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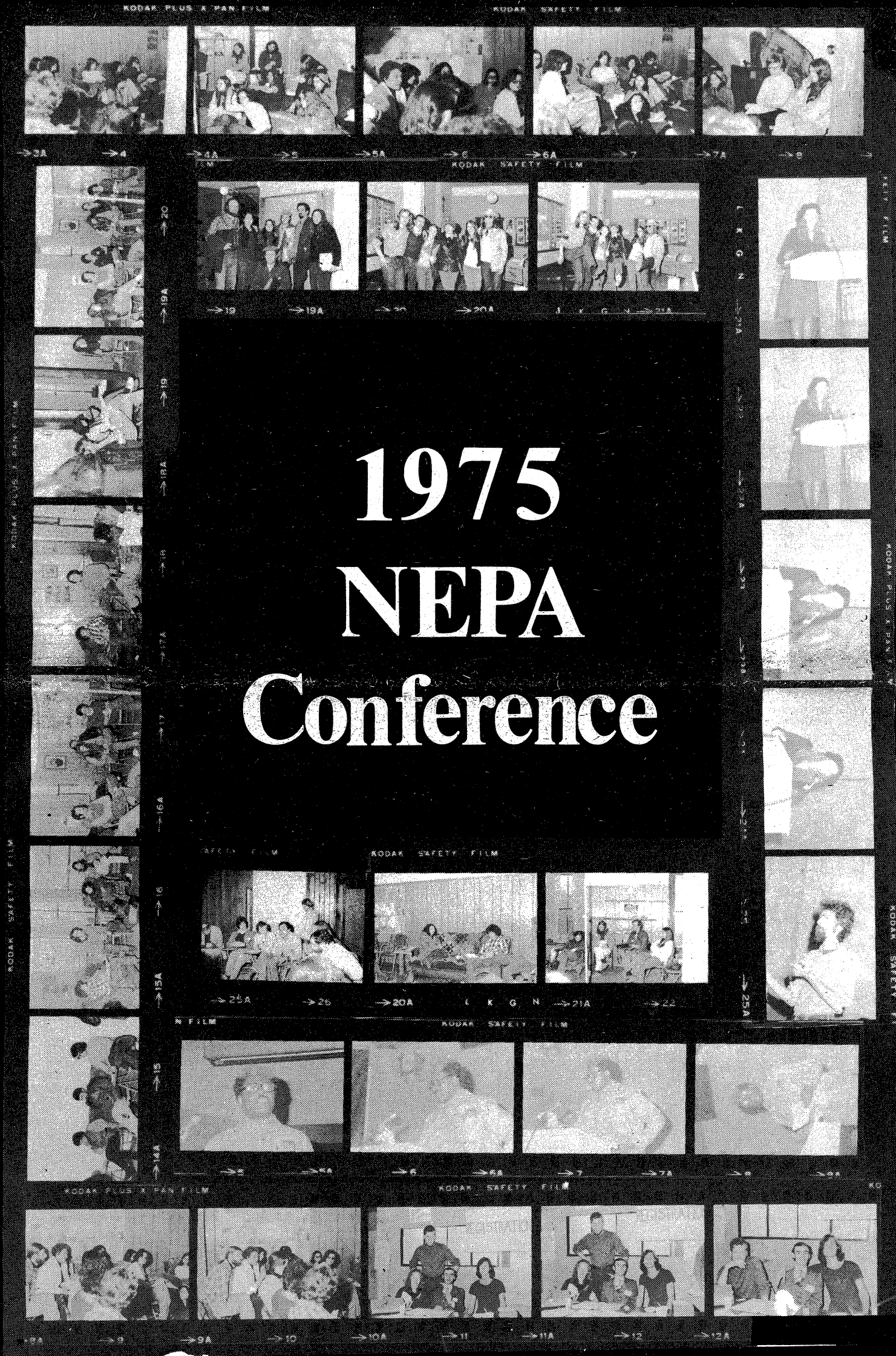
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# NEPA NEWS

The Voice of the North East Prisoners Association



# 1975 NEPA Conference

The second NEPA conference, on Alternatives to Incarceration, was held April 25, 26, 27 at Franconia College, Franconia, N.H. - Nearly 300 persons took place in an informative, wild and generally constructive conference (for our analysis of the conference, see page 20).

One major change came down: we changed our name from New England Prisoners Association (NEPA) to North East Prisoners Association (NEPA). We did this because many people from New York State desired to be a part of NEPA and work with us.

A second major development was that we began the offering of a process of re-structuring ourselves, re-examining who we are, what our goals are, and how we can get to our goals. This process was discussed in the earlier issue (see page 17).

The first meeting was held with NEPA members in North Boston to discuss the prisoners movement. The second meeting covered the role of women in the prisoners movement and in prison. The third will discuss in detail how to organize prisoners and co-prisoners. The topics for the remaining three meetings have not as yet been set.

The mini-conference or convention will enable us to gather together all we have learned from the meetings and the feedback we have received, and then outline a new structure, set of goals and strategy for NEPA.



photo by Kora Berger

## Victory for South East Asia

The last month has seen the great victories of the peoples of Cambodia and Vietnam. They had been nations held prisoner; now, through years of struggle--and the support of many people around the world, they have freed themselves.

Prisoners in the U.S. should view this victory as a victory for themselves for several reasons:

1) The people of S.E. Asia have shown that by years of patient organizing and resolute struggle, people can and will free themselves. To tear down the walls of U.S. prisons will likewise take years of struggle.

2) The people of S.E. Asia have shown that allies can be found in many places, and that the struggle develops when the movement relies on the people. This lesson, too, is vital for the U.S. prisoner movement.

3) The people of S.E. Asia have struck a smashing blow against the same enemy which keeps captive hundreds of thousands of Americans in jails and prisons: the corporate capitalist system. That which weakens our enemy strengthens us.

The chickens of U.S. capitalist world aggression are coming home to roost. By over-extending itself, the U.S. government has plunged its own people into a depression. One effect is that more and more people are being thrown in prison as unemployed workers, low-paid workers and people on fixed incomes face the choice of steal or starve--and choose to starve.

No one in his/her right mind enjoys a depression and its accompanying repression. But before we can liberate ourselves, the system must fall apart. Now it is collapsing steadily, and the capitalists face doom. They try to throw the weight on the people, they will try to pull themselves out with a war.

We say jobs and income for all--now; We say abolish the prisons; we say a victory for one is a victory for all.

## Vermont

Vermont is still moving ahead to transfer some of its prisoners to other states or the Federal system. The Department of Correction is doing this, they say, because they can no longer keep them in Vermont since Windsor Prison is closing. We join the Prisoner Community Center and other persons and groups in opposing the transfers. All Vermont prisoners should stay in Vermont.

The Prisoner Community Center is closing in early May as Windsor Prison becomes de-populated. We will have a story on this next month (we hope).

Vt. Attorney General Jerome Diamond is strongly pushing for re-institution of the death penalty. He admits that no evidence supports the argument that the death penalty deters others. Instead he argues that capital punishment is socially justifiable retribution. He says that it is needed to prevent outraged citizens from taking "justice" into their own hands. The only examples of this that we know of in recent history are racist lynch mobs. This is an example of a good reason for the death penalty?

Diamond also wants mandatory minimum sentences, taking decision-making from the judges. This would result in drastically increasing Vermont's prison population, meaning new prisons would have to be built.

## Notes

The U.S. Justice Department has filed a motion in Federal Court against officials of Alabama's 232 county and municipal jails charging them with violating prisoners' constitutional rights. Maybe they should investigate the feds own prison system, as well.

According to "Grapes of Wrath", NATO (dominated by the U.S.) is drawing up plans to help defend the racist settler regimes of S. Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The reason is simple: There's a lot of U.S. and European corporations making big money in Southern Africa, and they are very uptight about the recent liberation of Angola and Mozambique. NATO, big surprise, denies it has any such plans.

## News Updates

### May Day - Celebrate, Demonstrate

May Day is the major working people's holiday around the world. It commemorates the Chicago, May 1, 1886 General Strike carried out as part of the struggle for the 8 hour work-day. As always, the struggle continues in the face of brutal repression from the bosses and the government they control. The Chicago strike saw six workers killed, and the strike leaders were later hung. So May Day commemorates our victories and our martyrs, and is a day of renewed commitment to the struggle.

With such a history and meaning, it is no wonder that the state does not celebrate May Day as a workers festival. First they tried to declare it a day to dance around a pole, now they call it "Law Day", a day for right wingers to celebrate their law 'n' order.

Still, in country after country there are celebrations, demonstrations and strikes. This May Day, thousands of workers marched and demonstrated across the US.

And, probably by coincidence, various "liberal" bureaucrat trade union "leaders" called a massive demonstration on April 26, the weekend before May Day. The hacks' idea was to try to pacify and co-opt the rising anger of workers as they face inflation, layoffs, welfare cutbacks, and a "steal or starve" situation--which has already led to rising prison populations.

But the hacks' dream became a nightmare. 60,000 union members arrived in an angry and militant mood. They booed the bureaucrats and the hacks pet politicians (such as Hubert Humphrey) right off the stage. Some 2,000 of the demonstrators at Kennedy Stadium in Washington, D.C. left the bleachers and seized the field. The hacks called off the rally at that point.

When asked what went wrong, the AFL-CIO's Jacob Clayman replied, "We should've had a thousand cops, that's what went wrong."

The hacks apparently feel more comfortable with cops than their own workers. The hacks were even joined by several so-called "left organizations."

Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party said, "It's the worst thing that could have happened." The SWP paper worried about the demonstrators' effect on the capitalist press, and how the capitalist press would use the disruptions to discredit the rally, as if the capitalists ever approve of angry, political workers.

The old-time Communist Party, which now tends to follow the hacks and pols as a matter of regular policy, said the disruption was "a Watergate-style 'dirty trick.'"

But 60,000 workers have left their mark. They have backed the bureaucrats up against the wall. The hacks have found they can neither ignore nor pacify the workers. We say right on to the workers, young and old, men and women, 40% Blacks, who told the bosses to move aside.

## Massachusetts

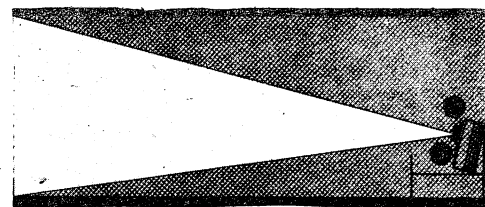
What's happening with Bridgewater? Right now, no one seems to know. The suit to close the Unit (prison section) as well as two other suits are still waiting decision in Federal Court. The Dukakis administration is sitting on \$10 million to rebuild Bridgewater--but so far no decision. Rumors say that Bridgewater will be turned into a real "special offender" unit.

In the legislature, three bills are being voted on. One would allow women to be sent to Bridgewater. A second would prohibit juveniles from being sent there. A third would close the Treatment Center for Sexually Dangerous Persons. Also, the legislature is looking at the \$11 million budget for Bridgewater--which includes six doctors and 425 guards for 800 patient/prisoner men.

We join in the call to close the dungeon down and get rid of Supt. Charles Gaughan.

# FOCUS

by the Action Committee, Walpole



The second New England Prisoners' Conference at Franconia College in New Hampshire is the second coming together on a regional level of a new and broad community of people to challenge one of the most brutal and oppressive institutions of our society: the criminal justice system--that is, the criminal laws, police, courts, prisons, probation and parole structures.

The simple and direct statement of the system and its structures is that they are built to perpetuate themselves and to crush any effort to reveal the true cause of crime and its cure.

These causes and the cure of crime do not lie principally with criminals or prisons, but rather lie in the unfilled needs of the community generally. The needs of the old, of the sick and in pain, of young people, women, unemployed, underemployed, uneducated, forgotten and unwanted people--those suppressed needs by the policing and penal forces is what crime is all about. The so-called free community is in fact a series of invisible prisons to force people to keep their place and suffer a constricted uncreative life.

Hence the struggle of the prisoners to expose the crime--producing prison structure is one phase of the general struggle to free the creativity of the people--to push back and dispell the

negative forces of fear, suffering and oppression--to expose and destroy the social and economic institutions that have become dungeons--to unchain the straining potential of our ideals.

The penal authorities have done everything possible--at Walpole and across the country--to cut the prisoners off from the healing force of the community, to crush their spirit in blind regimentation and the isolation of the cell. Many prisoners have been harassed and beaten; driven to suicide; tortured; killed. We are into the Vietnamization of America.

The New England Prisoners' Conference, therefore, is an affirmation that the prisoners' struggle has strength and force beyond the walls. That a new community is in formation to transform the society--a new community that recognizes the violence and sadism of the penal forces but doesn't flinch from challenging it, exposing it, overturning it.

The community that brings itself together in Franconia College is the seed and the image of the truly free community of the future. It's structure and spirit is precisely the community that cures crime and builds the future of every person's dream.

## RE INTRODUCTORY DEBATE

from the Action Committee, Walpole

Any reform of the penal system that does not consider the basic restructuring of the society does not understand the nature of crime, its cause and cure.

Crime is not a discrete, individual disease. It is a social malaise that demands social transformation. It concerns the social being of people.

Of course the cure of crime requires a gradual transformation of society and the individuals; it's not going to be done overnight. But a gradualism that is a perpetual reform--as has been the case with the American criminal justice and penal system--is no cure at all. It is a cover-up. Things are not getting better with American justice and penology: they are getting worse. Crime is rising for decades; prisons are proliferating in number and in recidivism. Projections are so pessimistic there is a growing professional mood that rehabilitation is impossible.

We are now beginning to discover that criminality is never--and never has been--a singular force, though it manifests itself as a singular fact. To exist in one person, crime must permeate the society, only that negative force will not necessarily manifest itself as felony crime. Rather it will be the crime of ignoring the needs of those who commit suicide; of those maimed and killed because of industrial or transportation indifference; of medical systems that allow presentable suffering and death; of instigating economic pressures that drive people to slave for trinkets, suffer continual senses of deprivation of pride or beauty, drive people into depression and insanity.

How many of our institutions and labor force depend upon suffering, crime, sickness, insanity, unemployment...?

This is the face of crime. Felony crime is an aspect of it and can only be understood and controlled when the greater crime of the social and economic law and order is understood and controlled. Prisoners know this for a living experience.

Therefore the cure of crime requires that the people recognize the totality of the problem and engage in its totality. This theoretical comprehension and overview must permeate each aspect of a crime-prevention system, and be the chief guide in all the details of a phase-out of the old system and the establishment of a new system.

The guiding principles of the phase-out and introduction of the new but ever-adapting system are: 1) no single individual must be excluded as an incorrigible problem. States must not ship out their "problem" prisoners to other places. That is not a solution; it is a cover-up for a fundamentally unworkable program.

It is a social atomism; it is a rat psychology; it is the first stages of a 1984 and Clockwork Orange; it is fascism, the expendability or final solution of human beings. The so-called incorrigible prisoner, or "completely" insane person is precisely the measure of the depths of the challenge and must be faced and touched and transformed, no matter what the cost, for she or he is who we are in the furthest reaches of our humanity.

2) Each particular program must be related to specific and general community aspects of the social, cultural and economic. People must be treated as complete beings; they must be afforded the freedom of the whole range of society, in all its phases and aspects. People must be asked to think free and reach for everything they want to be and be given their social share of the means to achieve it. This requires a community participation, a new socialization which is mutually supporting.

3) Institutionalization must be phased out. To institutionalize a crime problem, like incarceration, parole, half-way houses, etc., is to perpetuate the crime problem. In an essential aspect crime is institutionalization. You don't cure the disease by applying the infection. This does not mean that structures must not exist. It means structures (institutions) serve people, not themselves; they are and must be organic--subject to the needs/changes of the people, therefore forever in process of transformation, phase-out. They are means; never ends.

4) Community structures--of an infinite variety--recognizing and adapting to the unique needs of each person--these are the "institutions" of parole, probation, pre-trial diversion, juvenile programs, alternative sentencing, etc. Such an adaptable diversity requires community participation and control. And that is the meaning of community corrections. Some of the old forms may be used--even temporarily maximum security prisons or severely restrictive parole privileges. But the real controlling and curative factor must be the creative, crime-curing force of the community, not the institution and the bureaucracy it symbolizes.

## Keynote Speeches

Gene Mason introduced William Nagle, vice-President of the American Foundation in Philadelphia, and the director of its Institute of Corrections. He was formerly secretary for Human Services of Pennsylvania and before that, for 11 years, the Associate Warden of the New Jersey Correctional Institution at Bordentown. He was also a member of the National Task Force on Criminal Justice Goals and Standards, and in that capacity pushed the Task Force to call for a moratorium on all prison construction. Finally, he has written a book entitled, *The New Red Barn*. He wrote it after LEAA asked him to visit and study 106 "new" prisons, built since 1960, and find which ones were worth replicating. He visited all 106 and found none of them were worth replicating; in fact, Nagle stated, "They all ought to be blown up." Here are excerpts from Mr. Nagle's address:

"We are on the verge of what might be the largest prison construction binge in our history," he began.

He talked briefly on the history of prisons in the US.

The first U.S. prison was built by Quakers in Pennsylvania as an alternative to capital and corporal punishment. They believed that isolating an offender in total solitary, the "flame of goodness" in that person would be re-lit. In fact, total isolation tended to drive a person crazy.

"For 175 years since then, we've been trying all sorts of things to make that invention work. We went through a period called the "industrial revolution". They felt that if they could just superimpose on this solitary confinement some good organized labor--make congregate labor, but still keep them quiet--that would improve it.

Gene Mason then introduced Bob Scollard, the second keynote speaker. Bob grew up spending much of his time perfecting various forms of street crime. He spent a lot of time in prisons: Shirley School, Concord, Walpole, Folsom, San Quentin, Chino and others. He spent some 24 years learning about prisons from the inside. His active work for the prison movement on the streets got him fired from his job, and has made it difficult to get a job since then.

"I would like to give you a couple of short, concise stories to tell you where my head's at, and what it's all about."

"I'd like to go back to Soledad Prison, say in the early '60's. Soledad is made up of three different parts, which are Soledad Central, Soledad North, and Soledad farm. All together you could have anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 prisoners. These consist of Chicago, Black, Paddy-dudes, and Indians. Paddies are Whites.

"The whole structure is a very racist and political structure, through not only administration, but also in population. At one time, early in '63, four guys in there went to the administration, and asked if they could start a band. Course, they started to laugh at them. They said, 'Lookit, we can play, we can teach, we can do a lot of things, just give us the opportunity. But we don't want any guards. We want to do this on our own!'"

"Well, the warden said, 'Sure let 'em do it, they'll probably kill each other in a week.'"

"So they gave us a room. These four guys who could play instruments recruited about 60 members. I happened to be one of those 60, who couldn't read one note from another, didn't know what it was all about. I wanted to play an accordian, got handed a trumpet.

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## Nagle Keynote

"Then every new treatment idea that has come down the pike in 175 years, you name it, has been superimposed on this counter-productive institution known as the prison. And it still doesn't work.

"In every state in the country our recidivist rate runs somewhere from 50-60%; and that has been a continuous figure for over half a century.

"Yet, right here in the United States today, we have an enormous urge to build a new network of prisons. I, myself, know of plans that would come to three or four billion dollars.

"Attica was built in the 1930's because of the riots in the 1920's. They thought if they could just design a new, perfect prison, we wouldn't have any more riots. Today, somebody has the idea, Attica was big, that's why we had the riot. If we only build new prisons that are small, we won't have any more problems. I think that's sort of simple thinking."

Mr. Nagle summed up his years at Borden town, "regarded as one of the most progressive correctional institutions in this country... In spite of all our efforts we didn't appreciably change the recidivist rate one iota. Perhaps we had a more human institution, perhaps a more caring one, but we did not have a more successful one."

He next discussed how often the most energetic, capable and would-be-humane efforts by corrections leaders produces the worst possible results. He referred to the expansion of the federal system from three to 26 prisons under the leadership of Mr. Bennett, because Congress believed that since Bennett was in charge, the prisons had to be OK.

In Washington State, women used to be at the Walla Walla maximum security prison, which was so bad that many judges wouldn't send women there, so there were only 42 women incarcerated. So they built a physically beautiful campus-like structure, at Purdy. The women's population went from 42 to 177 in two years.

"The institution itself is not conducive to human growth. However magnificent the architectural plant has been, the destructive interactions that occur in all prisons exist in Purdy. Now its 177 women, instead of 42..."

"One of the basic qualities of the correctional institution that makes it so destructive is inherent in it because a relatively few people have to maintain control over a relatively large number of people... For example, unity and a sense of community contributes to personal growth. In the society inside the institution, unity and community must be discouraged, lest the many overwhelm the few..."

"I would say to you today that if this country, and especially this region of New England, is resolved to do something constructive about the crime problem, the immediate thing it must do is call a halt to the building of new jails, prisons and training schools, while we develop and plan the alternatives.

"So long as we build, we will have neither the pressures, the resources or the will to develop more productive answers. The correctional institution gives us the impression that we've been strong and forceful in dealing with the criminal, and thus with crime; while the fact is that we have merely swept the criminal, and the problem, under the rug. The jail and the prison provide only the illusion of protection.

"To ensure that we don't saddle future generations of Americans with any more prisons and jails, we must put our resources and energies elsewhere. To begin with, we must attack our core problems. We must eliminate the social and economic illnesses which plague our nation and which contribute so greatly to crime."



## Scollard Keynote

photo by Kora Berger

"Well, in this group we had Black, White, Chicano, and Indian, and we knew at the first session just what was gonna take place, and we laid our stuff down the way it was: 'Now lookit, we blow this, we don't have no band. Everybody got to hold their mutt.'

"We started to work. Seven months later, we gave a concert to Hartnell University. Hartnell University stood and applauded for half an hour. I'm talking classic, semi-classic, jazz, marching music, anything you want to name.

"So we continue. And as we continued, each man who was qualified to go through that music program had to teach another man. As we kept going, the thing built up to almost 450 in four years.

"We broke down and we had approximately nine different bands, not counting small combos. The pride of this was the fact that at Christmas time, or Thanksgiving, we could play in mess hall one and two. We could go to cell blocks, we could play music there.



photo by Kora Berger

"What we really wanted to do was get a marching band organized, with uniforms, the whole bit, to go around to all the state institutions, mental hospitals, veterans hospitals. And get an OK as far as off reservation so that we could travel to these places and bring music to them for zip. A little entertainment, something different.

"As this thing progressed, and after that last concert we played, Sacramento [the Cal. State Capitol] got wind of it. The first thing we heard was the warden come down and said, 'Well, you guys play too much hard, narcotic jazz. You ought to play a little more of Lawrence Welk.'

I got nothing against Lawrence. He's a great guy. We wasn't about to spend all the time just on Lawrence Welk. We wanted to do a variety of things, and the reason our project was going so good was the fact that you had to play in the classic band, you had to play in the full band, in order to play in your little group bands, which was right. And you had to teach your brothers in there the whole situation, you had to bring them through school. There was guys in there who could not read or write. There was guys who could not even speak English; who learnt, and believe me learnt, and got so involved with the school, actually signed up and went to school.

"All right, the next thing we heard, an order come down. Mr. Fitzpatrick claimed that Sacramento sent out a thing and they now hired a man for 15 thou and 10 thou a year, to come in and run them programs.

"Right away, everybody was a little steamed. There was a lot of jiving around, everybody was wondering what the hell was going on. Finally, these two guys come in. The band collapsed in a week.

"When I say collapsed, it collapsed in this way. Morale, your feelings inside. I took my trumpet and bent it right around the bars.

"We worked for years, by ourselves, with ourselves. We had our arguments, there were no punches thrown, no knifings, no killings, no nothing. We did right, we were responsible. And here's the man telling us, 'You ain't responsible now, see you later.'

"There's a lot of things involved in that situation if you want to think it over in your mind.

"The next incident I want to talk about was another very heavy racial thing. And you got to remember, in Soledad, which was called the 'Gladiator School', your life ain't worth a pack of cigarettes at any given time, and I don't care who you are, how tough you are, how bad you think you are. Because you can be in the wrong place at the wrong time and get wiped out.

"But, the race problem in there was always generated by the administration, and different guards. Not all guards, but some.

"The thing was, they used to have a thing called riot season. Every year just around the end of October, first part of November, you ran into this race riot. Automatically it popped up some place and the whole place was locked up. Guards were working overtime, blah, blah, blah. Guys would get wiped out with double-0 buckshot, and numerous amount of killings, stabbings, shootings. Lot of guys got wasted. No guards got wasted. No administration got wasted. But a lot of cons got wasted.

"So finally we started to snap to what was really taking place. What was taking place was this: As soon as the riot was quelled and everything was down, just automatically that check for overtime happened to come about a week before Christmas. So all the guards could get their goodies for the kiddos.

"So, now, groups within the prison, the Black community, the Chicago, the Indian, the Paddy-dude, decided to put two and three guys together, see if we could get our heads together. And I think it was one of the biggest things I learned about racism. Cause I was programmed, brought up, to be a racist. I'm still a racist today, although I'm fighting like hell to stop it. I've come a long way. I don't know if I'm gonna make it, but I'm gonna keep trying.

"But we got together and figured out, baby, we're wasting us and not them. We've got to have an answer to this. And as one Black dude said to me, 'Hey, lookit, we don't have to love each other, but we've got to treat each other as human beings. We've got to have respect for each other, but that doesn't mean you have to kiss me and I have to kiss you. We just got to make it.'

"Beautiful. It got going, we set up a thing. It took a lot of work, without getting bagged. And what happened was, we had what we called a lay-in. Nobody, and I mean nobody, from the nicest fink down to the biggest swish, nobody but nobody moved out of their cell.

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## Pre Trial Intervention

Speaker: Donald Phelan, of Hudson Program  
David Johnson, of Syracuse Court Rehabilitation Program

Pre-Trial Intervention is a program in which you take a person before he or she has been convicted and try to rehabilitate them, so they won't pose a threat to society. This type of program was designed to help alleviate the already overburdened court system. In diversion, which, in essence, is a mild form of behavior modification, an attempt is made to treat society's problems on an individual basis. Since these programs are tied into the judicial system, a question was raised as to whether or not they can be modified to be more effective. Lawyers, judges, probates and a host of other people make their living off of the decaying system we call prison. This raises not only an economic question but a political one, in which Pre-Trial Intervention seriously threatens a system that doesn't want to change. Diversion is less costly to the tax payers and a serious "attempt" to right a corrupt system, but in order to make justice a reality we are going to have to educate people. Unfortunately, the question of how was not answered in the workshop.

The speakers in this workshop, Donald Phelan and David Johnson, and their programs have become valuable stepping stones to a solution, in that they have gotten the community to at least partially fund their programs.

Donald Phelan, of the Hudson County Pre-Trial Intervention Project explained to the workshop participants how his project works. The Hudson program is based in New Jersey, and is an outgrowth of a federal effort to reform the Justice System. It provides multi-modality counseling and employment. The diversion program is a formalized jail of the New Jersey State Superior Court system. The Hudson Program is being expanded into twelve new but similarly based programs in New Jersey.

Everyone arrested in the area of the program must be informed of its existence in time to apply. The Hudson Program accepts 50% of applicants who must be eighteen years of age or older. Those not accepted are rejected because they failed to participate, or because the local prosecutor would not drop the complaint.

The prosecutor, defense attorney and the judge must come to a common agreement as to whether or not the accused should be allowed to enter the program. Once this is settled the person has forty-eight hours to report to the program, and must waive right for a trial.

The Hudson program takes up to six months to finish, and up to one year, if addicted to drugs or alcohol. All records are sealed and through legislation unavailable, except to the Federal Drug Agency. Expongement is available for the alleged crime, although no followup has been initiated to determine how complete the expungement really is.

David Johnson of the Syracuse Court Rehabilitation Project



photo by Bill Morey

followed with an explanation of his project: The Syracuse Court Rehabilitation Project is patterned after the Manhattan Project. New York has not formalized its laws on diversion as of yet, and can not necessarily drop charges once the accused has entered its program. It is a private non-profit organization, funded by L.E.A.A. and subcontracted through Onedago County. The program usually lasts 90 days. It not only works with the accused, but also with their families, and provides housing and employment for those who need it. The accused may terminate the program at any time, but the court must be informed, and if the accused has been released in their custody other arrangements must be made.

Serious accused felons are not allowed to assimilate into the program. The main problem that has arisen in the Syracuse Court Rehabilitation program is that the Probation Department is trying to control the programs. We addressed this problem in the workshop and decided these Pre-Trial Intervention programs pose a serious threat to probation departments, bondsmen and lawyers, because these people are making their livings off of the accused, and therefore P.T.I., in bypassing these organizations, is in a sense taking money out of their pockets.

One of the basic problems in Pre-Trial Intervention is the fact that the accused does not have the benefit of proving his/her innocence, that in fact it is just another name for plea bargaining. We visualized the deadly coercion that is perhaps too subtly slipped into the programs.

I would like to sum this workshop up by quoting one of the participants in the workshop, who said, "Pre-Trial Intervention is a system financed by and working in a system that doesn't work."

Pre-Trial Action: Most--more than fifty-percent-- of those who are tried now could be sentenced to the street. The crime-repetition (recidivism) of such people has been repeatedly determined in such studies to be about one-half of those sent to prison.

## Developing and Administering A Bail Project

It was brought out in this workshop that bail was established as an incentive to show up for your trial. Ideally, it was to be posted in accordance with the individual's financial status, and returned at the trial. Bail is one of the most fundamentally important issues in the justice system. It has to be abolished, or at least revised. Even the most hardnosed conservative can see the ingrained injustice which so apparently exists between the rich and the oppressed in this country.

This workshop was attended by people who are either working in a bail project or are interested in starting one. We discussed the different programs and the ideology behind them.

To begin the summary of the Bail Project workshop, I would like to start with a statement voiced in the literature of the Boston Bail Project. Even though their funds are unfortunately very limited, the Boston Bail Project was definitely the most together Bail Project to send a participant to the workshop.

"On any given day about 550 people are in Massachusetts jails, not because they have been convicted of any crime, but simply because they lack money. Because they cannot raise their bails, these people await their trials in jails for months or even years."

The Boston Bail Project works under the assumption which is supposed to be one of the basic principles of our law system; that is, that a person arrested is INNOCENT, until proven guilty.

The Boston Bail Project is a women's collective which runs a cash-based bail fund, working out of and for the women in the Awaiting Trial Unit at Framingham Prison. They provide bail for those who are unable to raise their own. Some bail resources are also available for the men at the Charles Street Jail and Billerica. They also bail out specific people referred to them by community groups. Work is also done in conjunction with the Federally-funded Bail Appeals Project of Suffolk County, to help get bails lowered.

They receive their referrals by an inmate on the payroll, who is inside the prison. He does the initial interviewing. Community groups and agencies provide followup support for those they refer.

SCAR initiated a new cash-based bail fund last July. Located in Portland, Maine, it was started with \$1000 raised by themselves through social events. SCAR also runs a check on their potential recipients.

We are all aware of the injustice in the reality that being in jail before trial greatly increases the probability that the defendant will be convicted and sentenced to prison and recognize that the people who are awaiting trials in prisons are the poor people in this country. This was established in 1972 in a study published by the Manhattan Legal Aid Society. If those involved in the prison movement do nothing else, we should work to change the present bail system.

How to do a Bail Project: Of course the Bill of Rights Protection against excessive bail should be enforced--which in many cases must mean, for poor people, no bail. A bail fund project could be set up.

--Action Committee, Walpole

## Parole: Reform or Abolition

by Fred Findling

The workshop began by discussing the coercive aspects of parole. Everybody concurred that parole was a leading factor in prison life and that prison administrators attempted to use it as a tool to control prisoners. In particular, the group discussed the use of parole as a coercive tool in the Attica trials, the Somers Aversion Therapy Program, and other cases where early parole was promised for turning "state's evidence."

The social service aspect of parole departments was discussed next and centered around the fact that departments do nothing for parolees except to harass them. It was felt that parole departments should do "more" for parolees, such as obtaining housing, employment, counseling, etc. Others in the workshop felt it was a good thing that parole departments did so little for parolees; after all, parole department staff, while supposedly trying to "help" parolees, would also harass and place greater surveillance on parolees.

In this respect, the workshop failed to produce a clear idea on this problem. Alternatives to parole were discussed next. The first alternative discussed was abolition. Parole would be abolished and people would be held in prison for a fixed amount of time. This position, as advocated by the N.Y. Citizen's Inquiry, was quickly rejected by the members of the workshop. The workshop members felt that despite its many drawbacks, parole represented an "alternative to incarceration", and anything that tended to shorten the time one must spend behind the walls was a step in the right direction.

After it was made clear that parole couldn't be abolished, the workshop concluded with a discussion on "parole of the future." It was agreed that parole should only involve a monthly report. No other conditions or contracts should be stipulated. A parole release date should be low and all parolees be released from parole after two years, barring any unusual circumstances.

Should We Abolish Parole?: Parole should be phased out. Community control-parole should be established. The phase-out of the prisons will perhaps mean, in practical terms, an increase in parole for a while, but it should only be for the interim.

Parole as a Viable Alternative: If parole must be used--and it most likely will in any penal phase-out--it should be staffed principally with real community people. There must be in this the same basic interchange and input of community as there is in all workable correctional programs.

--Action Committee, Walpole

# CCC's in Vermont

by Elizabeth Kamman

The workshop entitled Community Correctional Centers in Vermont ran smoothly due to the low-key atmosphere that prevailed Friday afternoon at the NEPA conference. The workshop began with David Martin, chairperson, running down a brief summary of Vermont's institutions and general data. We were told that at this point Vermont has a total number of 3,000 parolees in contrast to the 369 prisoners locked up. He also gave descriptions of Windsor Maximum Security Prison and four Community Correctional Centers (CCC's), located in Burlington, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury, and Woodstock. The panel of people to speak was not as diversified as expected, due to trouble at Windsor (Warden Paul Devallow and prisoner Bernie Woodmanson were unable to attend) but was comprised of very resourceful people.

Commissioner of Corrections R. Kent Stoneman, the first panel member to speak, gave a history of Vermont's correctional progress from 1967-1975. Stoneman stated that in 1967, during Gaener Hock's administration, more change had begun to be instituted than in 350 years. County jails were in operation at that time, "run by the county sheriff and his wife." The conditions were "homelike to disgusting," and it was imperative to change these situations. The State Legislature decided to turn jails over to the Department of Correction in 1968, and establish Community Correctional Centers. Their primary purpose would be "human detention." A work release program was set up in 1968-69 for prisoners whose sentences were one year or less. The majority of inmates in CCC's had to serve less than a year. Maximum security prisoners were sent to Windsor, where the work release also went into effect.

Stoneman also commented on "mistakes" the Dept. had made. In the transitional period of the CCC's, employees were hired with no institutional background. Stoneman reasoned that people with previous institutional backgrounds had developed attitudes damaging to the programs at new centers. Because of the inexperience of the employees, numerous walkouts and escapes occurred. The correctional center in St. Johnsbury was fondly named "The Gateway to the East."

Commissioner Stoneman believes that most people imprisoned can be put on paroles, furloughs and work-releases. Furloughs cannot legally be over 15 days and cannot be lengthened. Extended furloughs can be renewed after the initial 15 days provided participant has stayed clean. Vermont has 50-100 people on extended furloughs at any given time. There are cases of these continually repeated furloughs going up to 2-3 years. Stoneman commented on the lack of support given to parolees and furlough people. He feels that institutions program people for failure, making all the decisions for them inside, releasing them, then expecting them to survive outside where they aren't given the emotional support needed to stay straight. Stoneman supports halfway houses because they gradually get the con back out on the street.

At this point Dave Martin proved his chairmanship by closing in on Stoneman in order to open the way for another panel member.

A volunteer from Rutland Community Center described the methods she uses. Rutland volunteers have taken Dr. Milton Burglass' Threshold, a course in problem solving and decision making. Groups formed of 12 people work together in eight-week cycles. There are group sessions for inmates and counseling on a one-to-one basis. Volunteers take residents home for holidays and overnight visits.

Martha Abbott is a key member of the Windsor Prisoner Community Center, and of the Burlington Support Group. Pointing to some of the negative aspects of Vermont's systems, she said that the P.C.C. has little community support, prisoners have a lot of cell time, little yard time, and limited rehabilitation programs. She continued to say that work release was a farce, for there simply are no jobs. "The Department of Correction institutes progressive changes, but without enough publicity. The community has got to become more aware," she stated. Abbott has spent a lot of time and energy at Windsor Prison and now feels that it was/is the "best place to do time" in Vermont. Prison officials treat the cons like people (a major step), and the community has become active within.

The representative from St. Johnsbury Correctional Center, Joe Patricie, is a four-year staff member. He turned us around by presenting a cheerful view of the "Gateway to the East." Emphasizing the rapport staff members have with the inmates and highlighting the individualized programs, he told us of how the inmates there discover a sense of self-worth. Releases for cons may start at three hours and go up to extended furloughs, depending on personal progress.

These "progressive furloughs" drew questions from the audience. One woman asked if these releases were allowed to long-term inmates. Patricie replied that the opportunity was made available to anyone. The cons must make plans and commitments for themselves. The

staff is trained in Glasser's Reality Therapy and they try to match street reality to the center and individuals. Patricie commented that there is a strong community support for their program.

The community support in St. Johnsbury seems to stop at St. Johnsbury. David Martin feels that the community doesn't support the cons and ex-cons at all. He states that the prisoners carry all responsibility for their crimes, economic crimes which society creates itself. Martha Abbott immediately agreed with David. Ms. Abbott thinks that the community has got to realize that they produce their criminals. Rapes are largely due to a sexist society and economic crimes show there has to be a social re-structuring. Prisons and CCC's should be made more comfortable, but more important, Abbott feels, the system must be abolished.

Commissioner Stoneman interjected that three-fourths of the community in St. Johnsbury didn't seem to realize that the center was there. The people who feel the most animosity are the people who are not involved.

Karen Fladger asked the commissioner if all the centers had the same Strategy therapy. "No, St. Johnsbury is the most democratic, Woodstock is totalitarian, and the other two are somewhere in between," he replied.

"Community Correctional Centers are prisons in all but their name," said Marvin Fishman. The CCC at St. Albans will have tighter security when transfers with long bits come from Windsor. He thinks that "institutions change, but frameworks remain the same." Charismatic leaders come and go, leaving the bureaucratic mentality behind. Fishman's solution would be for the community to run the new facilities; otherwise there will be regression.

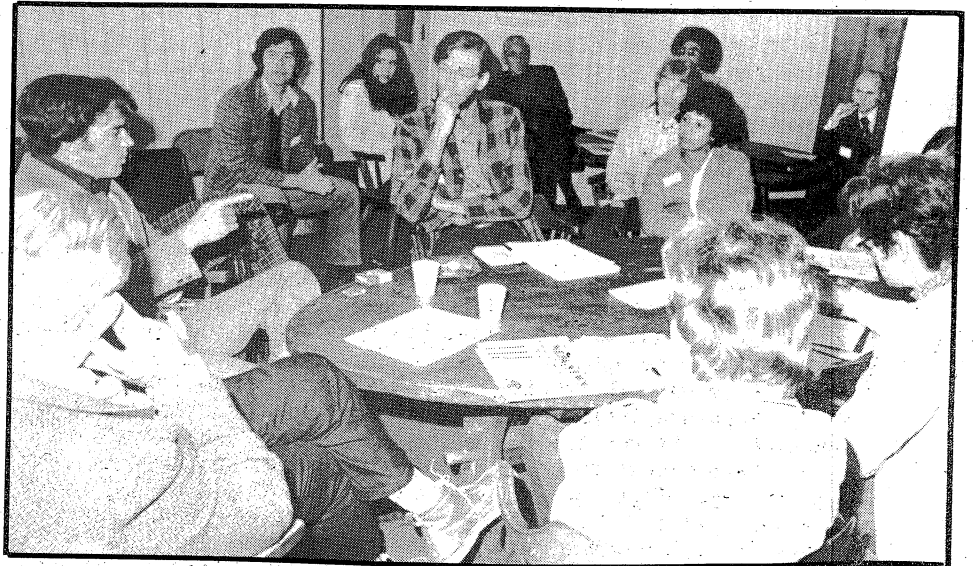


photo by Bill Morey

Bill McDowlin from Rhode Island commented on the Windsor transfers (NEPA News, March issue). He wondered where the men were going, and what would happen if every state shipped their "undesirables" elsewhere. And what of transportation costs for trials and appeals? (There didn't seem to be a strong answer to his questions.)

Managing editor of NEPA News, Monty Neill, said that real improvements in Vermont hinge on the ability to make Community Corrections Community Corrections. The community must take some responsibility and reduce crime from society. He observed that Vermont was at a delicate crossroad: the institutions could either harden or become more open. The choice rests on involvement from the folks outside.

Generally, people seem to think that things look well for Vermont. There aren't any more prisoners locked up now than there were six years ago, although there is a rise of 17% more convictions. This shows there actually are more paroles, probations, and extended furloughs. Vermont has taken a major step. The possibility for community involvement is greater. Vermont is fortunate to have a good correction commissioner, but what happens when he leaves?

Community Corrections in Vermont: The Vermont Commissioner said in an interview on WBZ-TV Newmakers recently (with Commissioner Hall apparently in approval) that Vermont will end its maximum security prisons, establish community facilities, but send the "incorrigible" prisoners to the Federal system. That is no basic solution. We predict the community facilities will have no more a reforming character than any other similar facility and the crime rate generally, from the community and from the facilities, will remain standard.

--Action Committee, Walpole

## County Jails as a Community Resource

The Saturday afternoon session on county jails got off to a slow start, as only one of the resource people, Larry Dye, of U. Mass at Amherst, showed up. This turned out to be a plus for the workshop, though, as Larry had brought with him several of his students, including two ex-prisoners who were involved with him in a unique program at the Berkshire House of Correction in Pittsfield, Mass. All of the workshop discussion focused on this project.

Larry explained that 2 1/2 years ago work started at U. Mass. on correctional projects for juveniles, and then shifted to adult corrections. After various preliminary studies it was decided that their energies should be elevated to county jails, because of their size and the receptiveness of some local sheriffs. From the beginning it was agreed that no progress could be made if the program was just splinter projects, so the aim of the work was total institutional change at the jail.

The program started in July of 1973 with major group meetings in the jail involving prisoners, guards, U. Mass people and outsiders to define and plan the goals of the program. The second phase started soon after that, and consisted mostly of a training program

for prisoners and guards to try to develop a mutual respect and working relationship. During this time, a joint prisoner/guard project also started working at a local school for retarded children, and a physical education program started using community resources. In phase three a self-governance board was founded at the jail. The board consisted of four prisoners, four guards, and officials from the jail and the university. This board was responsible for some major decision making, and the only drawback was that the sheriff had veto power. Larry did point out, however, that most of the decisions of the board were automatically approved by the sheriff. Also during this time, education programs were set up for the guards and prisoners at U. Mass and at the jail. Unlike most prison classes, the classes at the jail are open to the public. This year the program is involved in sorting out and institutionalizing the various programs now available. The project leaders hope to develop this county jail into a viable community resource, and to move beyond the general attitude that prisons are only for punishment.

# Probation: Reform or Abolition

by Tim Kiley

This workshop was conducted by Scott Christiansen, who is with the School of Criminal Justice at the State University of New York. He was ably assisted by Noel Dennis, of the Citizens' Inquiry on Probation, in New York City. Dan Lockwood, an ex-con from Albany, N.Y., also explained in great detail the probation process as it affects juveniles. A sizeable listener audience responded enthusiastically throughout the hour and a half session with many questions, comments and observations.

Mr. Christiansen began by stating that he felt that the system was moving toward some significant changes and improvements in the area of criminal justice. Parole, according to Mr. Christiansen, is on the whole less oppressive than actual incarceration, but is by no means an alternative to prison. It is, in fact, a supplement to incarceration. Probation, on the whole, relies on police, courts, and prison to make it work by placing the fear of imprisonment in front of supervision, services, counseling, referral and other excuses it uses as a rationale for its existence. Often other modes of surveillance are used, such as bugging devices, surreptitious investigation procedures, etc. Revocation of probation is at the discretion of the probation officer. A probationer's rights are nil. Probation can be and often is more oppressive than prison. Therefore, like prison, it too should be abolished.

There is at present scant definitive data on the characteristics of probation but preliminary studies seem to indicate that white, middle class offenders receive a highly disproportionate amount of probated sentences while poor whites and minorities are sent to prison. Probation, according to both Mr. Christiansen and Mr. Noble is arbitrary, discretionary and used in a very discriminatory manner. It is a very capricious thing.

Mr. Noble went on to outline a model of what he feels probation should be. He admitted that his model was still in the study stage, but said he would:

1. Eliminate the social control aspect from probation.
2. Separate investigations from probation, putting that as a function of the court rather than the probation department.
3. Make probation a social service institution designed to serve the type of person who mostly gets caught up into the criminal justice system. This would consist of services such as medical services, subsidized housing, job training, etc.

4. Some sort of consciousness level raising mechanisms should be included to assist the parolee to understand what is happening to him in the system and why he does as he does.

Mr. Noble added that a massive shift of money and personnel will be needed and an intensive public education program should proceed implementation of such an alternative probation program.

A questioner from the audience asked if the type of community controlled criminal justice program used in Cuba were a good model to emulate. Both Mr. Noble and Mr. Christiansen had extreme difficulty fielding this question. Mr. Christiansen stuttered that Cuba is communistic and smaller than America. Mr. Noble allowed that Cuba was not America.

# Justice and Architecture

by Bob Meyers

The Saturday morning workshop on justice and architecture was headed by Peter Lovell and featured Elliot and Martha Rothman, a team of Boston architects who have done the preliminary planning for the proposed new Charles St. Jail in Boston.

The Rothmans' basic concept in the design is living modules of thirty-two prisoners, broken down into eight units of four prisoners each. Each module would have its own dining and recreational facilities and would promote maximum freedom within the module itself. This concept would de-centralize the typical cell-block arrangement, while at the same time providing program systems for common activities. It is also felt that this concept would promote a sense of "community pride" among the prisoners and guards.

The basic cell units were a striking part of the design. Each cell was designed with the minimum FHR living standards in mind and provides for work space, toilets, and other facilities, to meet basic human needs. The brightly painted cells would not have barred doors and would combine privacy and security with observation windows that are placed at such a height that would force guards to deliberately look in, rather than allow for open view at all times.

Other facilities on the site included: small, intimate medical and mental health facilities that could prevent, by the Rothmans' estimation, up to four hundred trips a year to Bridgewater. A varied design to provide for different types of visitation, an intake and holding center designed to help ease the trauma of arrest, and provide frontline services, outside contracted food service, to save costs and also make prison officials less defensive about some of the prison facilities, and undersized educational facilities, to encourage education release. The projected cost for the project is in the twelve to fourteen million dollars area, but the Rothmans stressed that this facility would be considerably cheaper to build and maintain than a typical facility.

The workshop participants seemed to agree that if facilities of this type had to be built at all, they might as well be something like this, rather than another iron and concrete hole.

The Architecture of Community Corrections: The architecture of community corrections will be the architecture of the community in social, cultural and economic terms. What else is "rehabilitation" except the day-to-day viability of a social and economic system for a person? In community corrections that "rehab program" is the social-cultural-economic structure itself, as it relates, naturally, to the individual. A workable program cannot be second-guessed, no more than a viable psychotherapy treatment can be pre-arranged. A workable crime curing "program" employs the same free, vital and force-energy of creativity itself. It is precisely the inverse of the amorphous, constricting lines of the negative force of criminality. Crime curing is the yet-to-be-invented forms and relations of a society in creativity, not a textbook graph. More, a crime curing is not exactly a direct application, method or technique. Solving crime is solving an economic problem, a cultural conundrum, a sexual hangup, a social mystery. You do not solve crime: you solve the problems whose lack of solution crime is.

--Action Committee, Walpole

# Community Re-Entry

by Dave Teuteberg, NEPA News staff

*"What we are trying to promote here is self-respect."*

John Ramos' (Executive Director, Self-Development Group, Boston) statement concerning the ex-con precisely summarizes the desires and aspirations of various private, community oriented organizations scattered throughout the Northeast that strive to assist ex-cons return from prison to the community. On-going strategies, policies and projects involving the ex-con and the community, as well as tactics were discussed in-depth at Saturday's workshop. Community Re-entry Programs attempt to "coordinate all existing resources" in the community that may benefit the ex-con in his/her struggle. For example, "employment, family counseling, medical services, psychological services, housing, education, and one-to-one counseling" are methods employed by the Project Re-entry program in Syracuse, New York. Understandably, each group uses its own methods but their goal remains unified; to help the ex-con make it on the street in spite of the prison experience.

The men and women at this particular workshop, chaired by Franconia College professor Katy Symmes, are actively engaged in this struggle in spite of their respective states parole departments which, in effect, are being paid to fulfill this very same need. Due to the inability of parole departments to successfully aid the ex-cons in their struggle, these private concerns have been created to fill the vacuum. It has become obvious to all those involved in the re-entry process that parole officials intend only to enforce the petty, arbitrary parole restrictions imposed upon them by the state.

There are other reasons behind the failure of most parole departments. First, their ethnic composition is counter productive to their effort. For example, in Rhode Island, 70% of those incarcerated between the years 1968 and 1972 were black men and women; yet according to Ralph Willoughby (prison activist in South Providence, Rhode Island), "There are no black members on Rhode Island's parole board and, furthermore, no black parole officers." In Massachusetts 99% of the parole officers are former prison guards. Such conditions will never foster a close, working relationship between the ex-con and the parole official. As long as parole officials remain responsible for enforcement of unenforceable parole restrictions, they will continue to be considered more as a legal threat than as a constructive, truly interested force in one's life. Consequently, private concerns have taken on the responsibility of aiding the ex-con.

Another very important aspect of their work is community re-

education. It is fruitless for these organizations to re-enter persons into the community if the community continues to harbor unproductive, unfounded biases toward those convicted individuals. Thus, private concerns such as these have begun to rehabilitate the community's attitudes toward ex-cons so that they may better understand the true role of the prisoner in our society. Each organization employs different methods in this task. In Connecticut, they have subjected "prominent citizens" to the prison (using prisoners as guards) by asking them to spend a limited amount of time behind bars. This exercise, though somewhat contrived, does seem to educate judges, lawyers and other citizens to the harshness of our prisons. In New York, they try to employ as many volunteers from the community as possible because they feel that exposure to the ex-con will assist them in realizing how absurd their previous conceptions concerning convicts are. SDG uses its newspaper, the Outlook, to educate the community.

The time is long overdue for those of us on the outside to stop punishing the few who go to prison after they have paid their debt to society. We must get involved in these programs if they are going to succeed. The community needs them; they need the resources of the community. Employment, medical services, and so on are all available in our society. Make them available to the programs in your community and end the harshness of the life of the ex-con.

Education and Work Release Program: These programs are the most practical and immediately applicable and should be implemented forthwith on as massive a scale as possible. There is no excuse for delaying such programs--especially their vocational-training aspect--for they are the prime basis upon which a person must build a creative life. Not implementing them on a massive scale is the best indication of the false promises of a rehabilitation program.

Community Control of Crime: Cuba and China: If prison officials would really allow the free flow of information about prisons in to prison we could talk more about Cuban and Chinese crime control. But prison officials protect prisoners by withholding information that's commonly available because of "security". Community control is the only effective control of crime.

--from the Action Committee, Walpole

# Prisoner-run Prisons

This workshop, held Saturday morning, began with a showing of the NEPA film, "3000 Years and Life." This film was shot inside Walpole Prison in Massachusetts two years ago when the guards went on strike and for six weeks the prisoners collectively ran the prison, while the guards did no more than man the gun towers. The prisoners ran the prison industries and the kitchen, locked up themselves, and took the daily population counts, developed the education programs, dealt with community discipline, stopped the hustles and the rackets, and generally ran the prison in a far better fashion than did the guards and the hacks who previously ran the industries and kitchens. At this time visitation continued, as did the now-defunct Citizen Observer Program.

The question that comes to mind when seeing this film is, "Why shouldn't the prisoners run the prisons? How can this be achieved? What are its consequences?"

After the film, Alan Caron of SCAR (Statewide Correctional Alliance for Reform), a Maine-based organization, talked on the issues and ideas raised in the film.

"The perspective of this workshop is that we are political people, that we are revolutionary people, and that we are dedicated to revolutionary change in this country. That's our perspective when we are discussing prisoner-run prisons, not how to make a better prison, because we have too many prisons, and we have our own people filling them all the time.

"We make the assumption that imprisonment is a thing that's going to go on. One can make a max-security prison into a community Correctional Center, into a halfway house, and you still have imprisonment. So we're going to accept that as a basic premise, and look at what we can do within a prison as they exist now. What can prisoners do?"

"It's a very touchy question, because prisoners don't have the kind of political flexibility that we have on the streets. They are very limited in what they can do. After a lot of careful thought and looking at the alternatives open to prisoners, we have fixed on this idea..."

"What we are going to start doing in Maine is, we're going to get out; well, first working with the people inside, to develop this idea, to get the group inside working on it, talking to other prisoners about it. There are things that have to be done inside in preparation if you assume that we can in fact get the state to give up a prison to prisoners.

"They need a very detailed plan of what they are going to do, the structuring of a prisoner government. The socialization of

industry, education. All the things discussed in this film have to be developed.

"What we're going to do on the outside, is we're going to work with the people inside for the next two or three months to set that in motion, then we are going to begin an active educational campaign on the outside using this film, which is a valuable resource which NEPA has never really put to use. I mean, we show it, but we don't do anything with it. We don't ever take the time to realize that this is a real possibility.

"O.K., a few scattered things. When we get out and we're talking about this, the selling points.

"First of all the demand itself is exactly what happened in this film. Take the screws out of the prison. If your problem is security and the reactionaries are the prime force, you tell them, "Good, keep your security, but take it out. Surround the walls with machine guns if you want to. It makes no difference. Just give us--the prisoners--the prison. Allow us to do our thing. I think that reactionaries can be appeased with that rap.

"There are other raps. Cost. There's a whole thing with the economy happening, which makes this an even better time. We can say, "Look, you have 300 guards, you can cut it down to 150, and still have the same security.

"The other point you can make is that it allows prisoners to develop themselves. This appeals to liberals, to group interaction and self-development people. Those are pretty much the selling points.

"The impact, the consciousness-raising impact of this whole thing, is that you're sort of laying bare the role of prisons. When you lay it out, let's admit it, that a prison is nothing but a warehouse. Also, you're raising the issue about slave labor, that people are working for nothing, so at least give them control of that industry. We can effectively, through this, counter the whole treatment philosophy, which is a real serious problem in prisons.

"I wish that people would leave here giving these things some serious thought, watching the NEPA News because we want to begin some serious discussion about this. We're going to start doing some stuff in Maine."

At the end Alan was asked, "What will keep people out?" He replied, "Keeping people out is ending unemployment, is ending poverty, is ending capitalism."

## Alternative Master Plan

by Donna Parker

The primary speaker at this workshop was Honey Knopp, from Connecticut, who has spent much time working in the prisoner movement. She outlined a strategy for the abolition of prisons and the development of a new criminal justice system.

She first talked about the general process of social change. First is a consciousness-changing, the ability of people to see the need for something new. Second is creativity, learning how to organize and construct the new. Third comes the alternative institution, and the question of how to provide the opportunity to start new forms. She emphasized that our goal is justice, and that it is a long-range struggle which will require much patience.

"Don't give up," she said. "Define who you are and what your destination is. Be willing to re-examine and change your strategy to fit the changes of the moment."

She talked about an organization, PREAP, Prison, Research, Education, Action Project. Its goal is to produce tools and materials, language and ideology based on what we believe. These materials will be used to begin to educate people.

Among the proposed tools would be:

- 1) A manual on training people in the concepts of the Abolition of Prisons;
- 2) A slide show for the general public on abolition;
- 3) A curriculum for schools on junior high, high school and college levels that covers the abolition of prisons;
- 4) And a bibliography of materials.

Ms. Knopp envisioned a series of workshops, each of which would cover different areas.

The first would be directed toward de-mythologizing prisons. It would explain that prisons provide no deterrent or rehabilitation. It would explain that prisons are the product of the punishment model. We must purge ourselves of the desire for punishment.

The second workshop would explore the history and ideology of abolition. This would include restitution to the victim, the reconciliation of the community with the person who commits the crime, and the development of economic and social justice.

The third workshop would be on what to do until the walls come down. The problem is to deal with reformist reforms which simply strengthen the old structures, and non-reformist reforms which change the old structures. First we must declare a moratorium on prisons; we must stop all prison construction now. We need a strategy to impose a moratorium. Second we need to use what alternatives we have now. Third, we need to push for legislative and judicial reform, for decriminalization, bail reform, sentencing changes, and the like. A fourth we must work to develop political power for prisoners and ex-prisoners.

Ms. Knopp then turned to a model for the abolition of prisons. She discussed an attrition model. First is de-carceration: how do we get out people who can get out right away. Second is ex-carceration: how not to put more people in. The third is the alternative: pull together all we know and have learned. At this stage we will then be able to talk about the so-called small percentage who are "truly dangerous." She felt that working for abolition means always working on the unfinished, on moving with something that always changes.

She felt that prisons can be viewed as an industry, and that we can act in similar fashion to those combatting industry. We must do research and develop a research methodology; we must educate and organize for change; and we must develop an action strategy that leads to change.

Alternative Uses of the Corrections Budget: The alternative use of such money is so obvious it doesn't deserve comment. Corrections budgets are an eighty-percent ripoff by salaries for personnel who do no more than turn keys, count up to seventy and vote for the legislator who will ensure the continued existence of the prison and their job. There is no industry in the world that, like prisons, exists on a two-thirds failure rate.

by the Action Committee, Walpole

Alternative Master Plan: Strategy: Any such master plan must take into account the relationship between theory and practice. Our practice has been our experiences over the past few years--especially the post-Attica years. These practices inform us that what is called the prison-reform coalition is composed of a wide variety of people and organizations, but that its principle

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photo by Kora Berger



# Role of the Press

by Billy Farmer

"The role of the press is organizing and politicizing the people" said Joel Newsletter, which was a wrap-up statement of the workshop. This workshop revolved around the six standing publications present, which were, SCAR'd Times from Maine, NEPA News On the Line from Portsmouth, N.H., Outlook on Justice, from the SDG group in Massachusetts, The Midnight Special, from N.Y., and the North Country Star, from Vt.

We first heard from Monty Neill of NEPA News. Basically, NEPA is a two-year-old paper that is published out of Franconia College, using mostly students as labor power. It is printed once a month, principally for the New England States, but it does circulate elsewhere on a lighter level. Prisoners receive a very large porportion of NEPA News. The rest is sent to families, ex-cons, or organizations involved in the struggle, and so on. There was one suggestion made, that NEPA should expand five pages and devote them to National struggles.

The paper gets some feedback by inside groups, but really not quite enough. The same is true with families and other organizations. NEPA generates circulation among the criminal justice system and communities, although there was a stress for more community work. NEPA has earned respect from people within the wall, which is of first importance. Secondly, as a News conveyer, it is a success; and thirdly, due to the isolation of NEPA in Franconia, we urged anyone concerned in the struggle to correspond or come up and see us. Monty emphasized the need for organizations to sum up their work regularly and present it for publication.

The second paper we heard from was SCAR'd Times, and representative Joe Newsletter was there to talk to us. SCAR'd Times grew from the first NEPA conference two years ago and four very intelligent and devoted ex-cons that are of Maine origin. It took some initial support, but now SCAR is well off the ground and self-supporting. There are certain aspects of SCAR that are the primary reasons for its power to succeed in the community. One is the strength generated by the inside chapter of SCAR, which has weekly meetings inside MSP, with some outside members present. Any grievance can be aired and reported on. There is a great deal of respect from the Portland Maine community, which helps in community circulation and community service.

The staff of SCAR'd Times thought of changing the format of the paper to include some more cultural type things, such as album, movie and book reviews. They decided against this because they felt that politicizing people and prisoners, prisons and street, was the right way to go. SCAR mails to 50 states. The coverage includes national and international issues. With the multi-talents of SCAR, one could only project more success and more power to them.

On the Line, a paper out of Portsmouth, N.H., is a small but useful paper. Its primary concern is to organize the working class in the Seacoast, N.H., area. On the Line brings to the people a synthesis of ideas, of working class struggle.

They understand that it takes more than an analysis to be involved in the struggle, and that they must build the program for struggle and then move forward step by step. They are aware of identifying their enemies and finding their friends. Some of the problems On the Line has dealt with over the course of their existence are a tendency toward simple reporting, giving answers without being involved in day to day struggles, the overuse of rhetoric, and analysis in a vacuum. On the Line is also involved in the John Yancey Defense Committee.

The next paper was the Self Development Group for prisoners, located in Boston and its paper Outlook on Justice. Former editor Flora Haas feels that the Outlook on Justice is trying to reach the

## Master Plan (con)

organizational elements are 1) prisoners, 2) liberal social activists, 3) student and street radicals, 4) women in an ad hoc grouping, 5) elderly or retired activists in an ad hoc grouping, 6) church-related groups, 7) prison-reform organizations, established and new, 8) the left or radical press.

Hitherto these groups have functioned most coherently in crisis situations. It might be said that their unity and vitality is dependent upon the height of a prison crisis. But to grow into a more effective social, economic and especially political force, all the groups must find a unity and a community-connected power. This requires a general theoretical clarity on the broad social-economic level, a linkage with like-minded groups, a propagandizing among other potentially affiliated groups, a consistent organizational structure, and a continuous correction of course by a constant cross-checking of theory and practice that especially includes the history of the movement and its contemporary relevance.

As Jean-Paul Sartre points out in Search for a Method (Vintage, 1968, pp. 51-2 n.) the technique for establishing a movement and/or comprehending the individual lies in this three-fold process, as taken from Henri Lefebvre, "Perspectives de Sociologie rurale," Cahiers de sociologie, 1953:

1) Descriptive: Observation but with a scrutiny guided by experience and by a general theory.

2) Analytico-Regressive: Analysis of reality. Attempt to date it precisely.

3) Historical-Genetic: Attempt to rediscover the present, but elucidated, understood, explained.

In criminological, social-economic terms:

1) we have a theory that crime is curable through the theoretical recognition of the relationship of social-economic breakdown to the negative social-economic behavior called felony crime.

(This is the Descriptive phase--observation, scrutiny, guided by experiences and by a general theory: we see the social-economic breakdown), which is also our theory).

2) We recognize that the prison reform movement and the crime issue is in an historical context--that its meaning must be under-



photo by Kora Berger

general public. However Flora resigned as editor because she felt political control from SDG's Board of Directors. The Board controls the money that SDG utilizes as a very successful ex-cnn self-help group. The Board also was up tight about the paper being openly political. Having resigned as editor of the Outlook, Flora now writes articles for the Boston Globe, and the Phoenix.

The Outlook deals with the specific issues of the state; the NPRA Union at Walpole; Segregation Units at Bridgewater; the struggle over the death penalty; the Guard's Union; cheap labor, behavior mod, and psycho surgery, the internal suicides, treatment of men at Walpole, and so on. It has some distribution problems.

The Midnight Special is four years old and is from New York City. Since the Attica rebellion they have been working with prisoners and the Lawyers' Guild. Basically, they represent the struggle of prisoners. They work on developing strategies, inside organizations and especially education on a deep and wide level. Most of the paper is written by prisoners, and mostly it is distributed to prisoners.

The North Country Star is the only left paper in Vermont. It covers prison issues, unemployment, welfare, and the community. They have tough opposition from the Garnett-Loeb newspapers, who dominate the media of the two states of N.H. and Vt. They realized after a good deal of discussion that they are weak in the work-places, and they will work on it. They also support the Prisoner Community Center out of Windsor, Vt. Other areas included the need to expose the New England list of Special Offenders, who may now be sent to the Butner, N.C. federal torture center. We discussed how to organize all the papers in order to reach the community. One method is to integrate service and organizing with our media efforts. There was a note on the essence of hawking papers to reach the community (it works).

In sum, we felt that papers are an organizing, educational and informational tool of our movement. The papers must be integrated with and reflect the struggles of the prisoner movement, and must link-up the struggles of other people as well.

stood in toto, in its past development. Thus we do not, as is too often the case, simply study the present-day statistics and official pronouncements of crime or prison issues and try to draw conclusions. Rather, we look at these problems as they have been seen and understood and handled by ourselves and others in the past. This method gives us a more complete knowledge of what the present situation is. (This is the Analytico-Regressive analysis and precise dating of reality.)

3) These first two processes lead us into the present with a real comprehension of reality, which is the only power to transform that reality.

To avoid misunderstanding we quote Sartre's comment on Lefebvre's three-part method: "We have nothing to add to this passage, so clear and so right, except that we believe that this method, with its phase of phenomenological description and its double movement of regression followed by progress is valid--with the modifications which its objects may impose upon it--in all the domains of anthropology. Furthermore, it is this method which we shall apply, as we shall see later, to significations, to individuals themselves, and to the concrete relations among individuals. This method alone can be heuristic; it alone at once defines the originality of the fact and makes comparisons possible."

In sum, our power to really understand what is happening--with crime, prisoners, the social-economic system, with groups and individuals--is our power to bring together the community which is the transformation of the society to a crime-less, creative society. We must look closely at ourselves, as individuals and as groups, in the three-part method described. We must test ourselves and others in each of the three ways. The workable meaning of that method will find its reality in the testing.

That reality must be a new humanism--a renewed sense of the affirmation of the supreme value of the person, the incomparable worth of life, and the reaffirmation of ourselves as Creation. We are not condemned to live in crime--fear, oppression, constriction, depression, joblessness, sickness. We have the power to create, and we must free that power as it has never been freed before. And, as it always has, once freed, it will offer us a world of inconceivable wonder.

by the Action Committee, Walpole

## Role of the Legal Profession

by Ron Sturupp

It was brought out early in the workshop session that courts have a tremendous amount of power over the lives and freedom of people. This power, it was explained by one of the several lawyers present, lies chiefly in three areas: 1) Determining bail; 2) sentencing; and 3) overseeing prisons.

The question then arose as to what tools lawyers have under these circumstances, to promote closing down prisons or improving them. It was offered and accepted by all present that lawyers, by definition, could not close prisons down. The legal system is traditionally conservative, especially in terms of fundamental social change. It was argued, and very strongly, by those lawyers present, that lawyers can very definitely fulfill a role in the prison movement.

In examining the role of lawyers in the prison movement it was recognized that lawyers are in only one aspect of the movement--the legal aspect. Their role is secondary to a movement that needs political and social organization. Legal challenges should work in conjunction with this. Lawyers must acknowledge that prisoners are constantly burdened by an arbitrary and oppressive system because of the lack of any legal insulation between them and the guards, and them and the courts. Lawyers can and must be this insulation. Lawyers, it was pointed out, can also get people out of prison through parole hearings, post conviction challenges, challenge of competency of counsel, and the system's imperfections. Due procedure suits can be instituted, Voting rights for prisoners can be gotten. Lawyers can and should become more active in pre-trial intervention and diversion programs and processes. Rights to have reasonable bails set and/or self-recognizance releases prior to trials can help the prisoner. It was admitted that in and of themselves, these are only band-aids, but working hand in hand with political and social organizing groups and activist groups, these aids become quite important.

Someone made the observation that laws, by their very nature, cannot be used against the system, because they were made by the controllers of the system expressly for the protection and perpetuation of the system. Further discussion on this observation concluded that this is true but also dictates that another role of the lawyer is to point out to his clients and other prison movement people, the limitations of the law. He must work with others who by definition of their role in the struggle can and do go beyond the limitations of the law.

This raised the question as to why lawyers are, for the most part, missing movement people and movement people are missing the lawyers. One reply was that lawyers are in actuality representatives of one person. His first responsibility is to that one person and not a political, social or other type group. That person generally wants to get out, to retain his freedom. To do this the lawyer has to use evidence, arguments, etc., relevant to that person. If group dynamics enter there arises a serious conflict. "Should I get the client out or should I use the court as a socio-political forum, and for a whole host of reasons, fail to win the clients freedom?"

## Alternative Juvenile Programs

by Billy Farmer

This workshop began with an introduction of the board chair person, Monty Griffith-Mair (a former Juvenile House master in England); resource persons Bill Seretta, Director of the Shaw Foundation, Sturbridge, Mass; Bobby Scollard, NEPA, Dorchester, Mass; and Wes McKee, Pine Street Center, Point Claire, Quebec.

Monty Mair began the discussion by telling us about a juvenile program he worked with in England. It was an alternative program designed to keep youths aged 12-16 out of the state systems. Private individuals set up the program. After 8 months, Monty saw the program not working so he amended the program somewhat by letting the residents go to the town, and he set up an education program. The final conclusion was that this program in England is very far behind what the Americans have going on.

Wes McKee is working in Canada with the Citizens Committee to bring about change and the Children's Defense Committee. These committees are fighting the incarceration of children who haven't committed any crime. They provide a 24 hour service, in which the Defense Committee parks a house trailer outside of the youth facility. When people were brought to the facility, the Committee would then take the person into the trailer and immediately start looking for a "placement home" for this boy or girl. They haven't been convicted, just arrested, so the court has agreed to let this type of program go on.

Due to the reports of deaths, generally poor facilities, harassment, and so forth, in adult cells, the state has made inquiries, which were revealing and supportive of the Defense Committee. Through voluminous amount of research within the city and state, and a fund raising concert sponsored by Liberace (which brought in \$15,000), the program has functioned successfully. Now, with this degree of success, they are looking forward to attacking the institutions and bringing about change within the walls.

Bill Seretta has run a group of halfway houses and an alternative school; now he is working with the Shaw Foundation, which funds this type of program. Yet he is not completely sure on the uses of alternative type programs. Bill supported the work of Jerry Miller in Massachusetts, which worked to create an atmosphere and environment to change the structure in Mass., so that it is a more caring structure for kids. This resulted in the closing of institutions, and new contract-signing. Bill said the years '71-'74 were very chaotic, as Mass attempted to use group homes, etc; which, in turn, resulted in mini-institutions. The system of bureaucracy has come to a standstill, which is good, as it allows the contract signing and so on.

Another person expressed his view that lawyers are not only of no help to the prison movement, but are clearly detrimental to it. He said that lawyers are actually working for the system and helping degrade and dehumanize people. He went on to explain that lawyers, by pointing out to the oppressors wherein their oppressive social machinery is defective, although they might win broader freedom for one individual, actually buy time for the oppressor, and permit him to refine his machine, making it more impregnable by those working beyond the limits of law. It also gives the illusion of progress and change, lulling activists and would-be activists to sleep while the controllers continue to get their oppressive apparatus together. No wonder the oppressor is willing to fund Legal Aid programs, ACLU and other type legal projects. For him it is like flipping a two-headed coin. He can't lose, no matter what ruling comes down from his court.

One lawyer addressed himself to this issue, saying in effect that this is due to the limitation of the law. It is at this point that socio-political organizations should have their heaviest input. He pointed out, for example a case where through a suit, a judge ruled that a certain prison was unsafe, unfit for human habitation, and ordered the prison officials not to keep prisoners in it any more. The officials pack the inmates into another already overcrowded prisons. They then proceeded to use millions of tax dollars to build a new one. The lawyer suggested that if at the point of the judge's ruling, people had come forward and demanded that less expensive community corrections programs and facilities had been instituted, a new prison would never have been built.

Another lawyer present said he recognized the validity of the criticism. He said he was trying to find a way out, but has run out of ideas.



photo by Jim Black

Group homes were found very unsuccessful, and there are very few that work. Bill found the school system not supportive, in that there is no representation and no general support in teaching kids to read. He also noted that the court system wasn't changed at all. certain sections of the state received no funding at all. Most decision making is a right still reserved by the state, to inflict on children. The rights of young people are just beginning to be recognized. It was also noted that the nature of foster care has changed drastically.

Next we heard from Bob Scollard, a member of NEPA and a devoted person in the field of Juvenile Alternatives. His basic approach is to run youth programs with private funds, and avoid state or federal control. This program would become a reality in Fields Corner, Dorchester, Mass., all on a no-salary basis. This community base is the basic solution to the problems of our system. The volunteers include film-maker Randall Conrad, who directed "3000 Years and Life." The organization will exist on grass-roots funding.

The point on which we were agreed was that there is no way that we can find one suitable program; it may take many programs. There was one very interesting notion: that when people go through a new program and they are the first people, they will be the ones to get the most out of it; and that those who go through the program in the future will have limitations already set.

We agreed that the present system is very destructive and that most of the "homes" are no more than prisons for little people. Also we want as a part of the agenda of NEPA, the recognition that there is a definite struggle within the realm of juvenile programs, that more than half the adults in prison came through the juvenile systems, and that NEPA work in the area of youth.

Alternative Juvenile Programs: There must be no special criminal laws against juveniles. There must be no "training schools" for juveniles. The young should have equal rights with adults, especially protection from arbitrary discipline by adults. As many young people as possible should be involved in helping young people. Old people, ex-cons and women should also be supportive of the young. --from the Action Committee, Walpole

# Decriminalization

The Friday afternoon workshop on decriminalization of the law began with Jerry Corsi, the moderator, introducing the only speaker who showed up, Paul Froyd of the Criminal Justice Studies Center of the Boston University School of Law. Paul decided to keep the discussion on rather general terms, as most of the workshop participants had little experience in the area of decriminalization.

Paul began his talk with two definitions: that of decriminalization, which he defined as control over behavior that was formerly prohibited by the law; and legalization, which was defined as another form of legal control other than laws, such as administrative regulations, civil sanctions, and licensing. This led into a discussion of the most commonly mentioned laws that should be decriminalized: victimless crime. Studies were made by the Criminal Justice Studies Center that showed that Supreme Court decisions that gave all defendants the right to counsel forced such an overload on the courts system that the only way to alleviate the glut was decriminalization of victimless crimes. Paul then cited two examples: 1) that the entire second session of the two session Boston Municipal Court could be eliminated if prostitution was decriminalized; and 2) another of their studies showed that the city of Cleveland, Ohio could save \$120,000 a year by decriminalizing public drunkenness and providing detoxification and rehabilitation for alcoholics instead of processing them through the court system. Discussion then shifted to the regulation of three crimes that could be decriminalized: marijuana, gambling and prostitution; and Paul raised a number of questions concerning whether it could be regulated and how. Among the suggestions were state of local control, licensing, and revised zoning laws to establish certain areas for gambling or prostitution. One woman suggested the possible organization of prostitutes for lobbying power and as a possible spinoff of the women's movement. Paul replied that he felt that prostitution involved more basic prejudices and could take longer to decriminalize than pot, for example, because of sexism. A man then asked a question concerning legislation. He felt that when facts were put before legislators in laws dealing with more morality than logic they aren't going to address themselves to the issues at hand. Paul felt that the overall effect of media and opposition on big decriminalization issues was to push back the issues rather than forward.

The focus of the discussion then shifted to alternatives to incarceration. Paul felt that the reaction to some crimes should not be as crimes, but as needs, or illnesses that required treatment; such as sexual offences that required support, not punishment. He stated that biochemical offences such as heroin addiction and alcoholism are not helped by jail terms. The emphasis should be on psychological and medical help. A woman then addressed the belief that there's a need involving violent crimes to remove the offender from society and wanted to know if decriminalization would help these people in any way. Paul replied that it wasn't part of decriminalization in its strictest sense but that it's well proven that treatment of offenders in confined environments doesn't work. He said that a survey of prison rehabilitation programs showed that they don't have the resources to do a good job or that they don't know how to do it. A man wanted to know if all decriminalization work was going to be focused on misdemeanors; or if it were going to go beyond that, perhaps in penalty reductions, and shouldn't we have ideas running through the whole scope of criminal law. Jerry Corsi responded to this question with a description of a proposal he had heard of. The proposal had states assuming compensation for victims of crimes in a sort of insurance type situation; and putting the offenders back into the community for rehabilitation, rather than in jail. Jerry suggested that a whole system of property compensation could be developed and that offenders could be provided with job or educational training to put them back into the community and to develop a whole economic argument in favor of the program. He did note, however, that some crimes, such as murder, could not be compensated.

Paul then discussed a few of the classic justifications for criminal law. He feels that general deterrence ("we've been told not to do it, so we don't do it") works, and cited a few historical examples; but said that a specific deterrence, such as jail, isn't working, and will never work. He also discussed for a short time the Christian mythology of expiation of sins, which he noted was "sheer dogma".

The final part of the workshop was devoted to a general discussion of laws regarding hard drug use and their treatment programs. It was felt that with a total decriminalization or legislation of many laws, there would be a strong move towards a more just legal system.

## Prisoner Union CONFERENCE

Dear Friends:

The first national CONFERENCE of prisoners unionization workers will be held June 13, 14, and 15 at Augsburg College, 731 21st Ave., So., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405.

The purpose of this CONFERENCE is one of communication and exchange. We think that now is the time to bring together those of us who have been working towards prisoners unionization. There is much we have to share with each other, much to learn, much to give ... successes, failures ... all need discussion. The importance of this kind of exchange, at this stage of unionization development, cannot be underestimated!

We would like to limit this CONFERENCE to those persons who have been working towards prisoner unionization, or those who have a definite interest in doing so. Please notify Stefanie Riegel at this office (Prisoners Union, 1315 18th St., San Francisco, Ca. 94107, (415)648-2880) if you intend to attend this CONFERENCE. Please review the tentative agenda; we welcome your comments or suggestions. Housing and eating arrangements can be made through the Minnesota Prisoners' Union; you will have to arrange transportation independently.

# PRISONER EDUCATION PROJECT

## Studies in Social Struggles

The Prisoner Education Project is a new program at Franconia College designed for 8-15 prisoners to study "Social Struggles" in a two-year program for the Bachelor of Arts degree.

**THE PROGRAM:** The course of study will be for 24 months. Each student will be expected to develop a background in the theory of "Social Struggles" (Marxism, Anarchism, etc.) and to study one particular area intensively (for example, China, U.S. Labor Struggles, Afro-American History). Each student will present one or more papers per month on what was studied that month. The last four months will be directed toward a major paper on the specific area of study, as well as an exam composed of several essay questions on the general studies. Each student will work out a series of "learning contracts" with the Project Director, done each four months to define the material to be studied in the coming four months.

**ENROLLMENT:** Enrollment is open to any person in a U.S. state or federal prison. Two years of previous college, or equivalent experience, is required. Equivalent experience may include work, prison, military, art or literary work, previous independent study or anything else you feel is worth college credit. Evaluation of equivalent experience will be done by Franconia College; some sort of documentation (references, certificates, essays) will be necessary.

**COST:** \$2500 per year (12 months). This includes tuition, mailing costs, books, and the cost involved in having the Project Director visit you at least twice per year. We have no subsidizing, so we have to charge. **VETERANS:** you may be eligible for G.I. Benefits which will cover the cost of the program.

**PROJECT DIRECTOR:** Monty Neill, member of the Editorial Board of NEPA NEWS and the Board of Directors of NEPA.

**FOR MORE INFORMATION:** Write to Prison Education Project, NEPA, Franconia College, Franconia, N.H. 03580, (603) 823-8501. More information and/or application forms will be sent to you.



photo by Kora Berger

Friday, June 13, 1975: 7:30 P.M.--Informal get-together  
Saturday, June 14, 1975: Workshops. Each different region will explain to the other regions what they have been doing.  
Sunday, June 15, 1975: Workshops designed to help those who would like to develop a prisoners' union in their area.

Location: Augsburg College  
731 21st Ave., South  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55405  
Reservations for housing: Mark Suchy  
Minn. Prisoners' Union  
1427 Washington Ave., So.  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55405  
(612) 339-8511

Cost: \$3.50 per person per day, without linen  
6.00 per person per day with linen (bring sleeping bags!)  
6.00 per person per day for meals (if you want them); this

# Women Imprisoned Workshop

by Shelley

workshop. The workshop was held at the home of Maureen, a woman who is presently incarcerated as a political prisoner. The workshop was held at the home of Maureen, a woman who is presently incarcerated as a political prisoner. The workshop was held at the home of Maureen, a woman who is presently incarcerated as a political prisoner.

Unlike most halfway houses, Caritas House is open to any one, any time. The house is a 24-hour residential community, with a women staff on call 24 hours a day.

The program was described in detail.

"When the girls first arrive they are put into a two week limbo stage," Maureen stated. She went on to talk of the four stages the women must go through before leaving. During the first two weeks of adjustment, the women get to know the staff and the other residents. They have no special duties, except to help keep the house together, which the women are responsible for.

The second stage begins with a general meeting with staff and women. There the newcoming woman is officially taken in, with acceptance from all. In this stage the parents become involved with their daughter's program. She is taught to confront herself and negative aspects of her behavior are pointed out to her, with which she must deal, with help from everyone. When the woman feels she is ready, she submits a proposal to the staff to enter into Stage 3.

The participant is allowed to attend school outside, in addition to the tutors that come in every day. She establishes a rapport with in-coming women to help them in their progress. She continues dealing with her own family and realizes problems that will continue to develop which she will have to deal with. She and the staff then decide if she can go on to the fourth stage.

Here, the woman returns to her family, but remains in touch with Caritas House. There are frequent family/staff meetings, where problems are talked out and dealt with.

... particularly that of Assata Shakur, who is presently facing a long prison sentence because of her alleged involvement with the Black Liberation Army (BLA). While awaiting trial, Assata became pregnant, and in the aftermath of her pregnancy, officials made flagrant attempts to terminate that pregnancy. Little or no consideration was given to her requests for adequate medical attention &/or to diet. It was only because of the support of men and women on the outside that public recognition was given to her struggle.

A number of recurring themes were raised throughout this workshop. First, the need of support and recognition of those women who are presently incarcerated as political prisoners. Second, the need for community people to form support groups, bail funds, and defense committees to take a heightened responsibility. And finally that the efforts of those women who are working in ongoing supportive projects such as Caritas House be given our full support. Not as a solution, but as an alternative. In general, it was felt that a need for political strategies and clarification with regard to the needs and issues of women in prison and political prisoners in general was long overdue. Although most of the discussion did not provide answers to those questions that seemed most pressing, a groundwork had been laid in this workshop. Shelley encouraged all those women attending the workshop who had specific concerns and/or were involved in ongoing work within the prisoner movement to contribute on a more regular basis to NEPA News, so that we can all share and learn from their individual experience.



# not for women only



by Shelley Cooper Neill

About a week after we printed our March issue of NEPA News, I received a letter, poem, and a copy of Black Pride, in which the following article appeared. Black Pride is printed each month at the Federal Prison at Marion, Illinois. The article reprinted below, entitled "Women in the Struggle for Liberation", by Wawangi Shaka (Charles Warren) is an attempt to put forth an analysis of the role that women have played, under both communal and capitalist societies. Although much discussion has been generated over the last five years, both within the women's movement and, more recently, within the prisoner movement (see women's caucus article and the reporting of the Women in Prison workshop), few attempts have been

made to develop a good theoretical understanding that speaks to the oppression of women. It is particularly significant, given the format of this column, that this analysis comes from a brother behind the walls. Future issues will focus on specific struggles of women and the important role that they play in building the kind of society for which we are striving. We regret being unable to reprint the poem that was also written by Wawangi Shaka, but plan to do so in the near future. Please take the time to read through and examine the issues presented here. It is our feeling that a great deal of internal discussion around the role of women should take place, both inside and outside the walls.

From a political perspective, it is said that "Everything is Political and Political Theory is a Science", thus we apply the political proposition of the science to the question (of) "The Role Women Should Play in the Struggle for Liberation." The political tool we use to make this investigation of concrete conditions and arrive at concrete conclusions is dialectical materialism. It consists of 3 central parts: 1) Historical analysis/ 2) an analysis of contradictions/ 3) a class analysis... of the 3 parts, no one part is any greater nor lesser than the other 2 parts, and also, the omission or incorrect application of any of the 3 parts constitutes a misappropriation of the analysis and/or a political error.

Let us begin with the "Historical Analysis and the Historical Facts" of the Role Women have played in Struggle for Liberation and as we conceptualize that which was, so shall we have a more precise conception of what should be.

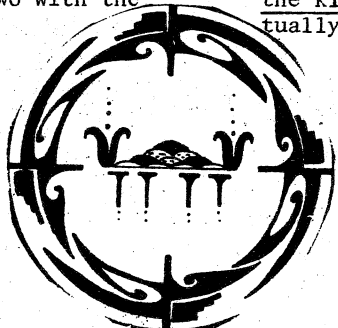
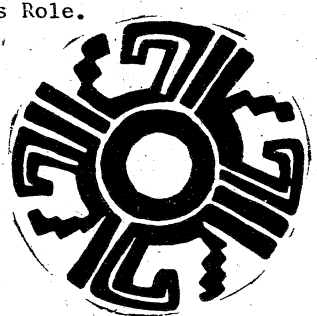
Reflecting back in History we can trace the Fact of 2 Dominant Types of Societies: one with the economic and social system of Communalism/ the other with a economic and social system of Capitalism, with all other Systems being but a modification of the two-- such as the proclamation of modern day America as a Democratic country, such as modern day Russia as a Socialist-Capitalistic country.

Going beyond these "high falutin" proclamations to the particular facts, to the Particular question concerning Women, we find that the differences between the two types of societies are naturally carried over into Different Roles for the Women of those societies... thus, our inquiry, to be legitimate, must make an evaluation of the two. In doing this, we find that Communalism "was and is" the only social contract that granted Women freedom of economic and social subsistence, whereas Capitalism, past and present, is found to be a social contract which perpetuates the Oppression of Women economically and socially; and, in America, racially. To have an organized comprehension of (the exactness) what we are here now speaking about, it is necessary that we study the one then the other, and then demonstrate the Contradictions between the two with the emphasis on the Women's Role.

made reservation for the "Equal Distribution of the wealth" and as a Consequence, the Woman could exert a Free choice in the determination of her Love Life. As a result, the relationship of Love was based solely on Love and if the Woman fell out of love with a man, she could leave that "man" for the "welfare of all children" was planned into the economy by way of the "Equal Dist. of the wealth"). Thus, we find the manifestation of Free Hospitals/Free Schools/Free Day Care Centers/Free Homes for the Aged; and thus it is that we say that a Communal or Socialist System is the only social Contract that granted the Woman's Role in Society Freedom of "Economic and Social Subsistence" and allowed for the Woman to research her Creative Ability and make her contribution to the Whole of that Society: "from the Family to the Nation". The mathematical proposition of the Family Unit of a Socialist Society identifies the male/female relationship as "one half plus half equals the whole" and all theories of any half being greater than the other half is philosophical bullshit!

OK! all right! Let us now move to the economic and social system of Capitalism, which shall serve the requirements of a Sexual Class Analysis as well as distinguish the Contradiction of the two systems. We will investigate, briefly, the history of a Capitalist system with reference to the particular question of the Woman's Role.

From the fact of a different "economic system" which in turn "effects the social system" we find that the First Great Division of Labor is manufactured in the Family Unit. That is to say, "Women" are separated from the Means of Production; and as a consequence, the Means of Subsistence; and as a consequence, becomes entirely dependent on the man or male domination, that is to say, that women are barred from "owning and working" side by side with men in order to earn the money necessary for her to live a decent life of a decent human being and as such the woman had to marry wealth (which is nothing but legal prostitution) and thus, to "be created" psychologically inferior due to the social confinement to the kitchen and the kids and the bed of the house. That is virtually the extent of the Human Development of Women in a capitalist



Communal Society, with an economic system of "Equal Distribution of the wealth and Collective Work and Responsibility," inter-related with the social security of "each according to his/her ability", is brought forward from the family relation into the National Relationship. Concentrating on Collective Work, we come upon the Woman's Role "in that social function" as side by side planting and gathering the crops of the harvest or side by side in the plants and factories or side by side in national emergencies such as war, whereupon (she too) took to the battlefield and fought bravely and courageously, as the history of the Chinese women will verify/as the history of the Algerian, Cuban, Vietnamese and Afrikan women will verify/as the history of the Afrikan women in America will verify (Harriet Tubman-Erika Huggins-Mary Bethune-Angela Davis-the sisters who withstood the whip lash of slavery-the sister on the corner in the name of her man-Grandma, who lived and died not for herself but so that her children and her children's children could have shoes) etc. From the factual history of Collective Work --the woman was accorded Equal Distribution of the wealth and thru that she was incorporated into that society in the image and interest of "Each according to his/her Ability".

To look at the historical facts of women in a Communal society or Socialist Society (which is but a higher development of Communalism) we find that it is theoretically impossible to dismiss the concrete facts/the concrete reality that in every struggle ever waged for a People's Liberation, Women have been some of the grandest soldiers ever assembled on any battlefield. And as a political student of a political science, I hold no allegiance to the mythological/superficial-backwardness/artificial ideology being hurled upon women from out of a male Chauvinist-sexist view point. I choose to reiterate the historical facts... from the fact of Woman "working" side by side/"struggling" side by side against the Social Conditions--and by virtue of Woman's ability, she advanced herself to the position of her qualifications whether it was Doctor or Scientist or Queenship.

On the Family level and in the institution of Marriage, she was not "economically subjugated" to the male domination for her "means of subsistence" (means of subsistence being the appropriate amount of money to live by, for the Collective Mode of Production

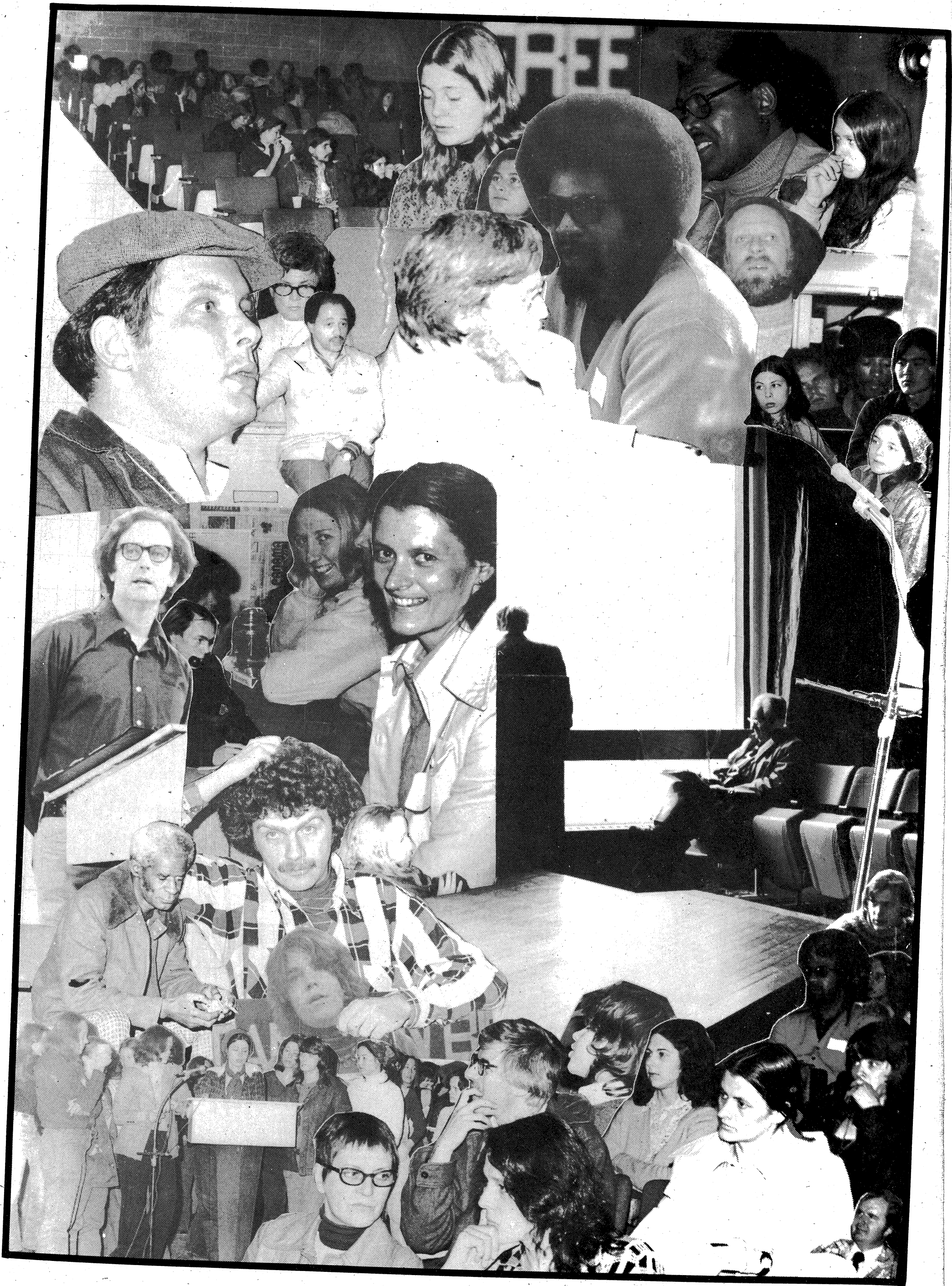
society (with an exception for the few who challenge and break through the triple oppression of economic oppression/male oppression/and racial oppression, the Woman's role in Capitalist Society is that of a (domestic slave).

Further, we see a disease called Father's Rights which allows for surplus value (that is the accumulation of the wealth from the labor of the working many by a ruling few) and property relations to be passed from Father to Son (that is to say, when the Woman enters into marriage it is "judicially necessary" that she emphatically take on the last name of the man, that the male child of the marriage inherits not only the name of the father but the property "accumulated by that relationship").

From the facts of male domination over woman, comes the necessity to establish a false and Chauvinistic philosophy for the continuation and perpetuation of that oppression: "a woman's place is in the home/the woman is inferior and meek, and unintelligent, too emotional to make decisions, etc. Also, three steps to the rear of the man--which is divide and conquer/which is a contradiction, for "liberations struggles" are fought against oppression whether it be the oppression of woman--the oppression of the land--the oppression of the children--Liberation Struggles are "fought against oppression"!

Thus, in the total Concept of Liberation, the political position based on facts and figures and finding of this Dialectical Analysis in particular concern for the Role woman Should Play in Struggles for Liberation, I so state that the Liberation of Women is essential to the liberation of Men--as One half plus One half "equals the Whole". And as such, Women should be studying a Political Science so as to understand and refute that which is their oppression. Women should be on the job and in training according to their ability to secure and defend every physiological and psychological inch "of the struggle to victory". And Women should also be accorded the Human Right to be as Great as they can Become, anything less is the product of a reactionary male chauvinism which cripples the true efforts and aims of Real Liberation, side by side with Man is Woman's Place in Struggle for Liberation.

And in the courtesy of Political Principle, I thank you for your attention.





NEW ENGLAND PRISONER AS...

FREE CAMEE ON BEHOP

# Ex Con Caucus

by Monty Neill

The "ex-con caucus" really got underway at a meeting called at 1:00 P.M. Saturday. A number of people, primarily ex-cons, came to the conference, who felt that the conference needed a second agenda: to really discuss the goals, strategy and tactics of the prison movement. They felt that the conference did not allow the space to do this, and that the space and time was needed.

The meeting at 1:00 P.M. in the auditorium was called to begin this. Out of several raps to a packed auditorium, the "ex-con caucus" developed. The name "ex-con caucus" was given because of the role of ex-cons in initiating this caucus. Not all the ex-cons at the conference were in the caucus, and not all persons in the caucus were ex-cons. Those in the caucus were those who felt that the priority was to discuss the politics of our movement, and who wanted to participate in the discussion.

The 1:00 P.M. session began with a talk by Russ Carmichael, of NEPA from the Boston area. Here are some excerpts from his rap, followed by key excerpts from other people's talks.

"Between now and when we leave I am going to ask all of you to make decisions. Decisions that will move us to a different place.

"I believe we are all losing sight of who and what the prisoner movement is.

"I am tired of going to conferences, meetings, state house hearings and listening to so-called liberals and correction experts representing us prisoners. I am tired of looking at organizations that are supposed to be working for and with prisoners and are in fact headed by and directed by people who have never been inside of a prison, and don't have the slightest idea of how a prisoner gets to prison, unless to them it's a bank embezzlement or the Watergate situation.

"People who support the prison movement still need to understand what self-help and self-determination is, because that is the basic philosophy we operate under. It simply means that prisoners are helped by prisoners. And organizations concerned with prisoners should be run by and for prisoners.

"By prisoners I mean us. There is no such thing as an ex-convict. Once a prisoner always a prisoner. The only difference between us out here and our brothers and sisters inside is that the walls aren't visible to us.

"We must remember that it is only prisoners who are going to do what is necessary to change America's prisons. And our prisons are far more than just those that are surrounded by walls and run by Departments of Correction.

"Our prisons consist of housing projects and ghettos that we come from. The welfare officers that plague our families, the schools that have refused us equal education, the businesses that refuse to hire us, the laws that discriminate against us, the parole boards that hound us, and the court system that has crucified us. Our prisons are the basic structure of this society.

"We have to change that structure, and we can change it, as long as we don't allow ourselves to be sucked into the system by allowing others to do our speaking, or to develop our programs and strategy, by allowing technical assistance to become technical control, by allowing supporters to become our controllers. This is the structure that we must change.

"Brother Malcolm X knew what he was talking about when he said that the Black movement had to be our movement; and I say that the prison movement is our movement and will stay our movement or we will die with it.

"I'm tired of having prisoners used to justify so-called reform organizations, in job slots that are nothing more than token slave positions. I'm tired of prisoners being threatened by police and parole boards. I'm tired of juries that justify the crucifixion of our brothers and sisters. I'm tired of people who say they support our brothers and sisters inside when they try to rip down the walls, but cannot support their brothers and sisters out here who choose to try to rip down the system out here that imprisons us.

"NEPA, much to my shame, has been guilty of falling into the trap of liberalism. I, personally, at times have forgotten who I am and what I'm about. But I'm going to ask all the prisoners who are here to get together and support our brothers and sisters who have gone underground. I am going to ask you to get together and make sure that we are the leaders and decision-making body of our movement. To get together and boycott any organization, conference or whatever that does not have prisoner input on an equal level if prisons are what is being talked about.

"I would like to see all of us get together and follow the efforts of George Jackson, Malcolm X, Stanley Bond and many others who have gone before us; and to support the efforts of the Attica Brothers, Cameron Bishop, Sue Saxe, the Symbionese. I would like us to recognize that some of our brothers and sisters have chosen to take a road of violent revolution to help us. Though some of us are not ready to do what ultimately may be necessary.

"I want to make sure that we reformers don't ever forget where we came from, and don't ever forget that those who chose a different road to change things are still very much part of our total movement.

"I hope that we as prisoners never make the same mistake that I've seen so many other movements make. That is to cut off the people who have chosen to do things a little bit different than we have. We always have to remember that we would not be here today if it was not for the Attica Brothers, the Rford rebellion, the San Quentin massacre, the Walpole bloodshed and the many, many more violent prison revolts.

"Let us tell people where we are and who we are. Let us tell society that we are through with prisons and if we have to we will tear them down. Let us build a national organization that is so vitally necessary with prisoner leadership. Let us tell society that we will no longer be beaten or threatened by their so-called law enforcers. Let us show by what we do here that we want an end to death squads and execution lists and FBI infiltration and unjust juries.

"And I'm asking and I'm saying that it's in prisoners' hands that are here, and prisoners have to do it. I want to get an agenda going that is our agenda."

Arnold Coles, from the Massachusetts external board of the NPRA (National Prisoners Reform Association), addressed the audience next.

"I think that the prison leadership has to come from the people suffering from the serious plights of prison, incarceration, call it what you like. There are many people in our ghettos throughout the country who are in minimum security type prisons where the walls are not visible. I think that a lot of people can support our movement, but I do definitely believe that the movement must be initiated by the people who are oppressed the most by those particular possibilities or plights.

"I say that to say this: that there is no one who calls themselves a human being and who really believes that freedom is a constant struggle, who can sit back and watch people be oppressed time and time again without not being involved somewhere along the line unless they are truly the oppressor.

"The thing we have to decide here today is where we are, where we are going, and how we are going to get there.

"As far as I'm concerned the social, economic problems in America tie into the final road, the end of that road which is our prison system. I think that all of us have to have something to do with whether or not we are going to eliminate those problems."

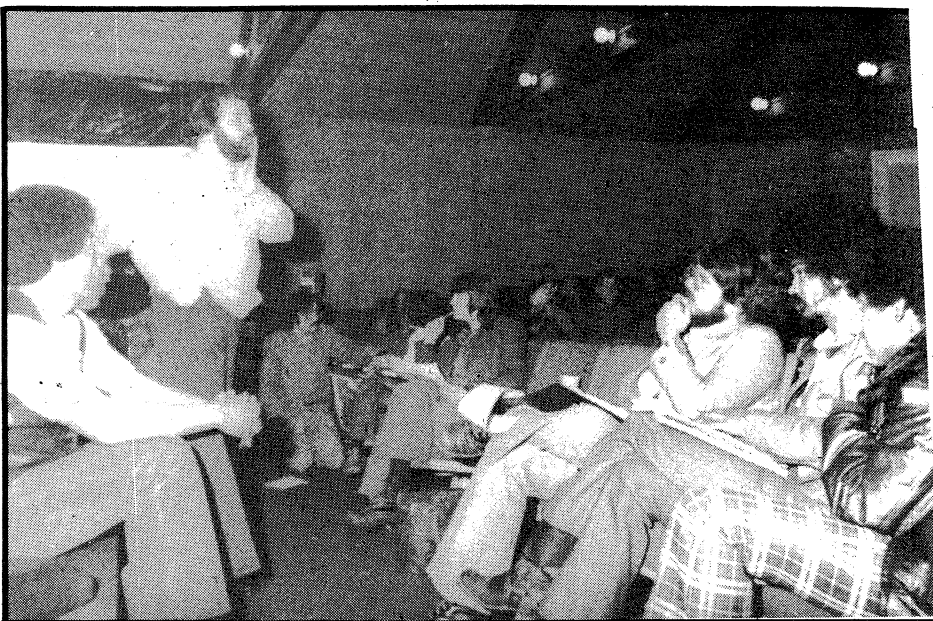


photo by Kora Berger

Lynette Bingham with Families and Friends of Prisoners in Dorchester, Mass., was the next speaker.

"Prisoners do have to take the leadership role. That's not saying there isn't a place for everybody in the movement. There is. But the leadership has to be taken by the people who best know what the oppression is. I'm here representing families, because the families also take a very important role in the prison movement.

"There are problems that families have that they haven't dealt with. Women who have men incarcerated haven't dealt with the fact that they're used to having a man home next to them. Now they've been by themselves for a couple of years and what do they do? Those are real problems. The families, the women, have got to get together and talk about it.

"Everyone in this country says, 'Well, to maintain family ties is the most important thing in rehabilitation.' We all realize that. But you've got to maintain the family on the outside, too. The family has to keep together itself, to help a prisoner. A prisoner needs his family, or her family. And the families all too often turn away.

"Sometimes the prisoners themselves forget about the pressures they leave their families in when they go. The pressures on them in an institution will make a man or a woman respond to their families in a different way than they ordinarily would.

"We are all prisoners of a very oppressive system. And we have to start breaking down those walls, whether they are invisible or concrete."

Dave Collins, an ex-con who works with American Friends Service Committee in Cambridge, Mass., spoke briefly from the audience:

"I'd just like to say something about leadership. I don't like the connotation that we are giving it. I call it elitism. I'd work with anyone, anywhere, any time, who wants to work in this movement."

John McGrath, of Families and Friends, and of Mass. NPRA external board, spoke next.

"We do come from an ocean, and we are only going to be one wave of that ocean. There's a lot of "isms" that have to be dealt with. As far as I'm concerned, most of us do more oppressing of each other than any system I know of. We've just got to think of ourselves as that ocean, and the people behind us is what's going to push us out front.

"I don't think we're going to have much choice in what's going to have to be done. We're either going to have to do it or go back down to the bottom. Cause we ain't nothing but an ocean of people, and the people behind us are either going to have to push us out front or push over us because we're going to be in their way.

Ray Levasseur, formerly of SCAR, who was arrested with Cameron Bishop in Rhode Island, and who now works with the Cameron Bishop defense fund, spoke next.

"Let me tell you something I am proud of. I'm proud to have known Cameron Bishop, to have run on the street with him, to have worked with him, to have done time with him. I'm proud to have been with Vietnam Veterans Against the War, to have been with SCAR, with the New England Prisoners' Association.

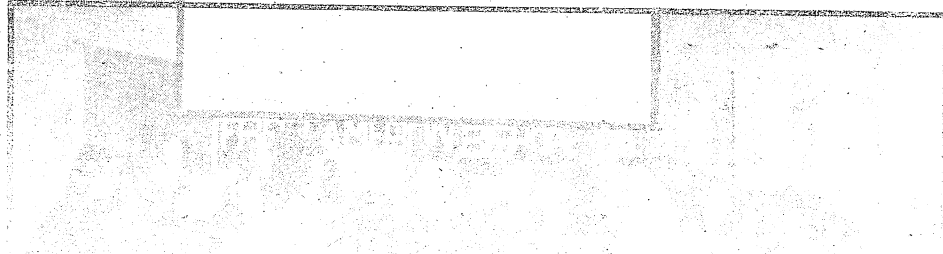
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# Women's Caucus

by Shelley Neill

Putting down in written form what transpired among some of the women at the NEPA Conference is a difficult task. Perhaps because so many of us were so tired by the end of the day, or because although the day was long it felt like it was over, or because we were so tired and some of us were so tired that we didn't want to write down what we had said.



"I don't want to see this any more, and I'm not going to see it any more."

Monty Neill, editor of NEPA News, followed Ms. Siegal.

"Prisoners are, by and large, part of that great mass of people who make the world go around. They grow the food that we eat, they make clothes that we wear, the cars that we drive, the houses that we live in. They make the world go around. They produce it all, and they run it. They run it in their day to day lives. What they don't have is the control over it.

"By not having the control over it, people are prisoners. They're chained to their machines to produce a profit for somebody else. They're chained to offices to keep paper moving. And then when they don't dig it--they get chained inside a cell.

"So many struggles are addressing this. And I cannot say that this is something that has been truthfully addressed at this conference, and I don't feel like it's been very well addressed before."

Gail continued, stating that NEPA News does not adequately deal with women's issues. Further, the one workshop of the conference to consider women in prison was far too short a time to cover all issues that were raised.

Dave Martin from Vermont moved that "Women come up with a co-chair, and that we alternate man, woman, man, woman, so long as we have men and women who want to speak."

After brief discussion, the motion was approved. Sally Schofield came forward to co-chair the meeting with Russ Carmichael. A woman from the Midnight Special, a New York newspaper by and for prisoners, said that she could not understand why, earlier, some people objected to ex-prisoners forming a caucus.

"It's true," she said, "that we're all prisoners of oppression in this society. But NEPA is a prison organization. The consciousness of what that oppression is about, and the consciousness about society, the consciousness of the urgency and the levels of activity that have to go on, because you know what's happening, because you've been there, has to be a leading input into a prisoner organization.

"We need to build a prison movement that addresses both individual and group solutions, the kind of programs that can make a difference; but that has a direction that leads us toward building a militant social movement."

Continued on page 26

# Interview with Stanley Bond

*We are printing the following letter/article, on request of comrades in Massachusetts, as a part of the debate coming down around the issue of the role of armed struggle at this stage of history in our movement in the U.S.--ed.*

This month marks the third anniversary of Stanley Bond's death. What follows is an excerpt of an interview done with Stanley Bond while imprisoned at Walpole State Prison in Massachusetts, awaiting trial on charges of bank robbery and murder.

On the morning of September 23, 1970, a branch of the State Street Bank in Boston was robbed. A patrolman was killed. Stanley Bond, William (Lefty) Gilday, Susan Saxe, Kathy Power and Bob Valeri were named as suspects. The three men, all apprehended within a week of the robbery, were ex-convicts who had recently been paroled in order to attend Boston area colleges. The women, Susan Saxe and Kathy Power, were both students attending Brandeis University. Susan Saxe was just recently arrested after 4 1/2 years on the FBI's "10" most wanted list. Kathy Power still remains a fugitive.

Stanley was a member of a group which called itself Revolutionary Action Force East. It evolved and became active during the summer of 1970, after the National Strike Information Center at Brandeis formed in response to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, began to lose momentum. Some members of the Revolutionary Action Force East were later indicted for other bank robberies as well as for the robbery of a National Guard Armory in Newburyport, Mass., largely from information provided by informers, most notably from information provided by Bob Valeri who, after his arrest, chose to cooperate fully with the authorities. From the time of Stanley's arrest in Colorado five days after the robbery, his stance vis-a-vis the authorities and the courts was uncompromisingly defiant. He refused the "protection" of the courts; he did not participate in his trials in Chicago and Philadelphia on charges of bank robbery, nor in Boston on charges of theft of government property. His only acknowledgement of the courts was to make clear his convictions about that institution in America today. His militance earned him exclusion from any courtroom entirely, and he was tried "in absentia".

The trial on charges of bank robbery and murder in Massachusetts was to begin on June 12, 1972. Stanley was killed in an explosion at Walpole State Prison on May 24, 1972, by what police allege was a self-made bomb they claim was to be used in an escape attempt two days later. Injured in the explosion which killed Stanley was his good friend Billy Lorenzen. Billy was killed five months later in the prison hospital.

A collection of Stanley's letters is being prepared for publication.

*NOTE: The interview with Stanley Bond is copyrighted, May 1972. Contents of this interview may not be reprinted for profit.*

September, 1971

Many people feel that the movement can raise all the money it needs from wealthy liberals. Is this consistent with your principles and does it imply a strategy of action different from yours?

We weren't trying last year to just raise a lot of money; it's wrong to see it that way. We were trying, right from scratch, to organize a group capable of raising whatever it needed to develop and function in a revolutionary manner. Without a real American model to work from, that meant coming up with a little of everything, from the needed blueprints and materials to the needed courage and insights.

Something we all should have realized by now is how impossible it will be for us to do much of anything aimed at actual revolution until we start to free ourselves from the status of mendicants, until we give our imaginations room to exercise fully. This doesn't only suggest acquiring things like ample weapons and money before trying to get serious with America but also acquiring the sense of potency, the power that comes of getting those things in direct, rather than indirect fashion. We have to make clear to ourselves and to everyone else exactly what we want from our struggle. Whether we want merely the payment of past debts owed us or the real ability to clear away all the old debts ourselves and with them all the old sort of thinking that led us into them. Whether we want to clear away all the old traps, like the trap of admitting inadvertently at times that once a government begins systematically to forfeit its responsibility it can still be a recognized authority, and we, like ignored wretches, should have to demand that it begin to better fulfill its obligations.

Jack put what I mean very well when he said to Artie last week that the trouble with demanding justice from an unjust system is that you might appear to get it. Then what would you do?

Where do men like Seale and Newton go from here? Both are right back where they started and must begin over again, while Jackson is a good lightyear ahead of them and still going even though he's dead. Such is the trap of forever being in the rear--of always clamoring for what rightfully belongs to the past, like justice in America, and never coming close to any sort of future. I'm much more concerned with building a new life and a new America than I am with evening up everything that constitutes my past. That's exactly what revolution is all about. Revolution doesn't mean to complain, righteously lay claim, beg or ask indignantly. It means literally to turn everything around, upside-down, whatever it takes, and to start anew.

If it's power that we're after, the power to make ourselves and our nation over again, then we must go to the sources of power and take what we need. As we dig into our own hearts for courage, we must dig also into the heart of America until we reach the sources from which to draw real sustenance and meaning for our courage. It's foolish to think those sources lie anywhere near

American liberalism--don't we see that yet? It's at the heart of what threatens us most that we have to look. It's into the heart of America's pigishness that we have to look; into the strength of its military, monetary and bureaucratic structures; into everything America contributes towards maintaining what we call the world's "Capitalist Establishment."

The idea that we can get all the money we need from liberals is the same as saying we don't really want a revolution or hope for a new life. It's the same idea as saying we can solve the problems of Black people by giving them each a few thousand dollars now and then. You just don't build new worlds or make revolutions with gifts. No one, no people was ever given the means to create anything new or different, the means to realize heart-felt aspirations. Always it has taken real struggle, real learning and real pain--a new sense of sorrow and a new sense of joy.

Last spring, in 1970, while I was raising money for the Brandeis Strike Center, I normally went to people like Marty Peretz at Harvard and Arthur Miller in Connecticut. But come summer it never occurred to me that I should return to people like that for money to help me and a few friends get started toward making a revolution. What have liberals got to do with revolution except to get in its way? There isn't a liberal I spoke with last year who wouldn't have turned me in to the FBI in the fall. It's precisely because they have such luxuries as well-mannered FBI agents to insulate them from the real world that liberals become liberals. Imagine us sitting down together after ripping off an armory or a bank, discussing our progress, trying to see clearly where we are, and, in fact, getting someplace, no matter how awkwardly, by virtue of our developing attitudes and ability. Then imagine us discussing a ten thousand dollar check just arrived in the mail. The difference is obvious, isn't it? In one case we are actually becoming revolutionary, accepting the costs, while in the other, it seems we are always waiting for the U.S. Government to deliver our mail so that we might find in it something to discuss.

There is an attitude that goes along with becoming revolutionary and it's not just "dare to struggle, dare to win." It's "you have to struggle or you can't win!" The problem is when, where and how hard do you struggle. How hard do you fight? When and where are determined by what chance you have of winning at a particular time and place. Winning is understood in terms of how much you have to lose, which, in the beginning, isn't much. So you start to struggle whenever and wherever you can and you fight however hard you must. And if you die too quickly, then it's by accident, regardless of how it happened. There was nothing suicidal about Diana Oughton and her brothers. If it looked to some of us as if they were, it's only because we weren't yet on their side of need, on their side of hope. Even if it actually felt to them at times that they were absolutely condemning themselves, it's only because none of us come into this thing clean. Purity just isn't a part of being an aware American today, Black or White.

I suppose if you read last year's press you got the impression that all we were doing was going crazily into banks for money, or perhaps into an armory to better equip ourselves for more banks. But that isn't so. That's just what some of us got caught for. Even the least ambitious of us, the least aware of his possible

commitment and potential, had more in mind than that. Without even having begun to discover ourselves fully, we were already working full-time on things like intelligence gathering, ID make-ups, media links, foreign contacts and so on. Who's in prison, where and doing how much time? Where are the big explosives factories? There were almost endless possibilities for what could be done. Most of them were easily realized and we were trying to familiarize ourselves with some of them, just as in our discussions we were increasingly trying to grasp our purpose more completely. One of us made an incredibly believable army colonel and I had ideas, from having been stationed several places, on how he might employ himself to good effect. All of us had something in mind. There was only a question of making ourselves real enough to begin in earnest.

I know people would think that most of what we hoped to build toward organizationally was fantastic. But in truth our hopes, even the wildest of them, were nowhere near as fantastic as a single F4C Phantom flattening out at fifty feet, at four hundred knots, letting loose a multiple load, angling upward sharply, cutting in its afterburners, and leaving behind it, faster than sound, a sea of dead human beings who never saw or heard a thing.

Phantom jets are truly fantastic. Go look at one sometime. See if you can watch one fly. While you watch, try to imagine everything that goes into keeping one like it in the air over other countries--the technology, the billion pieces, the air base and aircraft carriers and support units, the hundreds of thousands of people and their attitudes! That's fantastic! Whoever said that Diana and her kind are terrorists? We've got to straighten that out. Not until we've a good sense of Phantoms and A7's in action or a flight of B52's carpet bombing from high out of sight in yet a clear sky, out of hearing, will we begin to grasp what terrorism is all about and who the terrorists are. When our apartment door bursts open some early morning and the person lying with us is blown away by anxious, half-drunk cops we will understand who the terrorists are. People like Diana are simply terrorized human beings, that's all. Just like any of us when we first start to fight back against the real terrorists.

We went into banks for three reasons only: because it taught us needed discipline and confidence, because it paid our way as we tried to develop, and because I'd had some prior experience with banks. I can hit a bank as easily as most people can a drugstore--alone, with a water-pistol and without being identified by camera or people.

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# Mass Struggle: May Day Proposal - New Basis For NEPA

This is to all from Donna Parker (NEPA News) and Bobby and Nancy Scollard (ex-con and family) since we're disturbed by some bad things that came down at the recent NEPA conference. But also seeing good trends we propose the time is now for NEPA to join in a massive grass-roots movement to defeat fascism coming down in the joints and all other "prisons" in America--like racism, women's, workers' and welfare oppression. Here's our "May Day Program," a three point basis of unity for a new, winning NEPA--

- 1) Fight Racism/Fascism: Mass Struggle for Mass Victory!
- 2) Equal Support for All the System's Prisoners.
- 3) United Front to abolish Incarceration of the Oppressed!

To clarify our program, first a brief rundown of:

## The Political History of NEPA and What Came Down at the Recent Conference

The old NEPA, a loose umbrella coalition with no one political strategy, died a natural death. We aren't sorry it's gone! It did fine things, like the N.H. State prison demo.; the defeat of the Regional "Special Offenders" Prison; NEPA News; good local educational and support work. But the old NEPA administration made few efforts at long-term organizing with cons, families and friends. It's notable how few families came to the conference after two years of NEPA existence. Projects, fund-raising, etc. were aimed instead at big guys, foundations and liberal politicians. This came from too little faith in poor and working people--though this group is where cons are at--and too damn much faith in the power-elite, though this is the group whose interests prisons serve!

Exceptions were SCAR and Windsor Community Center, with strong community-organizing politics. They and many solid individuals became isolated from NEPA with no visible New England-wide connections except NEPA News. Splits developed; the tensions broke out at this conference and nearly wrecked it. (1) Some ex-cons and community organizers (like SCAR) had swung to support of armed struggle now outside the walls. (2) Some others (like the Boone group for national lobbying) only seemed to want to abolish symptoms (like prisons), unable or unwilling to deal with the cause (this capitalist system).--All are comrades (except if any pig provocateurs or spies wormed in): aspects of both outlooks should be supported. But both also have dangerous aspects, based on despair and lack of faith in the people, which must be rejected. This despair arose because of no mass base-building over two years, which could prove the worth and militancy of the people. It is to the people's strength and needs that NEPA strategy must now be devoted.

A strong minority or even majority felt as we do but mostly didn't speak out publicly. First, self-critically: apathy and fear kept us from struggling harder. Second, we criticize others, particularly the caucus of some ex-cons, for at first creating a "terroristic" atmosphere of "take-over" of what we agree was structured as too professional a conference. We and dozens of dedicated people got intimidated and felt useless or "liberal" though many were among the hardest-working or most radical NEPA-ers of all. Although cons and ex-cons should provide leadership, it must not be elitist. They too can make political errors. Everyone gained when after criticism most all the caucus abandoned its elitism against sisters and brothers. But a remaining serious error is the tactic some of them and others propose, of non-mass armed struggle.

## Toward a Political Analysis and Program to Defeat Racism/Fascism

This is a time of rising fascism in the U.S. Depression worsens as the exploiters push us to pay for their profit loss from world liberations and stiff competition by other capitalist countries. They try to gear us up for a new war. Above all, they encourage, from universities to South Boston, a wave of racist hatred, dividing the people as they squeeze everyone. If racism is unchecked and fascism succeeds, prisons will multiply like camps in World War II.

It's also a time of growing resistance around the world. To take the offensive, resistance here must get strong and sophisticated enough to expose the fascist move. The prisoner/supporter movement can best win its own goals and can play a key role in defeating fascism if we make solid ties with other "prisoners" movements--black, indian, latin, women, unemployed and progressive workers, welfare and other oppressed. Without ties, we'll not only fail to strike against the system, we'll be used as cheap labor tricks or fascist-hatred scapegoats. With ties, our movement can bring its great militancy to the common fight against the common enemy who deals out racism, unemployment, war AND prisons to our entire class. Our basis can be the three-point MAY DAY PROGRAM:

### RACISM/FASCISM--MASS STRUGGLE FOR MASS VICTORY!

To succeed we must choose our strategy and spirit well. Facing fascism we can afford many allies but no major political errors! Every tactic not advancing our aims does help the enemy and delays our victory. Non-mass armed struggle is a hurting tactic--in the jargon, it's "objectively counter-revolutionary"--unless or until there is a climate of public support. Armed struggle cannot artificially impose this climate. And in fact the oppressor's media easily plays up "terror" (ours, not theirs!) to turn the climate against all radicals and so rob the people of potential leaders and allies. This is one reason the left has a long history of government provocateurs aiding splinter groups in "militancy" when it is adventurist because separated from the life of the people.

Attica, Walpole, etc., are very different from isolated acts like a "political" bank robbery or bombing. Prison rebellions are clear collective action around grievances quickly understood by most poor and working people, and certainly prisoners. Also different is mass people's violence. This will be necessary for the final defeat of big business/government enemies, who will never

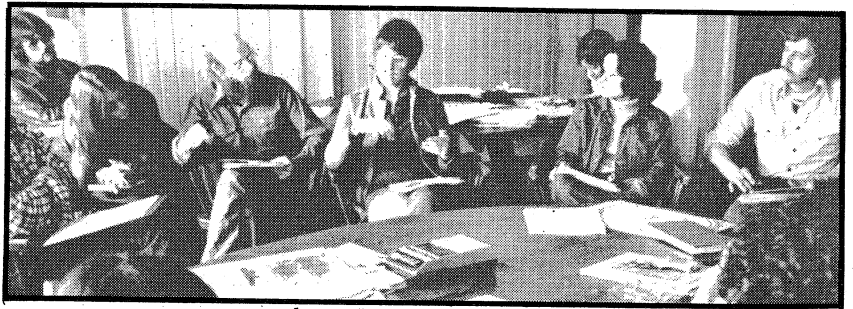


photo by Bill Morey

voluntarily accept an end to their profits and our resulting oppression. But you can't use individualistic armed struggle to convince the mass. You organize, and win the mass to armed struggle!

Friends argue armed struggle now is necessary and possible, as certain lives are threatened and newly-released cons are anxious to go into an armed underground supposedly tied to the mass work. But a mass organization with an "armed wing" is a phoney division of labor under conditions where the second is used against the first. Here and now, against individual AND class death, open base-building among poor and working people is the only true defense. If we also link up to other people's struggles, none of us will have to remain isolated, broke or vulnerable. Cons who want to come out and take up the gun should be won to mass struggle, where their militancy is sorely needed, and will not be used against their goals and ours. Cons have lived in a total fascist state in prison. They know the Face of the enemy. Rather than mimic his mentality in fascist-like "takeover" tactics and glorification of the underground, may their disciplined anger go into mass issues like decent jobs for all. The mass movement takes years of hard and patient work, tougher in some ways than seizing the gun. But it leads to class unity, to freedom for every oppressed prisoner, and to victory over fascism itself!

### EQUAL SUPPORT OF ALL THE SYSTEM'S PRISONERS

Except tokens and Watergaters, all prisoners are "political prisoners": all are victims of capitalist oppression. NEPA's fight is for all victims to hit the street. (The very few who can't make it should get care in hospitals or humane places where they won't harm or be harmed as they are in prison). NEPA should make no special commitments to individuals, like Cameron Bishop, or Susan Saxe. If done at all, support of particular prisoners should be for those who represent the daily struggle of people in prisons, both inside the walls or on the streets. But in any case, NEPA shouldn't elevate individuals over "non-political" brothers who rob for junk to escape oppression or sisters who hustle to support a family. Bombing and child molesting, once you're locked up, it's irrelevant to equal support of all as equally victims of the system of profits over people. That system needs its prisons--just as it needs racism, unemployment and war--to divide and hold back a fighting working class. Our job is not to glorify individual "heros", but at all times to support our class. Equal support of all the system's prisoners!

### UNITED FRONT TO END INCARCERATION OF THE OPPRESSED

NEPA is rightly moving beyond coalition, which said, "Each one do his/her thing. Every approach helps." Some methods hurt! United Front strategy says instead, "Reformers, revolutionaries, join in concrete grass-roots organizing. Peoples' strength will win reforms, which can be lessons for revolution. Disagree on ultimate solutions, but unite to abolish imprisoning of the oppressed!" Revolutionaries are needed in every struggle to raise militancy and political understanding. But without masses of reformers or "center people", what good is any revolutionary? The new spirit begun at the conference has to continue: resist all elitism, and isolate none as too "left" or too "liberal" who consistently devote themselves to our common goals.

The new spirit must also be one of sharp political struggle with any comrade whose mentality or tactics take away from the winning political strategy the front unites around. Struggle doesn't dump on people or make personal attacks (unless the person isn't just wrong-headed, but a proven pig in daily practice). But struggle does mean not backing off from private criticism or public debate, so we learn together which direction our road should go.

In and through struggle, we must ally with all oppressed people. One example: the very same time as NEPA's conference, 2000 militant workers took over an AFL-CIO rally. Instead of Hubert Humphrey's speech, 50,000 unionists cheered men and women comrades saying, "Capitalism doesn't work!" and presenting ideas like "30 for 40" (the shorter work week at no pay cut, to create new jobs that could empty prisons and welfare lines). What an advantage were events that weekend closely linked--with militant workers brought into our ranks and prison issues into theirs! What's holding this natural alliance back is mutual bad images many prisoners and workers have of each other due to capitalism's divide and rule. The oppressor's media bills the working jo as Archie Bunker or a hard-hat creep. His/her union "leaders" sell out daily. Too often workers live up to this bad leadership and reputation, spitting on "bums" behind bars or in racism or welfare (or student?) prisons. But it's more like we're all in cells in the same huge joint. And if working jo's have minimum security they also make up far the largest cell bloc. Meanwhile, capitalist job scarcity, class structure and discrimination pushes cons, as it does non-whites and women, into unemployment or the lousiest work and lowest wages--which also keeps everyone else's wages down.

Continued on Page 22

## CONFERENCE ANALYSIS

# Let Many Flowers Bloom

by Ron Sturup, Shelley Cooper Neill, Monty Neill, Gene Mason

The 1975 NEPA Conference, held April 25, 26, and 27, in Franconia, N.H., was marked most prominently by its development into both a conference and a convention. As a conference it was composed of keynote speeches, nearly twenty workshops, and summary sessions. Co-existing with the conference for Saturday, and closing the conference meeting Sunday, was a NEPA convention.

As a convention it was colorful, complete, with delegates representing different factions, needs, agendas, and a desire for consensus. As at all conventions, there developed the necessity to hammer out differences, formulate a common ideology, identify foes, set goals and objectives, decide on methodology, and find a means to continue to resolve these problems past the ending of the gathering.

The Convention and the Conference co-existed uneasily at best. To understand the conference on Alternatives to Incarceration, it must be seen in this light above all. When, how and why did the conference change into conference/convention? What were the dynamics, and what were the results?

The change began Friday evening. Friday morning saw two keynote speakers, and Friday afternoon, four workshops. Maybe 70 people had arrived by the close of the workshops. Most of these people were "program people", few of whom were ex-convicts. The Friday workshops centered more on nuts and bolts. Between the nature of the workshops and the kind of people, Friday was calm, orderly, informative. Perhaps a bit dull.

By Friday evening and through Saturday morning, a new type of person arrived: younger, more assertive, more openly ideological. Display and posters went up. The different crowd--largely ex-cons--was highly evident at the Friday night party, which continued till dawn for many.

The conference continued changing Saturday morning. Alan Caron of SCAR, in Maine, stated at the "Prisoner-Run Prisons" workshop Saturday morning, that that workshop was the first point in turning the conference around. Some workshops continued to be nuts and bolts information, others began the ideological debates.

At one o'clock, the new agenda unfolded at a meeting in the auditorium, where Russ Carmichael, Arnie Coles, Lynette Bingham, Ray Levasseur and others called for a new agenda--for ex-cons, families and others wanting to begin to struggle through a new program for NEPA to get together. Workshops were postponed till 3:00 P.M., and shortened from 2 hours to 1 1/2 hours. Some people became restless, irritated, angry over the changes: "I can here to learn something, not to listen to a lot of rhetoric," stated one woman.

It was an uneasy co-existence; and some people--the program people--began to leave.

It is important to stop here, with the dynamic in motion, and piece together why this happened as it did. We feel what happened was very important. On the whole, it was good that those who wanted to struggle out a new direction for NEPA got together. However, it did create real problems that NEPA will have to deal with; and some of those problems were the result of methods employed to get the "ex-con caucus" going.

The idea of the conference--as we put it together--was to utilize and examine a method of moving forward the abolition of prisons--that of developing alternatives, of de-carcerating prisons, and slowly but surely closing them down. We did attempt to structure in workshops that would deal with ideology: The Role of the Press, Alternative Master Plan I and II, Prisoner-Run Prisons; Community Control of Crime (which was canceled for lack of workshop panelists), and Allies for the Prisoner Movement (which was sort of absorbed in the "ex-con caucus").

However, we made a serious error. Though we had considered the possibility of re-structuring NEPA through the conference, we really did not provide the time/space/agenda for this to develop. As Arnie Coles commented: "The workshops are great, but they tend to isolate us. We need to come together."

However, we did make an attempt to get other people to pull together another agenda--if they wished--so that we could do the necessary restructuring in advance. The offer was ignored until just before 1:00 P.M. on the second day of the conference, when the "ex-con caucus" exploded into motion. It had the result of



photo by Kora Berger

confusing some, isolating many, chasing off others. To some extent this would have happened anyway. Some people are simply not ready to recognize and work through the process of ideological struggle. Others actually seemed afraid of ex-cons being up-front, running their own agenda, operating in their own life-styles. The ex-con caucus was in essence exploring the need for revolution and the means to get there. Some people can't deal on that level. Other people can, but thought the workshops would be more productive. Many people are needed in order to provide valuable survival and support programs. To some extent--how much, will become clear over the next few months--these people were isolated and alienated, by methods used to accomplish what were, to some NEPA members, significant objectives. NEPA as a whole--reformers and revolutionaries alike--will have to come to grips with this fact and find a solution that will enable us to move ahead in the best possible fashion.

We need to understand the whys of the choice made by those who created the second agenda--the convention. It seems to us that a key part of this choice was a lack of confidence, a lack of trust and a lack of cohesion among the "second agenda" leaders.

The lack of trust was most openly shown toward those of us who called the conference. We feel that the effort should have been made to re-structure the conference before the conference began, and we criticize people for not doing so.

The lack of real cohesion also seemed to exist, and came out at different points, particularly around John Boone's (former Massachusetts Corrections Commissioner) presentation and the Saturday night session of the ex-con caucus. Unity clearly existed around the need for a new agenda, the desire to raise political issues, the desire to debate the role of armed struggle at this stage of the conference. However, the relationship between community organizing and armed struggle did not seem to have been worked out to agreement among those who initiated the "ex-con caucus". Different people seemed torn between different commitments, which had some odd results.

For example, SCAR is an organization which calls for building mass-community organization, and which works in Maine with reformers and liberals. Yet they played a role which helped alienate reformers and program people at the conference. Further, SCAR feels the need for a strong national coalition. Yet at the session with John Boone, who can to promote the formation of a National Coalition, they came across as opposed to a national coalition, period--rather than opposed to, say, the sort of coalition Boone seemed to speak of.

Russ Carmichael, who called for unequivocal support for armed struggle in his 1:00 P.M. Saturday speech, was torn between moving on to the Cameron Bishop (see other sections of this issue for information) resolution at the Saturday afternoon "ex-con caucus" session, or taking as priority the need to continue the discussion of NEPA's structure; he chose structure in a tie-breaking vote.

Then, there were several people present at the Boone session who had worked on the "Working Draft #2", a document which would form a basis for a National Coalition, which Boone read: Russ Carmichael, John McGrath, Arnie Coles and Lynette Bingham, as well as Boone. When it became clear that much of the audience did not like Boone's presentation, only Lynette got up and defended the document, saying it was drawn up by the group as a working draft for discussion purposes. Whatever they may have thought, the others appeared to have deserted Boone.

This exemplifies both the lack of cohesion and the lack of self-confidence. Neither seems to have developed out of any desire to set someone up, or to just cause trouble, or to be an opportunist, or to isolate people. Rather, it seems to us to come from the very youthful stage of both NEPA and the prisoner movement as a whole. The "ex-con caucus" was the first time in NEPA's history that anything close to a large number of people came together to thrash out politics. That in itself is a step forward, which in our opinion outweighs the errors made. For this the people who developed the "ex-con caucus", the "second agenda", the convention, are to be thanked.

The lack of confidence has a clear root: the lack of sufficient on-going mass struggle. The resolution that NEPA's primary task is to do that work, to build mass support, indicates we are aware of the problem and will move to resolve it.

Continued on Page 21



photo by Kora Berger

## analysis (cont.)

Other problems and positive effects need mentioning. First the location of the conference. Franconia is geographically isolated. This discouraged--even prohibited--some people from coming: Blacks and Puerto Ricans, ex-cons just on the street, struggling for survival, families of cons doing the same. The organization was not capable of coming up with the money to see that some of these folks made it. The result was an almost all-white conference, attended by program people and very committed ex-cons in the movement.

The question of race must be dealt with very seriously. Blacks who attended have stated that despite the expressions against racism, the conference had severe tendencies toward racism: Blacks felt excluded, ignored, rejected.

Several times John McGrath said: "This is a white organization." Perhaps it was because this was said during the verbal brawls which ensued in the "ex-con caucus" after Boone's presentation, but this obvious point was not dealt with at all. Which raises questions: Will NEPA remain a fundamentally White organization? Should it? Will it seek to become integrated, or to develop alliances with primarily Black or Puerto Rican organizations? We do not offer an answer, only the statement that we as an organization must deal with the question.

On the positive side was the formation of a women's caucus. For too long the role of women in the prisoner movement and women in prison has been close-to-ignored by NEPA. By their strong and united action, women in NEPA said: "No more!" and provided the energy and the agenda to turn around NEPA's chauvinist stance.

A second positive result was the expansion of NEPA from New England to North East. This was due to the presence of many people from New York state, who have sensed NEPA moving in a positive direction, want to move with us, and have already begun to infuse new leadership and new energy.

The conference/convention seems to clearly have delineated both the problems and the possibilities NEPA faces. The very fact that NEPA was the vehicle for the struggles to be worked out in the region is encouraging: it shows that, overall, we have done some things right.

One of the most explosive issues at the conference/convention was the issue of armed struggle, which poses some very important questions for NEPA. Should we take an out front stand in favor of armed struggle? If we do, what effect would that have on mass organizing? Can we take an "armed struggle now" line to the masses? Should we take no public stance--but agree to disagree and support each other as much as resources and political views allow, and keep moving as we will? Should we oppose some forms of armed struggle? All forms? In principle, or as a strategy or a tactic?

That the question was struggled with, that we all know we shall have to struggle more with the question, shows we are attempt-

ting to forge our own direction, take our own movement into our own hands.

Other problems have been mentioned:

Race;

How can liberals, reformers, program people, revolutionaries of various views, work together in one organization for a common goal?

What to do about a national organization;

Sexism;

Our own problems of dealing with each other as comrades, as brothers and sisters;

How to organize in the "communities, work places, and prisons" to develop mass support;

How to structure a solid, coherent, lasting organization, with a sense of itself, its goals, and how to get from here to there.

A convention, or a conference, must be judged by its results. However tangled the web of conference/convention may have become, though some workshops were disrupted, some people alienated, still many people learned many new things, exchanged ideas, made new contacts, had to think of new things. So we feel that the conference half had its successes.

The convention part was a success also, again despite the enumerated drawbacks. First, there was a willingness to hammer issues out, to take a step forward toward political and organizational unity.

Second were the resolutions which affirmed the need to abolish prisons by any means possible; to move forward to mass organizing; to deal with sexism in our own movement; to expand to include New York; and to hold six meetings to struggle out ideas around key issues/areas and then to hold a convention to put it all together. And all of us understood the crucial importance of prisoners, other ex-cons and of families and key supporters to provide feedback, offer ideas, help us all to move forward.

We seem to have come a huge, two-year spiral. Once again we look to put together the ideology, strategy and structure that will move us forward. This time we have learned much, we are at a higher level.

We call on all interested persons, who are willing to sincerely struggle together, and willing to endure the probably inevitable rhetoric, side-tracks, ego-trips, opportunism and obnoxiousness, to participate in the six meetings and the convention. New directions and new strength will be forged, we feel, and if you are a part of the prisoner movement, a real chunk of your destiny will be set in motion.

If you wonder the need, the reason for the struggles we are moving through, heed the words of the revolutionary leader in the film Burn: "It is better to know where you are going and not know how to get there, than to know how to get there and not know where you are going." To win we must know both; but first we have to decide where we are going.



photo by Debbie Marlin

## scollard keynote (cont.)

"That bell ran that morning, everybody laid dead. Nobody went to work, nobody wanted to work, nobody did nothing. Therefore no violence. There no overtime. And we laid there.

"So the first move we had already anticipated, was that the administration come down and say, 'Hey, we want to talk to the Chicano community.' 'Hey, baby, let's talk to the White community over here.' Ain't nothing happening. Either you talk to all of us at once, or you ain't talking.

"We laid there 11 days. Warden got us a 10¢ raise in industry, a right to sit anywhere we wanted in the mess hall, and a lot of other good little things, that they told us wouldn't work, but still are working today.

"So with that, you've got a good idea why the hell I even got involved once I got out of prison. You can see how heavy racism is, and how heavy the political structure is. And if you're in that situation, you get caught up in these things, and you're either going to fight back or you're going to get knocked down, or you're going to go along with it. They're going to squeeze your melon to the point where you don't even think for yourself, they'll do your thinking.

"So now I think that I should fight back. Now I've come to this point. I was asked, do you believe in the abolishment of prisons? My answer is yes. And I think it will happen. In fact, I know it's going to happen. And the reason I know it's going to happen is, in this country, right now, is our biggest time to move.

"The reasons are a Korean War, Vietnamese War, but none of us had a vote to say we wanted to go to war. Nobody. They came out with some funny paper and said, 'Hey, man, we got a commitment, let's go.

"Who fought the war--the poor people. Who got killed--the poor people.

"All right, we went into a Watergate. That was hilarious. Really hilarious. A lot of us knew this was going on for years, but this was the first time they even trapped themselves. Beautiful.

"The exposure was great. Now we're in a depression. They're saying, 'Well, it isn't a depression like the 30's. The hell it ain't, baby. You come from where I come it's god-damned like the 30's, and a hell of a lot worse. Because prices are a hell of a lot higher, and they ain't coming down. And the depression is here to stay. And when the depression comes here to stay, you know what is happening, you know the big men are still making their bread.

"A lot of groups are doing their own little thing. What I'm trying to say today is, the time is ripe, the time is now, the mood of this whole conference is the fact that abolishment can take place.

"Everybody doesn't have all the solutions. Nobody has a concrete A to Z, and this is it, that's how you do it. But I know everybody in this room has ideas. And when, and before you go home, you should have in your head what you should do in your organization and other organizations. And these organizations shouldn't be apart.

"Like I said, we don't have to love each other, but baby, we've got to be buddies. We've got to be friends, and we are human beings.

"So therefore, if your organization is in Rhode Island, and the other one is in Pennsylvania, keep in constant contact, understand what this one is trying to do, understand what that one is trying to do.

"We've got to bring in families and friends of prisoners. This has long been forgotten. But let's get back down to the grass roots where it's at. For every prisoner, we can almost multiply that by five, with his family and friends. Power lies in the multitude, and we will have the multitude. And we will also have the power.

"I believe this. We can win, we can beat it, we can knock down every damn prison wall in this country. The thing is, you've got to struggle, you've got to commit yourself more, I've got to commit myself more. We've got to fight--not separate, together. That's where your strength is--together.

"And you've got to fight racism. And--you've got to fight that political structure. And it's a hard, hard way of doing it. Nothing is going to be easy. You're going to fight every damn inch of the way, and--the thing that kills me--we've got the guts and the people that can do it.

"Once we correlate and put all this stuff together, we're going to have something, and we're going to work on that something, and we're going to bring more people in, and more people. And once we have that multitude, we'll do our job."



# Prisoners, America and Revolution: A Reply

April 21, 1975

NEPA  
Franconia College  
Franconia, New Hampshire 03580

Comrades,

This is a belated response to the paper sent out by the comrades at N.H. State Prison, and I apologise for not getting back to you--and them--sooner, because the paper is certainly deserving of a considered reply. Before making any of the minor comments on the points in the paper, I should say that its primary aspect is excellent--that we are much impressed by the positions in the paper particularly given the fact that it is a response to Prairie Fire. (I say that because we find a number of serious errors in that volume, yet find that the paper either avoids those errors or, in many cases, corrects them.) So, on to your paper.

We are in full agreement with the point that capitalism needs prisons, that, like the military and the police, they are tools of the state. The overwhelming reason so far as I can see, is to constantly drive home the point that the state (i.e. the bourgeoisie) is strong and the people are weak. A secondary aspect is the protection of private property (an essential prop of capitalism), which is not mentioned in your first section. Also only hinted at is the reserve army of labor--that is, prisons (or at least the prison system as a whole) have the capability of releasing at a specific place a number of competent people to serve the functions which that reserve army of labor has always served. This could easily become more important in the future, as prisons--working with the capitalists--can more and more train people to serve specific functions in society (i.e., training prisoners in those jobs where strikebreakers might be needed, for instance).

Coming from the position of Vietnam veterans, we can easily follow and agree with much of what you say about the understanding of society which comes from trying to exist under some of its repressive conditions (we were in the military at some time or another, a situation which is somewhat similar). We agree that direct experience with imperialism in its worst forms (as we saw in Vietnam) gives a special sort of consciousness, one which can be used in terms of speaking to other people who have not had that sort of experience. It is not so easy to agree, however, with your statement concerning the differences between political and criminal prisoners not being crucial; we feel that there is a real class basis to organizing--that different classes and, more important, people with different class outlooks, will play different roles in a revolutionary movement (this is speaking in a general sense which may not hold true for each individual within any class). Of course the principle of uniting all who can be

united is primary, and there is always the potential of organizing lumpen elements into a revolutionary movement. To say that there is no crucial difference between this process and the primary work with those whose ideology is essentially working class is, it seems to me, an error.

The final paragraph on page four (\*) sounds extremely hopeful--we too, have seen people in whom that qualitative change has taken place, and see all the time the truth of the statement that repression breeds resistance, and that the resistance often turns the fighter for one into a fighter for all. At the same time, however, we get a lot of correspondence from around the country where politicized brothers and sisters complain at length about the general apathy they see all around them. I have no sense at all of the numbers involved in this, but my sense is that the people who do reach a sense of political awareness which leads to involvement in some kind of revolutionary activity on the streets (and I mean organized revolutionary activity, not the individual acts of defiance) is relatively small. Obviously, one of the tasks for a prison movement is to find the ways in which to change this.

Like you, we recognize the real dangers of working around reformist issues--that is, what objectively says that the system can work by relying on that system to win the reforms. At the same time, we all recognize the real need for whatever reforms can be obtained given the present situation of the prison camps around the country. It seems to me that you have dealt with this difficult subject well, given the fact that the "humane" prison is an impossibility under capitalism--that the only way to change the basis of the prison system is to get rid of the larger system of which prisons are only one part.

We also recognize the potential for a prison movement to become an important part of the overall revolutionary movement in this country. We also believe that the class struggle is primary, and that prison organizations need to keep this in mind--that there is an overall unity of class and that our work should all be designed to further that unity and the strength that grows out of it.

One small addition to your section in the second paragraph on page 8 concerning the reasons for an upsurge in consciousness and the action which comes out of that consciousness--that is the increasing study of political theory which, judging from many of the people I am in contact with, has been a real motivating force toward understanding the system under which we all live.

Finally, the section which deals with the role of prisoners and ex-prisoners. First, the two are clearly divisible: many of the more politicized ex-prisoners I know have joined or re-joined the working class and are carrying forward the revolutionary work as members of that class; they can make special contributions based on their experience but are not--and should not be--seen as a special or separate group. Second, in terms of in-prison organizing, we fully agree that the work will have to be done by prisoners themselves; those of us on the outside can and should serve in support of that struggle, but we cannot do the actual organizing (in fact, our organization made that error at one point and our practice proved, to our satisfaction, the truth of the statement;

the best ways in which support groups can function is, it seems to me, still being worked out).

Third, clearly the conditions in many (though not all) prisons approach the kind of repression which is one aspect of fascism, and this fact has a major impact on the way in which prisoners look at and relate to the events going on outside prisons. There is, I think, an error here: that, while some aspects of fascism are growing in this country, we are still a long way from being a fascist state (the bourgeoisie still has some other tricks up its collective sleeve before they will find it necessary to resort to fascism). To base one's theories of work on the idea that fascism is the major trend in the U.S. today is to make some serious errors--i.e., the value of guerilla warfare, the mistaking of terrorism and acts of terrorism for armed struggle, failure to rely on the masses, individualism, the "hero" theory of history, and all the rest. The working class movement at this time is not large, but is growing--and growing fast. We certainly agree with the need for a vanguard party to lead that struggle, and understand that the party will need to prepare for armed struggle--but history tells us that armed struggle can only be successful when there is mass support; without that mass support, armed struggle is doomed to failure and will, in fact, move the whole struggle backwards.

As a group which is experienced in militant and armed activity--with the blessings of Uncle Sam, of course--we are looking forward to the time when that experience can be put to the best possible use. And we understand the elements necessary to say that the time has come--the weakness of the ruling class (which we can see all around us in a number of ways) and the strength of the proletariat (which is being built); plus the political leadership and discipline which comes from a vanguard party (which we also hope to see in the near future).

I guess that's about it; we appreciate the opportunity to comment on the paper, and will be spreading it out to as many of the brothers and sisters with whom we are in contact as is possible. We look forward to further communications around the paper, and hope to be able to struggle out some of the differences. Unity\* Struggle\*Victory--

In revolutionary solidarity,  
Pete Zastrow, for VVAW/WSO  
National Collective

\*--Page references are to the original copy, not the printed version in Nepa News--ed.



## Mass Struggle (con.)

Workers need us for our militancy and to avoid our being used as scapegoats or cheap labor. Alliance could clarify that it's not us but the enemy who uses us to keep their taxes up or wages down. We need them for their vast numbers and power. They run the world, make the products, transportation, buildings, etc., and can and someday will own and share it all (socialism/communism). Besides, we're in fact the same people. Which worker hasn't been or known or been related to a con, and which con has never had to work? It's more than time we dropped the big shots' myths against each other, like the Attica brothers dropped their racist myths and showed us how.

In sum, the May Day proposal says Unity and Freedom for All! As the rulers know all too well, unity is strength. For the people, unity in struggle overcomes despair. And... who can stop the power of the people once united!

Ideas and comments are welcome to help develop this working draft. Write to NEPA and to us: c/o Scollard, 39 Lindsey St., Dorchester, Ma. 02124.

# Boone Presentation

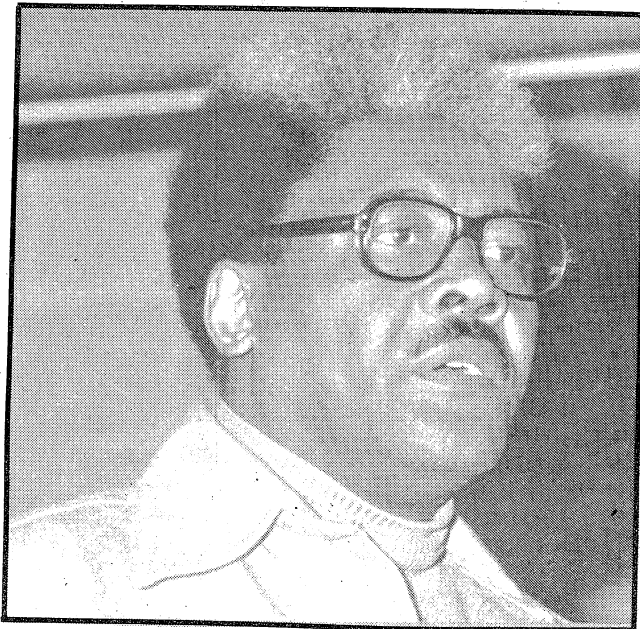


photo by Kora Berger

by Ron Sturup

One of the more intense and dramatic phases of the conference occurred when John Boone, a former Massachusetts Corrections Commissioner, addressed a large gathering during one of the general sessions. In what he labelled a plea for assistance in developing a national capability to influence the direction of correctional change, he called for those present to endorse the idea of a national coalition to help prisoners. He pointed out that folks in other parts of the country were already moving on this idea and that on May 24th volunteers from New England could go to a similar meeting in Atlanta, Ga., to link up with the Southeastern faction of the proposed coalition. From then on volunteers from both regions could go to Indianapolis, Ind. meeting to link up with the Mid-west faction. At a later date volunteers from these already linked three factions could go to a similar proposed meeting in San Francisco, Calif. to link up with the Far West faction. On August 17th volunteers from all four factions would meet in Louisville, Ky., at the same time and place the American Correctional Association is meeting. There they could formally structure their national coalition and simultaneously make their presence, and concern and power known to the American Correctional Association, whose members are, because of their vested interest, some of the strongest opponents of correctional change and prison abolition.

Boone went on to chide various groups and individuals present for dealing with symptoms rather than the disease. He mentioned several incarcerated people who had "gone all the way" in their opposition to prison oppression and dehumanization. He questioned whether the Attica Defense Fund, the Wounded Knee Defense Fund, the Joanne Little Defense Fund were dealing with symptoms or the disease. He said there are many others being dehumanized and killed within prison walls who are not even known or being helped by dealing only with symptoms. Before attempting to read a statement of principles he, in a very emotional plea, asked "how long will you remain like Alice in Wonderland, reacting to symptoms?"

Midway through reading the statement of principles, he was challenged very aggressively and vulgarly by a member of the audience as to why an ex-con couldn't read the statement. Boone replied that he had asked several ex-cons who had prepared the statement of principles to read it and they refused. A lady from the audience questioned Boone's motivation. She wanted to know whether the proposed coalition was for Boone or for inmates and ex-inmates. Boone then became very defensive and argued with the questioner rather than answering her question. Another questioner rose and attacked the last sentence of the statement of principles saying in effect that to preserve the present social order was absurd. It is a new social order that needs to be constructed and preserved. This brought great applause, guffaws, whistles, cat-calls, etc. Visibly disturbed now, Boone scolded them for becoming personal, trying to put him down rather than dealing with the proposed idea.

The person who had first very vulgarly verbally attacked Boone, amid drunken curses, accusations and slobbering, rose again and said, "If you want to kill Boone we can kill him very quickly." He was of course speaking symbolically, but another member of the audience, taking the statement literally, leaped up and rapidly approached the challenger, saying, "You ain't going to kill nobody." A nose to nose, eyeball to eyeball verbal encounter followed, causing extreme tension throughout the auditorium. Physical encounter was averted by the cool thinking and actions of one of the conference coordinators and the session continued.

Another lady in the audience arose, took the lectern and proceeded to very effectively tell the assembled group about themselves, and what they were doing. She told them in plain, clear, unadulterated street language, and scolded them for trying to throw Boone to the wolves. She reminded them that in the audience there were at least a half dozen people, including herself, who had drawn up the very same statement of principles they were now pretending to attack. She pointed out the obvious racism, sectionalism, individual intrigues and power plays going on. She termed it all as "bullshit" and demanded that the group keep the unity they worked so hard to attain and strive forward together in the struggle. The conference strode forward toward some rather significant achievements.

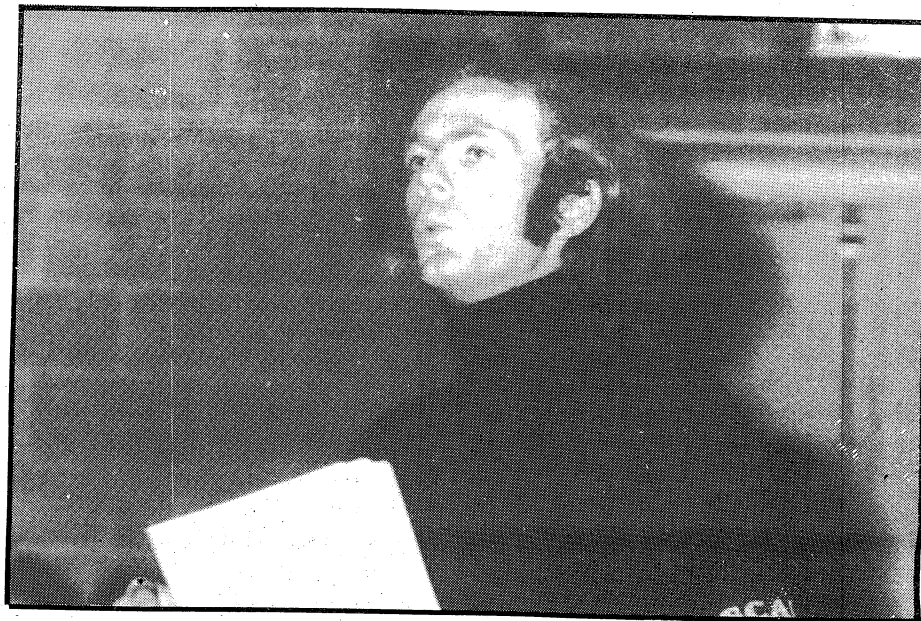


photo by Kora Berger

## Bond con.

There was also the matter of burning our bridges. We can't really think very honestly until we've decided just how far back we will allow ourselves to retreat should things get rough. How are we to make a revolution so long as in some recess of our minds there lurks the knowledge that we can always return to being a part of the things we're revolting against? That's why we often have to fight so hard, so desperately, at first. Give it whatever name you wish--purification, cleansing, or just development--there is no way around it.

Revolution really is a process of subjective as well as objective stages. We find in ourselves new depths by breaking forcefully through our old shallowness, the shallowness that our society immediately goes to work reimposing upon us whenever we start to relax in its embrace. Once America makes something of us, it goes on to inviting us in every conceivable way to remain that thing--racist, intimidated, pig, criminal, prick-oriented, frightened, motherfucker, liberal--it doesn't matter what, so long as it isn't revolutionary and so long as it fits into the huge coffin this America has been laboring in ever since it died. From there, from discovering your own depths, you go on fighting however hard it takes to help your friends discover their depths, however hard it takes to come up with the materials and understanding necessary to set all of you more completely apart from your enemy so that you can better destroy it.

It doesn't make much sense for me to suggest a course of action for those who don't yet see the possibility of literally "going to war" as a realistic part of their revolutionary commitment. All I can say is that most such people aren't being realistic yet. Those who are serious about revolution, those who need it as well as desire it, will in the end either begin to act seriously or else be somehow destroyed. They will forfeit their best possible meaning, their aspirations, their hopes and ideals or perhaps only their lives. But in any case they will either get serious or lose. Instead of suggesting ways for such people to spend their time while the real struggle goes on, I'd rather find ways to make that struggle relevant to them. What good are the deaths of Jonathan and George and Diana and Fred and the others, if they don't begin soon to show the way for other people to get wholly into this war, people who never saw that as a real possi-

bility before? More and more people will start thinking seriously about actually fighting for a revolution once they are shown some revolutionary victories. That's the obligation of those who are already at war. But all that we've shown so far are some of the impossibilities involved, and how to cop out on our friends and our aspirations when we get tagged. I know it's a drag to say that--about having to be the best examples we can--but that is exactly what you set yourself up for when you get a little ahead of everyone else. If becoming revolutionary really does have something to do with making a choice, with making decisions about how best to live life, then why not choose to set good examples when it comes down to that? I know that America makes it look easy to be cowardly, but in real life it isn't easy at all.

## Resolution con.

He also faces additional charges in Rhode Island for illegal possession of firearms and conspiracy.

That we recognize in the final analysis that the best way all Political Prisoners can be supported is by broadening and elevating the struggle against oppression.

We are aware that this Comrade was busted in this area at a time of increased repression and police action and of his ex-convict background and involvement with the prison struggle.

We see the work of NEPA and the prison movement as consistent with the struggle and action of these comrades and will not leave them isolated.

We will support the struggle of these comrades with political, organizational and material support.

*For the second version, delete the last two paragraphs, and add the following:*

We pledge not only verbal but material aid to Cameron Bishop and other political prisoners, as brothers and sisters in the worldwide struggle against oppression. Above all, we pledge ourselves to mass organizing for the day when all oppressors are isolated and overthrown; and all prisoners, all oppressed, minorities, women, workers, unemployed, welfare and other victims of oppression, are united in victory and freedom.

# Cameron Bishop

To: Gene Mason, Monty Neil  
Brothers and Sisters of NEPA  
Revolutionary Greetings!

April 5, 1975  
A.C.I. Max

I write to you regarding my brothers and fighting comrade, Cameron Bishop.

A defense fund/committee has been found to defend/support this servant of the people who was extradicted to Colorado this week to face charges that he participated in the 1961 bombings of four defense towers that supplied electricity to a manufacturer of war materials for Vietnam.

Much support is beginning to be built in Denver for the upcoming trial, which should be in 6-8 weeks. It is essential that this struggle receive the broadest range of support among the people--and movement people in particular. Cameron Bishop has made great sacrifices and has always given of himself to the struggle of oppressed peoples. He is a true liberation fighter which the United States Government would like to suppress with what would amount to nothing less than a life sentence. As he has given so much to the people--he deserves nothing less than complete support in return. We simply can no longer stand by while our comrades are beaten, imprisoned, murdered.

NEPA's "infrastructure", i.e., its paper, programs, speakers, and upcoming conference of April 25-27 should be as supportive of Cameron Bishop as its resources allow--as George said, "The fact of political and political-economic prisoners in legions and the processes used by the oppressors to judge and condemn them must be used as the rallying cries of revolution. Economic crime and even crimes of passion against the oppressors must be understood as rebellion. Even funerals can be used as an issue, since there will be so many of them. Improvising on reality is the key principle underlying the building of a united people. It will give us our tactics." (Blood in My Eye)

Your support is most important now at a time when armed struggle is receiving little support from left/progressive forces.

As I write these words seeking support for my comrade, my heart is saddened for all of our brothers and sisters throughout amerikan kamps and oppressed communities that suffer at the hands of the fascist insect.

At this very moment, sadist hacks are beating, gassing, and using "stun guns" against our beautiful brothers at McAlester for their efforts to gain basic human rights. Please be aware of this struggle at McAlester (the comrades of Red Star North/Portland have much information on this situation). That is sure to have a mounting death toll (a list of brothers scheduled for assassination during a major disturbance was sent to Red Star North from McAlester).

I close by sending you revolutionary love and strength--that you continue to struggle, unyieldingly, for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

Forever onward! Venceremos!  
Ray Levasseur

\*\*Cameron Bishop, 10500 Smith Rd., Denver County Jail, Denver, Colo.

\*\*Defense Fund, 595 Mass Ave., Cambridge, Ma. 02139, C/O NCG

*Because there was much discussion of Cameron Bishop himself during the debates on armed struggle, we reprint the following short pieces written by Mary Bishop and, the second, by Cameron Bishop.--ed.*

"IF THERE IS NO STRUGGLE, THERE IS NO PROGRESS. THOSE WHO PROFESS TO FAVOR FREEDOM AND YET DEPRECIATE AGITATION ARE MEN WHO WANT CROPS WITHOUT PLOWING UP THE GROUND...THE STRUGGLE MAY BE A MORAL ONE, OR IT MAY BE A PHYSICAL ONE, BUT IT MUST BE A STRUGGLE..."

--FREDERICK DOUGLASS--

Brothers and Sisters,

My name is Mary Bishop, wife and comrade of Cameron Bishop. As you may already know, Cameron was busted in Rhode Island on March 12, ending his six years on the ten most wanted list of the FBI. He has been charged with the participation in the 1969 bombings of four defense towers in Colorado. The towers supplied electricity to Coors Porcelain, a company which manufactured all missile-nose columns and most of the armor for the helicopters used in Vietnam.

If found guilty of these charges, Cameron may face more than 100 years in prison, a depressing irony in the face of Nixon's most recent pardon for the crimes he committed against the American people, let alone the destruction and mutilation of an entire country in Southeast Asia.

I am presently trying to get a legal defense fund going for Cameron. The process is new to me, the prices are high and I know it's going to be difficult to raise the money we need to assure him the legal aid he deserves. Therefore I'm asking all my comrades in the struggle for any donations and all information that might be helpful in raising funds.

Cameron's trial will be political from the start to finish. It is an opportunity for people all over the country to express their support of the anti-imperialist movement. The war in Southeast Asia is not over! The people responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent Vietnamese still run our country, living comfortably and free. They are the guilty ones, and yet not one will do time for the crimes committed against the people of Vietnam and Cambodia. Please help me speak out against the contradictions of our country's political and legal systems. Help Free Cameron Bishop.

Your Sister in the Struggle,  
Mary Bishop

P.S. Cameron is strong in will and sends his love to all brothers and Sister.

## Resolution

The following resolution was adopted in two forms by different groups/caucuses at the conference. The first form was adopted by SCAR (Statewide Correctional Alliance for Reform) of Maine and by a caucus of some of the folks from Massachusetts.

The second version deletes the last two paragraphs of the original and substitutes a new last paragraph. The second version was adopted by an ad-hoc caucus of about 30 people at the end of the conference.

To further debate and discussion on the issues, we print both versions of the resolution.

Cameron, an ex-con, was busted in Rhode Island on March 12, 1975, ending his six years on the ten most wanted list of the FBI. He has been charged with four counts of sabotage stemming from his alleged participation in the 1969 bombings of power lines supplying electricity to a manufacturer of war materials to be used in Vietnam.

That the North East Prisoners Association (NEPA) declare our solidarity with and complete support for the struggles of Cameron Bishop, and all other Political Prisoners.

Continued on Page 23



photo by Kora Berger

### COMMUNIQUE FROM CAMERON BISHOP TO CITY STAR, NEW YORK

This is the first communication I've sent out since I went underground five years ago. These last five years have changed all of us and our exchanges have been very limited. It is very hard to exchange views and communicate through the media, it's even harder when we feel the need to criticize or to point out faults. It's really too bad we can't sit down all together and talk out our problems.

On February 4, 1975, the SLA, a group of which I am not a member, placed in custody Patricia Hearst and have at this moment maintained that custody. They have asked in return for her release mainly that food be distributed to poor people in the state of California

Since February 1, many radical groups have denounced and/or voiced disapproval of this action for a variety of reasons. I must admit to a few minor differences with the SLA, however, I support the SLA for many much more important reasons.

1. With the cuts in welfare and food stamps--both actual and those resulting from capitalism's uncontrolled inflation, there are thousands and thousands of starving people in this country. Every day children in the barrios, the ghettos, and on the reservations die from starvation. We are all hip that they don't list the cause of death as starvation, but as measles, chickenpox, pneumonia, etc. However we all know that balanced diets and proper medical care eliminate almost all of the danger of the childhood diseases. Therefore, this attempt to feed the people, to expose the plight of poor people in Amerika, and to distribute even this small amount of food deserves our support.

2. From all the evidence available, it seems certain that Patricia Hearst is being cared for humanely and with honest consideration. This certainly reflects the Politics of the SLA. For all of us hate the enemy (and the Hearst empire is the enemy), and while fighting the enemy it is important to retain our own humanity. The SLA has certainly done this.

3. If we as Revolutionaries accept the SLA as honest revolutionaries, and I certainly do, attacks on the SLA only add to the propaganda machine on the capitalist news media. Although all of us reserve the right to criticize each other if those criticisms are mainly to protect ourselves or our positions then they are truly wrong.

One of the criticisms has been that this is a kidnapping, this is terrorism, this is criminal--as if every one of us did not know who the real criminals are. Many of us would have been happy to ransom George Jackson out of jail before his brutal murder. Who was the Criminal? Who were the terrorists who invaded Cambodia, terror bombed Hanoi, murdered Gabriel? Who murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds? Who still manufactures the world supply of Napalm???

It has been said that Patricia Hearst is an innocent. Wasn't Bobby Hutton an innocent? Millions of children in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Rodesia, Palestine, Laos, Chile, the list is almost endless. If Patricia Hearst confinement shortens the killing of even one life, it is well worth it.

I sincerely hope that Patricia Hearst will once again be free and the hungry of California will have had a good meal on the capitalists.

Perhaps it might be best to consider the words of Regis Debray at his trial in Camiri:

"Everyone has to decide which side they are on--on the side of military violence, or guerrilla violence, on the side of the violence that represses or violence that liberates. Crimes in the face of crimes. Which ones do we choose to be jointly responsible for, accomplices or accessories to?"

Love and Revolution  
Cameron Bishop



# The Red Army Faction

by New Day People

"Victory or death", these were the words that six members of the Holger Meins Commando Group issued when they stormed the West German embassy in Stockholm Sweden in an effort to have 26 prisoners released from various German prisons in late April. This latest attempt to free prisoners in West Germany is part of a chain of events including the kidnapping of West Berlin's mayoral candidate Peter Lorenz, which resulted in the freeing of five prisoners, and various other militant actions both inside prisons and out in West Germany in the past five years.

When reported at all the straight press in America refers to the people who wage this militant struggle as anarchists, the Baader-

--Meinhof gang, the German Bonnie and Clyde, and once in a while calls them the Red Army Faction, the name of an armed guerilla group in West Germany. Some of the real facts of this long struggle deserve to be brought out and understood by prisoners and progressive people in the U.S., especially since West Germany is a country similar to the U.S.: industrialized, capitalistic with growing economic problems, crowded and foul jails and a growing struggle being waged by numerous sections of the people and especially prisoners.

The two central figures in this struggle are Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader, and while referred to as Bonnie and Clyde by government sources, they are and always have been involved in armed political struggle against the West German government and the U.S. imperialistic policies around the globe and in Europe. In the early 70's Ulrike helped break Andreas out of jail and for the next couple of years, although they and their organization were hunted by all the various German police as well as the U.S. army's police agencies, they continued to wage a determined armed struggle. They are accused of attacking corporate centers, military and police sites, prisons and banks. At one point 19,000 police troops cordoned off a city and searched it from top to bottom, but Ulrike and friends, having the support and assistance of many German people, were able to avoid capture. Finally in 1973 Ulrike and Andreas were captured, although most of their organization continues to fight on. Presently the German government claims to have 40 odd members of this group in prison. The conditions they have been subjected to, while not unfamiliar to many U.S. prisoners, probably do surpass even the hell holes that so many of us are subjected to. One area that the German government, like the U.S., has tried to use is behavior modification. Since the U.S. has been using these tactics for over 10 years it very well might be that the German government got the plans from U.S. prison keepers, or perhaps they dug back to to the nazi techniques. In any case in order to try to break Ulrike's spirit and mind they put her in a completely bare totally soundproof cell with a constant light and with absolutely no contact with other prisoners or friends except her attorneys and even these visits were sat in on by screws, for over 8 months. This total sensory deprivation was aided by physical harassment by the guards and while it did upset the sister she was not broken. Then the government tried to secretly perform a lobotomy on her, and were only stopped because of the public outcry and legal actions of her lawyers.



contact and time out of their cells and so do the male prisoners. This struggle has also brought out much of the brutality and disgust of the conditions of West German prisons in general.

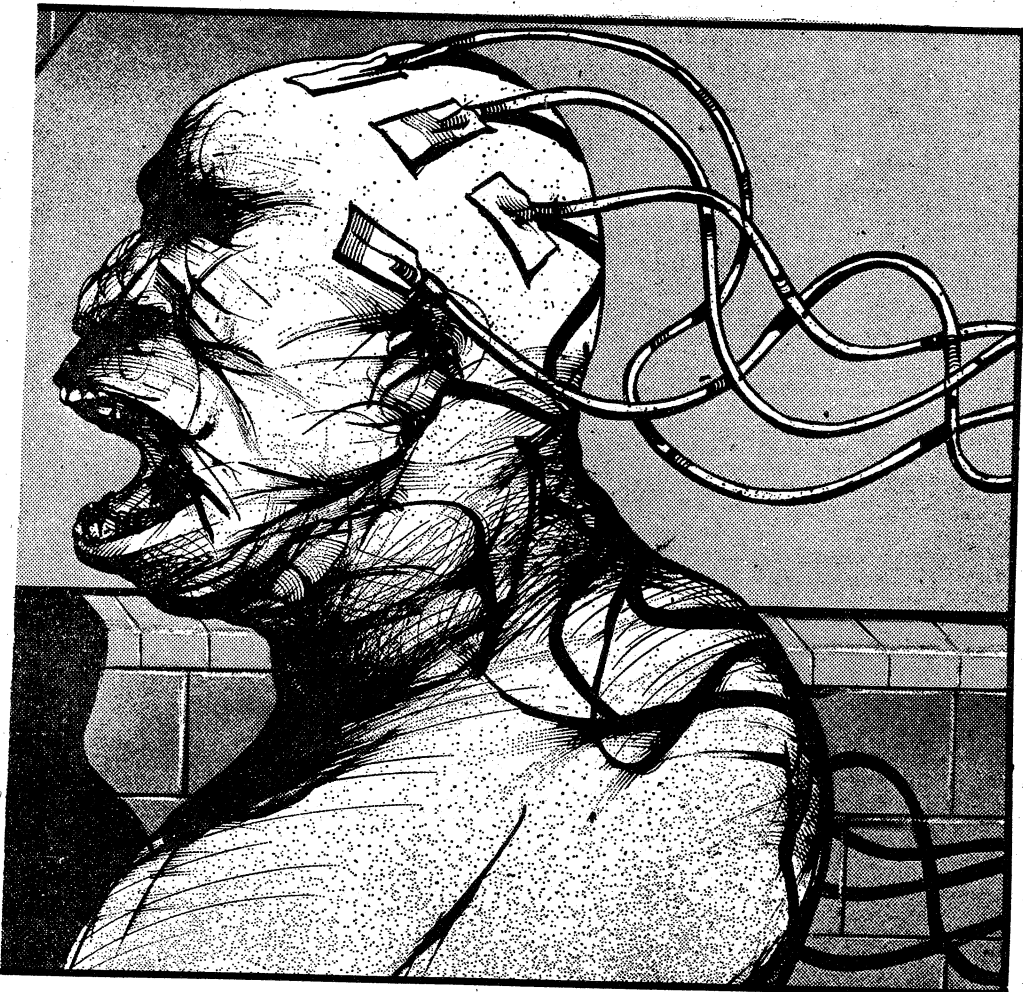
The German government is now spending millions of dollars building a special court house in the middle of an open field with outlandish electronic and other surveillance and defensive gadgets--bullet proof windows, anti-aircraft guns on the roof, cameras and sound detectors inside and out, etc. in which to try these people. Furthermore they have created new laws which bar many of the lawyers Ulrike and the other people have from defending them. These actions have been so totally fascistic that lawyers from other countries, including William Kunstler and other U.S. attorneys, have filed international briefs to contest this blatant dictatorial action. Because of Ulrike and the other fighters' undying spirit and determination to not give in and to continue to fight for their freedom and the rights of the people, increasing numbers of people have supported them, including trade unionists, leftists, etc. And of course the guerilla struggle continues to be waged as the attack on the embassy shows.

In many respects this situation in West Germany is similar to cases happening here. The elaborate court security, which is designed to prejudice any jury, is not much different than the bullet proof shields and chains used in the San Quentin Six and other trials. The fact that lawyers are denied entry into a court is not much more extreme than Assata Shakur (a/k/a/ Joanne Chesimard)'s lawyer being thrown into jail for fighting for her client's rights, or any other number of similar incidents. The holes, beatings, attempted lobotomies are all familiar dangers to most american prisoners and especially those that fight the hardest for justice. The understanding of the need for outside support and carrying information to the people on the streets is also well known to us. Perhaps the single most different feature is the continued and growing armed activity that the people are waging in behalf of the prisoners in Germany. While this is not absent here, witness Jon Jacksons courthouse raid as well as the activities of other guerrilla groups in the U.S., the level of this type of struggle, especially in relation to our prison struggle is not very high and this is something that we, prisoners, outside supporters and groups must examine more closely. The dangers of adventurism are real and we have to stay in harmonious contact with the level of struggle of the masses, but to write off armed struggle because of this, or to reject even the idea of armed struggle because "It's not the right time", is not the way to real freedom and victory. This is not to argue that armed struggle should become the main form of action right now, but the need of it, including in the prison movement--inside and out--are matters that must be seriously considered and discussed by all people in and out right now. The state can not be allowed to have exclusive rights to force-- the people's force must be built up to counteract it. An unarmed unfighting people will remain a subjected people.

"Victory or Death. Freedom through anti-imperialist struggle."  
Issued by the Holger Meins Commando Group from the captured W.  
German embassy in Sweden 4/25/75.

## Schools in America

A recent study, covering 8500 families in 30 areas in nine states, has concluded that some two million youngsters have been forced out of the school systems. The reasons seem to be: Knowledge of little English, poverty, handicaps, arbitrary and often illegal discipline, the lousy quality of the schools, pregnancy among high school girls (some 350,000 girls under 16 are pregnant at any given time), and the fact that up to 400,000 youths are thrown in jail every year.



In order to combat this type of treatment and to be allowed the same rights as other prisoners, all forty of these captured revolutionaries went on a total hunger strike. Meanwhile outside supporters staged protests and some armed attacks. In this actions one of the brothers, Holger Meins, died; it should be added that a few days later the head of the West German Supreme court was shot and killed and since then other guerrillas have proudly taken actions under the name of Holger Meins Commando Group. Because of all this the government was forced to concede to the demands and Ulrike and the other sisters are now in the same jail and have

# Ex Con Caucus con.

Discussion then turned to whether or not we should break down into different caucuses, such as an ex-con caucus, a women's caucus or other caucuses. Others felt that this would split the conference, or wondered how this would lead to solutions, structures that would help us solve our problems.

One ex-con suggested we break down into those into dealing politically and those into dealing sociologically. "Let's get something up on the board I can see."

It was resolved that an "ex-con" caucus would continue, and that workshops would continue at the same time. Another ex-con summed up by saying, "Let many flowers bloom."

People made a choice, and the day continued.

The caucus then had to decide whether to allow persons who were not ex-cons to participate. After discussion, the ex-cons decided that at this caucus there should be input from persons aside from just ex-cons.

After further discussion, the caucus began considering the NEPA statement of purpose. The first point in list of 13 points, abolition of prisons, was debated. A motion was made and approved that NEPA is: "to work for the abolition of prisons and the prison system by all means possible."

It was then moved and agreed: "that regular NEPA meetings be rotated from state to state, and that there be a transportation fund to provide for all those who could not provide their own."

Discussion then returned to NEPA's statement of purpose and principles. People wondered whether this would officially begin to change the original statement and begin a new one. Folks agreed that we must have a new statement, but that the caucus could not unilaterally change the statement. Recommendations would be made to the conference as a whole, and feedback must be solicited from prisoners.

Next it was moved and approved unanimously: "to promote and assist all prisoner and ex-prisoner associations and organizations and to coordinate a form of communications."

It was also moved and approved unanimously: "to support and aid all groups, organizations and movements who we feel will support us in our struggle to abolish prisons."

Several discussions then began at once. Some people wanted to discuss the resolution on Cameron Bishop. Others felt that the group should continue to discuss NEPA's goals and structure.

A motion was also made to break down into three workshops: strategy, ideology and structure.

At first this motion was approved. But after further discussion people decided that one of the topics could not be discussed without discussing the others, and that if we broke down we would come back together no further ahead. The motion was rescinded.

The caucus then took a short break and re-convened with 60-75 persons in the Library.

It was moved and agreed that the group would go around with each person laying out his/her ideology, based around "political prisoners", interpreted loosely. People would raise their hands and be recognized by the chair; people would not interrupt, and would wait in turn to introduce something new or to reply. These rules were followed throughout the three-hour session.

Debate ensued as to whether support of political prisoners was a useful tactic for the movement. On the one hand, such support can be used to educate people. On the other hand, such support

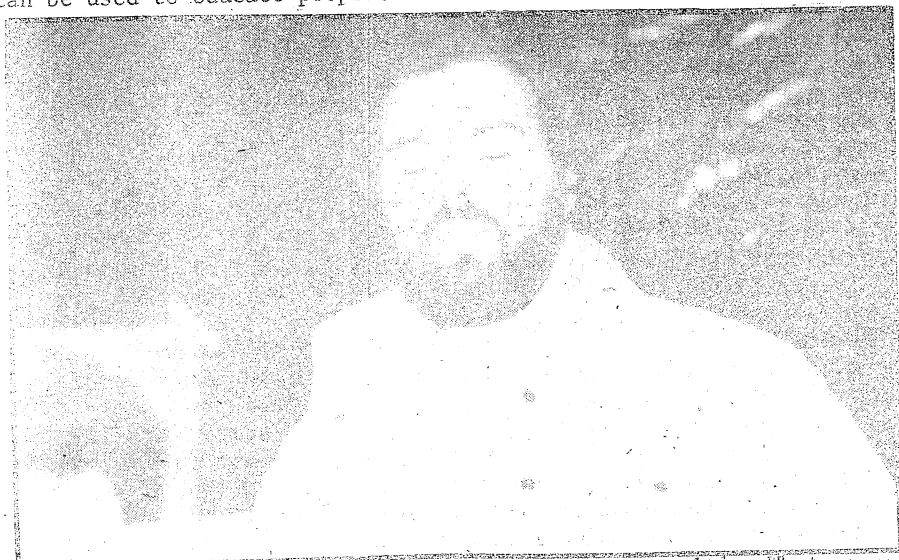


photo by Kora Berger

Many people spoke, and this session was not recorded. What follows is an attempt to sum up the major areas covered.

First, most everyone agreed on the need to do mass-based community organizing. In one form or another, most all speakers saw this as a crucial need. Other topics did not receive this unanimity.

People debated whether all prisoners are political prisoners, or whether a political prisoner is a person who goes to prison because he or she is political on the outside.

One ex-con stated, "the people who run this country are so damned political that they make everything political." Others felt a need to distinguish social victims from political prisoners.

All did agree that prisoners, political or not, must be supported. There was no consensus as to whether political prisoners should be supported in particular fashion.

Some participants opposed making heroes of the few. Others felt the state defines who is a political prisoner and we should not swallow the state's game.

People supporting the "Cameron Bishop Resolution" argued that we had to defend our comrades underground. Another approach suggested that when a comrade is ripped off, "send oranges." This was the position of the Algerian Underground in the liberation war against the French: if a comrade was ripped off, do not wait or grant sympathy, burn your tracks and simply keep the struggle moving.

Debate ensued as to whether support of political prisoners was a useful tactic for the movement. On the one hand, such support can be used to educate people. On the other hand, such support

tends to evaporate rapidly.

One brother stated, "I have plenty of political prisoners in my own community. We do not need to import them."

People learned much from each other's positions, but no consensus was achieved.

Nor was consensus achieved on the question of the role of armed struggle. A few people argued that armed struggle at this time in the U.S. does not tend to push the struggle forward, as it tends to alienate people from the left, substitute small group actions for the needed actions of the many, and/or reduce the masses to spectators. In addition there were questions as to the political accountability of the underground. Some felt there was no excuse to go underground unless one had to; that otherwise it was not a good political move.

In reply, those in favor of armed struggle argued that the underground does exist, that it should not be isolated by the left. Those who disagree with them should struggle politically with the underground. Further, they argued that armed struggle is a necessary aspect of preparing the people for revolution.

The underground, they argued, is not divorced from the people. Many persons in the underground also engage in mass organizing, and have links with the community. In sum, they argued that armed action is now necessary and desirable, that the above-ground left should integrate armed actions with mass organizing, and that links should be strengthened between underground and above-ground.

After three hours of good political discussion--perhaps the first time such discussion had happened at a major NEPA meeting--the question arose as to whether the caucus should debate the "Cameron Bishop resolution" or should discuss NEPA's structure.

The meeting voted 17 persons each way, and chairperson Russ



photo by Kora Berger

Carmichael, who felt both needed discussion, voted to table the "Bishop resolution", saying that structure should be hammered out first.

This decided, the caucus voted at 7:00 P.M. to break for an hour for dinner.

After the presentation and debate around John Boone's presentation (see accompanying article--ed), the ex-con caucus re-assembled.

As people first got together, in an atmosphere resembling the calm before a storm, an attempt was made to sum up the basic points of agreement from the afternoon session.

A motion was made and approved as follows:

*"We are working for a society in which the worth and the preservation of dignity of all people is of the first priority. Prisons are a major obstacle to the realization of such a society. NEPA stands for the abolition of prisons by all means possible.*

*We believe that the primary task of the prisoner movement at this time is to organize and educate in the communities, work-places and prisons to develop the mass support needed to abolish the prison system.*

*Approved by the ex-con caucus, unanimous with two abstentions, to be brought to the general session.*

Originally the motion began by stating: "Prisons are a tool of the capitalist system. We are opposed to that system and its manifestations of racism, sexism and imperialism." After discussion, it was decided that the opening sentences accented the negative--what we were against--rather than the positive. Further, the terminology would tend to alienate people. So the changes were made.

That done, the discussion turned to what happened just before in the auditorium around John Boone's presentation.

For over two hours there was a mix of occasional discussion, accusations, bitter debate, and shouting. No particular point was resolved, and many people left, when the caucus adjourned at midnite, very discouraged. The main ingredient of the despair was wondering what we would manage to accomplish if we could treat each other in such uncomradely fashion.

The session had centered on Boone, on other leaders, on people's lack of discipline in relating to Boone, on the politics of Boone's speech. A long history of personal/political antagonisms between some people came out, but was not resolved.

The caucus ended at midnite, and did not meet again during the conference. However, many of the caucus participants were involved in the Sunday closing session.

It is hard to sum up the caucus. It's impact was enormous; many issues were raised and debated, if not resolved. In writing up the caucus I have tried to present the many arguments, "sides," and so forth.

My own feeling is that the caucus represents a step forward for NEPA, in that political debate over who we are, where we are going and how to get there came to the surface. How effective a step forward, whether we will find a common ground to work from, will come out in the continuing meetings we agreed to have.

# Letters

FROM: Concerned Inmates of Woodstock Community Correctional Center  
TO: A Concerned (?) Community

I am writing to you in hopes that some of your readers might hear an honest plea for proper medical attention. For some time now, we, the inmates, have felt that we have not been receiving competent medical attention from the one doctor they'll allow us to see. It's bad and scary enough for some of us to be here but to know that if you're sick you won't receive proper medical attention is far worse.

Here are some of the instances that have taken place during the last several months:

One inmate had a severe case of hepatitis. She was having liver attacks and was sent to bed with a hot water bottle. One night she was told to go to sleep and not to worry because if she died there'd be one hell of an investigation. This statement was made by the night shift warden. One female inmate was recently given an extended furlough from the Correctional Center to Brattleboro Community House. She was returned from the Community House to the Correctional Center just recently because of problems she was having with drugs. She has now been going through withdrawal "cold turkey" for two days. She has frequent temperature risings, pain, nausea. The doctor refused to give her anything except 300 mg. of Thorazine per day. This is not helping her at all. The pain started increasing this afternoon and the superintendent allowed the inmate to call the Correctional Facility doctor. This is how the conversation went:

Inmate: Dr. Shaw, could you give me methadone to relieve my pain or something, anything, but please not aspirin or Darvon for they both upset my stomach and don't work.

Dr. Shaw: It is against the law in Vermont to administer methadone; it has to be approved by the Federal Program.

Inmate: Can't you give me anything at all?

Dr. Shaw: I'm not going to give you anything addicting. I have no magic wand and all I can give you is the thorazine that I have prescribed.

Inmate: If you will not prescribe me anything, may I talk to another doctor or be taken to a hospital?

Dr. Shaw: No.

Inmate (under a lot of emotional stress resulting from the pain): I don't know what I'm going to do without something to relieve the pain.

Dr. Shaw: Well, if you can't be handled there we can always put you in a Federal Pen.

Their conversation ended shortly after this and after the doctor had stated to her: "Of course you'll be suffering now for a few days and there is nothing I can do. I don't care about any lawsuits or threats that you can put upon me."

The inmate is still suffering and is in much pain in her cell; The doctor is home sleeping.

Can't you people hear our cries for help? We've had articles in the public papers before. Can't something be done about this abusive treatment? A girl with liver attacks, a girl that is withdrawing from heroin, these are only a few of the instances that are going on.

We have been placed here by society; this is not a place of our choice. Are we not entitled to proper medical attention? Is this also a part of our punishment?

We are asking for help and support from families, friends, organizations, groups, and anyone that is willing to hear an honest plea for help.

Thank you,  
Lynda Rebideau  
Tony Hyman

Dear NEPA,

Just received your publication and I think it is the best I've ever read.

After reading the article on the Union Leader it made me wonder if Hitler is really dead or if he's now employed on the Union Leader's payroll?

I am at present incarcerated in California and know what it is all about and I hope that through your efforts and endeavors of other interested persons that the outside will demand changes that will be an asset to us and them alike.

I realize the importance of outside and inside communication and I wonder why the male and female prisoners can't be allowed to communicate by letter with each other without all the red tape involved?

As you know, some prisoners have no one and I know how much a letter can mean to the lonely and helpless.

My respects and appreciation for your good work; please keep it up.

I'm sure you are aware of the California situation so I won't go into it at this time.

Unity  
James F. Turner A-87829  
P.O. Box 600,  
Tracy, Ca. 95376

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE:

On Friday, March 21, 1975, a new dungeon was opened in the Okla. State Prison at McAlester, Okla. The rat infested hole underneath the rotunda has not been used for several decades. The dungeon is filled to capacity with 12 political activists. These brothers are being grossly maltreated and deserve support from concerned citizens from all political ideologies. The ethnic composition is 3 Whites, 3 Native Americans and 6 Blacks. This curious anomaly speaks to the fact that the institution is being used as a tool of class and ethnic oppression. We ask that people write letters or support directly to the captives. If they receive a lot of mail the sadistic pigs of the execution squad will think twice before murdering them as they did political prisoner Bobby Forsythe. Write letters of support to these at Mr. TONY BOYD PUT IT OFF, AS TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.

Address: Box 146, Norman, Okla. 73069  
Revolutionary Student Brigade  
c/o Robert Rix  
529 S. Comanche  
Norman, Okla. 73069

Also send letters, telegrams and phone calls demanding an immediate end to the brutalization of the prisoners at McAlester:

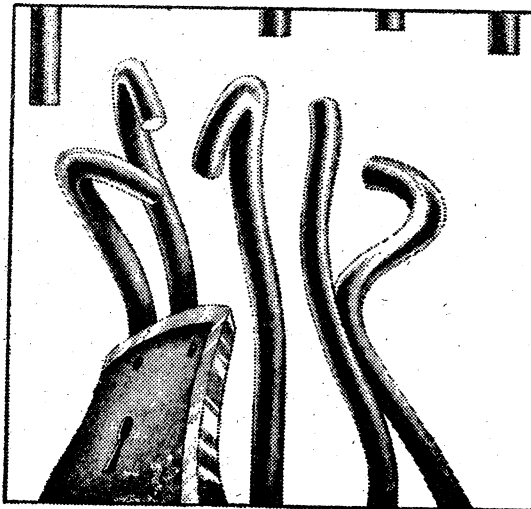
Hon. Luther J. Bohanon  
U.S. District Court  
Federal Bldg.  
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73101

Mr. Quinlan J. Shea, Jr.  
Deputy Director  
Office of Institutions and Facilities  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Hon. M. David Riggs  
1640 S. Boston  
Tulsa, Okla 74103

Hon. David L. Boren  
Governor, State of Okla  
State Capitol Bldg.  
Okla. City, Okla. 73105

Richard Pyle  
U.S. Attorney  
Federal Bldg.  
Muskogee, Ok. 74401



OPEN LETTER TO COMMISSION HALL

We wish to express concern regarding Department Notice 4310 of March 1975. We are convinced that this edict constitutes an illegal and imprudent exercise of authority. In issuing this order, you have knowingly and admittedly failed to comply with a requirement of General Law 30A, section 3. You have stated that observance of this law is "impracticable and contrary to the public interest." We believe that this unauthorized usurpation of power is a pretentious and arrogant act which smacks of police-state tactics. You simply have no right to violate the law "in the public interest."

In addition to the illegality of the means of issuing this decree, the contents of the Department Notice are also of questionable legality. According to this edict, "The Department may take disciplinary action against any resident who refuses to provide a urine sample after being ordered to do so by a correction officer regardless of whether the correction officer has judged the resident to be under the influence of a narcotic drug or alcohol." This is an explicit violation of the inmate's constitutional right to due process. However, you attempt to justify this outrageousness by claiming that the Department can "more effectively detect and deter the use of such substances in state correctional facilities by requiring residents to submit urine samples without the requirement that they be judged by a supervisory correction officer to be under the influence of such a substance." We submit that if a supervising correction officer has not judged a resident to be under the influence of a drug or alcohol, then there is no need for demanding a urine sample. Such a demand without prior judgement would be indiscriminate and illegal coercion on the part of the prison administration. There could be no justification of such Gestapo tactics in a court of law.

We respectfully demand that Department Notice 4310 of March 1975 be rescinded. We suggest that drug and alcohol problems in the state prisons can be more expeditiously resolved by wiser means than random urine sampling.

Prison Information Center  
Worcester, Mass.

# Help Build N.E.P.A.

At our conference, we passed several important resolutions. These resolutions were the beginning of a new development of NEPA. They were the product of many hours of thought, discussion and debate. A point we all agreed on, as ex-prisoners and supporters of the prisoner movement, was that we could not develop ourselves without the participation of prisoners, and ex-prisoners, families, friends and supporters who could not make it to the conference.

We agreed that each of us should take the issues, the ideas and struggles into the prisons, and get feedback, more ideas, and the help necessary to push forward. Another means of doing this is NEPA News. What we will do here is print the resolutions and key points as they have developed thus far. We ask you to say whether or not you feel the resolution is a good one or a bad one, and to explain why you believe as you do. We ask for your ideas and comments on other important issues.

We will be having meetings once a month to help develop our ideas, our organization and our strategy. In addition to comments/criticism on the material about the conference printed in this issue we welcome advance comments on topics of the meetings. The first one will be on NEPA News: How should it develop, what should it cover (just the prisoner movement; additional coverage; more or less political analysis/commentary; etc.), what are its strengths and weaknesses? The second will be on the role of women in the prisoners' movement and in prison in America. The third will be on organizing prisoners and ex-prisoners. The others have not yet been set, and your ideas are needed.

Each of the meetings will cover the agreed-on topic, as well as feedback on previous meetings. For example, the May 31st meeting on NEPA News will also discuss your comments on the conference.

With that in mind, here are the key areas for feedback (plus anything else discussed in this issue you feel is important). The ex-con caucus resolution. What are we for and against, who are our friends and enemies (in order of importance); is organizing the people the key task at this time; if not, what is? What should our politics be; should we be openly anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist? If not, what should our stance be on these questions?

## Resolution of the Women's Caucus

Sexism is a tool the existing power structure uses to divide all people in the struggle for human liberation. And should be acknowledged as such.

We demand, not ask for equality in the prison movement.

1. We demand equal representation on all policy-making boards of NEPA.

2. We demand a meeting, a major meeting attended by and supported by our brothers as well as us, dealing with women in prison and women in the prison movement.

3. We demand that everyone involved in the prison movement make a real and conscious effort to eliminate sexism in themselves, the organization and the society.

Yes, I agree with the resolution.

No, I do not agree with the resolution.

## Next N.E.P.A. Meeting

The next NEPA meeting, to discuss NEPA NEWS, will be held on May 31, Saturday, beginning at 11:00 am, at the Campus Center, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass. See you there.

## Amnesty for Attica Brothers

Whereas the Attica uprising in 1971 was the product of years of neglect and dereliction in the New York Correctional System; and

Whereas the former governor of New York has now admitted under oath that he erred in the handling of the Attica rebellion; and

Whereas despite wide-scale official documentation of acts of lawlessness by state officials in the handling of the Attica rebellion, only inmates and former inmates have been indicted for crimes arising out of the rebellion; and

Whereas the prosecution of these sixty-two prisoners and former prisoners through some forty-two indictments, containing approximately one thousand four hundred felony counts and carrying a possibility of some forty thousand years in prison, has been characterized throughout by gross unfairness and governmental obstruction of justice; and

Whereas the conviction of brothers John Hill and Charles Pernallice is an injustice to all freedom loving peoples; and

Whereas the continued prosecution of prisoners and former prisoners would only serve to increase the human agony and suffering which began with the loss of forty-three lives, and serious injury to many more;

The North East Prisoners Association supports the struggle of all our brothers and sisters in America's jails and prisons;

We particularly support the unity of the Attica Brothers in their struggle against the crimes of the state in D-yard in September, 1971, and since then in the prisons, courts and streets.

We solemnly urge the governor and the legislature of the state of New York to take all steps necessary to dismiss all pending Attica indictments and grant full amnesty to all prisoners and former prisoners for their involvement in the Attica uprising.

The resolution was approved unanimously by the Second NEPA Conference.

The resolution of the women's caucus. What is the best way to deal with sexism in our movement? How do we integrate, yet not submerge, the role of women?

How should we deal with the fact that, on the streets at least, NEPA is fundamentally a white organization? Should we build a multi-racial organization, or form coalitions with non-white organizations? Or both? What is the best way to deal with racism in the organization and the prisoners movement as a whole?

The ex-con caucus and the women's caucus were predominantly people who held an openly revolutionary position against capitalist America. This leads to certain problems, primarily how do revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries come together in principled unity against prisons? What are the key principles? Should we be an openly revolutionary organization? If we seek to unite revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries in the organization, how do we prevent either from becoming alienated and leaving?

What should NEPA's stance/role be toward a national organization/coalition? Should we be involved at this time? If so, how? What should the basic politics of the coalition be? What should be its objectives?

And, finally, what stand, if any, should NEPA take toward armed struggle, as an immediate fact and as a long-term possibility/probability? What sort of support, if any, should we give to people involved in armed struggle/the underground today? What would be the consequences of any particular stance in relation to what you see as NEPA's major tasks?

These are the major questions which came out of the conference. To us, they demand much thought and discussion among all comrades. Please write to us. Your responses are needed and wanted. They will be discussed at the next NEPA meeting, May 31, and the responses will be printed in the next issue of NEPA News. (Not every letter, but excerpts from some letters, sum-ups of the various views.) Due to the touchy nature of some of the questions involved, anonymity will be preserved, if requested. But do let us know where you are located, and other info you feel is relevant (sex, race, age, etc.). We await your response.

## Resolution Passed by the Ex-Con Caucus

We are working for a society in which the worth and the preservation of dignity of all people is of the first priority. Prisons are a major obstacle to the realization of such a society. NEP stands for the abolition of prisons by all means possible.

We believe that the primary task of the prisoner movement at this time is to organize and educate in the communities, workplaces, and prisons to develop the mass support needed to abolish the prison system.

Yes, I agree with the resolution.

No, I do not agree with the resolution.

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

I am a prisoner without funds. Please send me NEPA NEWS.

I am a prisoner. Here is my subscription in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\$3.00 regular subscription.

Here is my donation in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to support the continued publication of NEPA NEWS.

ADDRESS CHANGE. I am moving to a new address. Please mail future copies of NEPA NEWS to me at the above address.

\$10 Institutional Subscription

### MEMBERSHIP

I am a con. Enroll me as a member of the New England Prisoners Association.

I am on the outside. Enroll me as a member of NEPA. I enclose \$4 for a subscription to NEPA NEWS and for a copy of the N.E. Prisoners Resource Manual.

I am on the outside, have no funds, but please enroll me in NEPA.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to NEPA NEWS, Franconia, N.H. 03580  
ADDRESS CHANGE

If you have moved or are moving, please put your old address below, your new address above.

OLD ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE INCLUDE ZIP CODE