its high level of violence. They have not deterred prisoners transferred to other prisons or released to the streets from picking up new charges. Control unit prisons are not the solution. They are the problem.

LAST YEAR, A PRISONER RELEASED from the isolation and brutality of California's notorious control unit at Pelican Bay killed a cop before he got home and unpacked his bag. Apparently, someone forgot to explain the finer points of deterrence to him. The response of the state representative from the district including Pelican Bay was

illuminating. He introduced legislation mandating that released Pelican Bay prisoners be transported directly to their destination, so that when the bodies drop it will be in some other bailiwick, and not stain the Department of Corrections. Prisoncrats, like politicians, are amazingly adept at shielding themselves from the consequences of their policies.



WHERE ARE THE MENTAL CHALLENGES, stimulations, education, recreation and socialization that are the building blocks of sound minds? The answer lies in the ADX "STEP" program -- an insidious operation based on a carrot and stick approach to compliance.

WE ALL BEGIN IN the boxcars. Beyond this initial STEP prisoners must pass through three other steps for the ultimate award: transfer to a less degrading prison.

EACH STEP BEYOND THE BOXCARS provides greater mental and physical stimulation and less isolation. Each step provides for a bigger and tastier carrot. Be compliant, lucky, or necessary to fill a quota and you will receive more privileges. Be non-compliant, unlucky, or present any resistance and you will be buried in ADX until you're released, or you find an innovative way to beat them, or die. That's a lot of weight to carry.

ADVANCEMENT IN STEP INVOLVES pseudo debriefings by a review committee, which includes an ADX shrink. The committee expects at least a token degree of compliance, which can range from keeping one's mouth shut to standard shuck and jive. Were I to tell the committee what I am now putting on paper, I would be rejected. The bottom line is the administration's power and agenda; no different, really, than outside.

HERE, THEY ADVANCE WHO they want, when they want, and for whatever reason they want. They just as arbitrarily reject others. Or ignore their own "guidelines" whenever it suits their political or personal purpose. They toy with prisoners' lives and compile reams of paper to create the fiction that the federal prison system, indeed, the country, is a better, safer place because of their efforts.

not quite slave.....

THE FINAL STEP IS UNICOR- the factory. Prisoners are required to demonstrate their readiness to function in a less restrictive environment by laboring for 26 cents an hour ("...to be treated in such a way as to exploit them to the highest possible extent at the lowest conceivable degree of expenditure."). 4) Not quite slave labor, but close.

THE ADMINISTRATION CONSIDERS STEP/UNICOR its primary management and control mechanism which it manipulates at will. They consider it something of a propaganda coup to have the system's designated recalcitrants filling the slots. I say this, in part, because shortly after UNICOR became operational, the ADX segregation (boxcar) unit filled with incoming prisoners from the October uprisings. The irony of having one group of prisoners set up a primary component of a program which serves to entrap other prisoners entering ADX has not gone unnoticed. If we cannot counter the administration's strategy of dangling each prisoner from his own rope, they will turn us into our own worst enemies.

LOCKED DOWN PRISONS are no longer unique. They have erupted across the country like malignant sores on a diseased organ. The entire prison gulag vies with gambling as the country's fastest growing industry, with neither one producing anything of social value. Jails and prisons compete with fast food joints for the public appetite. Jails are scattered among churches. Prisons scattered among cow pastures. Barges are converted into jails. Tents are converted into cells. Military bases are converted into prisons. Schools are being looked at next. It all bottoms out in control unit prisons.

LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES ABOUT the prevailing attitude among the political and corporate elite and much of the voting public: prisoners are human waste. The more forbidding the penitentiaries, the more like garbage they define us. As downsized laborers, outcasts, and outlaws, there is no room for us at the table. Exterminating us on a mass scale is not presently acceptable, so plan B is in effect: execute small numbers, corrupt some, co-opt others, drive others mad, and imprison millions. As prisoners, the only value we have is if they can turn a political campaign or a dollar on us.

SO, OUR BODIES BECOME commodities for someone else's gain. Past recidivist rates documented a failed system. Today's recidivist rates read like the Dow Jones Industrial Average -- the higher the recidivism, the more various opportunists stand to gain.

THE TRAFFICKERS IN BODIES INSURE a steady supply by slashing at fundamental programs serving our poorest families. They demand more police, more children's prisons and more youth incarceration. More bodies, younger bodies, with increased shelf life due to mandatory sentences. They legislate harsher conditions that make us leaner, meaner, and infinitely more recyclable.

CROWDING THE WASTE ARE PARASITES and scavengers that descend on misery like gulls at a landfill: prison guards, administrators, consultants, contractors, construction companies, maintenance personnel, concessionaires, realtors, social workers, paper shufflers, etc. ad nauseam. All of them opt for the government's blue light sale rather than find respectable employment.

ADX GUARDS SAY THEY are just doing their job, which they will gladly do for an annual entry level salary of \$32,000; \$50,000 with overtime. A nice benefits package and a bully pulpit to boot. Some do it with benign neglect, while others do it with perverse cruelty. In a Faustian contract with the government, they work the cages and in return get to send their kids to college and take Caribbean vacations.

GUARDS, LIKE ALL ENTERPRISING citizens, can buy a piece of the action through tax exempt bonds that underwrite state prison construction. They can do it with the detached air of the post-modern fascist because such purchases do not hold them liable for anything that happens within the prison. No beating, injury, medical neglect or death will cut into their profit. In the burgeoning private prison industry stock purchases are available through investment companies. Why not? General Motors invested in Nazi Germany.

THERE'S MONEY TO BE MADE in fraud, the government is rife with it, but like most frauds there are a few who profit from prisons while many more are victimized. Taxpayers subsidize most prisons, and it is citizens who pay through the nose. By ANY financial measure, statistic or body count, the prison system is an abysmal failure. Very high cost, very little benefit.



THERE'S A PARALLEL with the Viet Nam War: the government takes your money and children for war while deceiving you into acquiescence. In return we get a divided society, more violence and an abandonment of the War on Poverty. And like those years it appears the present "silent majority" isn't ready for a serious policy review until the cycle of violence drives its stake deeper into middle Amerika's heart and their pockets have been more thoroughly picked.

"We were the slaves in Pharaoh's land
you and he and I,
And we were serfs to feudal hands
Now that times gone by.
Prentices in cities, prisoners for debt,
Hunted vagrants, parish poor,
Our life is a lie.
We move, an invisible army....." 5)

THE RULING CLASS MAKES the laws, and there's no shortage of sycophants to wield them like a club. Guards and administrators operate under color of prison law which ranges from court-granted "qualified immunity" to stark terror and murder. The United States Constitution's 13th Amendment allows convict labor to be harnessed like slave labor. A Supreme Court mandate forbids prisoners from forming unions. Circulating a petition is a punishable offense. Interwoven through the letter of the law is 500 years of white supremacy. Twenty-five lashes. Twenty-five year sentence.

PENITENTIARIES TURN OUT MORE violent, crime-prone, big-attitude men, women and children who have been told in no uncertain terms that their individual freedom and dignity are worth nothing, and that their futures are nil. The police cannot protect communities from the volatile rage this brings to bear. All the police do is step in after the fact to clean up some of the mess. The Better Business Bureau accepts no complaints about the criminal justice system's grand fraud and toxic emissions.

MILLIONS MORE LIVES IN prison will not improve life on the street. It takes an investment in humanity that provides living wage jobs and other development opportunities to improve the quality of our lives and communities. America doesn't lack the resources. It lacks the will.

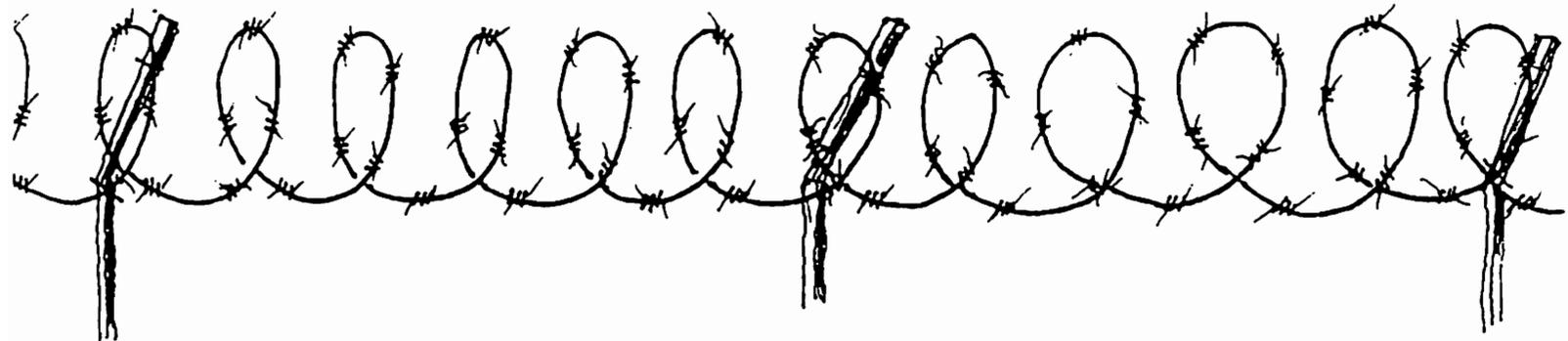
THE ATTICA REBELLION AND massacre demonstrated that the State can and will kill us, and that killing us is the ultimate sanction for militant resistance. Twenty-five years of subsequent litigation put the courts' approval on the massacre. The government ALWAYS approves its own slaughter. But the capacity to live in submission and have the lifeblood sucked out of us from one decade into the next has its limits. When we are strong, organized and ready, we will transcend these limits. As only human beings can.

Raymond Guy J. Janssen
February, 1996

- Footnotes:
- 1) John Vanyur, Associate Warden, ADX, quoted in "Corrections Today", July, 1995
 - 2) Jonathan Kozol, "Amazing Grace", 1995
 - 3) "The Fire Inside", Levasseur, September, 1993
 - 4) Fritz Saukel (Head of Nazi forced labor program, 1942
 - 5) "All Of Us Together", Southern Labor song, 1930's.

Write:
Raymond Luc Levasseur
10376/016 Box 8500
ADX
Florence, CO 81226

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Midwest regional Hearing:

CONTROL UNITS, PRISONS POLITICAL PRISONERS &

Saturday, April 20 • United Methodist Temple • 77 W. Washington • 9:00 am

Keynote Speaker

Marc Mauer, Assistant Director
The Sentencing Project

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Hearing

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Project • Aaron Patterson Defense
Committee • National Campaign to Stop Control
Unit Prisons

For more information:

312.641.5151

ABOUT THE KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Marc Mauer, Assistant Director, *The Sentencing Project*, has directed programs on criminal justice reform for twenty years. He has authored some of the most widely cited reports in the field of criminal justice, including "Young Black Men & the Criminal Justice System" and "The Americans Behind Bars" series, comparing international rates of incarceration. His most recent report on racial disparity and the criminal justice system led the *New York Times* to editorialize that the report "should set off alarm bells from the White House to City Halls—and help reverse the notion we can incarcerate our way out of fundamental social problems."

Eminent Persons Panel

Margaret Burroughs
Founder, DuSable Museum
Danny Davis
Cook County Commissioner
Pat Hill
Pres., African American Police League
Eddie Read
Pres. Chi. Black United Communities
William Rentschler
Ex-Prisoner, Columnist for Sun-Times
Dr. Nehemiah Russell
Principal, Englewood Academy
Howard Saffold
Exec. Dir., Positive Anti-Crime Thrust
Quentin Young, M.D.
Founder, Med. Cmte for Human Rights
Dorothy Yeoman
Past President, Church Women United

Witnesses

Sundiata Acoli
Marilyn Buck
Margaret Byrne
Mardge Cohen, MD
Barbara Echols,
Melissa Froiland
Jennifer Johnson
José López
Oscar López-Rivera
JoAnne Patterson
Jonathan Peck
Alicia Rodríguez
Dylcia Pagan
Erica Thompson
Delbert Tibbs,
S.A. Tinin Bey
Shiriki Unganisha
Laura Whitehorn
Rev. S. Michael Yasutake

Mass Incarceration and Control Units: Crime Control or Social Control?

Speakers:

Alan Berkman is a former political prisoner who served two years at Marion and eight years altogether. He has been a revolutionary since the 1960s. As a physician, he has always placed the needs of people first; whether it was at Wounded Knee, the South Bronx, Lowndes County (Alabama), or from one of his prison cells. He will give a first hand account of time in Marion, the first control unit prison.

Nozomi Ikuta is a minister with Liberation Ministries, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ. She is an active member of the "The National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons" and will discuss the emergence of this new organization and how you can become involved.

Jose Lopez is spokesperson for the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, and a leading member of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. He is also a professor at Northeastern and Columbia Universities and served almost a year in jail for Grand Jury resistance. He will speak on mass incarceration as a social control mechanism of people of color.

Sanyika Shakur is currently a prisoner at Pelican Bay Special Housing Unit (SHU) and will be released this September. Shakur was formerly known as Monster. His autobiography, Monster, detailing gang life in LA, was on many best seller lists for several months. He was also featured in the best-selling book, Do or Die. While in prison he converted to New Afrikan politics and has since written extensively on the relationship of prisons and white supremacy to the struggle for New Afrikan Independence. He will speak on this struggle as well as the horror of being caged in one of the worst prisons in the U.S.



Sat., October 21, 1995 at 7 PM

**De Paul University,
Schmitt Center, Room 154
2324 N. Seminary**

suggested contribution \$5
wheelchair accessible
childcare provided

Despite the current political climate, or rather because of it, the question "Which side are you on?" has never meant more than it does today. This program is one part of a national organizing effort to combat control unit prisons and the racist hysteria facilitating mass incarceration. We urge you to join us and work with us as we declare our side against U.S. insanity and for humanity.

National Cmte to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners & POWs

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, PO Box 578172, Chicago, IL 60657-8172; (312) 235-0070

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From Marion to Florence – Shut Down The Control Units!

**Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Marion Lockdown!
Resist the opening of the Florence Control Unit Prison!
Saturday, October 23: Florence, Colorado**

The conditions at Marion are no longer enough for the Federal Bureau of Prisons!

The new super maximum security prison in Florence, Colorado is scheduled to open soon and the BOP is using the same inhumane techniques they have used in Marion: 22.5 hours a day confinement in a 6'x8' cell, non-contact prisoner visits through a glass partition via telephones, non-existent educational, vocational and recreational activities. However, these conditions will worsen in Florence. The state of the art security technology they are planning will ensure near complete isolation; virtually all contact with other prisoners and guards will be eliminated. The Florence prison is located just five miles from a uranium mining company presently being sued by over 340 people for contamination. So, like the Marion prisoners poisoned by toxic drinking water, the Florence prisoners will be exposed to dangerous levels of uranium. Join us on October 23 to demand an end to all control unit prisons. Help us ensure that the BOP knows the opening of Florence will not happen without resistance!

All Out To Florence, Colorado!

**Gather at Puerto Rican Cultural Center 1671 N. Claremont
Friday, October 22, 5:00 pm
Travel Cost \$50.00 Sliding Scale**

Co-sponsored by National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners & POWs and The Committee to End the Marion Lock Down

Name _____

Address _____ Phone _____

- I can attend at full price
- I am interested at attending but cannot pay full price
- I cannot attend but will make a financial contribution so others can attend.

Please return to National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and POWs, 1112 N. California, Chicago, IL 60622
For more information: 278-0885

The World in Four Walls

Art from the Marion Lockdown

A Multi-Media Traveling Art Show

- October 17 – Chicago - Committee to End Marion Lockdown Program 3:00pm Broadway United Methodist Church 3338 N. Broadway
- October 18 – Champaign-Urbana, Illinois
- October 19 – Columbia, Missouri
- October 20 – Kansas City, Missouri
- October 21-23 – Florence, Colorado

The World in Four Walls

Ten years ago, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) placed on permanent lockdown, Marion Federal Prison. Today the inhumane conditions at Marion are serving as a model in prison control. Prisoners are contained in their 6'x8' cells for 22.5 hours a day. Visits take place through a glass partition with the use of telephones. Educational, vocational and recreational activities are virtually nonexistent in Marion.

The government also uses the Marion Control Unit as a storage place for many political prisoners from virtually every movement, the Puerto Rican Independence movement, the Black/New Afrikan liberation movements, and the North American Anti-imperialist movement. These are political prisoners the government still claims do not exist.

Now it seems that Marion is not inhumane enough for the BOP, which has scheduled to open a new super-maximum control unit in Florence, Colorado where virtually all interaction between prisoners themselves and with guards will be eliminated. They are creating a complete isolation prison.

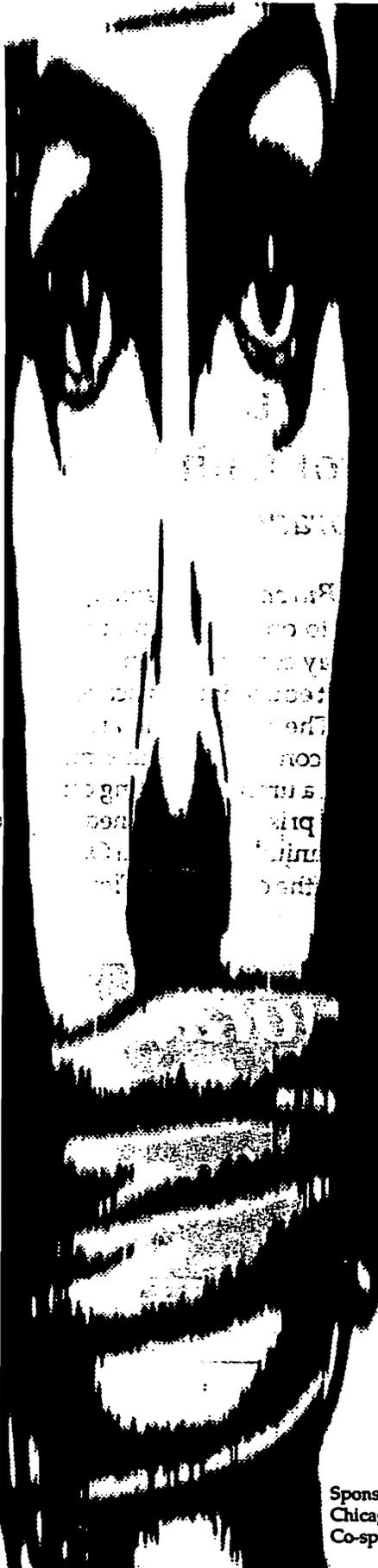
Despite their attempts to stifle prisoners' humanity and creativity, the human spirit prevails. The resistance reflects itself in the creativity and beauty of prisoners' art that flows between the barbed wire and bars.

This show is a powerful exhibition of the prisoner's art. Don't miss this unique opportunity to view their work in this traveling exposition and be a witness to their words, images and voices.

The World in Four Walls

The World in Four Walls

The World in Four Walls



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Co-sponsored by The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown P.O.Box 578172, Chicago, Illinois 60657-8172 • 312/235-0070

**GOV. EDGAR AND THE ILLINOIS TASK FORCE ON CRIME
AND CORRECTIONS ARE TRYING TO TURN ILLINOIS
INTO A STATE OF PRISONS—
WE CAN'T LET THEM DO IT!**

PROGRAM AND DISCUSSION:

HEAR SPEAKERS ON—

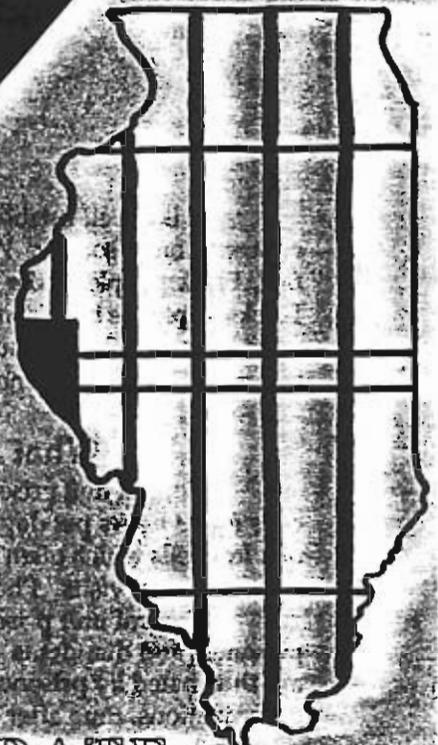
- **DETAILS OF THE TASK FORCE'S PROPOSALS**
- **WHY \$ SHOULD GO FOR HEALTH CARE & EDUCATION—
NOT MORE PRISONS**
- **HOW PRISONS ARE USED TO ATTACK PEOPLE OF
COLOR, NOT CRIME**

TIME AND PLACE:

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SCHMIDT ACADEMIC CENTER
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**\$3 DONATION REQUESTED
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MONEY FOR HUMAN NEEDS—NOT PRISONS!



ACTION:

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FRIDAY, MAY 21ST, 1993 NOON, SHARP!

**OPPOSE EDGAR'S PLANS TO BUILD MORE CAGES.
NO CONTROL UNIT PRISON FOR ILLINOIS.**

**SPONSORED BY: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE PUERTO RICAN POWS
COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN**

What If You Lived In A State That Was So IL. That Headlines Like These Appeared?

"Social program cuts in Ill. among the sharpest: survey" (Craines Chicago Business, February 15, 1993). "Last year's budget cuts in Illinois welfare programs ranked among the most severe in the nation . . ."

"Illinois Rapped for Cuts in Aid to Poor" (Chicago Sun-Times, February 10, 1993). "For the second consecutive year, Illinois was singled out on Monday for its harsh treatment of poor people."

Illinois is found to have the 46th worst infant mortality rate in the US and is 35th worst in overall child health (Center for the Study of Social Policy)

And What If At The Same Time

the Illinois Task Force on Crime and Corrections was appointed by Gov. Jim Edgar to find solutions to the prison crisis, a crisis of over-crowded prisons brought on by a twenty year binge of "law-and-order" insanity centered around the war on drugs, now admitted to have been a war on Black people. And what if Edgar stated he wanted the Task Force to find alternatives to more cells. And what if instead, the Task Force is proposing that seven new prisons be opened, including the conversion of a high school into a prison in virtually all-Black East St. Louis. And what if the Task Force is also proposing that the state spend over \$100 million to build a control unit prison?

Well, You Do Live In That State. If You Don't Like It, Write in Protest.

Gov. Jim Edgar
207 State House
Springfield, IL 62706

Racist U.S. prison system

is a well-established fact that prisons and control units do not prevent crime or make any real contribution to society. What they do is imprison people of color at the highest rate in the world. In fact, Black people in the U.S. are imprisoned at a rate that is five times higher than the rate at which Black people are imprisoned in South Africa. In Illinois a Black person is 14 times more likely to go to prison than a white person -- one of the highest ratios in the US. And what is the Task Force recommending -- why, more prisons including a control unit.

What are control units and what are they really for?

Control unit prisons are under permanent "lockdown conditions". Prisoners are confined to 6'X10' cells for 23 hours per day. For one hour per day the prisoners are allowed to "exercise" in an area the size of a few cells which often is not even outdoors. There is no congregating dining or religious services. There are no contact visits. Phone calls and reading material are severely restricted.

Control unit prisons are allegedly for violent prisoners but in reality are often used for political prisoners and dissidents -- those who struggle against the brutality and racism of the prison system and are thus hated by prisonrats. Control unit prisons have been found by national and international organizations, time after time, all across the country, to violate the human rights of those they cage.

The proposals of the Task Force are obscene! We hope that all concerned individuals will join us as we confront the Task Force in its efforts to turn Illinois into a fortress of prisons. Voice your protest. Write Gov. Edgar today!

To work on this campaign, contact us at:

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown

P.O. Box 578172

Chicago, IL 60657-8172

(312) 235-0070

Sept. 1971: Attica Prison Rebellion. . .

20 Years Later, Sept. 1991:

ATTICA REMEMBERED

conference

10 - 5 pm

workshops featuring speakers who were participants in the Attica prison rebellion, other ex-prisoners, and many others

rally & film showing

7 - 10 pm

film: "Attica", prize-winning documentary

speakers: Akil Al-Jundi, Attica Brother

Michael Deutsch, Attorney for the Attica Brothers

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P.O. BOX 57-8172 CHICAGO, IL. 606578172 (312) 235-0070

WHY REMEMBER ATTICA?

On September 9, 1971 prisoners at Attica prison rose up and seized one of the yards of the prison, which they held for four days. Many observers and media were allowed into the yard to witness the courage of the prisoners and to experience their creative construction of a model society within the walls of hell. The prisoners proclaimed: "We are men! We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such!" When the prisoners asserted that they would rather die like people than live like animals, the battle lines were drawn. Either Governor Nelson Rockefeller would seek ways to minimize the brutality of the prison, or he would launch a military attack. He chose the latter path. As a result 39 people were killed by the national guard.

Attica was the defining point in the prison struggle. In the year after the rebellion the government initiated the first control unit at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion. Also during that year imprisonment rates started to spiral upwards, on a path that continues to this day.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

The workshops will address: 1) Lessons Gained: 20 Years of Prison Organizing Since Attica; 2) Control Unit Prisons; and 3) True Purpose of Prisons.

The evening program promises to be a truly memorable event. We will have with us one of the Attica Brothers, Akil al-Jundi. Akil was on the yard at Attica during the rebellion and continues to struggle for justice for the Attica Brothers. He is currently involved with a major civil suit on behalf of the prisoners which ironically will be heard this fall, 20 years after the massacre. The second speaker of the evening will be Michael Deutsch of the Peoples Law Office. Michael was a lawyer for the Attica Brothers in the aftermath of the rebellion and is one of the attorneys in the civil suit. Both Akil and Michael have been persistent fighters for the human rights of prisoners. The prize-winning documentary film on Attica, which includes footage from inside the prison, and which is almost out of circulation, will be shown that evening.

NEW RESOURCES FROM CEML

POSTER Commemorating the spirit of the Attica Rebellion and reminding us all of the need to continue to fight against the brutality of prisons, especially control units. Three colors, 18" x 24". \$8 + \$2 for postage and handling. (See other side for address.)

VIDEO Soon after the Attica rebellion a documentary movie about the event and the subsequent investigation was released. The movie contained a great deal of footage taken on the yard during the four days it was held by the prisoners. Also covered in detail is the slaughter carried out by New York Gov. Rockefeller's national guard, the hearings that were held afterwards, and the narrative of many of the prisoners describing what happened before and during the rebellion. This two hour film won many awards and was a centerpiece of anti-prison and anti-racist propaganda for ten years. Now few copies of the movie remain and most of these are crumbling. In an effort to preserve this crucial historical document, we have duplicated the movie onto videotape. All proceeds from the sale of this videotape will go to the Attica Brothers Justice Committee to assist with expenses for the upcoming civil trial, finally being heard twenty years after the event. \$50 + \$2 postage and handling. (See other side for address.)

*Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657-8172
(312) 235-0070
CEML@AOL.Com*

EMERGENCY RESPONSE REQUIRED!!

The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML) has received letters from two Black prisoners at Marion who report that they have been set up by guards for fights with White prisoners. Once the fight takes place, then the Black prisoners are also set upon by the guards, and are then the only ones punished. CEML is requesting that all interested people immediately write, phone, or fax the prisoncrats listed below and demand that these practices be stopped immediately.

One of the correspondents writes: "It is not only that the guards are beating black brothers constantly but they are allowing white racist prisoners to beat on us and jump on us while we are handcuffed. . . . On January 2, 1997 the blacks and whites had a big fight on the recreation yard. They beat many of us with billy clubs but did not allow us to get medical attention until they were finished providing help to the white prisoners. Now the staff here has put brothers in a kill or be killed situation. . . . They are taking strong brothers off the tiers, and even putting single blacks on tiers with all other white prisoners. . . . Please let our oppressors know that we brothers have someone who will stand strong and let them know that their malicious acts will not be tolerated."

The other correspondent writes: "The white boys in the population unit had the nerve to tell the brothers that they couldn't sit down on the bench, saying that this was a white bench. Whenever you get into a fight with a white guy, the officers beat us but won't bother the white prisoner. When there was a fight on the yard on January 2 the police broke one brother's wrist and slammed another's head into the wall several times. These people are trying to kill us fast. We need your help. Our families do not even know what is going on. As soon as we try to tell someone over the phone, then the phone is disconnected. Please respond as soon as you can."

Protest to:

Kathleen Hawk, Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons
320 First Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20534
tel: (202) 307 - 3250
fax: (202) 514 - 6878

Mr. William Hendricks, Warden,
USP Marion
Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959
tel: (618) 964 - 1441
fax: none, we're told

Patrick Kane, Director
North Central Region, Federal Bureau of Prisons
Tower II, 8th Floor. 400 State
Kansas City, KS 66101
tel: (913) 612 - 3939
fax: (913) 551 - 1094

**PLEASE MAKE CERTAIN TO REPORT BACK TO THIS EMERGENCY
RESPONSE NETWORK (ERN) WHETHER YOU HAVE SENT A
MESSAGE AND WHETHER YOU HAVE RECEIVED A RESPONSE FROM
THE PRISONCRATS. THIS TYPE OF FEEDBACK TO US IS ESSENTIAL
IN UNDERSTANDING HOW THE ERN IS WORKING. THANK YOU.
TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!!!**

URGENT ACTION REQUIRED

URGENT ACTION REQUIRED

November 1, 1995

Prisoners across the country are calling for our support and urgent action. First we provide the information we have and then we suggest actions. We hope that you will be able to implement some of these. If you do, please let us know.

Last week a series of rebellions rocked the United States Federal Prison System. Although down played by the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) and the media, which hardly covered the event, there has not been in history a series of rebellions like these, with at least five prisons going up within 48 hours. Although details are still sketchy, media blurbs and letters and calls from prisoners suggest the following.

In February, the highly placed and official U.S. Sentencing Commission, responding to charges of racism, recommended that sentencing for crack cocaine which sends mostly Third World people to prison, and powder cocaine which is used overwhelmingly by white people, result in similar prison terms for possession of similar amounts. Currently 5 grams of crack cocaine, which is about 10 doses and which is worth of \$225, gets a mandatory minimum of 5 years. By comparison, 500 grams of powder cocaine, which is about 5000 doses and worth about \$50,000, gets a mandatory minimum of 5 years. There is thus a 100-to-1 discrepancy in the sentencing. The Commission's recommendations become law unless Congress passes a law over-ruling the recommendations. On October 18 Congress did just that, by passing Senate Bill 1254 (which incorporated House Bill 1254) which explicitly over-rides the Sentencing Commission's recommendation to equalize penalties for crack and powder cocaine. The vote was 332 to 83 against the Sentencing Commission's recommendations. This is the first time since its creation in 1984 that a recommendation of the Commission has been rejected; 500 recommendations had previously been accepted and allowed to pass.

In response to this failure, the first federal prison, in Talladega, Alabama, went up quickly followed by prisons in Illinois, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. As well as we can determine, after Talladega the rebellions were in support of the first one and then were in refusal to return to cells to be locked down. Again, details are sketchy but at the prison in Memphis Tennessee, over 50 prisoners and guards were treated for smoke inhalation and \$5 million worth of damage was done. We don't yet have information on the damage at the other prisons. In Talladega, 12 prisoners and guards were injured. One of the fire fighters called to the scene told CNN: "It was like a war zone. There were gunshots going off and some explosions going and you had helicopters overhead." In Pennsylvania, the "model" prison in McKean went up when prisoners seized four cell blocks, lit fires, destroyed appliances, and threw furniture out the windows.

Following these rebellions almost every one of the 80 federal prisons was locked down. At some of the prisons, the lockdowns have been partially lifted; at others they persist. Prisoners and guards report that prisoners were encouraged by the calls of unity issued from the Million Man March. In fact, Jesse Jackson denounced mandatory sentencing for crack cocaine at the March. Some also suggest that tensions resulting from the OJ Simpson verdict were also a cause of the lockdown.

We just heard today that Clinton signed the Bill, thus endorsing the racist actions of congress. Nonetheless, prisoners from across the country have been calling for support. They suggest the following:

1. Write President Bill Clinton, White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave, Washington, D.C. 20500, call (202 - 456-1414) or fax (202 - 456-2883) Clinton and protest the fact that he signed the defective bill (again, it is Senate Bill #1254).
2. Call your local congress persons, get more information on the situation and how they voted, and protest the vote.
3. Write Janet Reno, Attorney General, U.S. Department of "Justice," Main Justice Building, Room 5111, 10th and Constitutional Ave, Washington, D.C. 20530 or call (202 - 514-2000) or fax (202- 514-0468) and demand that all lockdowns be lifted immediately.
4. Do the same to Kathleen Hawk, Director, BOP, 320 1st Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20534 (phone, 202 - 307-3250), (fax 202 --514-6878)
5. Find out the nearest prisons that rebelled or were locked down and call the wardens and demand that the lockdown be lifted. Tell them that you are concerned for the well-being of the prisoners.
6. Hold a demonstration or picket line at the nearest relevant site.

Remember the 46 people killed at Attica? Well, at that time no one responded during the four days when the prisoners held the yard. This is the time for us to act. If we are ever to build opposition to the prisoncrats and their torture chambers, this is the time to start. And, let us know what you do.

"We are urging President Clinton to veto Congress' action. As much as we abhor the violence and injury in the prisons, it has focused attention on a glaring inequity which has been virtually ignored. It can be changed only if we have an uprising of citizens of good will." -- Wade Henderson, lobbyist, NAACP

"Those in jail for a \$5 high are Black and Brown." -- Jesse Jackson

"President Clinton must veto a bill that is obviously racist. Powdered cocaine is the source of crack, but crack gets hit the hardest." -- Jesse Jackson

"A 1992 survey by the Sentencing Commission found that there were no whites convicted in federal court for crack cocaine in 16 states and many major American cities, including Chicago, Miami and Denver." -- Chicago Tribune, October 30, 1995

An incredible source document on this topic is the Congressional Record dated October 18, 1995, vol 141, no 161, pages H10255 - 81. These pages contain the transcript of the extraordinary debate on the bill which in turn contains lots of the facts noted above and a huge vitriolic battle between white and Black congress people. The record can be obtained from most libraries or your congress person's office.

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
P.O. Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657-8172
(312) 235-0070



Photos By MICHELLE STALEY

More than 125 protesters from the Chicago area stood outside in the rain Saturday speaking out against conditions in "Super Max" prisons like the one in Carlisle, the death penalty and the incarceration of political prisoners. The protesters call for spending more money on education to eliminate the need for such prisons.

Sullivan Daily News May 6, 1996

Protesters say prison money would be better spent on education programs

By MICHELLE STALEY
Times Staff Writer

Protesters called for investment instead of incarceration during a peaceful protest outside the Wabash Valley Correctional Institution Saturday.

"Dollars for education not for incarceration" was written on several placards carried by protesters outside the prison.

"We believe the way to prevent crime is to invest in our children," said Charles King, a Chicago math teacher.

Knee deep in muddy puddles of water, more than 125 protesters marched in front of WVCI shouting "shut it down."

"Rain, snow or sunshine we're here,"

said Alejandro Molina. "The idea is that somebody has to say this is wrong."

Eight Chicago organizations traveled five hours to protest in front of WVCI, the Federal Penitentiary, Terre Haute, and the Vigo County Courthouse. The protest was designed to raise awareness about super-max prisons, the death penalty and the incarceration of political prisoners.

With a handful of Indiana State Police vehicles standing by, the group assembled peacefully outside the prison fences on the grass near the WVCI tower.

"We feel like having over a million people incarcerated in this country is a travesty," said protester Charles Carney. "We can no longer incarcerate our way out of fun-

damental social problems. We want to see money put in the front end of the problem — Head Start, drug programs, education and gang prevention programs. It seems like politicians are cutting those programs and funding billions of dollars for building prisons — that's really the wrong approach."

King said he also believes funding should be used to build more schools, provide job training and drug rehabilitation programs for youth.

The FBI released preliminary figures Sunday reporting crime overall fell 2 percent last year from 1994, led by a 4 percent drop in violent crime. Although crime rates are falling, the FBI reported an increase in

Continued on Page 2

Prison protest

Continued from Page One

juvenile crime. The U.S. spends \$75 billion a year on the criminal justice system. \$25 billion of that funds prisons, King said.

About 50 percent of the people in Indiana prisons are convicted of drug crimes, King said. Instead of spending money to build more prisons why don't we spend those dollars on drug rehabilitation programs, he asked.

"I'm white and I'm middle class, but I don't want to live in a society where we keep putting people in cages," King said. "I want to vote for education not for barbed-wire fences."

"It has been proven that these prisons don't prevent crime, they torture people," King said. "About 95 percent of prisoners are released. Are they going to be able to function in society?"

Saderia Means, a prison minister, said she works to try to rehabilitate prisoners.

"I'm finding that prisons are big businesses," she said. "I find they are not interested in rehabilitating these people."

King said he can't understand why rural communities actually go through bidding wars to bring

prisons to their area. Although King understands the need for jobs, he said he doesn't see why a drug rehabilitation center couldn't be built to provide jobs and serve as a beneficial tool for society.

"\$50 million for an institution like this — the whole thing just doesn't make sense," King said. "All they are doing is burying these people in cages."

"There are clearly people who need to be restrained," King admitted. "I don't think people need to be coddled. They don't need television and air conditioning. Even then do you have to chain them to their bed and let them lie in their own feces?"

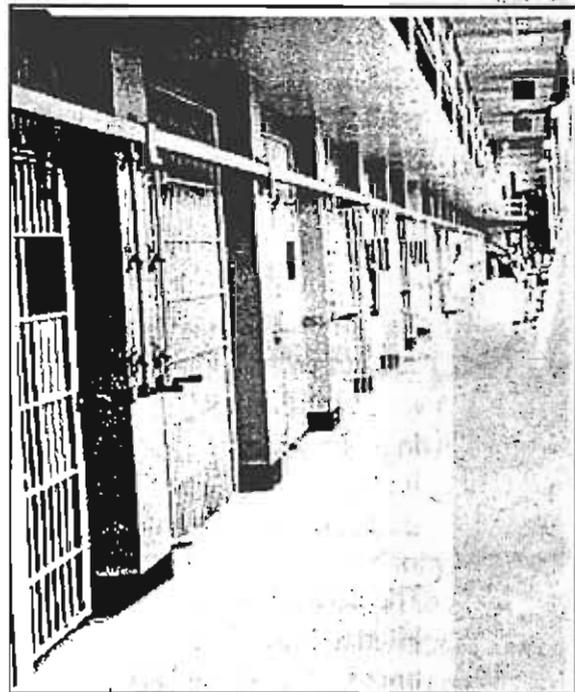
King said a survey of wardens across the country revealed that wardens believe only 10 to 20 percent of their prison populations should be incarcerated.

King said he can understand why Robert A. Smith, a WVCI inmate who has pleaded guilty to murdering another inmate and requested the death penalty, wants to die.

"We are against the death penalty in every situation," King said. "Imagine a place where conditions are so bad that a person would rather die."

ABOLISH!

Newsletter of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons



A CALL TO ACTION

In December, 1994 activists from across the United States, from a dozen states and two dozen cities, met in Philadelphia and founded the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons. A year later, at our second meeting, the Campaign issued a call to action for Spring of 1996. We believe:

- That control unit prisons are barbaric. No human being should be caged in a cell nearly 24 hours a day and denied all human contact for years on end. It is clear that the purpose of control units is to destroy prisoners both physically and psychologically, not to facilitate growth or improvement;
- That political prisoners and other dissidents are especially targeted for incarceration in control units, with the intent of dehumanizing and criminalizing them, as well as keeping them separate from other prisoners and from the movements of which they are a part;

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Bonnie Kerness
American Friends
Service Committee
972 Broad Street, 6th Floor
Newark, New Jersey 07102
201-643-3192
e-mail:
103137.3272@compuserve.com

Nozomi Ikuta
United Church Board for
Homeland Ministries
700 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115-1100
216-736-3280
ikutaN@ucc.org

Jill Brotman
American Friends Service
Committee
2161 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02140
617-661-6130

Corey Weinstein

SOBELL, ON DOING TIME

SCRIBNERS

MORTON SOBELL

ON DOING TIME

The co-defendant with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg gives his account of that famous trial and his imprisonment for two decades

***THE COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION
LOCKDOWN INVITES YOU TO JOIN US FOR
BRUNCH WITH MORTON SOBELL.***

***SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22nd, 11:30 a.m.,
AT 2907 W. LOGAN BLVD., THE HOME OF
JEFF HAAS, WHICH IS 4 BLOCKS FROM
THE EL AT LOGAN SQUARE.***

WHO IS MORTON SOBELL?

In 1951, during the height of McCarthyism, Morton Sobell was found guilty, along with co-defendants Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, of conspiring to commit espionage for the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and electrocuted in 1953 while Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison. He served almost twenty of those years, starting with five at Alcatraz.

Since then, hundreds of articles and dozens of books have been written about this famous case. Recently, over one million pages of FBI documents have been obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. These documents demonstrate that there was full collusion between the FBI, the prosecution, and the judge and that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were framed for reasons consistent with the entire thrust of McCarthyism.

Sobell was released from prison in 1969. Since then he has been an outspoken critic of government repression directed at political activists and their movements. He has worked for causes of justice including black human rights, the independence of Puerto Rico, and recently protesting U.S. aid to the Contras.

Few people are as capable of explaining the McCarty era, the "criminal justice system," or the situation surrounding political prisoners in the U.S. Sobell has spoken extensively across the country about prisons, their relationship to society, and political activism. Now 72 years old, Sobell's energy and strength, as well as his optimism, remain abundant.

**Committee to End the Marion Lockdown 343 S. Dearborn Suite 1607, Chicago 60604
For more information please call Mariel at 772-1249.**

Letter in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal

From Morton Sobell (13 October, 1995)

This document is part of the African America History section of the documentary collection, World History Archives, and is associated with the world history resource page, Gateway to World History.

Date: Tue, 24 Oct 1995 00:09:47 -0400
Sender: Activists Mailing List <ACTIV-L@MIZZOU1.missouri.edu>
From: Harel Barzilai <harelb@math.cornell.edu>
Subject: MIMIA: Info from Snail Mail (by _Equal Justice USA_)
From schissel@lbbs.org Fri Oct 13 00:03 EDT 1995
Transcribed by Eric Schissel

Dear Friend,

In 1950, I was tried and convicted with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for conspiracy charges whipped up by cold war, anti-communist hysteria. Three years later, from the depths of Alcatraz, I watched the U.S. government put Ethel and Julius to death. After I had served 19 long years in prison, FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act revealed to the world that those prosecuting and judging the case -- including members of the U.S. Supreme Court -- had conspired to insure our wrongful convictions and Ethel's and Julius' death.

It is this personal experience with state repression that compels me to write to ask your support for black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal. Like the Rosenbergs and myself, Mumia's conviction was based on the testimony of suspect government witnesses, and his political associations and beliefs were used to criminalize him and secure a death sentence.

I remember how Julius had found solace in his understanding that the struggle against their frame-up -- even if it failed to save their lives -- would help prevent such injustice in the future.

Please help carry forward Ethel's and Julius' fight by joining me in supporting Equal Justice USA's campaign to save Mumia from execution and to win him a new trial! The campaign needs your financial and activist involvement.

I can think of no better way for you and me to honor the Rosenbergs' memory than by making sure what happened to them, doesn't happen to Mumia. I'll be looking to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Morton Sobell

Return to the top or to the African America History Archives.

Please send criticisms and suggestions to Haines Brown (brownh@ccsu.ctstateu.edu). This file was created on 7 November, 1995

Dear Friends,

My name is Marty Sullivan and I am sending you some information about my organization that I started back in September 1996. We are still a very young organization- but we are becoming well known quick.

We have a massive mailing list of young people all across this country who are fed up and want to start something. We believe in educating and organizing the masses. You will not believe how many young suburbanites that are sick of being called apathetic. In just the past few weeks STUDENTS REACT! has started organizing offices in Tulsa, Kansas City, Atlanta, and Cape Cod.

We would like to learn more about your organization and help you out if possible. We believe that we are all in this fight together, so we must learn from each other. So please send any and all information that you can to the STUDENTS REACT! National Home Office.

If you can put us in touch with anyone who could possibly help us out financially we would be grateful. The cost of copies, stamps, and etc. have really put us in a hole. We also have a community talk show on a 100,000 watt radio station every Saturday and We have a building that we are trying to get open in the heart of downtown Little Rock that the Fire Marshal has said we need to rewire before we can open. He has really been on us...maybe its because we have a massive sign on Main Street Downtown that says SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE!

Any help and info you can send will be put to good use. Keep up the good work.

Together in the Struggle,



Marty Sullivan
STUDENTS REACT
P.O. BOX 21404
LITTLE ROCK, AR.
72221

STUDENTS REACT!

STUDENTS REACT! was founded in September 1996 by Marty Sullivan, a student activist in Little Rock, Arkansas. Marty was fed up with the media and the label they had placed on his generation, "Generation X". The media called "Generation X" apathetic and to Marty that was the last straw, so he formed STUDENTS REACT! in hopes that "Generation X" would rise up and fight back.

STUDENTS REACT! has three major goals; educating, organizing, and taking action. We believe that together we can and will bring change.

The following is a list of views that STUDENTS REACT! had adopted. We encourage you if you agree with our goals to join Plano Texas, Little Rock and Fayetteville, Arkansas by organizing your own STUDENTS REACT! in your city or join one that is already up and running.

For more information please contact Marty Sullivan at

STUDENTS REACT
P.O. BOX 21404
LITTLE ROCK, AR.
72221

Self Defense is one of the most sensitive issues that STUDENTS REACT! has implemented. We must learn our rights and know them correctly. Otherwise it will prove more detrimental than beneficial to our grassroots movement. History shows us that we must protect ourselves because "Our" government will use the police and/or military powers if necessary to "neutralize" grassroot organizations that threaten the Status Quo.

STUDENTS REACT! demands Nationalistic Revolutionary Reform. We feel that "Our" system of government was made "For the people, By the people", but in the Status Quo the people feel powerless. So, STUDENTS REACT! calls for a peoples uprising and the systematic reform to our capitalist system. "The People" which were supposed to be the ones who held power in this country must rise up and take it back from the lobbyist and multinational corporations that now control our country.

STUDENTS REACT! believes in Mass Organization. Members and Organizers are responsible to their community. You must get involved in your community and find out what the people want and need. Then you get it done for your community. Once you show that you are here to serve the community, the community will rally behind you and then with their support STUDENTS REACT! will become a force.

STUDENTS REACT! must support and implement programs that teach self-reliance. We must push for campaigns to stop drugs, crime, police murder and brutality. We must organize free clothing drives and food for children and the homeless. STUDENTS REACT! must push to educate the people about the real history of the United States and our proud history of resistance.

The advocacy and practice of equality regardless of age, race, and gender throughout all levels of the organization and in society is imparative.

STUDENTS REACT! demands that our members and organizers spread our message and ideas through flyers, rallies, posters, cartoons, buttons, leaflets, speaking tours, and graffiti. We must get our message to everyone and we also support and encourage the establishment of T.V., radio, and print media.

STUDENTS REACT! has studied the mass struggle that took place during the 60's. The Black Liberation, Native American, Puerto Rican, Asian, Chicano, Anti-War, White Revolutionary and Womens' Liberation Movements are very important to our history. We must learn from their mistakes so that we will not be doomed in repeating their errors. Because of their struggle we are stronger. We must remember, honor, and respect all those that gave their lives for the movement.

STUDENTS REACT! is dedicated to fighting for the freedom of our Comrades that remain in prison today. Over 105 political prisoners are locked in federal prisons in the United States today. These are former American Indian Movement, Black Panthers, MOVE organization members that are held without just cause.

As long as there are innocent people in prison, as long as there are hungry children, as long as there are homeless people, as long as there is corruption in our government, as long as there is discrimination, as long as there is police brutality, and as long as there is a governor willing to sign a death warrant, there will be a STUDENTS REACT! even if I have to stand alone in the fight...I will.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

Monday, December 9th

We've been patient...we've waited for justice from the city, the state, the feds, we've been through the courts and see it's a sham. The time for our generation to rise up, unite, and speak out has come. The media has called us Generation X, they have called us apathetic, they say that we don't care about anything. I say they are full of BULLSHIT!

ON MONDAY DECEMBER 9th WE MUST SPEAK OUT AT THE CAPITOL IN LITTLE ROCK! AS A CITY WE MUST SHOW THAT WE WILL NOT ALLOW "OUR" GOVERNMENT TO KILL INNOCENT PEOPLE.

The media has tried to divide us and to a point they have, but we must unite and show them that we will not believe their lies. Mumia Abu Jamal is on death row for killing a police officer in Philadelphia despite the fact that police reports show that four witness said they saw the man who shot the officer flee the scene, who could not have been Jamal since he himself was shot and remained at the scene. But no police inquiries into the possibility of another gunman were ever made. There is evidence that the government then suppressed the evidence that exonerates Jamal by intimidating and coaxing witness. And some how the prosecution ignored ballistic and forensic evidence that showed that Mumia Abu Jamal could not have fired the shot that killed the police officer.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! I ENCOURAGE YOU TO MAKE PLANS TO MISS WORK/SCHOOL TO MAKE A STAND! LOOK AT IT THIS WAY...WHAT IF YOU WERE GOING TO BE MURDERED FOR SOMETHING YOU DIDN'T DO, WOULD YOU WANT SOMEONE TO SPEAK OUT FOR YOU?

This rally is just one of many across the nation to take place on December 9th. The "BIG ONE" will be on Wall Street, but I understand that many of us will not be able to make this trip. So we have organized a march on "OUR" capitol. We will not only be supporting Mumia but we want to inform you about the over 105 political prisoners in the U.S. These people have been locked up-some for over 20 years, for crimes they did not do! There is so much evidence that these people are innocent but "OUR" government will not let them go free because they dared to speak out against our government.

I THOUGHT THAT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES YOU HAD FREEDOM OF SPEECH. FREEDOM TO BELIEVE WHAT YOU WANT TO BELIEVE IN, AND YOU WOULD BE PROTECTED. I GUESS THIS IS ONLY TRUE UNTIL YOU START SPEAKING ABOUT HOW INHUMANE AND CORRUPT "OUR" GOVERNMENT IS AND THEN THE GOVERNMENT WILL "NEUTRALIZE" YOU.

PLEASE JOIN US DECEMBER 9th AT THE STATE CAPITOL TO UNITE AND RESIST!

LISTEN TO PHAT LIP! YOUTH TALK RADIO ON 88.3 EVERY SATURDAY MORNING FROM 11A.M. UNTIL NOON FOR THE TRUTH!!

This rally is a project of STUDENTS REACT!

P.O. BOX 21404

LITTLE ROCK, AR. 72221

DECEMBER 9, 1996

10

DEC. 9 @ 12:00 Noon

FREE LEONARD PELTIER



FREE MUMIA



SPEAK OUT AGAINST HOMELESSNESS AND HUNGER IN AMERICA!
THIS SUNDAY AT 12 NOON
ON THE STEPS OF THE STATE CAPITOL

Please make plans to join us and show the system that we have had enough! The United States Government waists more than any other country in the world. There is no reason that ANYONE in this country should go hungry. We ask that you take a stand and join us for REMEMBER THE 9TH.

Every 9th day of the month in 97 we will have Teach-ins on the steps of the state capitol to speak out about the issues WE care about. We urge you to make signs and bring information about issues that you think we should know about. These teach ins have one goal-to educate the masses. So join us and remember knowledge is POWER!

**FREE FOOD WILL BE SERVED THANKS TO FOOD NOT BOMBS IN LITTLE ROCK, SO BE READY TO ENJOY GREAT FOOD!

For more information please listen to PHAT LIP! YOUTH TALK RADIO every SATURDAY AT 11a.m. Until noon.
SEE YOU THE 9TH! AND BRING ALL YOUR FRIENDS!

This rally is a project of STUDENTS REACT
P.O. BOX 21404
LITTLE ROCK, AR.
72221



**STAND UP
AGAINST
POLICE
BRUTALITY**

**COPWATCH
501**

**FREE LEONARD
PELTIER** 

**FREE
MUMIA**



The Curriculum

The goal of the education component is the development of an understanding of the relationship of crime, prisons and racism through readings, presentations and discussions. Education and action will be intertwined.

Most mornings there will be guest speakers to present information and lead discussions on specific topics such as control units, the death penalty, women in prison, the relationship of prisons to racism, political prisoners, the economics of imprisonment, etc. A distinguished group of facilitators has been invited and several have already accepted. Some readings will be distributed in advance and others will be distributed and discussed in the context of related issues as they come up.

The afternoons will generally be devoted to strategizing about how to do this work effectively and the development of skills necessary for activism in the area of criminal justice. Participants will learn how to put together story boards and a simple newspaper through the actual productions. They will also visit prisoners, including some on death row.

Dramatic events are now taking place surrounding the Attica prison rebellion which occurred in 1971. After 26 years, the prisoners' law suit against the police who stormed the yard and murdered 43 people will be coming to trial just as the Youth Institute begins. Thus, we will shape the summer project around this momentous event. At the beginning of the Institute the participants will see the movie "Attica" and then will spend the next two weeks organizing for a program that will occur at the end of the Institute. The organizing will involve educating themselves about the event, preparing propaganda about the event, leafletting to bring people to the event, determining how to finance the event, and then sharing the event with Frank "Big Black" Smith, one of the leaders of the rebellion who was wounded and tortured when the police retook the prison. Frank has already agreed to participate in such a program, as has Michael Deutsch, one of the lawyers for the Attica Brothers since 1971. The purpose of the program will be to build political and financial support for the Attica Brothers as they pursue their suit against the state of New York and associated prisoncrats.

Schedule

Participants will arrive on Sunday July 6, 1997. A pot-luck dinner will be held that evening as way of introduction. The Institute will begin on Monday, July 7 and will end on Saturday, July 19th.

Week I

DAY ONE	Monday July 7:
10:00 to 11:30	Participant introductions and expectation. Led by Nancy Kurshan, Institute Coordinator, founding member of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
11:30 to 12:30	Lunch
12:30 to 1:30	Overview of Institute; History of the Project; Purposes and Processes. Some definition of terms i.e., jails, prisons, control unit prisons. Led by Nancy Kurshan
1:30 to 3:00	Overview of the Role of Prisons in Society. Led by Jose Lopez, Director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, long-time educator and activist for Puerto Rican Independence and social justice; ex-prisoner:
3:00 to 4:00	History and discussion of past organizing efforts; strengths and weaknesses; victories and defeats; with the goal towards developing realistic expectations and possibilities. A discussion of the different resources that exist nationally -- publications, organizations, etc. Led by Jose Lopez and Bonnie Kerness, National Coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons
Handouts: 1) Bureau of Prisons book re Criminal Justice; 2) Institute Schedule; 3) List of national resources	
DAY TWO	Tuesday July 8 AM
10:00	Introduction: Significance of Attica
10:30	"Attica," the movie
11:30	Discussion with Erica Thompson, lawyer for the Attica Brothers
12:30	Lunch
1:30 to 3:00	Discussion on organizing for the Attica event; selection of date & site, preparation of leaflet, plan for outreach, discussion of finances, etc.
3:00 to 6:00	How to write and produce flyers and literature (would depend on the level of expertise of those involved but would most probably involve some of the participants as teachers and others as learners). For more advanced people, there could be workshops on pagemaker, etc. but this would all have to be determined prior to the Institute depending on skill level of the group. Some might

concentrate more on the writing, others on the production end, depending on interest. Leaflets for the Attica event would be produced with the possibility of a more ambitious printing project.

Handouts to be determined

DAY THREE Wednesday July 9 AM

10 to 12:00 Crime, Racism and Imprisonment: Overheads, presentation & discussion. Led by Steve Whitman, founding member of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, author of many articles on the "Crime of Black Imprisonment"

12 to 5:00 Tour of south and west side with stop for lunch.

Handouts: 1) Crime & Black Imprisonment"; 2) Bibliography

DAY FOUR Thursday July 10 AM

10 to 12:30 The trend towards Control Units and what it means. Associated videos. Led by Bonnie Kerness, and Michelle Foy, Colorado Coordinator.

12:30 to 1:30 Lunch

1:30 to 3:30 Facilitated by the American Friends Service Committee-Chicago. How to work with the media- how to write a press release, contact the press, etc.

3:30 to 6:00 Distribution of leaflets for the Attica event.

Handouts to be determined.

DAY FIVE Friday July 11 AM

10:00 to 12:00 The Death Penalty. Led by Delbert Tibbs, ex-death row prisoner for six years in Florida who currently resides in Chicago.

12:00 to 1:00 Lunch

1:00 to 5:00 Develop the work on the Attica program -- logistics, speakers, outreach, etc. Led by Nancy Kurshan

DAY SIX Saturday July 12

Prison Visitation or continued leafleting and outreach for the Attica event

DAY SEVEN Sunday July 13

● Rest & recreation

Week 2

DAY EIGHT Monday July 14 AM

10:00 to 12:00 Political Prisoners. Led by Morton Sobell, convicted with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; served 20 years in several prisons, including 5 at Alcatraz. History of Rosenberg/Sobell case; prison experience.

Associated videos.
12:00 to 1:00 Lunch
1:00 to 4:00 Conversations on political prisoners with Morton Sobell; history and current reality

DAY NINE Tuesday July 15 AM

10:00 to 12:00 Women and prison. Led by Jo Ann Archibald, Associate Director, Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers (CLAIM); ex-prisoner. Associated videos
12:00 to 1:00 Lunch
1:00 to 2:30 How to do effective work with legislators. Led by Northern Indiana Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons.
2:30 to 5:00 Continued leafletting and outreach for Attica event.

DAY TEN Wednesday July 16 AM

10:00 to 12:00 The Criminalization of Youth. Led by Southwest Youth Collaborative. Videos
12:00 to 1:00 Lunch
1:00 to 5:00 Prisoner and court visitation to Cook County Jail and Courts, 26th and California

DAY ELEVEN Thursday July 17 AM

10 to 12:00 The Economics of Imprisonment
12:00 to 1:00 Lunch
1:00 Projects Work

DAY TWELVE Friday July 18 AM & PM

10:00 to 12:00 Loose ends
12:00 to 1:00 Lunch
1:00 to 5:00 Preparation for Attica Program
7:00 to 10:00 Attica Program

DAY THIRTEEN Saturday July 19

All day Evaluation & Wrap up