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## **“Intimidation and Resistance”**

*- Bob Gaucher*

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On June 7th, 1997, the University of Ottawa recognized the lifelong contribution to the cause of social justice of Claire Culhane by posthumously awarding her an honorary doctorate. Claire's life represents the triumph of commitment to social justice and resistance to state oppression. From Claire's struggles for women's and workers' rights as a teenager in the 1930s, through her involvement in the 1950s peace movement and anti-Vietnam War activities of the 1960s and 1970s, Claire was steadfast and active in her opposition to state oppression. For the next twenty years Claire devoted her efforts to the struggle for prisoners' rights in Canada.

During the same week, Elmer “Geronimo” Pratt was released on bail after serving 25 years for a COINTELPRO set-up on a homicide charge. His words, “I am contributing to the power of the people. The struggle continues” (Ottawa Citizen, June 11, 1997: A13), attest to his sense of commitment and resistance in face of extreme state repression. He neither could nor would be intimidated by the state's social control institutions.

How is such commitment to be explained or understood? My answer would focus on their social values and their relationships to their comrades, which sustained their struggles and themselves. Such values have been seriously challenged by the pronounced shift to the right and corporatism of the past two decades. This shift is represented by the increased use of penal justice as a means of intimidating communities and repressing dissent. The USA has been a global leader in this regard, targeting its disenfranchised minority communities, via mandatory penalties and extreme sentences. A key to this trajectory has been the divisive scapegoating of selected groups, which embodies state and social reaction to the increasing problems of social life in post-industrial societies.

The marginalization and disenfranchisement of increasingly large segments of western societies has been ideologically denied and reformulated as a problem of individual deviation and a lack of social discipline. Rather than declaring war on poverty, social inequality, discrimination and lack of opportunity, these post-modern societies have chosen to declare war on the most disadvantaged of their societies. In essence, the affluent have declared war on the poor. For some, this has been an economic boom, providing profit from rapidly expanding privatized correctionalist and security corporations, and employment for the minions of the right (see Morse, 1995). The politically induced hysteria over drug use and crime has served to justify and encourage penal repression as a response to problems of social structure and social inequality. While this intimidation is a physical presence in the communities of the disenfranchised, the spectre of marginalization serves to discipline the middle class to the neo-fascist social relations of western post-modern society.

Crime and deviance are created by the same historical forces and social structural features that produce social discipline and conformity. The current denial in criminological discourse of the underlying historical forces and social structural features indicates an etiological crisis in criminology. The discourse of the crime control industry is based upon problematic assumptions about human nature, social relations and society, and the resultant false analytical distinctions of its problematics. What is clear is that poverty, unemployment and joblessness, gender relations and discrimination are massively determined by the social structures and social organization of the society in question. Social conflict, whether it is criminalized or defined as a problem of social organization and social life (i.e., social trouble) is rooted in the social structural features and consequent social relations of society.

The current etiological crisis in criminology reflects the necessity of grounding social conflict in the containing social structural features of society. Much contemporary criminological discourse displaces the causes of crime/social trouble via individualizing or openly discriminatory analysis. The appropriation and consequent criminalization of social conflict and social division has been forwarded by academic and administrative criminology's refusal to

seriously address sociological factors. The result is stereotypical scapegoating of marginalized groups on the basis of class, race and gender. One lesson we learn from Claire Culhane and Geronimo Pratt is that their refusal to be intimidated and their life long resistance to oppression is based upon their understanding of the centrality of these social structural features. They exemplify that active resistance to state repression is linked to resistance to the ideological appropriation of social conflict by the crime control industry. Claire Culhane's life long struggle for social justice for women was grounded in her understanding that gender is a social construction. That understanding informed her twenty year fight for the rights of male prisoners in Canada. Geronimo Pratt's resistance to the USA's denigrating definition of the criminalized, in light of twenty-five years of continuous and arduous incarceration, is grounded in his understanding of the social construction of the minority prisoner.

What Claire clearly espoused and exemplified was that we can resist the ideological manipulation of our society. The means of achieving this is exposing the operations of the system and through community activism. *The Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* serves as a vehicle for exposing the contradictions and inequities of current penal justice practices. It aims to provide an alternative discourse which addresses the causes of social conflict and interpersonal aggression. Not as a means of explaining away the problem of crime and social disorder, but as a means of focusing on its root causes.

Accompanying the shift to a larger and more repressive penal justice system has been the attempt to silence the voices of the criminalized. While legislation aimed at preventing prisoners from voicing their opinions and discussing their cases has been standard in numerous states in the USA since the time of Carl Chessman, such legislation has only recently been introduced into Canada (i.e., Ontario). Following the lead of the USA, it has been the monsters that society produces who have been used to justify such legislation. In this issue of the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, Stephen Reid discusses the ramifications of legislation recently passed in Ontario and proposed federally. Rather than demanding that publishers act responsibly, this legislation attempts to control the writing of all the criminalized via copyright ownership. In

response, our editorial group has decided to directly challenge the Ontario legislation, in part, by paying prisoners a nominal \$50.00 for articles we publish in the future.

I would like to introduce three recent additions to our editorial group. Melissa Stewart, founder and coordinator of *Project Another Chance*, in Kingston, Ontario, is a former editor of *Tightwire*. Recently paroled, Melissa's work is in support of federally incarcerated women. Stephen Reid, a noted prison writer will be working closely with our group in Vancouver, B.C. Stephen currently teaches creative writing in penitentiaries and brings considerable publishing expertise to our board. Peter Murphy, is a former editor of *The Prison Journal* and for many years taught literature and creative writing courses in Canadian penitentiaries.

We have also made changes in our duty roster. Liz Elliott has taken on the role of manuscript editor and Curtis Taylor has established and will edit our website: <http://www.jpp.org>. Please note that previous issues of the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* are available via our website.

## REFERENCES

- Morse, J. (1995). "In The Shadow of the Thirteenth Amendment," *The Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, Volume 6:1.