

be used to provide an example for the partisans engaged at other levels of struggle."¹⁹ In addition, these outside groups focus independent attacks on the prison system, the court system, the legal and medical professions, and the corporate system, all of which contribute to and benefit from the exploitation of prisoners. For example, the Medical Committee for Human Rights is investigating the use of drugs to tranquilize and torture militant prisoners and the use of prisoners for testing new drugs by the multibillion-dollar drug industry.

The crucial measure of the advancement represented by the current movement in prisons is its level of political articulation. The rioters of the 1950s were not conscious of the similarities between their protest and protest in the larger society. Today's revolutionaries are not only conscious of that connection, but strive to make it more complete. The current movement offers a class analysis of American society which sees prisons not only as an institution for class control in the United States but also as part of the global system of class control called imperialism. The movement grounds its activity in this analysis and is based on interracial and international solidarity. It represents the development of the revolutionary potential of the most exploited part of the working class, the wretched of the earth, with that forsaken class providing both leadership and analysis for the larger movement. To the degree that these things are true, even in the face of incredible repression, the prisoners' struggle today is in the forefront of the revolutionary movement in America.

As prisoners have moved from riot toward revolution, the state has responded with intensified repression. At this point, the direction that this repression will take is not completely clear, although it is clear that it is linked with the intensified repression in the society in general: the death of George Jackson in San

19. George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 109.

Quentin, for example, immediately brings to mind the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago.²⁰

The indications are that the basic technique of preventing rebellion will continue to be the pitting of prisoners against each other, particularly along racial lines. Promises of early parole and good treatment and threats of torture or denial of parole will be used against prisoners to prevent them from participating in political activity. When such tactics fail and a revolt does occur, the prison will continue to turn to intense repression to deal with the situation: transfers, torture, assassination, officially sponsored racial violence, and other forms of crisis management.

The use of differential rewards and punishments to prevent prisoners from cooperating with militants may still work, since all prisoners are at the mercy of the system and not all are strong enough to resist completely. But an increasing number of prisoners are turning their backs on bribes and threats. And because of increased public consciousness and alertness about prisons, especially after the murders at Attica and San Quentin, it is becoming more difficult for prison officials to hide or defend the practice of mass murder and torture behind the walls.

Because of these developments, the prison system is looking for new techniques of dealing with disturbances. A dim outline of the "prison of the future" is emerging. It is based on the application of sophisticated techniques of medicine and social

20. On December 4, 1970, fourteen special police, acting on the orders of State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, raided the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther party. Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered by the police while he slept, and Mark Clark, also a Black Panther, was critically wounded and died shortly thereafter. Hanrahan described the incident as a shoot-out, and said police fired only after the Black Panthers had fired several volleys at the police. However, subsequent investigations revealed that the police had fired approximately 99 shots, and that the Panthers *might* have fired one shot. As other evidence was uncovered, it became clear that Hanrahan had lied and that Hampton and Clark had not been killed in a "shoot-out" but rather had been deliberately murdered. Despite the efforts of a number of government officials to prevent any action from being taken against Hanrahan, he and 13 law officers were indicted on August 24, 1971 for "conspiring to obstruct justice."