
By Woods Ervin

The attack on the US Capitol in Washington on January 6th reflected ongoing efforts in the US, mobilizing a call to eject Trump immediately and hold those who stormed the building accountable. It is easy to be tempted into thinking that this was an anomaly and that as the Trump presidency ends, the US can return to business as usual. In reality, a fascistic movement has been brewing for quite some time.

There’s a historical relationship between the instability of capitalism and the emergence of a particularly violent white supremacy. Even though we’re now in a specific formation of capitalism — neoliberalism — the pattern still applies. The repeating story is: Capitalism is in crisis, and a current of militant, often white supremacist authoritarianism emerges in an effort to secure racial capitalism. This tendency is global in vision; it currently has emerged in Brazil, Hungary, India, and the Philippines. However, its Trumpist form is particularly American in character, rooted in the settler colonial racist and anti-immigrant US project.

The movement that attacked the capitol on January 6 is anchored in the US tendency toward militarism and white supremacy, as well as our current economic conditions and posture as developed by a long-standing neoliberal terrain. The movement is also animated by the US’ sweeping use of imprisonment and policing in daily life as a response to social, economic, and political problems. By investigating the connections between fascism and neoliberalism, organizers on the left and prison industrial complex (PIC) abolitionists can assess the shifting conditions we must navigate in order to achieve liberation.

Neoliberalism

As seen in Critical Resistance’s definitions on page 4 of this issue, neoliberalism has been the primary orientation of the US economy since the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. Many corporations, shrunk and relocated manufacturing jobs in response to the demands of organized labor, leaving large parts of the population unemployed or at risk of unemployment, forced to engage in survival by any means possible. Neoliberalism has simultaneously used an austerity approach and gutted the welfare state—defunding public housing, parks, schools, social programs, and deregulating those sectors to allow for private corporations to contract with the government. Additional actions include putting public tax dollars toward public/private partnerships, tax cuts for the wealthy, and bailouts for big corporations when the economy crashes.

Neoliberalism is a non-partisan political ideology; Republicans and Democrats alike have fine-tuned its execution. In making his case for neoliberal economics, Ronald Reagan insisted “government is the problem” and worked to remove government restrictions to make way for the “invisible hand” of the “free” market to generate and then “trickle down” wealth from the rich to the poor. Fast forward to the Bush era, where we saw some of the chickens come home to roost. The dot-com bubble burst, meaning the US’ imagined economic growth coming out of the global expansion in the 1990s started to wind down. Many of us are familiar with the Obama era recession of 2009: The sweeping, large-scale loss of jobs and funds resulted in deep emigration of the general population, forcing people into even more precarious work.

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As the Biden administration enters into office, Biden’s neoliberal allegiance is crystal clear, with his proposed COVID-19 debt relief package alreadycutting from the initial promised amount. And though we can make a little bit go a long way, even the promised one-time payment of $1,400 isn’t much. Without strong organizing, the US government’s primary position on austerity over the next four years looks to remain the same.

In order to understand the connection between neoliberalism and fascism, we must consider the violent character of neoliberalism and its support of authoritarianism, both in the US and abroad. As neoliberalism emerged, so did a growing resentment across the political spectrum. In the absence of a more liberatory program, it further ripened conditions for authoritarianism to foster. In other words, neoliberalism creates conditions where a cycle of state and extra-legal violence can thrive. The slashing of the social welfare net, as well as the rise in unemployment of the working class and the shrinking of the middle class, creates the conditions of powerlessness and inequality. This then produces...
Dear Readers,

We hope this issue nourishes your commitment to prison industrial complex (PIC) abolition during these trying times. As the editorial collective worked on issue 34, COVID-19 surged through prisons, jails and detention. An estimated 1 in 5 prisoners have been infected, four times more than the general population; the rates of COVID-19 related deaths for prisoners rose from 1,700 in December to 2,459 by March, according to the Marshall Project. As more concerned communities and public health experts continue to insist mass releases will stop the spread and rising death toll, state by state decision makers have yet to budge while lives hang in the balance. In California, the majority of the people who were killed by the virus were already granted parole but were still locked up, while in Alabama the Parole Board has decreased parole hearings by about 50 percent, dropping parole grants to historic lows.

During this time, the Trump presidency broke a 130-year tradition of pausing executions amid presidential turn-over, instead he exited the White House with a last-minute killing spree of executing five more prisoners, totaling 19 since July. Joe Biden and Kamala Harris have since taken office, but the moderate, pro-cop, pro-cages agenda, positioning neoliberal fascistic tendencies, still upholding the PIC and military as the solutions to the various social, economic and political problems exacerbated during the pandemic. As the neoliberal blocs to gain back lost legitimacy from federal negligence during the crisis, we at Critical Resistance (CR) have been discussing: what are the connections between neoliberalism and fascism, and what do they mean for PIC abolition now and in the future? Are these ideologies truly at odds in the ways we are encouraged to think, especially during the 2020 US presidential election? Issue 34 presents a features section that explores the interrelations between fascism and neoliberalism with a set of articles packed with analysis, reflection and resources for organizing and beyond this moment. We hope this issue works to reinforce our collective work and to generate shared, effective strategies for organizing and movement building.

We recommend starting with a piece by CR’s very own Woods Ervin as a central analysis for the entire issue to ground your reading in some select historical materialism interrogating the relationship between fascism and neoliberalism. This issue’s set of featured resources and reflections include a bilingual centerfold photo essay on the Black Panther Party’s United Front Against Fascism convening thanks to The Freedom Archives, and action-oriented examples of how different communities today are resisting fascism and/or neoliberal conditions: From an abolitionist group, Trama Colectiva, in Brazil, to building autonomous community from a Purepecha women-led uprising in Chérán, Mexico, as Yünuen Torres shares the second and final installment of her interview with The Abolitionist, to movement makers across the so-called US, sharing strategies, building solidarity, collective leadership, and unity for resistance across prison-manufactured racial lines and border walls in borderlands. Most features are original, like our interview with Cesar Lopes on organising across the US-Mexico border, while a few are reprints courtesy of Truthout and The San Francisco Bay View newspaper, like Ejeris Dixon’s Fascism Emergency Playbook, and the Short Corridor Collective’s Agreement to End Hostilities coupled with an excerpt of Todd Ashker’s 10-year reflection on the struggle against solitary confinement and gang validation in CA and the Trump & Bayview Party scours to hold on to presidency with increased voter suppression, we thought sharing data from the Sentencing Project on felony disenfranchisement particularly useful and timely.

Continuing our new paper structure of features with recurring columns, Issue 34 also includes a return of 9971 with Stephen Wilson, Kites to the Editors, the Inside-Outside Fishing Line, and the “Abby” Throwback in tow. These turbulent times set an ever-shifting landscape. Please keep in mind how quickly news is moving when reading our news-based columns, like CR Updates and Movement Highlights, as well as our political prisoner updates—Until All Are Free.

As always, we strongly encourage our readers to contribute to The Abolitionist. Check our Call for Content with submission guidelines and deadlines on page 21 to contribute to our next issue, #35 out in July 2021, or #36 to be published by December.

Sending each and every one of you love, strength, and resilience. Yours in struggle, Critical Resistance & The Abolitionist Editorial Collective

Letter from the Editors
desperation, division, and increased violence—by the state and within our communities. The state’s dispossession to take responsibility for the needs of the people feeds into the people’s disillusionment with government, creating a perfect storm for a populist, fascist leader, party, or forces that are able to reconstitute the structures of despair and so on. Neoliberalism has created conditions of despair and disillusion. Through “organized abandonments,” as coined by Ruthie Gilmore, in this way, neoliberalism facilitated Trumpism and its fascistic tendencies to rise with political efficacy in the 21st century.

Once more, it is a mistake to fall into any misconceptions that authoritarianism and authoritarianism are at odds with one another, as suggested by this moment’s two-party rivalry in the US. The quite direct connection between neoliberals and the Nazis is chilling. As neoliberalism emerged, global socialism was underway, at which point the CIA outstretched the first democratically elected Marxist president in the world—Salvador Allende in Chile. The US-backed military coup replaced Allende with Augusto Pinochet and delivered University of Chicago alumnus Milton Friedman as Pinochet’s consultant. One month later, Pinochet’s regime announced a national economic plan based on the neoliberal principles of privatization, deregulation, and individualism. Chile was subjected to the first round of Friedman’s neoliberal attacks, while the fascist group torture more than 40,000 people, executed more than 2,000, exiled more than 200,000, and disappeared countless leftists. Turning to Critical Theory, the overlap between neoliberalism and fascism, we see the overlap in the use of the military dictatorship and cops as both a fascist characteristic and a tactic used in maintaining neoliberalism to secure imperial dominance and eliminate dissent.

White Supremacy & Fascism

When running for president, Donald Trump shocked the progressive US with his “Make America Great Again” campaign slogan, while simultaneously galvanizing white nationalists. This is because the US South, under the leadership of racist segregrationist leaders, was and is a hotbed of social and political efficacy in the 21st century.

How did we get to the US’ fascist present? The endless racist wars launched by the US, most recently in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, required a culture of consistent white supremacist nationalism that became the cauldron that brought us to the current period. The emergence of the Tea Party, in response to neoliberal economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s, the white supremacist bloc forged by Ronald Reagan in collaboration with England’s Margaret Thatcher, and backlash to the election of the first Black president are the roots of what became the Trumpist hard-right faction of the Grand Old Party (GOP). While there were localized efforts to fight against these ground forces early on, the lack of coordinated organizing from the left and the centrist democratization of Antifa, or anti-fascism, allowed the ability to go relabeled as uncheckable while the crumbling GOP revitalized itself with a Trump Presidency.

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Given too many parallels to 1930s Germany, we would do well to not breathe a sigh of relief as Biden enters office. It is important to remember that the US during the Jim Crow era, members of the Ku Klux Klan and imprisonment are rooted in slavery. During the Reconstruction Era agreements made by states to address these conditions with more austerity.

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The PIC & Abolition and what comes next

As I am writing this, deeper and deeper investigations surfaces as to the extent to which the mob that attacked the Capitol was colluding with and made up of cops and former military personnel. We need a new anti-police movement built from the bottom up, through social movements and logically, with Republican members in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Given the economic and social conditions of the time, I believe that an anti-Trump movement, an aligned Republican party would organize themselves to secure power. The US is increasing in both the working class, which is under threat of other recession, and neoliberalism only knows to address these conditions with more austerity. Austerity requires heavy police force, as large segments of the population will choose to move to the US to avoid the drastic inequality that has been imposed upon them and the abandonment by their representatives in office.

This is also out of history’s playbook: Policing and imprisonment are rooted in slavery. During the Reconstruction Era agreements made by states to address these conditions with more austerity.

Looking forward, we must continue the diligent work of rooting out neoliberalism, white supremacy, militarism, and the PIC from our communities, and we must seriously contest their legitimacy and remove them from positions of power. We must ensure a future where we do not have to live in fear of unjust violence across our enemies and win over those who can be won, de-platform those who must be de-platformed, and eradicate the structures of policing, militarism, and the PIC from our communities for future. The work of building true safety, peace, and liberation through abolition remains an ever-present need for us to take on with rigor and seriousness. Onwards.

Author Bio: Woods Ervin (they/them) is a Black, transgender originator originally from Memphis, who currently serves as a program officer at the Year of Resistant, both through the Oakland Chapter and at-large, for nearly a decade. In the fall of 2020, Woods was hired by the National Organization of Police Reform to helm the organization’s Media and Communications Director. Write to Woods at our national office.

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What is Fascism? What is Neoliberalism? Definitions

By Critical Resistance National Anti-Policing Workgroup and The Abolitionist Editorial Collective

FASCISM

Fascism is an aggressive political ideology and system, and a form of far-right populism. Fascism is a reactionary political rooted in authoritarian nationalism, hetero-patriarchy, hyper-militarism, dominance, exclusion, elitism, and supremacy.

Fascism is most commonly associated with World War-era dictatorship, but includes a much broader historic reach and impact in global politics. Fascism refers to a stage of “free-market” capitalism, which is a collection of liberal economic policies based on the eighteenth-century ideologies of Adam Smith. Five pillars of neoliberalism include: “free-market” rule of the economy; gutting of public expenditure for social services; privatization of the public sector; deregulation of government oversight concerning corporate interests; and the elimination of “welfare states” or community, by upholding ultra-individualistic notions of responsibility and championing the pursuit of individual self-interest at the expense of the collective. Neoliberalism redistributes resources into the hands of corporations and wealthy elites and maintains a positive view of state spending on militarism and social control priorities, like the prison industrial complex (PIC). Referring to what Critical Resistance co-founder Ruthie Gilmore has termed “organized abandonment,” neoliberalism uses the PIC’s tools—including surveillance, criminalization, and imprisonment—as substitutes for the structural change required to repair the long history of racial, gender, and economic oppression in the US.

Historic origins and context

Neoliberalism evolved during second half of the twentieth century in response to domestic and global challenges to colonialism, racial capitalism, and structural discrimination mounted by the legacy of anti-colonial, civil rights, and Black power movements in the early 1900s. Following the gradual successes of increased access to public resources for Black people, communities of color, and workers from the racial and economic justice movements in the US and globally, the state, in turn, divested from public schools, hospitals, housing, social benefits, and entitlements. This collection of economic and social policies gained traction in the US under the Reagan Administration and became popularly known as “Reaganomics.” Similar changes took place globally over the past five decades through “structural adjustment programs” imposed on nations of the Global South by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as more regionally-specific economic mandates in the 1990s, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In the wake of structural economic oppression, exclusion, and growing deindustrialization, the state justified these divestments through demonizing, scapegoating, and projecting moral failures and individual irresponsibility onto communities of color with the US and imposing economic dependence upon wealthy imperial countries—like the US—in the Global South.

More on neoliberalism and the PIC

Editors’ Note: The following is excerpted and summarized from Epicenter: Chicago: Reclaiming a City from Neoliberalism by Andrea J. Ritchie in collaboration with Black Lives Matter Chicago. Published by Political Research Associates in 2019.

In the 1970s through the early 2000s across the US, public officials responded to mounting protests and urban rebellions fueled by the crises of capitalism by declaring “war on crime,” “war on drugs,” “war on gangs,” “war on terrorism,” “war on poverty,” “war on illegals,” “war on terror.” These militarized and economically-repressive programs utilized propaganda that declared dysfunctional “culture” and “poverty” and charged the “criminal” in historically and gendered terms. Politicians, including the Clintons and President Joe Biden, painting themselves as advocating the “law and order” agenda that further exacerbated economic conditions of widespread poverty and unemployment in Black and Brown communities, through increased policing, prison expansion, and sentence enhancements. These criminalization policies compounded the ongoing legacies of structural exclusion of Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and disadvantaged immigrant peoples in housing, education, and public health. These tropes undermined implementation of the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, championed by Biden and the Clintons, which created hundreds of new federal crimes, imposed harsh “three strikes” penalties, and poured resources into law enforcement-based responses to everything from violent crime to domestic violence to drug offenses.

Fascist Emergency Playbook

By Ejeris Dixon

Editors’ Note: Throughout 2020, movement strategists have been speaking at virtual events sharpening organizers’ collective analysis to better make sense of our current political moment. One brilliant strategist, Ejeris Dixon, Executive Director of the organization Vision Change Win, has been leading conversations on how to resist fascism, helping the left recognize the strategies used in what she calls “the Fascism Emergency Playbook.” As an organizing resource and guide, Dixon’s playbook draws from some of her analysis from an op-ed she wrote in April 2020 in Truthout called “Fascists are Using COVID-19 to Advance Their Agenda. It’s Up to Us to Stop Them,” along with notes from a talk she gave during a Center for Political Education class in August 2020 “Road to Rebellion.”

Over the past few years, we’ve watched the rise of a global fascist movement in the US, Russia, India, Brazil, and many other countries. And while scholars and writers currently debate whether to call Trump an authoritarian, autocrat or a fascist, it’s clear that he embodies the essence of fascism, and what he works from a fascist playbook. Fascist and authoritarian governments often exploit, accelerate, or create emergencies to increase their power and further their agendas.

Here’s the fascist emergency playbook:

- Use the emergency to restrict civil liberties — particularly rights regarding movement, protest, freedom of the press, a right to a trial, and freedom to gather;
- Use the emergency to suspend governmental institutions and to institute checks and balances, and reduce access to elections and other forms of participatory governance;
- Promote a sense of fear and individual helplessness, particularly in relation to the state, to reduce outcry and create a culture where people consent to the power of the fascist state;
- Replace democratic institutions with autocratic institutions using the emergency as justification;
- Create scapegoats for the emergency, such as immigrants, people of color, poor, Bình people, or ethnic and religious minorities to distract public attention from the failures of the state and the loss of civil liberties.

A Pathway Towards Liberation

Despite these grim circumstances, fate has handed us a society-changing opportunity wrapped within a tremendous challenge. We must think in terms of Antonio Gramsci’s concept of “interruption,” a time period in which, “the old [world] is dying and the new cannot be born.” In this liminal space, we have an opportunity to define that new society and call it forth. Time is limited and the opportunity is precious. So where does the left go from here in terms of both addressing increased repression and moving towards a more liberated future? Continued on next page
Our playbook:
1. Temporary broad alliances
2. Emotionally- and spiritually-captivating vision
3. Deep relationships and solidarity across communities
4. Navigating pain, grief, and discomfort
5. Multi-tactic, multi-year strategy

Here are the questions [...] we need to answer in order to move forward with a visionary organizing agenda that not only preserves emboldened authoritarian movements but also moves us towards liberation:

- How will we address harm and violence within our communities? What is the role of the state (if any) in navigating harm or violence?
- How will we build movements with space for our collective and individual healing that are currently sick, chronically ill, disabled, survivors, and those who are poor, Black, Indigenous, and people of color, queer and trans people, currently incarcerated folks, migrants, those who are targeted and criminalized, and so many more? How do we make room to discuss issues of power and privilege and move through conflict without it suspending or ending other forms of political work?
- With in-person organizing radically shifting or temporarily stopping — what does mass resistance, mass protest, and base-building organizing look like? What new tactics will we use to create the sense of community that in-person movement building created?
- Do we believe in governments? If not, what systems do we propose to create more equitable change and redistribute resources? If so, what is liberatory governance and what does it require of us as individuals and of the state?
- With so many people on the left disinvested and dissatisfied with both the Democrats and the Republican political parties — is it time for another party? Should we be building more power within the Democratic Party? What is our connection to large-scale political struggle and independent political power?

How will we push ourselves to build the movements we need and increase time for rest, collective care, and our health? How can we do this and increase our discipline, rigor, and accountability to each other?

Excerpted Author Bio from Truthout: Ejeris Dixon is an organizer and grassroots political strategist with 20 years of experience working in racial justice, LGBTQ+, anti-violence, and economic justice movements. She currently works as the Founding Director of Vision Change Win, where she partners with organizations to build their capacity and deepen their impact. She is the author of many articles, including ‘Building Community Safety: Practical Steps Toward Liberatory Transformation,’ which is featured in Truthout’s anthology Who Do You Serve, Who Do You Protect? Police Violence and Resistance in the United States. Dixon discusses the fascist emergency playbook on Truthout’s Movement Memo’s podcast with Kelly Hayes. Catch the conversation here: https://truthout.org/audio/we-surrender-nothing-and-no-one-a-playbook-for-solidarity-amid-fascist-terror/•

Cross-Racial Solidarity & the Call to End Hostilities

By The Abolitionist Editorial Collective with Todd Ashker, featuring a reprint by the Short Corridor Collective

What can we do in the face of authoritarianism and fascism? The Abolitionist Editorial Collective thought it important to include organizing an tool for cross-racial solidarity and collaboration for imprisoned people in Issue 34. In 2011, prisoners in California came together to resist one of the most severe forms of repression — solitary confinement. The Short Corridor Collective, made up of Pelican Bay State Prison Security Housing Unit (SHU) prisoners, intentionally built relationships across prison-manufactured racial and geographic lines in order to challenge the state’s use of solitary confinement and gang validation as torture and repression. The Short Corridor Collective’s courageous action inspired prisoners in countless prisons to work together, waging three wide-spread hunger strikes — two in 2011 and one in 2013. A year after the first strike in 2011, the Short Corridor Collective issued a statement calling for an end to hostilities between different groups of prisoners throughout the state of CA, from maximum security prisoners to county jail. The statement asked prisoners to unite beginning October 10, 2012. Still to this day, the Agreement to End Hostilities is a beacon for cross-racial solidarity against authoritarianism and state violence.

In addition to reprinting the Agreement to End Hostilities as an organizing resource for prisoners today, we also share a shortened reflection recently circulated by the San Francisco Bay View newspaper in January 2021 from Todd Ashker, a while prisoner representative of the Short Corridor Collective. Since the 2011 and 2013 hunger strikes, Todd continued to apply pressure on California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) to reform solitary confinement by being the lead plaintiff in a class action lawsuit. Settled in 2016, and known as “The Ashker v. CDCR” case ended CA’s de jure practice of indefinite solitary confinement. Todd and hundreds of other Pelican Bay SHU prisoners were transferred to other prisons and moved to general population. In 2020, two of Todd’s fellow members of the Short Corridor Collective, both Black prisoner representatives, were paroled. First Paul Redd, who was the longest time-served and has been out of prison since May 2020, and second Sitawa Nantambu Jamaa, who has never been broken by CDCR’s torture tactics intended to coerce one to become a state informant via debriefing, that now is the time for us to collectively seize this moment in time, and put an end to more than 20-30 years of hostilities between our racial groups.

2. Therefore, beginning on October 10, 2012, all hostilities between our racial groups, ... in SHU, AD-Seg, General Population, and County Jails, will officially cease. This means that from this date on, all racial group hostilities need to be at an end and ... if personal issues arise between individuals, people need to do all they can to exhaust all diplomatic means to settle such disputes; do not allow personal, individual issues to escalate into racial group issues!!

3. We also want to warn those in the General Population that IGI will continue to plant undercover Sensitive Needs Yard (SNY) debriefers known as “inmates” amongst the solid GP prisoners with orders from IGI to be informers, snitches, rats, and obstructionists, in order to attempt to disrupt and undermine our collective groups’ mutual understanding on issues intended for our mutual causes [i.e., forcing CDCR to open up all GP main lines, and return to a rehabilitative-type system of meaningful programs/privileges, including lifer conjugal visits, etc. via peaceful protest activity/noncooperation e.g., hunger strike, no labor, etc. etc.]. People need to be aware and vigilant to such tactics, and refuse to allow such IGI inmate snitches to create chaos and reignite hostilities amongst our racial groups. We can no longer play into IGI, FBI, OCS, and SSU’s old manipulative divide and conquer tactics!!!

In conclusion, we must all hold strong to our mutual agreement from this point on and focus on the time, energy, and money on mutual causes beneficial to all of us [i.e., prisoners], and our best interests. We can no longer allow CDCR to use us against each other for their benefit!

Continued on next page
Because the reality is that collectively, we are an empowered, mighty force, that can positively change this entire corrupt system into a system that actually benefits prisoners, and thereby, the public as a whole... and we simply cannot allow CDCR/CCPOA – Prison Guard’s Union, IGI, ISU, OSCS, and SSU, to continue to get away with their constant form of progressive oppression and warehousing of tens of thousands of prisoners, including the 14,000 (+) plus prisoners held in solitary confinement torture chambers [i.e. SHU/Ad-Seg Units], for decades!!!

We send our love and respects to all those of like mind and heart... onward in struggle and solidarity...

We can no longer allow CDCR to use us against each other for their benefit!!! Because the reality is that collectively, we are an empowered, mighty force, that can positively change this entire corrupt system into a system that actually benefits prisoners, and thereby, the public as a whole...

Presented by the PBSP-SHU Short Corridor Collective:
Todd Ashker, C58191
Arturo Castellanos, C17275
Sitawa Nantambu Jamaa (Dewberry), C35671
Antonio Guillen, P81948

And the Representatives Body:
Danyo Troutt, B76595
George Franco, D6556
Ronnie Yandell, V72972
Paul Redd, B72683
James Baridi Williamson, D-34288
Allfred Sandoval, D61000
Louis Powell, B59864
Alex Trigillos, H12421
Gonzalo Juarez, P35746
Frank Clement, D70919
Raymond Chavo Perez, K12922
James Mario Perez, B41816

[NOTE: All names and the statement must be very similar when used & posted on any website or media, or non-media, publications]

Carpe Diem: A Reflection on the Agreement to End Hostilities
by Todd Ashker – distributed January 7, 2021
by San Francisco Bay View

Our fight in solidarity to demand the release – not transfers – of our elders and other unjustly imprisoned loved ones cannot be realized without transfers – of our elders and other unjustly imprisoned loved ones. We are referring to it being 10 years since similarly-situated prisoners, subjected to decades of the state’s sanctioned torture, confinement, solitary, isolation and also set aside our differences and united in our collective stand against our common adversary. We referred to ourselves as the PBSP-SHU Short Corridor Collective as we helped to educate the world via our focused writing campaign about our plight, exposing decades of California’s torture of thousands of people in the CDCR system. We let our adversaries know we were fighting a battle we were not going to accept being treated as less than human and demanded the end to our torture; the decision of torture of the entire similarly-situated prisoner class, including our outside loved ones who experienced our pain – often more so.

I believe that three of the key elements which together proved an unstoppable combination, and beyond our wildest hopes, made possible what many of our adversaries believed impossible are:

- We said “Enough!” and meant it.
- We weren’t going to take no for an answer, no matter how long it took or what sacrifices that entailed.
- We brought together the similarly-situated prisoner class of all races and groups, gaining the support of thousands behind the walls and globally, all standing together in commitment to solidarity and the goal of human rights and dignity for all, the end to the torture, and better conditions systemwide.

We have achieved positive reforms and successfully ended state-sanctioned torture and related conditions on a large scale, through three successive non-violent strike actions that totaled 98 days without food.

The prisoner class is not powerless. We have proven this!

Todd Ashker, et al., Class Action Settlement Agreement – including the critically important Compli- ance Monitoring provisions – exposed the global support and condemnation of the state’s policies, and thousands were released from solitary confinement to general population prisons. Here we’ve discovered that CDCR’s level IV prisons are GP (general population) in name only, operating as modified SHUs. Thus, our struggle continues!

A key to amplifying such power is the prisoner class uniting for a common cause – taking collective peaceful action behind the walls, and thereby igniting the fires of critically necessary outside support. With respect to the people, in- cluding those of the prisoner class, we hold the power through standing our ground while speak- ing truth to power. We have the power to force changes that are necessary to exercise our rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – this fight is for the future, and our ultimate goal is to defeat and dismantle all forms of state violence.

You can and should immediately include the “Four Principle Prisoner Class Representatives,” along with members of our legal team, Ashker, et al., Class Action Cable, in further in-depth, objective dialogue regarding the reform processes. CDCR resists the most logical way to settle issues raised during the hunger strikes (and since), which is to talk to the recognized prisoner class representatives, the “four main reps.”

The public must demand the resumption of regular meetings and implementation and enforcement of reforms.

We have proven that our word is good over the course of the past 10 years, and we have each been co-authors of the historic August 2012 Agreement to End Hostilities. We have done our best to consistently present the agreement ever since, successfully reducing violence across the entire system – without CDCR support. This says a lot, especially considering CDCR’s policies and prac- tices have done the opposite – actually increasing violence and mayhem, often intentionally, for the purpose of supporting CDCR’s and CCPOA’s own agenda, such as manufacturing the violence relied upon by prisoners and lawmakers to justify the billions given for the “prison building boom” between 1983 and 2005.

The people and history will be the judge!
With solidarity and respect,

Todd Ashker.

Author Information: You can write to Todd at: Todd Ashker, C58191, KYSP ASU-2/94, Box #5106, Delano, CA, 93215. Keep in mind that Todd, like most imprisoned organizers, regularly experience repressive measures by CDCR and may not receive certain mail.

Locked Out 2020: Estimates of People Denied Voting Rights Due to a Felony Conviction
This report presents new estimates of people denied voting rights due to a felony conviction based on updated data through the 2016 election. The authors of this report show that, despite reforms in half the states of the US in the past 25 years expanding voting access to people with felony convictions, 8.2 million Americans remain disenfranchised, or 2.3 percent of the voting age population.

The report also exposes the varying factors of race and gender on disenfranchisement of people with felony convictions. Specifically, the final summary of the report, it is explained:

“arly, we break these figures down by race and ethnicity, it is clear that disparities in the criminal [legal] system are linked to disparities in political representation. The distribution of disenfranchised individuals shown... also bears repeating: about one-fourth of non-prison pop- ulation is currently incarcerated, and about 4 million adults who live in their communities are banned from voting. Of this total, 1.3 million are African Americans.”

Additionally, Criminal Justice Reform offers this research with the understanding that oppressive state designations such as “felon” are criminalizing titles used dehumanize peo- ple, legitimate punishment and frame people as primary sources of violence, rather than the state that terrorizes us. We reject the very idea of the felon. As prison industrial com- plex (PIC) advocates, seek to resist and dismantle the vast and complex ways the PIC strips power away from people and communi- ties. This report’s ultimate goal, we understand that the right to vote and participate in democratic processes is essential to people’s power. Thus, we sup- port prisoners and formerly imprisoned com-
In 2017, officials decided to re-evaluate the process of voting rights for individuals who have completed their sentences. In Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wyoming—more than one in seven African Americans is disenfranchised, twice the national average for African Americans.

Although data on ethnicity in correctional populations are still unevenly reported, we can conservatively estimate that over 50,000 Latinx Americans, or over two percent of the voting eligible population, are disenfranchised. Approximately 12 million women are disenfranchised, comprising over one-fifth of the total disenfranchised population.

In three states—California, Florida, and Kentucky—over 1.1 million people were disenfranchised due to a felony conviction, a figure that has declined by almost 15 percent since 2016, as states enacted new policies to curtail this practice. There were an estimated 11.7 million people disenfranchised in 1976, 3.34 million in 1996, 5.88 million in 2010, and 6.11 million in 2016.

One out of 44 adults—2.27 percent of the total US voting eligible population—is disenfranchised due to a current or previous felony conviction.

Individuals who have completed their sentences in the 11 states that disenfranchise at least some people post-sentence make up most (43 percent) of the entire disenfranchised population, totaling 2.23 million people.

Rates of disenfranchisement vary dramatically by state due to broad variations in voting prohibitions.

In three states—Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee—the largest percent of the adult population, one of every 13 people, is disenfranchised.

We estimate that nearly 900,000 Floridians who have completed their sentences remain disenfranchised. In 2018, a Florida referendum that promised to restore their voting rights, Florida thus remains the nation’s disenfranchisement leader in absolute numbers. In 2016, over 1.1 million people were currently banned from voting—often because they cannot afford to pay court-ordered monetary sanctions or because the state is not obligated to tell them the amount of their sanction.

One in 16 African Americans of voting age is disenfranchised, a rate 3.7 times greater than that of non-African Americans. Over 6.2 percent of the adult African American population is disenfranchised, compared to 17 percent of the non-African American population.

African American disenfranchisement rates vary significantly by state: 30.5 percent in Alabama, 16 percent in Florida, 15 percent in Kentucky, 6.4 percent in Mississippi, and over 2 percent for each of the five states making up the American South. Of the 22 million African Americans, it is estimated that over 2.0 million African Americans are disenfranchised, twice the national average for African Americans.

The Sentencing Project's call to strategize and build against the PIC from the inside out. As part of our work to abolish the entire PIC and not extend its life or scope in any way, abolitionists must be aware of and work to reduce barriers to exercising political power, especially for communities most impacted by imprisonment, policing, and surveillance.

We've included the key findings from the Overview section of the report for review. A full copy of the report can be downloaded from The Sentencing Project's website: www.sentencingproject.org

Overview – Key Findings

As of 2020, an estimated 5.17 million people are disenfranchised due to a felony conviction, a figure that has declined by almost 15 percent since 2016, as states enacted new policies to curtail this practice. There were an estimated 11.7 million people disenfranchised in 1976, 3.34 million in 1996, 5.88 million in 2010, and 6.11 million in 2016.

One out of 44 adults—2.27 percent of the total US voting eligible population—is disenfranchised due to a current or previous felony conviction.

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Expressions of Fascism and Collective Resistance in Brazil: The Dispute of the Present

By Augusto Jobim, Fernanda Martins, Manoel Alves and Sofia Rolim from Trama Coletiva, Brazil

Many communities in Brazil have been living through, and surviving, various forms of continuous and overlapping violence. In daily life, the favelas, Indigenous lands, and quilombos are central places in the fight for survival. Permanently policing and occupation brutalize the lives of the people that call these areas home. The current fascist regime imposes its dynamics of domination on these marginal contexts; however, we understand that it is also in these spaces, constituted by deep community ties, that a struggle and active resistance provide the opportunity to tell stories of the living.

We recently created the group Trama Coletiva to promote dialogue on the specific configurations of fascism in Brazilian society. We are a group of Brazilian researchers, writers, and people linked to social movements who are united by the desire to generate dialogues and approximations with international abolitionist initiatives. We take as our base the struggles for survival and resistance that take place right here in Oak-San Francisco area, and we are part of a network of local churches, such as Cecil Williams’s church, the GLIDE Memorial, and many others.

We are talking about pulling together because that’s the type of United Front we are gonna have. There is one in New York, one in Chicago, and a number of other churches, such as Cecil Williams’s church, GLIDE Memorial in San Francisco, and a number of other churches, groups against the war, all types of protest groups, SDS, BPP, the Medical Committee to Defend Human Rights, etc. These organizations presently participate.

In this context, we see that the police continue to play a leading role in the administration of life and politics in Brazil, as they did during the civil-military dictatorship. The legacy of that dictatorial period remains almost intact as there is still close involvement between the military and electoral political positions. Despite the political transition process, agents of the military forces never disengaged from government administration at any political level. This is the police force that engages in policing communities today.

Marielle was part of a broader popular movement that started to organize politically from the peripheries. After she was murdered, popular candidates grew as a result of an intensification of collective alliances. In this context, the recent proliferation of mandatos coletivos (collective mandates) at the electoral level innovated institutional political participation, creating tension with traditional forms of representative politics/democracy. Most of the collective mandates’ demands and plans are based on, and created from, the knowledge and strategies developed by social groups who are most directly threatened by the institutionalization of polifamilícia. Created by Black, Indigenous and LGBTQ residents of quilombos, transgender people...
Building Abolitionist Alternatives in Borderlands: Histories of Resistance and Carceral Economies of the U.S.-Mexico Border

By Cesar Lopez with Rory Elliott

January 8, 2021 – Rory Elliott, of The Abolitionist and Critical Resistance Portland, interviewed Cesar Lopez of Nogales, Arizona to hear how communities of this region of the border continue to resist the border wall, deportation, militarization, and resource extraction. They discuss base building, mutual aid, the school-to-prison pipeline, and how presidential administrations from Bush to Biden affect policies on immigration, asylum, and deportation.

As a community organizer in Nogales, Cesar utilizes popular education, cultural empowerment, and environmental stewardship practices to build spaces for radical imaginings and local youth leadership to flourish. Cesar is the Farm Director for Santa Cruz Farm, a member of the Nogales Compost Cooperative, and a member of the cross-border community group, Colectivo Colmena of Ambos Nogales.

Can you give a bit of background of yourself and the work you engage with?

Cesar Lopes (CL): I’m from Nogales on the US side. Nogales sits on Tohono O’odham territory and is a town split by the border. The Mexican side has a population of around 750,000, and the US side has always been about 25,000 people.

I arrived home five years ago carrying intentions to create a movement in sustainability where people, mainly youth from low-income communities, get opportunities better than the ones presented to them. All of this is focused on the foods that we eat and the environment. It looks like a green job development program for young people on the outside, but really it is a program that builds their political consciousness—that is, their ideas on how to build a world from an abolitionist place.

The inspiration for building this movement is figuring out how to create spaces where people can be brought together to build leadership, which means learning about the context of life around us. Working closely allows us to see that others suffer from things like family separation like everyone, as well as suffer in ways we haven’t experienced. Working with youth becomes a vehicle to diffuse the skills and knowledge that we’re collectively learning into their neighborhoods empowering their parents, their siblings, and their networks.

We started doing these campaigns around 2008, while doing immigration work and green job sustainability in the barrios of Tucson. The daily threat of deportation and adverse conditions more generally led us to set up a crisis response apparatus called, in Spanish, “Red de Protección,” or “Protection Network.” Components of these protection networks could be a collective of women that sell food to fundraise—collective of women that sell food to fundraise—

How do you feel that this work—border resistance, expansive intra-community mutual aid projects, food sovereignty, and border activism—will shift under the Biden administration if at all?

CL: I honestly don’t think there will be a big shift in immigration policy during the Biden administration unless there is a lot of pressure—through protests and by grassroots movements for change. We need to show then that it is definitely not priority number one. Justice and dignity in terms of immigration was not a priority for Biden when he worked with the Obama Administration. When we were able to do it with Bush and with Obama—to build continual pressure so local ICE agents would allow them to stay here while they fought their case. And that’s been the case for many Mexican and Central American immigrants.

To historicize, can you talk a bit about the history of political organizations in this region of the border—how have they operated: gathering the collective around that idea, and with Obama—to build continual pressure so local ICE agents would allow them to stay here while they fought their case. And that’s been the case for many Mexican and Central American immigrants.

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they feel safe. There is a long tradition here of people resisting. This highway that we live on. It’s a way to break us down and make us forget. The border is a physical thing as well as a mental thing. It’s a way to break us down and make us forget. 

CL: I was able to see the border wall daily because of where I grew up and witnessed it developing over the years to a more militarized force. The border patrol is the largest civilian force in the world, so it’s basically a military. That’s why I don’t think prisons should exist because I don’t think it’s healthy for a person to feel trapped. I see a wall in front of them all the time.

The protection network is important because it’s talking about people being imprisoned. It’s talking about losing thousands of mothers and fathers to imprisonment and possibly deportations, causing suffering from the consequences of family separation on a number of levels that we can only see if we dig into it.

We’ve always worked with juvenile detention centers. You know, how do we reduce the number of people in the juvenile system? How can we make sure that there are less imprisoned kids? I’ve seen how deeply connected juvenile detention is to the school-to-prison pipeline. When you’re in a town that has been abandoned by the big money interests, where there has been no investment in youth or community development, this is how we create spaces where people can come together.

For instance, here, a lot of the kids go into juvenile ‘cause they got busted with drugs, or they got busted trying to cross the checkpoint with drugs and are sent up North. There really aren’t opportunities for young people here: they either become a cop or border patrol, work in the big produce industry where all these veggies cross back and forth, or move drugs. Once you start introducing young people to the juvenile system, it’s much more likely that they will be sent back to that system and ultimately imprisoned as adults.

Further, there is still this “demand” for these border patrol agents – there are jobs available. If you see border patrol agents, you can tell they are young people from other neighborhoods that maybe want to get an easy degree or get a job that pays a little better. They are there because of the same school-to-prison pipeline that’s been built. There are a lot of young people without those sorts of alternative opportunities. Without a deeper education that’s widely available—that’s about people and relates to them, that relates to their existence amongst other people—then it’s going to be easier to make a decision to take a job that’s basically you hunting your own people down, imprisoning them, and separating them from their families. Sometimes people take the option they are left with.

How do you see a connection between the work you do and prison industrial complex abolition?

CL: I believe that there needs to be a different way of living that’s about the advancement of peace and not the advancement of violence—a way that no longer reinforces the oppression that a lot of us have grown up with and have become socialized to, not even realizing the ways that we are supporting that violence. The whole idea is building from the bottom up; it’s one of many steps that need to be done in order to build back and—because I’ve been talking about violence—construct a culture of peace. And that can only be experienced when we have what we need. So, in terms of education, when we share the idea that we should not have violence in our interactions, when we believe that we should not have violence inflicted upon us in our world, it becomes very difficult to believe that people should be in prison.

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I see the work I do as an alternative. Not necessarily an alternative to detention, but an alternative path rooted in base-building. Building where you are at and engaging with your community, as a way to work, negotiate and keep the dignity within what you are doing, all the while building youth leadership.

Land and Freedom: Building Autonomous Community as Resistance to Authoritarianism in Cherán, Michoacán, Mexico (Part II)

By Yunuén Torres with Susana Draper

We would like to share with you the second installment of our conversation with Yunuén Torres and Susana Draper on the ronda comunitaria, a Punta de Mita, remembered as a member of the First Youth Council after the 2011 uprising and self-determination process of the people of Cherán, Michoacán, Mexico. In this second piece, Yunuén tells us about how her community looks after itself after expelling the police, the protection network and how we are supporting that violence. The whole idea is building from the bottom up; it’s one of many steps that need to be done in order to build back and—because I’ve been talking about violence—construct a culture of peace. And that can only be experienced when we have what we need. So, in terms of education, when we share the idea that we should not have violence in our interactions, when we believe that we should not have violence inflicted upon us in our world, it becomes very difficult to believe that people should be in prison.

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How is a sense of “safety” or “security” created in Cherán? How does the collective memory of Cherán help build community self-determination and collective security and care?

Yunuén: In terms of safeguarding and the participation of all community members, we understand and are pretty much aware of everything. In fact, there is a place where a council meets to address the subjects of honor and justice, with their own challenges and direct implications, which is also a space designed for community work and collaboration recovered from our community memory and whose meaning is represented by the word kataperakua, meaning where we all may fall or fit. We are offering this space while recognizing its challenges and the many decisions that we need to take in such a space.

It is said that sometimes evil comes from within. And we see ourselves there, together, many times on the lookout for what may happen, capable of working it all out this way. Luckily, in our movement, what were once considered “crimes” have become mere street fighting or intrafamilial issues. Nevertheless, we refer to matters such as killing someone; it urges us to think about how the challenge of addressing the kind of justice we are trying to build from the inside. It’s an intricate subject that we are constantly developing.

And it is thus complex internally: A community’s determination, as well as the fact that we have no jails, must be acknowledged and respected from the outside. It’s an intricate subject that we are constantly developing.

A major result of the loggers coming to Cherán was that sexual assault and rape became more common, and this was one of the reasons that led us to distrust the loggers. You also mentioned experiencing sexual violence from outsiders since the uprising. Could you tell us how specifically gender-based violence has changed throughout these past nine years?

Yunuén: Since the beginning of the uprising, [gender-based violence] was an issue that has decreased enormously, because we assumed that everyone knew we would be vulnerable for our own security. It was very important for us to make us feel safe again.

Related to some of the violence that was happening before, is the issue of women’s participation in the community. Women’s participation was very important too, because, with as many processes, it had to wait several years—from 2011 to 2015—in order to have a concrete space within a structure of community government. The first council, which was the case of the youth and women, who came on board in 2015 and became part of the structure with very visible participation. The belief that we can develop such a role was also quite significant. For instance, the assembly was granting these spaces so that at least one woman from each neighborhood could take part in the initial government structure at the highest representative body, the high government. Yet this was not possible because there weren’t many women who wanted to participate in government. In fact, there was only one woman in our first council. In the second and third councils, however, there were three, and the number has been rising ever since.

Women now are also getting involved in participatory councils, where they develop activities in different spaces—you can see a new level of trust and how women venture in and take on these challenges. This has an impact on the internal life of families, given the fact that a female comrade has equal footing and her word has the same validity. These changes are that have slowly been implemented, changes that are being carried out as we walk on. It is also about “changing chips”: As women, this is a difficult endeavor. Changing old ways that have always been there, deeply rooted since colonial patriarchy, but which are slowly being reconstructed and evolving in such a way that we, as women, are beginning to understand other dynamics. Let me give you an example: Why do women have to be in charge of cooking during a festivity? This has been changing. But, how do you change certain patterns so that you don’t have to always serve your male comrades? This is really hard on women over forty. It is a sensitive issue, but they are slowly beginning to understand that we all have the same responsibilities and the capacity to respond in different spaces. And so we are walking on that road.

You mentioned one method of communication you use in Cherán is the community radio station, Fogata. Before, you explained to us how Fogata has been inspired by the community’s tradition of bonfires and how the radio station is helping connect communication during the pandemic. Can you tell us more about the community’s bonfire tradition (fogata) and its significance for building community self-determination?

Yunuén: The bonfire is a construction typical in every home that was taken out to the streets; it offers resistance to cold but is also a place where we cook and where the word is important. It is very important because here the bonfire has a customary function, where the person present, whatever their age, could have their say and be listened to. They may also speak, are obliged to listen and respect what is being said. Therefore, what is taken out into the streets and left in street corners is imbued with this value, and it also becomes part of the foundation of our organization in Cherán. We debate and propose at a grassroots level, and this is shared in neighborhood assemblies, which then pass it on to the community.

The appointment of those who will be part of the government structure also stems from this process. The appointment must come from the bonfire, it cannot be an individual act, and neither can you self-appoint to any position. The proposal comes from a result of seeing something in that person who is being proposed as representative. The assembly then makes its decision and our representatives become elected. The bonfire has a very specific function as the basis of this whole organization. Consequently, when the idea of the community radio came up to accompany this movement, that name was chosen because the radio was doing precisely that: Communicating what was happening in the streets of Cherán. What’s more, the name accompanies the very existence of the radio and its raison d’être, the need of timely internal communication. It was the men who responded to that need, sharing the microphone with the very people of Cherán.

Cherán has been autonomous for only nine years, yet there have been so many changes. Are there any other lessons you would like to uplift?

Yunuén: Things always have to be resolved as a community, and building community does not merely involve those spaces where we are Indigenous, but also urban spaces. For all of us who inhabit this world, this preoccupation for the other must become a more sensitive issue. Assuming that someone else’s problem can also be yours—that’s where the ability to collaborate, to help, comes from, in order for our contexts to change. It is paramount to understand the knowledge shared, the values of indigenous people, and how they are imbued in our culture. I also believe that this idea of collaborating without expecting anything in return, of keeping an eye on the other, also helps. This has meant a lot to us and that is what is changing. Assuming your neighbor’s issues as yours, as something you can contribute to—not being in the same space, that’s what it is all about: Building community from our own places.

*“Down the Walls Build the People Up” by Clay Thomas & Thao Galc (text reads Artists’ Cooperation)*
Kites to the Editors

ELECTORAL POLITICS & LGBTQIA+ COMMUNITIES
by Moana Childress

Recently, the nation took a breath and sighed. Some in relief, others in frustration. If yours was one of relief, then you were likely a Biden/Harris supporter. If it was frustration, well, you sure as hell didn’t feel like America had taken the holy anticipate leap into greatness. For me, it was everything the year 2020 turned out to be: devastatingly important. I caught myself listening to arguments on C-SPAN concerning adoption rights for same-sex couples in Pennsylvania. I glued to the TV as the legacy of slavery ripped through the nation’s sacred fabric yet again. But you see, as with any change, it becomes dangerous when you lose yourself in it. Scary as well. Malcolm X warned of this. I began thinking along party lines and not for myself, and definitely not for people of color or LGBTQIA+ folks. I was trapped in thinking that if you’re for Trump, you’re likely racist. A deep and only we can heal them. Your vote does matter, but your education is imperative to the placement of that vote or how you exercise your power. Please remember: Be yourself, because those who matter don’t mind, and those who do mind don’t matter. Moana

Author Bio: Moana Childress is a transgender woman of color in imprisoned in Washington state.

Write to her at: Moana Childress #345255 Washington State Penitentiary 1313 N 13th Ave Walla Walla, WA 99362

Editors’ note: A harmful term for transgender women (“tr*ny”) is used in this piece as an example of how trans-feminine people are dehumanized. We do not believe this word should be used by people who are not a part of the trans-femme community, thus have changed the spelling. We, along with the author, encourage abolitionists to be particularly mindful of how terminologies is used to perpetuate and legitimize violence, especially violence against queer, transgender and gender-non-conforming peoples.

LIFE STRESS
by Velasquez

Stuck not yet free, mind wondering, trying to escape our misery are inside thoughts even our speech slurring, in a suit revolving mail, seeing how our family feels. picturing their actions not being humble, mind corrupted, full of sticks and stones barriers may brake our bones. As time goes by like a plain helicopter in the sky we’re drift right where we believe our own myths habit after habit living day by day praying, hoping we see tomorrow’s sunshine even the world’s mess depression, bi polar, mood disorder from the time we lay our heads down to try and get some sleep the clock in tickin heart beating what should we do next? Hopefully continue breathing...

Author Bio: Velasquez is a new subscriber of The Abolitionist, imprisoned in CA. Write to Velasquez at: Velasquez AP-5869 PO Box 290066 Represa, CA 95671

BATTLING DEPRESSION ON THE INSIDE
by Leo Cardez

America has a mental health problem. Notice this is more evident than in America’s prison system, where research reveals up to 40 percent of all prisoners have a diagnosed mental health condition; 14 percent are identified as serious mental illness (SMI). Prisoners and jails have become de facto mental health facilities creating a systematic failure by the state to deliver necessary care to mentally ill prisoners. SMI prisoners are treated, but those with milder conditions (depression, anxiety, stress, lack of appetite or sleep, etc.) are relegated to the back
I’m a college grad, veteran, and successful communications executive. In prison, I’ve worked as a textual counselor for 20 years. On the day I was assigned prisoners with problems and tell them to speak up, but those many years ago, suffering from a deep depression, I didn’t say a word. I was raised by an old-fashioned father—raised to be strong, not to show emotion, never cry. Now, as a prisoner living in a concrete jungle, these expectations are amplified. In that meeting, I was afraid of being judged as weak—a valid fear behind these walls. In prison, more so than in the “real” world, perception is everything and any hint of weakness would surely be exploited. So I hid behind my tough facade, but inside I felt small, stupid, and under siege.

My depression emerged as an adult. It manifested itself through various bouts with alcoholism and sexual addiction. During that time, I functioned. Things were better for a while and then they weren’t. I learned depression can be episodic like that, coming in alternating waves of intense emotion, low. Still, those highs and lows, I never considered asking for help.

That’s how powerful stigma is; it erodes our human instinct to call out for help to survive. Stigma has prevented stories about mental health issues in prison from ever being made public—even though we’re all vulnerable to it (even the guards). After months of silence, I was drowning and couldn’t pretend anymore. I felt as if I was locked in a barrel at the bottom of the ocean. Helpless and hopeless, there is no worse feeling in the world. I was isolating myself, getting thinner, and not sleeping. My family instinctively new something was wrong. They begged me to get help, and at that moment I gave in.

The therapist spent two minutes asking me about my sexual orientation and suicidal thoughts. I don’t remember what I said to her. It was artificial and packaged, and apparently not enough to support another visit. I think she recommended I drink more water. I only saw her that one time. Months later, a different psychiatrist goes through their checklist during a video conference. I didn’t do that again either.

That’s how powerful stigma is; it erodes our human instinct to call out for help to survive. Stigma has prevented stories about mental health issues in prison from ever being made public—even though we’re all vulnerable to it (even the guards). After months of silence, I was drowning and couldn’t pretend anymore. I felt as if I was locked in a barrel at the bottom of the ocean. Helpless and hopeless, there is no worse feeling in the world. I was isolating myself, getting thinner, and not sleeping. My family instinctively knew something was wrong. They begged me to get help, and at that moment I gave in.

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My story of battling depression on the inside starts about five years ago during my first psychiatric interview at county jail in-processing.

Editors’ Note: For this issue’s column, Stevie requested we share an interview he did in 2020 with Ian Alexander. In prison, Stevie requested we share an interview he did in 2020 with Ian Alexander (IA):

When and how did you become an abolitionist in your community, about connection. And that is what makes it hard in prison. We are conditioned and encouraged to separate, isolate, and differentiate.

Abolition is not supposed to be an individual exercise. It is about community, about connection. And that is what makes it hard in prison. We are conditioned and encouraged to separate, isolate, and differentiate.

IA: What were some of your hurdles, struggles, and frustrations early on? How did you overcome those—and how have you still had to fight to overcome them?

SW: I knew that in order for me to deepen my practice I needed a community. So I began to reach out to others, finding that we must extend ourselves. I passed out literature and formed discussion groups. And none of this would have worked if I hadn’t been really

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IA: What were some of your hurdles, struggles, and frustrations early on? How did you overcome those—and how have you still had to fight to overcome them?

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1A: How do you start a study group in a prison?

As I said before, without materials there is no study group, so it is important that we find sources for materials. That is step one. Sometimes you already know what you are looking for. You may want to study bibliographies, blogs, oropolitical analysis. It made me want to develop a catalogue of different study materials. I would suggest obtaining a copy of prison regard materials.

It is important to talk to participants or potential participants about what they are interested in. When I first started talking about studying, they had no experience, they wanted to learn. I created a list of study materials using the Federal Bureau of Prisons catalogue. I would like to have a library that covers many topics. I would suggest obtaining a catalogue from a prison library or bookstore in Buffalo. He wanted it to be a learning site for people, especially the youth. And it has to be a learning site for people who want to learn about the world. To be there, in the trenches, with others, to learn how to connect the readings to real life situations, how to create good discussion questions. I learned how to connect the readings to real life situations, how to create good discussion questions.

It is important to cultivate leadership inside. At some point, you will have to rely on that older member, so it is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work. We have to make that half count. To riff off Maroon's "The Dragon vs. The Hydra" essay, I told him how I wished I could spend time talking with other abolitionists. What they wanted to study. Sometimes, it is a matter of finding sources to provide us study materials at a reasonable price. It is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work.

1B: What makes a good abolitionist teacher?

Being a notice is important. We have to be visible. At Smithfield, I had spent years cultivating relationships and a reputation for sincere concern for others. This work is inside. We have to be very conscious of this. But I spent time noticing who was doing what. I noticed who was in the dayroom reading. I listened for what they were reading. I read between the lines of what they were reading. I noticed who was doing what. I noticed who was in the dayroom reading. I listened for what they were reading. I read between the lines of what they were reading. It is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work. We have to make that half count. To riff off Maroon's "The Dragon vs. The Hydra" essay, I told him how I wished I could spend time talking with other abolitionists. What they wanted to study. Sometimes, it is a matter of finding sources to provide us study materials at a reasonable price. It is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work.

1C: What are your goals going into a new study group? What is your interest in new and potential comrades?

Choosing study materials is a combination of considering where the people are and what the particular needs of the environment. Choosing study materials is also about considering where the people are and what is happening there. It is important to cultivate leadership inside. At some point, you will have to rely on that older member, so it is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work. We have to make that half count. To riff off Maroon's "The Dragon vs. The Hydra" essay, I told him how I wished I could spend time talking with other abolitionists. What they wanted to study. Sometimes, it is a matter of finding sources to provide us study materials at a reasonable price. It is important to plant seeds and tend to them while you can. This is one area we need to do lots of work.

1D: How do you start to build relationships with new people on your block?

There have been times when I hear young prisoners talking about something and I listen for a while. Then, I ask questions. Asking questions is an important part of building relationships. It is important to have an open dialogue with a statement is risky. Making declarations, especially when they contrast with the partici- pant's stance, can lead to arguments and accu- sations of not understanding the other person. When you ask questions, especially those re- questing more info or clarification, it allows the young prisoner to be heard and express his/her views. This is important to connect with the prisoner. I am here to help connect with the prisoner. I am here to help connect with the prisoner. I am here to help connect with the prisoner. I am here to help connect with the prisoner.

To organize inside, you have to be a person people can trust. You have to be a person people can trust. You have to be a person people can trust. You have to be a person people can trust. You have to be a person people can trust.

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For this issue’s Inside-Outside Fishing Line, we matched an outside organizer—Evan Coral of Lane County Mutual Aid—with Stanley Leonard, an Indigenous prisoner currently imprisoned at Oregon State Penitentiary. In this phone interview, transcribed by an editor and sent via email, Evhan and Stanley discussed Measure 11, the conditions at CRCI, and state requirements for early release, as well as Indigenous imprisonment in Oregon more broadly.

In mid-2020, Critical Resistance (CR) PDX launched the “Write Them All” campaign, where members and volunteers wrote to over 10,225 out of the 13,000+ people imprisoned in Oregon. In this letter-writing campaign, many prisoners suggested that CR PDX consider organizing against Measure 11.

Stanley Leonard (SL): The conditions here are very horrible. Basically, we are being housed to be killed because we’re getting no medical treatment, and not getting help when it comes to this COVID-19. We’ve had a few people already pass away because of it. We’ve had people taken out to hospitals because of it.

CRCI is set up like a dorm. The beds are less than three feet apart. The closeness of the beds is very horrible. Basically, we are being housed to be killed because we’re getting no medical treatment, and not getting help when it comes to this COVID-19. We’ve had a few people already pass away because of it. We’ve had people taken out to hospitals because of it.

There was a guy that was in here crying, begging for medical attention. I ended up getting into it with one of the guards because this person was crying for medical attention and he kept being told by nurses and staff, be that he had to put kites in. So, I’m sitting here arguing with them, and they’re like, “What concern is it of yours?” I said that it’s my concern because it’s my health and my safety also. I said the people that are in here who aren’t COVID-positive are going to be positive, and who’s to say they aren’t going to die? It is my concern.

I can use me as an example. I’ve gotten different degrees, different good behavior acknowledgments, and I’ve pursued my education as far as bettering myself during my time inside. I’ve been down for a long time. This is my twenty-seventh year. I’ve done a lot of restorative justice programs, nonviolent communication, business classes, all this type of stuff—and I can’t even get a second look for a governor’s release, or even be considered for release, with 22 months left of my sentence. If I were to catch COVID-19, I’d die. That’s it.

EC: Can you discuss the imprisonment of Indigenous people on the stolen land known as Oregon, as well as your experiences as an Indigenous prisoner?

SL: It’s been 500 years, generations of Native people being shut down, ridiculed, and stumped. When it comes to our people trying to get religious items inside prison, we get ridiculed, we get punished. And if we try to get everything cancelled. In the Oregon Department of Corrections, there is a chaplain that was run out of Washington State. He was kicked out and he also broke our pipe in this state. Native people understand the power of that pipe; it’s very sacred to Native people. We constantly aren’t allowed to perform ceremonies and are told we have to utilize the chapel. Everything in there is all Christian-based. Everything. So, it offends a lot of Native people. Even the Muslims that go to the chapel are offended because there is nothing related to a Muslim in there.

For now, our medicines, or our sacred items, we have to pay for everything, from a medicine bag to all the stuff. They got vendors that we got to go to where we order these kinds of materials, where a Christian prisoner can come in and get the Bible and a rosary for free. But if we get religious materials, it’s a big deal, and they make us send them out or confiscate them. If you go into these seized property rooms, there is so much Native American property, from dream catchers to medicine bags to eagle feathers, to all sorts of different types of stuff.

For example, we got religious item boxes, where we keep our eagle feathers, our medicines—sage, lavender, cedar, copal, medicine bags—all this stuff that is sacred to us. Little pebbles or an animal tooth or a claw. A lot of times, guards will come in and search our stuff and dump them out or break our eagle feathers. There have been numerous cases where this has gone on in the Department of Corrections in Oregon. If we keep pushing and pushing, they’ll make sure we’re not allowed to be in a position where we get into an argument with them, they throw us in the hole. I’ve known people who have taken their religious box and dumped everything as a way of offering back to the fire because of it being degraded.

EC: How are prisoners developing solidarity with each other and organizing inside under the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic?

SL: There’s more unity, comradery, and more things that are happening. I’m in a situation that is the same, and I think that rather than there has been before for this pandemic. People are leaning on each other, people are helping each other out and officers aren’t really doing anything. They are not taking precautions. Collette Peters, director of the Oregon Department of Corrections, preaches about the importance of the people here. But, yet any time we do this, we get punished. The staff bunks you in your cell or takes your TV for a bit more.

SL: Measure 11 prevents mass releases from happening during COVID. Measure 11 is a mandatory minimum requirement for sentencing in Oregon. Usually, the DOC can go into your sentence and amend it, but in Oregon, they decided they won’t release people with Measure 11 charges, even as this COVID-19 pandemic goes on.

So, I’m sitting here arguing with them, and they’re like, “What concern is it of yours?” I said that it’s my concern because it’s my health and my safety also. I said the people that are in here who aren’t COVID-positive are going to become positive, and who’s to say they aren’t going to die? It is my concern.
sharing canteen or sharing a cup of coffee with somebody. They don’t want us to make progress; they want us to take steps back instead of moving forward. The more strength and unity in here, the more they are on edge.

In prisons, there is a huge racial aspect and a large amount of racial tension. There has been none of that since this pandemic. It’s not people helping each other, more empathy, more sympathy, more understanding and compassion. I mean, we’re practicing. A lot of these guys don’t know about restorative justice, but a lot of that work is being practiced. They don’t know that they are actually practicing it, because it starts within ourselves to become more positive, with more understanding of how each other operates, how each other needs. In here, it’s a community, just like it’s communities out there. So, it’s getting communities in here and out there to understand each other and connect as one.

They don’t want us to make progress; they want us to take steps back instead of taking steps forward. The more strength and unity in here, the more they are on edge.

EC: What are some ways we can push that forward?
BL: We as advocates need to become more in tune with what’s going on in the institutions because there are a lot of people who are passing away and a lot of people who are getting sick because of negligence. There are a lot of people who don’t have the voice, who don’t have the strength to stand up for themselves. Because if you stand up to them, they beat you down. But at the same time, they’re not used to people standing up and fighting them because of the wrong they are doing.

It’s important for people to be getting more involved. Being more willing to connect with people in here to listen and understand the strength and the sorrows that are also going on in here. Understanding what we have to endure. Understanding how much we have to go through, like retaliations. More people need to understand that some people are shown favoritism over others through a racist system day-to-day, and because of policies like Measure 11.

### ABBY THROWBACK: “Mass Incarceration” as Misnomer

By Dylan Rodrigues

Editors’ Note: For this issue’s “Abby Throwback,” we reprint Dylan Rodrigues’s piece critiquing how “mass incarceration” is used by liberals to expand the prison industrial complex. The article was originally written and published for Issue 26 of The Abolitionist, which covered a theme of “Obstacles and Opportunities” in the summer of 2016.

“Mass incarceration” has become a misleading, largely useless, and potentially dangerous term—a newly designated keyword, if you will, in the steadily expanding political vocabulary of post-racism. We must ask ourselves what “mass incarceration” has actually come to mean, for what uses this phrase is being deployed, and whether, in our incessant and perhaps under-examined use of this phrase, some of us are becoming unwitting accomplices to the very regime of US state violence to which we profess to be radically opposed.

Who, exactly, is the “mass” in “mass incarceration”? If it is not the case—really, not even remotely, astronomically the case—that Euro-descended people and those racially marked as “white” are being criminalized, policed, and incarcerated en masse, that is, if the common usage of “mass incarceration” already premises casual and official white innocence and de-criminalization, then isn’t this phrase closer to being a clumsy, liberal, racist euphemism for mass Black incarceration—and, in many geographies, mass Brown incarceration?

There is an emerging liberal-to-progressives commonsense about US policing, criminalization, and human capture that uses the language of “mass incarceration” within a sometimes subtle critique of national shame, shared suffering, and racial disparity. Notions of fundamental unfairness, systemic racial bias, and institutional dysfunction form the basis for numerous platforms advocating vigorous reforms of the criminal legal apparatus, largely by way of internal auditing, aggressive legal and policy shifts, and rearrangements of governmental infrastructure (e.g., “schools not prisons”).

What is largely beyond contention is that this reform agenda rests on two widely shared premises: 1) That the current structure of US incarcerative system is intolerable, unjust, and unsustainable; and 2) That equal and rational treatment under the (criminalizing) law is both a feasible and desirable outcome of the imminent reform of “mass incarceration.”

What is less clear, however, is whether those who subscribe to this commonsense formulation of liberal-progressive solutions are willing to concede that they may have radically misconceived the problem.

While we cannot reproduce them here, every conceivable statistical measure clearly demonstrates that the impact of the last four decades of state-planned criminological apocalypse is historically, fundamentally asymmetrical (for lucid and concise summations of this evidence, see sentencingproject.org or criticalresistance.org, among many others). In other words, the post-racial euphemism of “mass incarceration” miserably fails to communicate how the racist and anti-Black form of the US state is also its paradigmatic form, particularly in matters related to criminal legal policy and punishment.

Put another way, there is no “mass incarceration.” The persistent use of this term is more than a semantic error; it is a political and conceptual sleight-of-hand with grave consequences. If language guides thought, action, and social vision, then there is an urgent need to dispense of this useless and potentially dangerous phrase and speak truth through a more descriptive, thoughtful activist vocabulary.

The twenty-year history of the entrance of “mass incarceration” into the popular vocabulary illus- trates the lurking dilemma at hand. While its etymological origins can be traced further back in time, the contemporary use of the phrase emerged in the mid-1990s, owing in significant part to the work of the National Criminal Justice Commission (NCJC) between 1994 and 1996. The NCJC generated a comprehensive analysis of what it then deemed “the largest and most frenetic correctional buildup of any country in the history of the world” and summarized its findings in the widely cited text The Real War on Crime, published by the mega-trade press HarperCollins. The terms “mass incarceration,” “mass imprisonment,” and similar ones persisted through the late 1990s and early 2000s, surfacing in academic, activist, and public policy rhetoric as well as in influential texts like Marc Maier and Meda Chesney-Lind’s 2002 anthology Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment and, of course, Michelle Alexander’s widely read, deeply flawed 2010 book The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.

Since the publication of Alexander’s text, “mass incarceration” has not only entered the post-racial lexicon as a euphemism for racist criminalization and targeted, asymmetrical imprisonment, it has also been absorbed into the operative language of the US government and its highest-profile representatives. Let us briefly consider three prominent examples of this creeping co-optation, spanning ten months in 2014-2015. US Attorney General Eric Holder’s keynote address on “over-incarceration” at NYU Law School in September 2014 was one of the early indications of a reformist shift in the US state’s internal deliberations on national criminal legal policy. Crucially, Holder’s speech occurs just one month after the police killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, amid an unfolding national revolt against anti-Black, racist police violence. Against this burgeoning climate of anti-racist protest, Holder panders to law enforcement in the same breath that he decries the “rise in incarceration and the escalating costs it has imposed on our country”:

We can all be proud of the progress that’s been made at reducing the crime rate over the past two decades—thanks to the tireless work of prosecutors and the bravery of law enforcement officials across America. Soon after Holder’s resignation from the Attorney General post, freshly declared presidential candidate Hillary Clinton calls for a new era of
criminal legal reform in an April 2015 speech at Columbia University. Echoing Holder’s verbal pledge to police power, candidate Clinton laments the “era of mass incarceration” while lambasting the contemporaneous uprisings in Black Baltimore over the police torture and killing of Freddie Gray. Scolding the Baltimore protesters for “instigating further violence,” “disrespecting the Gray family,” and thus “compounding the tragedy of Gray’s death,” Clinton declares, “we must urgently begin to re-build bonds of trust and respect among Americans, between police and citizens.”

Not to be outdone, President Barack Obama re-soundlessly echoed the call for carceral reform in a somewhat remarkable July 2015 address at the NAACP’s national convention in Philadelphia. To a series of standing ovations, Obama declared, “in a fundamental justice system keeping us safe as it should be. It is not as fair as it should be. Mass incarceration makes our country worse off, and we need to do something about it.”

Obama’s subsequent historical mischaracterization of policing under US apartheid is peculiar at best: Historically, in fact, the African American community oftentimes was under-policed rather than over-policed. Hence, we were very interested in containing the African American community so it couldn’t leave segregated areas, but within those areas there wasn’t enough police presence.

Herein lies the punchline of the multiculturalist racial state’s co-optation of the “mass incarceration” rhetoric and its conjointed reform agenda. As Obama et al. sing along the liberal-progressive chorus demanding an end to “Mass Incarceration,” they simultaneously advocate for “hiring more police and giving them the resources that would keep our communities safe.”

“Hiring more police” is building a refurbished pro-police national consensus by naturalizing the utterly bogus connection between decarceration, “community safety,” and increasing police capacity/power. This is a statecraft that intends to win hearts and minds even as it focuses its punitive, disciplinarian, and repressive crosshairs on the purported “real criminals” (whatever that might mean in a given time and place).

We are witnessing the early stages of a subtle though potentially significant shift in the statecraft of policing: the reform of “mass incarceration” is becoming insidiously linked to calls for a kinder, gentler, and expanded form of law-and-order policing.

If the current political discourse on “mass incarceration” is allowed to remain intact, it is almost certain that the strengthening and institutional reach of policing will increase, expand, and intensify even as the thing being called “mass incarceration” is subjected to reformist remedy from the very quarters that produced it. Perhaps, then, it is the moment in which the public intellectuals and figureheads of the US state begin to deploy the allegedly critical language of “mass incarceration” that we must admit to our scholarly historian that would allow them to do a more effective job community policing.

There is something lurking beneath this still-emerging liberal-progressive and, now, official “mass incarceration” rhetoric and its conjoined reform agenda: a strengthening and re-legitimation of police authority and prestige. As the phrase “mass incarceration” is allowed to remain intact, it is almost certain that the strengthening and institutional reach of policing will increase, expand, and intensify even as the thing being called “mass incarceration” is subjected to reformist remedy from the very quarters that produced it. Perhaps, then, it is the moment in which the public intellectuals and figureheads of the US state begin to deploy the allegedly critical language of “mass incarceration” that we must admit to our scholarly historian that would allow them to do a more effective job community policing.

The historical rhythm of US nation-building plays on the percussive terrors of domestic war and gendered racial criminalization (literally, the creation of crime and criminals through the raw material of racial- and gender-marked bodies). A spectrum of selective, targeted forms of incarceration—from Middle Passage slave ships and California missions to Mexican labor camps and federal supermax prisons—has produced multi-generational terror, suffering, and freedom struggle for populations at the underside of white American (and now multicultur-al, post-racial) civil society across its various phases of historical development.

In addition to challenging and ultimately dismantling the idiom of “mass incarceration”, we must come to terms with the need for a more comprehensive, flexible critical/activist language that does not fixate on prisons and jails— or even on “criminal justice”—as the exclusive vantage point of institutionalized racist state violence. Contemporary systems of human imprison-ment, from Pelican Bay to Guantanamo Bay, are inseparable from both 1) the growing ideologi-cal, institutional, and militarized regime of US policing and 2) the larger cultural-legal tech-nologies of criminalization, including popular entertainment, corporate and social media, and the law itself.

Thus, the problem is not merely one of “incar-ceration”; it is also a matter of an overlapping, symbiotic ensemble of institutions and systems that implicates the entire apparatus of the law-and-order United States as a form of asymmetri-cal, domestic war against criminalized people and places.

Certainly, the rebellions against police violence across the US over the last two years are forcing a partial dissection of classical white supremacist and anti-Black policing strategies such as those seen in places like Ferguson, MO, and Baltimore, MD. Yet at the very same time, in response to this climate of protest and uprising, the statecraft of criminal legal reform is premised on a strengthening and re-legitimation of police authority and prestige. As the phrase “mass incarceration” is absorbed into the operative language of the state, does it not become necessary for the US racist state both 1) to disavow the raw material of racial discrimination and 2) to offer an accomplice to the racist state than an effective language of opposition to it?

Author Bio: Dylan Rodrigues is a Professor in the Department of Ethnic Studies at UC Riverside. He was a co-founding member Critical Resistance and continues to lead abandoning abolishist theory, analysis, and criticism in the University of California system. He is currently supporting UC students organizing to get cops off of UC campuses.

Andrew Cuoco. Gilbert is 76 years old. He is serving a 75 years to life sentence for felony

UNTIL ALL ARE FREE: Political Prisoner Updates

• Russell Maroon Shoats has contracted COVID-19 inside of a Pennsylvania prison. Maro-on is also battling stage 4 colon cancer and is therefore at a high risk of developing severe complications with frail bodies for health care. His health has been deteriorating as they have been completely isolated from the outside world. Maroon has been demanding the right to leave the prison and to see his family, but his requests have been denied. His health is deteriorating and he is in dire need of medical attention. Please support Maroon’s fight to support Maroon’s fight at: gofundme.com/f/support-for-the-shoats-family -fighting -injustice

• Drop the new charges against Jalil Muntaq-im! On July 14, 2021, 19 years after his release in October, Mumia Abu-Jamal’s freedom was abruptly cut short in Novem-ber just two weeks after he was released on his own recognition after being arrested for carjacking in November, in part to protest the trial of Harry Williams, a Black man who was killed by a police officer in Philadelphia. Mumia was arrested for trying to vote in Rochester, NY. A grand jury was impaneled around the country in the coming weeks to determine his fate.

• Lore Eisabeth, imprisoned in Federal Detention Center in Phoenix, contracted COVID-19 in late October or early November, in the midst of a massive wave of cases at the federal prison and across the country. Lore is just one of the more than 275,000 people who were forced to contract COVID-19 in a prison cell — one out of every five incarcerated people in the United States.

• San Francisco District Attorney Chesa Boudin, son of Weather Underground political priso-ners, between police and citizens.”

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Andrew Cuoco. Gilbert is 76 years old. He is serving a 75 years to life sentence for felony
murder and robbery, and he is not eligible for parole until 2056, when he would be 112 years old. Gilbert is confined at Shawangunk Correctional Facility, a maximum-security prison in Ulster County, 80 miles south of Albany, NY. He is one of the oldest and longest serving prisoners among the state’s roughly 38,000 prisoners. As of November 20, there were 101 reported positive cases of COVID-19 out of 353 tests among inmates at Shawangunk, including four deaths.

• Abdullah Rahman Odeh has been released! We celebrate the freedom of this Palestinian American political prisoner, a member of the Holy Land Foundation 5 (HLFS), as he returns home after 15 years behind bars. Odeh’s sentence was the shortest of the HLFS, members of a Muslim charity group designated a “terrorist organization” in 2004. Free the rest of the HLFS and free them all!

• Welcome home, Jeremy Hammond! The hacker prisoner was released from prison to a halfway house on November 17. Hammond was convicted in 2012 for allegedly disclosing information about a private security firm, and also spent time imprisoned as a grand jury resistor in investigations surrounding WikiLeaks. To learn more about Jeremy’s story, read his piece “A Prisoner’s Experience Behind Bars During Covid-19,” and to offer support, visit freejeremy.net. Free them all!

• 84-year-old Sundiata Acoli has been denied parole. This is functionally a death sentence for the Black liberation fighter, who will not be seen by the 3-person parole board for another 10 or more years. Acoli was arrested in 1971 with Assata Shakur and has been imprisoned ever since. Free Sundiata!

• Leonard Peltier update: Nashville attorney Kevin Sharp is pushing a new clemency effort for this member of the American Indian Movement, who has been imprisoned for 40 years. These efforts follow the denial of Peltier’s application for clemency by both Obama and Trump.

• Ed Piontek’s supporters are calling for the compassionate release of the 75-year-old political prisoner serving a life sentence in Nebraska. Piontek, who suffers from diabetes and other health problems, is seeking compassionate release on the grounds that his age and health would put him at a high risk of death should he contract COVID-19. He is on a waiting list for commutation.

• Take Action Now! Write, email, and call the Nebraska Board of Pardons to request that they commute Ed’s sentence.

• WRITE: Nebraska Board of Pardons P.O. Box 95007 Lincoln, NE 68509

• EMAIL: ne.pardonsboard@nebraska.gov

• CALL: Governor Pete Ricketts: 402-471-2244 Secretary of State Robert B. Evnen: 402-471-2554

• Attorney General Doug Peterson: 402-471-2683

Welcome home, Jay Chase! The NATO 3 political prisoner was released on November 6 after serving over 9 years in prison. He is now back in Chicago and supporters are trying to get him the medical care and insurance he needs. For now, there is a need to bridge the gap on expenses until insurance kicks in. Contributions to this effort can be made at gofund.me/1-7jay-chase-of-the-natob-is-free.

• Urgent medical alert for former Black Panther Kamau Sadiki (formerly known as Freddie Hilton), who is at risk of having his foot amputated. Sadiki has spent more than four decades fighting for Black people. At seventeen, he joined the NYC Black Panther Party. He has been imprisoned since 2002 for refusing to aid in the capture of: Assata Shakur. Learn more about his story at freekamau.com

• Kings Bay Plowshares 7 (KBP7): Charges of trespassing and destruction of property were handed down in December for the seven Catholic Worker peace activists, ranging between 58 to 81 years of age, who broke into the Kings Bay Naval Submarine Base and carried out a symbolic act of protest against nuclear weapons in 2019. During a pandemic that is wreaking havoc on all prisoners and disproportionately harming older people, six of them have been sentenced to up to 33 months in prison. The seventh member of the KBP7 is scheduled to be sentenced in February.

CRITICAL RESISTANCE (CR) Updates and Movement Highlights

How do we sharpen our efforts toward prison industrial complex (PIC) abolition without knowing our advances? This column is meant to keep our movement partners and readers updated on abolitionist campaign progress between issues of The Abolitionist. Here you will find what CR has been doing and the movement news that caught our attention.

NATIONAL AND CHAPTER UPDATES ON CR’S WORK

Critical Resistance Portland (CR PDX):

#WriteThemAll CR PDX created a robust prisoner correspondence program during 2020. Having launched the #WriteThemAll Campaign back in 2020, inspired by the Mississippi Freedom Letters Campaign, CR PDX aims to send a letter to every person imprisoned in Oregon state prisons. The number of prisoners in Oregon’s state institutions fluctuates around 14,000. As of January 2021, the chapter has sent out over 10,225 letters offering solidarity and connecting prisoners to other organizations and resources. We are in the process of building a road map on how to build this up to 700 letters per month to share with other PIC abolitionist organizations across the country.

Stimulus Checks After leading dozens of volunteers to help CR mail stimulus check forms to our entire list of imprisoned fire fighters, we hosted California Coalition of Women Prisoners (CCWP) for the holidays. In January, our Freedom Friday volunteers sent a letter to each individual asking for the names of all the fighters, the groups and their families. The group sent a letter to each individual asking for consent to fundraise on their behalf. The project worked to raise $200 for each of the 285 fire fighters in Oregon, totaling over $57,000 in mutual aid contributions. In tandem with fundraising, the fundraiser contributed to a public discourse by complicating an analysis of prison labor, environmental degradation, colonial land management, and the FIC’s relationship to surplus labor. The fundraiser ended on February 10, 2021, and raised over $63,000 through bake sales, raffles and grass-roots donations.

The Impersonated Firefighter Fundraiser OR was launched in November 2020 by members of CR PDX, Black and Pink PDX, Siskiyou Abolition Project, and Lane County Mutual Aid. This struggle formed in November, following Oregon’s deadliest fire season in September 2020, to show appreciation to the firefighters who have worked tirelessly and risked their lives protecting our state. The fundraiser was held in December for the seven California firefighters who have been imprisoned since 2002 for refusing to do their jobs. Each year CR PDX seasonally raises funds to show appreciation to the firefighters who have worked tirelessly and risked their lives protecting our state. The fundraiser was held in December for the seven California firefighters who have been imprisoned since 2002 for refusing to do their jobs.

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When in need, community members contact the Zachary Project to request funds. Each year around Zachary’s birthday in January, we update his family on the reach and impact of Zachary’s memory and dedication to anti-capitalist collective care. We know Zachary kept close relationships with many readers of The Abolitionist. If you would like to receive updates on the Zachary Project, or if you or someone you know would like to request funds, contact the Zachary Project Office. In December 2020, CR began a monthly event series called Freedom Fridays at our community building in North Oakland, focused on supporting solidarity actions against imprisonment. The first event in December distributed dozens of holiday mailing packages to volunteers to write to our imprisoned comrades for the holidays. In December 2020, CR began a monthly event series called Freedom Fridays at our community building in North Oakland, focused on supporting solidarity actions against imprisonment. The first event in December distributed dozens of holiday mailing packages to volunteers to write to our imprisoned comrades for the holidays. In December 2020, CR began a monthly event series called Freedom Fridays at our community building in North Oakland, focused on supporting solidarity actions against imprisonment. The first event in December distributed dozens of holiday mailing packages to volunteers to write to our imprisoned comrades for the holidays.
CID-19 outbreak at the Central California Women's Facility (CCWF).

By the start of February, at least 195 prisoners were killed by COVID-19, Governor Newsom and the CA Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation (CCR) said. The chapter organized a Bay Area-wide car caravan that occupied the San Francisco Bay Bridge with two other Oakland-based organizations, No Justice Under Capitalism and Communities United for Restorative Youth Justice (CURY). The action created hours of traffic, as hundreds of cars were passed by a plane flying a sign in the sky: “Newsom, release prisoners 2 stop COVID deaths” and other banners along the bridge’s toll booth. The demands of the caravan were for Governor Newsom to grant mass releases to CA prisoners immediately.

Critical Resistance LA (CR LA):
Critical Resistance LA is busy pushing for abolition across Los Angeles. We are working in coalition with others to take on policing, surveill-
ance and imprisonment. We must build power. While CRA is reconfiguring our organizing people, we are excited to start hosting public-facing events in the near future.

Critical Resistance New York (CR NYC):
Hunger Strike against ICE
On November 13, ten immigrant prisoners under ICE custody at the Bergen County Jail in New Jersey started a hunger strike to demand their immediate release and protest against the unlivable conditions inside and the systematic medical neglect taking place. Prisoners with health conditions organized to demand their right to get their health care needs, which are re-
quired in order to be able to qualify for release under the Fraihat class action lawsuit. Since the start of the strike, three people have been re-
leased. Members of CR along with groups under the umbrella of Abolish ICE New Jersey & New York supported the strikes in different forms, holding rallies outside of the jail along with the strikers’ families and friends.

CR NATIONAL:
Critical Resistance national staff wrapped up a two-year strategic planning process for the or-
ganization and is currently rolling out a new strategy plan to our members. The plan is de-
signed to push the organization to develop sev-
eral new strategic campaigns against the PIC; to tighten its existing programs, projects, and com-
mmitment; and to strengthen leadership develop-
ment and political unity within our staff and membership.

Mutual Aid for Prisoners to Resist COVID-19
The Abolitionist
Editorial Collective, with the leadership and vision from our comrades and col-
umnist Stacie Wilson, raised $3400 to distribute PPE supplies to prisoners to protect themselves against the virus. CR held the fundraising camp-
aign outside to help prisoners protect themselves and others as the state refuses to do so.

The Abolitionist Newspaper Launch Events Return!
After revamping The Abolitionist newspaper in 2020, the editorial collective brought back launch events to celebrate the release of a new is-

project, and increase paid subscriptions from non-imprisoned supporters in order to sponsor and contain future prison writing for more prison-
ers. Over 400 people registered for December’s issue 33 launch event, helping us surpass our subscription goal of 200 new paid subscribers (we have about 250 total). New paid subscribers this event featured Issue 33 authors Sarah Hamid, Linda Evans, Katie Tastrom and Yunuen Torres, and was moderated by former CR member and Abby columnist Liz Shafer. Shona Wilson and I joined us by recording a short statement be-
fore the event and CR staff and members read aloud some of the prisoner submissions from the Kites to the Editor. We were able to provide live Spanish translation and ASL interpretation of the event, as well as closed captioning. Write in to our editorial collective at the address below if you are interested in reading a transcript of the event and if you would like to support a launch event for a future issue.

The Abolitionist
Annus: Launch Events
1904 Franklin St, Suite 504
Oakland, CA 94612

MOVEMENT HIGHLIGHTS

WEST COAST

Calls for solidarity with prisoners to stop outbreaks in CA
CCWF is calling for solidarity with prisoners in order to stop the continued surges of COVID-19 in jails and prisons, especially the out-
break at CCWF. Decarcerate Alameda County also has made urgent solidarity calls due to huge spikes and cover ups in Santa Rita jail outbreaks.

No Justice Under Capitalism is demanding the California governor grant mass release to stop outbreaks and the Badger Center is calling on CDCR to stop transfers of prisoners, which has caused COVID-19 outbreaks inside.

LA Police Commission defies community call for a ban on facial recognition
Even with this loss, The Stop LAPD Spying Co-
alition continues their fight against the surveil-
ance technology LAPD uses and invests in, es-
pecially facial recognition tech. 931 emails were sent in opposition to the use of such tech and called for an all-out ban, while only 12 were sent in support of LAPD.

#FreeThemAll2021 is a collective of people across Washington state demanding the aboli-
tion of all imprisonment and policing. Their de-
mands of the WA State are:
1. Decarcerate: Reduce the prison population by 20% in WA
2. Defund the Department of Corrections
3. IN-vest in Community Care NOT CAGES
4. Reject home/electronic surveillance: Support community re-entry

THE SOUTH

#30DayEconomicBlackout
The Free Alabama Movement (FAM), founded and operated by Black women, sought to expose the Alabama Department of Corrections, and or-
ganized a statewide prison strike protest and 30-day economic blackout in the month of January to boycott a list of companies that exploit pris-
ioners. The companies are Union Supply Co, Ipay, Access Corrections, Securus Technologies and Alabama Correctional Industries. FAM has also called for the founding of a National Freedom Movement, pulling together organizers inside and outside of prisons in multiple states. Read more about the campaign on our website. In our “Featured Movement Highlight” on 20.

The People’s First 100 Days
Southern Movement Assembly, a move-
ment of over 100 local organizations across the South, have launched a campaign from Janu-
ary 1 through April 10 to grow southern move-
ment power. In their call to organize SMA said, “No matter who is in the White House, social movements cannot wait for the government to respond to the crisis we face. We believe the people should set the tone, define the issues, and create our own priorities.”

Abolitionist Scholar and Organizer fired from University of Mississippi
Garrett Felber was suddenly fired from the un-
iversity in retaliation for his scholarship and contributions to dismantling the carceral state.
Hundreds of CR scholars, and organiz-
tions have pledged to boycott the university until Felber is reinstated. Growing suppression in academia to abolition is apparent.

MIDWEST

Keystone XL Pipeline cancelled
After years of grassroots organizing and resis-
tance, the Biden Administration was pushed to cancel the Keystone XL pipeline, a huge win for Indigenous and environmental activists.

St. Louis City Jail Revolt
Over 100 prisoners in St. Louis City Jail in Mis-
souri revolted in early February due to growing concerns around COVID-19 in the jail, as over 600 prisoners tested positive and only restric-
tions—not care—have increased. Half of the protestors were moved to solitary confinement and the other half have been transferred.

EAST COAST

People’s Campaign for Parole Justice
A coalition of 16 grassroots organizations sup-
ported by 250 groups across New York state launched a People’s Campaign for Parole Jus-
tice, with primary goals of the campaign being decarceration and family reunification. The coalition’s three demands are elder parole, fair and timely parole, and fair & fully staffed parole board.

Produce market strike in the Bronx ends in victory
After a week-long strike, union members gained a new contract guaranteeing them higher wages over the next three years and a 40 cent per hour contribution to employee healthcare.

INTERNATIONAL

The Waikeria Uprising
In New Zealand, 16 prisoners at the notorious Waikeria prison held a 6-day uprising. A mani-
festo provided to People Against Prison Aote-
area reads in part, “We are not rioting. We are protesting. We are demanding the release of correc-
tions officers – none whatsoever – yet they show up here in force armed with guns and dogs to intimidate us. We’re the ones that are making a stand on their matter for our future people. Showing intimidation to us will only fuel the fire of future violence. We will not tolerate being intimidated any more... We are Tongans Who have never been forced into a European system. Prisons do not work!”

Israel used medical apartheid practices in COVID-19 vaccine roll-out
As much of the Western world praises Israeli’s vaccination rate, Palestinian organizations and allies point out the hypocrisy of such applause. Israel has exclusively excluded the 5 million Palestinians it occupies, even as it vaccinates Jewish settlers who illegally live on occupied Palestinian land.

Stop the War in Yemen
On January 24, a global day of action was held to highlight the ongoing war in Yemen. Anti-war activists in Ontario, Canada, held a non-violent civil disobedience protest blocking trucks car-
rying armored vehicles bound for Saudi Arabia. In multiple cities throughout the US, anti-war activi-
cists called on the Biden Administration to end US involvement in the war.
FEATURED MOVEMENT HIGHLIGHT

Building a National Freedom Movement: Call to Action to Create True Pathways Toward Freedom

As prisoners in Alabama have been working to expose the violence of Alabama’s prisons system, the Black prisoner-led Free Alabama Movement has been bringing together imprisoned people in other states and outside advocates to create a National Freedom Movement, as well as state-based freedom movements.

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT?

The National Freedom Movement (NFM) is an inside-based, inside-led direct-action formation of imprisoned people in men’s and women’s prisons who are organizing to create meaningful change in the US prison system. NFM’s leadership is composed exclusively of organizations, organizers, activists and advocates who are fighting from inside US prisons. NFM is open to creating partnerships and alliances with outside-based advocates, activists, and organizations who share the NFM’s collective goals and aspirations. Currently, the NFM has representation in at least 10 states, and is striving to create one direct action coalition throughout all 50 states.

WHAT IS NFM’S ORGANIZATIONAL PURPOSE?

NFM’s primary purpose is to unify the 2.5 million imprisoned people throughout the US so that we can be direct participants in the ongoing fight for human rights, freedom and justice, and change in the US’s prison system. With millions of incarcerated people in the US, NFM will launch simultaneous direct-action campaigns that will challenge this corrupt, inhumane, punitive, and brutally abusive system at its core.

WHAT IS THE NFM’S MAIN GOAL?

The NFM’s overriding goal is to create a path to freedom for all 2.5 million people imprisoned. Our national liberation will not come about without active participation from the inside, and our issues and human rights violations will not be heard without us having a seat at the table.

NFM’S “ONE MILLION FAMILIES FOR PAROLE” DAY OF ACTION

On Saturday, April 3, 2021, the National Freedom Movement, in conjunction with other organizations, activists, and advocates from around the US, will join the call for the “One Million Families for Parole” rally at parole boards, department of corrections headquarters, and state capitols across the country.

The parole system of the US is broken, failing to respond to the humanitarian crisis taking place in prisons across the country, leaving countless lives in danger. In the midst of a global pandemic and a humanitarian crisis throughout US jails, prisons, and other places of imprisonment, parole boards have exacerbated the crisis by denying parole due to bad parole laws and for political and financial reasons.

To bring our loved ones home, and for real change to occur, we must unite across the nation and demand changes to this ineffective parole system. Federal parole must be reinstated, a mandatory parole criteria must be instituted to save lives, and, among other demands, a parole system that responds to the needs of people who have successfully integrated back into society can get their lives back.

Participating states thus far include Alabama, Mississippi, Indiana, New York, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, Ohio, and California. Any interested in participating in this event or assisting in the planning and organizing should contact us immediately at: nationalfreedommovement@gmail.com.

Art Against Imprisonment

The U.S. and Israel have closely cooperated in the development of their prison systems over the course of the last sixty years. Together, they have instigated many similar methods of carceral control, including interrogation, solitary confinement, child imprisonment, family separation, sexual violations and surveillance techniques.

Art Against Imprisonment will shine a light on the multiple forms of creativity that people trapped in Israel and U.S. prisons use to break through isolation and invisibility. This exhibit is a small testament to your imagination and artistry. We hope it will inspire understanding and solidarity between our movements against imprisonment and for the freedom of all held captive inside prisons.

Hosted by:
Addameer (Palestinian Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association based in Ramallah, Palestine)
Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC)
California Coalition of Women Prisoners (CCWP)
Critical Resistance
Freedom Archives
Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM)
US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN)

Why

If you have or can create art (visual or written) that reflects your experiences and/or your solidarity with Palestinian prisoners, we would be honored to feature your work.

The Request

Submissions accepted on a rolling basis.

Send submissions to: Freedom Archives, 522 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94110

Contact us at: Info@freedomarchives.org

Pay to the order of: Freedom Archives
522 Valencia Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

ARE YOU NOT LOCKED UP, BUT WANT TO SUPPORT?

Paid subscriptions help us send the paper to thousands of prisoners for free.

ARE YOU NOT LOCKED UP, BUT WANT TO SUPPORT?

Paid Subscription Options:

- $10 for 3 issues / year, supports 2 readers (you + one prisoner)
- $15-$50 for 3 issues / year, supports multiple readers (you + 2-9 prisoners)

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Subscribe on our website:
criticalresistance.org/the-abolitionist

FREE TO PEOPLE IN PRISONS, JAILS AND DETENTION CENTERS;
Paid subscriptions help us send the paper to thousands of prisoners for free.
There are many ways for you to shape the content of the paper, either by submitting a piece to our Features section or supporting one of our columns. Check out all of the ways you can write for our next issues:

1. Write a piece for Features
   - Pieces can be in each of these different forms of writing—from the theoretical, to the reflective, and action-oriented—but they will all share a common focus, theme, or topic of consideration. You could submit:
     - A theoretical piece on either defunding policing or “pathways toward freedom”.
     - A reflective piece or sample of cultural expression on defunding policing or “pathways toward freedom”.
     - A piece about an example of organizing (past or present) or a resource related to defunding policing or “pathways toward freedom”.

2. Send a Kite to the Editors
   - Want to share your thoughts with us and the broader movement? Kites to the Editors are direct responses to articles and art from previous issues of The Abolitionist. These are meant to be short notes (fewer than 500 words) from our readers expressing their opinions, reactions, disagreements, or thoughts on content in the paper. See page 12 for examples of Kites to the Editors in Issue 34.

3. Request to be an author of an Inside-Outside Fishing Line
   - For the Inside-Outside Fishing Line, we partner an imprisoned author with an outside organizer to exchange ideas on a political topic or question relevant to building an international movement to abolish the PIC. The conversation or “fishing line” can be drafted through written or phone correspondence. We will then either print your correspondence or edit it to make a collaborative piece between the two authors. Check out page 15 for an example Inside-Outside Fishing Line.
   - If you’re interested in being an author inside this column, write to us to pitch:
     1. what your fishing line exchange would be about
     2. and whether you have an organizer outside of prison in mind as someone with whom you’d like to exchange ideas.
   - Please make sure to name a specific topic you’d like to discuss with another author or a set of guiding questions you think the conversation will cover. Send submissions to the Fishing Line column to:

   The Abolitionist Newspaper
   Attn: Fishing Line
   904 Franklin St, Suite 504
   Oakland, CA 94612

4. Contribute a report or an update on organizing inside for our Movement Highlights
   - Do you have an update on resistance inside that you think our readers should know about? Submit an organizing update to Movement Highlights!
   - In this section, we have short reports on current actions that are working toward the abolition of the PIC. Submissions to Movement Highlights may include campaign, protests, work strikes, direct actions, civil disobedience, hunger strikes, lawsuits, emerging demands, community bail funds, mutual aid, or other actions.
   - In general, we will not consider actions that are related to individual cases as we instead prioritize collective action. See page # for examples of Movement Highlights.

5. Write a poem or song lyrics. It can relate to the features or any other topic of your choice!

6. Make visual art to complement the Features section or one of our columns.

7. Create a political cartoon for our Features focus (Defund Policing for Issue 35 or Pathways Toward Freedom for Issue 36) or work with us to become a regular political cartoonist for the paper!

8. Reflect on how you use The Abby in your study and share that reflection for our 9971 column—or submit questions on study that you want Brevie to address in future columns.

Due to the high volume of mail we receive regularly, we cannot guarantee that all submissions will be printed in an issue, or that we can respond to all submissions. However, we are committed to reviewing all submissions and considering them for potential publication. Please make sure you read our Submission Guidelines before working on a submission to ensure your piece aligns with how we decide what to print.

If you’re not sure how to address your submission to best fit within the paper, write your submission to our Oakland office and our Project Coordinator will make sure the editorial team gets back to you.

Send submissions to:
   - Critical Resistance
   Attn: The Abolitionist
   1904 Franklin St, Suite 504
   Oakland, CA 94612

The Abolitionist is a community newspaper published in Oakland, CA 94612, committed to every issue being bilingual in English and Spanish. It is published ten times a year, online and in print, featuring columns that mirror different aspects of ongoing struggles against the PIC and their historical roots. The Abolitionist is multidisciplinary, with a focus on poetry, visual art, interviews, and artwork (in English and Spanish). It features columns on the PIC and broader anti-imperialism, centering起义斗争 and movements that resist, organize, or pry open the PIC. The Abolitionist is a project of the Oakland-based nonprofit Fishing Line Collective, and it is a publication of the fishing line exchange. It is a project of the Oakland-based nonprofit Fishing Line Collective, and it is a publication of the fishing line exchange. Our mission is to best fit within the paper, write your submission to our Oakland office and our Project Coordinator will make sure the editorial team gets back to you.

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Empowering, liberatory artwork that shows resistance and community power (and that will print well!)
“Black Panther Party’s United Front Against Fascism”

A PHOTO ESSAY WITH THE FREEDOM ARCHIVES

Front page of the May 1969 issue of the Black Panther Party newspaper, titled “Fascism in America.”

Portada del número de mayo de 1969 del periódico del Partido Pantera Negra, titulado “El fascismo en estados unidos”.

Original call from the BBP for their “Revolutionary conference for a United Front Against Fascism, held in Oakland, CA, in 1969.” Part of the text reads, “Fascism, the power of finance capital itself… The freedom of all political prisoners and political freedom for all proletarian-type organizations, the freedom and political work of all students, farmers, workers, and the lumpen must be developed into a national force: a front which has a common revolutionary ideology and political program which answers the basic desires and needs of all people in fascist, capitalistic, racist america.”

Llamado original del PPN para su “Conferencia revolucionaria por un Frente Unido contra el Fascismo, celebrada en Oakland, CA, en 1969”. Parte del texto dice: “El fascismo, el poder del capital financiero mismo… La libertad de todos los presos políticos y la libertad política de todas las organizaciones de tipo proletario, la libertad y el trabajo político de todas las estudiantes, campesinos, obreros y el lumpen deben convertirse en una fuerza nacional: un frente con una ideología revolucionaria y un programa político comunes que respondan a los deseos y necesidades básicas de todas en estos estados unidos fascistas, capitalistas y racistas.”
"El Frente Unido del Partido Pantera Negra contra el Fascismo": 
La lucha contra el Fascismo.