increased military buildup sponsored by the US post 9/11. This will undoubtedly cause more dislocation. Today, labor is the Philippine's greatest export and remittances from overseas workers are the second largest contributor to the national economy.

What the U.S. does in terms of immigration and refugee policy is often the model for other countries.

Alliance building with immigrant communities

In the post 9/11 political climate immigrant communities are under siege. We call on the progressive community to support and help build the immigrant rights movement to defend ourselves against these attacks. The labor movement must in particular take up this challenge. We must build support for the legalization of undocumented workers, to bring them out of the shadows so that they can protect their rights and resist the expansion of guest worker programs. Guest worker programs are not a solution to the economic problems of countries like Mexico, the Philippines, India and China where most guest workers come from. What we need to do is promote true economic development so those workers are not forced to find jobs outside of their own countries.

We must support increased funding for citizenship programs.

We must oppose local cooperation between the police and the INS.

We must build support for the UN-sponsored International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and the Members of Their Families, currently ratified by 19 countries, not including the United States. This Convention can only take effect when 20 or more countries have signed on.

We must help the public understand the relationship between foreign and domestic policy and the relationship between our country's behavior around the world and the dislocation of peoples.

We must build popular resistance to the racist notion that we must sacrifice the rights of immigrants for greater national security.

---- ***Lillian Galedo****, Executive Director of Filipinos for Affirmative Action, is a long-time Bay Area activist in the Filipino*

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Racism and the Prison Industrial Complex

Gina Dent

I have a big task in front of me, and I'm glad I have lots of friends in the audience who have been working on the prison issue for far longer than I have. So, I'm going to presume that I'm talking to an audience that understands the relationship between racism and the prison-industrial complex. Is there anyone I need to convince that the prison-industrial complex is racist?

OK, so we can go on to something else.

I have three sections: the first is more for those who are a little less informed--there's a nine-year-old friend of mine in the audience--about what the prison-industrial complex actually means. And then I want to talk about how the prison system structures its racisms. Finally, I want to talk about the forms of racism that we might also be participating in, in trying to struggle against the prison-industrial complex, as a kind of further challenge to us.

So, first I just want to say that it always amazes me when I have students who think that the prison-industrial complex is the building. It's really important that we think about what that complex means. I'm going to follow from the remarks this morning that already laid out so many of the statistics around incarceration that I think all of us have heard many, many times.

In addition to what Manning Marable had outlined in terms of the way in which US corporations have engaged in corporate flight, we know that there's one business that has been growing inside the US. Tim Wise also referred to this in terms of the prison building in Iowa. So I don't also have to lay that out. But, what I do want us to think about are the ways in which there is still an export in US-style prisons and the reasons that it's difficult to think about that in certain kinds of contexts. I'm going to allude a little bit to Fran Beal later because I knew you were going to talk about Durban and, one of the things that was so striking to me when I was there was that, when Angela Davis, who is here, was talking about the prison-industrial complex, the whole room--there was this big, noisy room, all ready to hear her--and when she started talking about ending prisons the whole room got quiet, and people started to grumble, and people really didn't want to hear it.

Part of it is has to do with one of the lines we heard a lot while we were there: that there needs to be prison building, now, in South Africa, because there's a crisis around crime, as a result of poverty, but once they eradicate poverty, they'll be able to get rid of the prisons. Well, we know--Tim Wise said it before--if you build it, they will come. Well, now there is a maximum security prison--a super-max--in South Africa, run by Wackenhut. That is some news to people and that's good. We really need to think about why that could be in the context of radical organizing against racisms. Why does that make sense at this particular time in South Africa in a way that it doesn't make sense to a lot of people in this room. Today, I want to remember that, but I want to bracket that for a moment.

The other thing that we know about the way in which globalization has affected the prison-industrial complex (PIC), is the export of US-style prisons. Some of you may know, for example, about the hunger strike that's been going on in Turkey for over a year, I guess a year and a half, which is against the US

style of prison building and of housing inmates, in the language of the system,, together in close proximity--rather than in more isolation--than people were actually used to. So, there are other ways in which this US prison building industry is being exported. And there's a lot more to say about that, but I don't actually have time.

One thing we also probably know internationally is that racism can be seen in every place that US style prison building and European style prison building exists. And the patterns of racialization are so strikingly similar that you can go into a prison in Sweden, and I've done it, and find a very dark population, in a country which looks on the street outside incredibly white. So, for those of you who have not actually had that experience or seen that, it's quite striking. And I've done it in several countries, including Australia, where it was also not quite as alarming and surprising, but also quite striking.

These are other ways in which US prison culture has been exported as a global product.

But there are some things that I would like us to think about such as how the prison itself has a culture. When the term "prison culture" is usually used, it refers to the culture that prisoners create, with the presumption that it's the prisoners and their predilection toward criminality that makes for the culture of the prison, right? I've been working with the research group in affiliation with the University of California (Ruthie Gilmore, Angela Davis) We've been interested in studying prison culture. Not the prisoners' culture but the culture of the prison, and how the prison system creates that culture. So, we've been doing visits in California prisons together as a group of seven. We can only do visits, and you can probably understand some of the constraints of those visits. But astonishingly, even though we've had completely controlled access, we've been told things that you'd think would be so devastating to the system, that the system would have ended by now.

Even on our lovely tour with the top brass of these institutions, let me give you just a few highlights. One "highlight" was at a state prison, where we knew there was a whole section of INS prisoners (this was before 9/11), who we were never allowed to see. But we did get to go into the one section of the prison where they were on lock-down. So we only saw prisoners if they were at work in the laundry, or if they were being literally herded (and that's how they were being talked about) from the yard to eating or somewhere else. We didn't see any prisoners in other kinds of situations. The one other place we saw prisoners was in what they call the "classification hearings," where the prisoners who had been put in administrative classification were being reviewed, as they were reviewed weekly . We were told a lot about that process and how it is an expression of their legal due process and it is a expression of the fairness of the prison and its evaluation (you're all nodding; you know what I mean).

But it was quite amazing that the guards, during this whole process, were explaining to us the logic of their system. So, for example, we heard the racial classifications of the prison: white, Black, northern Hispanic, southern Hispanic, other. Now, I want all of you to put yourselves in one of those boxes. And there were seating charts for eating attached to those designations. So the forms of racialization that the prison creates, in actuality as suggested by a guard that we met, came from gang cultures of the '70's. We asked them: "Where did you get these classifications?" "Well, they came from the gangs." "When?" "The 70's."

So it's in the cycle of people going inside the prison and outside again, and inside and outside, and families, and you know how this is going in neighborhoods, they are creating and consolidating these racial classifications. So the process of the prison is not only reflecting the racial climate outside, but it is producing it.

I have so many other examples, but I want to give you a kind of non-example: We met at CIW (California Institution for Women) an amazing prisoner who we were able to meet with even though she was on administrative segregation. She told us her major problem was that she did not fit in; there was no place for her, there was no program for her. She was not a mother, she was not a drug addict, she was not formerly abused, and therefore there was no logic for her being there and doing anything constructive--there was no place for her. And it really struck me that we need to think about our own ways of figuring out what ways prisoners were of interest to us. Why is it that so much of the research on women in prisons is on women because they are mothers? Why the interest attached to them only because they are mothers.

What are the challenges to us about the forms of racism that we carry also? And I think I found that some of that had to do with the kinds of classifications that we also used, as people who research, thought about, and even organized against prisons. and the ways in which we use statistics, to do a lot of our work. So when Cassandra Scott was telling us--she asked us to use her name--she didn't fit in, she was also not a number, that she didn't matter. She was not a part of a group that counted at all, because it was not proportionately important. I think that while we're hearing about how devastating the prison situation is in the US and elsewhere, when we're talking about the numbers of people incarcerated, and we're talking about the numbers of African American men incarcerated, it does not mean we should be interested LESS in women. Also we do not think we should be interested LESS, for example, because they're a small number, even though proportionately to their population they're the highest number of incarcerated people.

So, I started to think about how it meant that we had also these ways of thinking proportionately about where our interests lay, and that we are missing things in that. I also started to think about the ways in which Cassandra Scott provoked me to think about the category of the prisoners as a kind of race. And this is something that Avery Gordon, as a member of our research group, has been actually working on--what are the descriptions of prisoners that are so consolidated that they actually then become racializations in and of themselves. So it's not that I'm saying "Black prisoners," "Asian prisoners." I'm saying how does the term "prisoner" become itself a racialized term.

Therefore, racism is not one thing alone but it is something being created in new forms. Tim was right that there's a lot of old forms of racism that we're living. But also I think the prison has at least, as I've seen it, the capacity to give us some new forms of racialization that we should pay attention to.

The other thing I've been thinking about, connected to the thing I just said, is the problem of ideology. I started to work on a book , called "On Location,"as a result of being a part of this research group. I talk about the relationship between the way we

think (we're talking about Americans, and Betita will excuse me for one second--US people), why we think we know what prisons are like and what they're doing to people. What are the sources of our knowledge about that and how do we rely on those sources of knowledge in making decisions about what should happen to people?

One of the things that's difficult in talking about the prison system, and I think anyone who's ever tried to talk about this has confronted this, is that: when we talk about racial slavery, US racial slavery, as a past event--and I think Tim Wise was talking about the ways we see the past this morning--we think of it as utterly natural to see slavery ended in the 19th Century, because we can see that kind of racial segregation is produced. But we don't have that same kind of vision when we're talking about contemporary situations.

So, I want us to think about what is natural to us about incarceration, and about prisons. Why do they feel like they're a permanent part of the landscape? What are the ways that that's reinforced for us?

One of the things I started to do was to study TV. I would go to the TV Guide page on the web and type in "prison" and see how many different times it came up. And you could actually watch from 8 am to actually 4/5 in the morning, something about prisons, including cartoons, ads, reality programming, TV movies, whatever...and the news...it goes on and on and on at every hour of every day. Now, if that's possible, it also creates the idea that there's the permanence of this institution.

So I want us to think about two things really I guess. On the one hand, what's happening as a racializing process when we incarcerate people to challenge us to think about humanity as a category. If dehumanization is what we talk about when we talk about US racial slavery, the historical slavery, then what is the process of dehumanization in the prison context. How do we describe it; how is it different from US racial slavery historically? How might it also be the same? A lot of folks focus on how it's the same, e.g. patterns of incarceration are racial--they look very much like racial slavery. But a lot of times we don't factor in that very difficult part, which is that people have been convicted of a crime. That's the exception to the 13th Amendment: that you cannot have slavery, except as punishment for a crime. That legal part, that legal apparatus of convicting someone, allows many people ideologically to feel off the hook. It moves the activity away from us onto the prisoner.

Whatever is happening, and there's an incredible quote from Clarence Thomas, but I won't read it--you don't need it--which really shows that the presumption is that it doesn't matter at all what the state does to prisoners because, at bottom, they are not like us, or they have done something to become not like us any more. And I really want us to think about that.

I also want us to think about the way we think that the prison itself is a permanent part of our natural landscape. And the way in which we reinforce this to each other in the forms of culture that we participate in.

I heard some derogatory remarks about hip hop. I'm an in-between generation, so I don't necessarily talk about the hip hop community as one thing or put it down. But I think that it is definitely true that there are these forms of representation that we all consume that have, whatever side of the debate they fall on or around whether or not the incarceration patterns are correct, that further consolidate our feeling that these are places that will always be here.

---- ***Gina Dent*** *is Assistant Professor in the Department of Women's Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is the author of the forthcoming book,* Anchored to the Real: Black Literature in the Wake of Anthropology*, and is a Critical Resistance activist.*

The Meaning of Durban - Where Do We Go From Here?

Fran Beal

I was excited when I was asked to do this. My experience in Durban last August, just one year ago, was one of the highlights of my life: to gather together in one place in the world, where there are people from all over the world with one thing on their mind, "How are we going to deal with this question of racial justice?"

But in preparing for this presentation it was very difficult for me because even though I had written 15 columns-some building up to the conference, about the conference, and after the conference- this was the one the least amount of people knew anything about. There were very few articles in the paper; there was little coverage except about the United States walking out, and people weren't interested in the summation because once the United States left, insofar as the US press was concerned, nothing happened.

Therefore, it's hard for me to try to figure out how I can give people information about what happened, some of the excitement there, and do some analysis at the same time. I'm going to try.

In many ways it's very hard to believe that only ten months have passed since the UN Conference on Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and other forms of Intolerance actually took place in Durban, South Africa. Since that very important gathering, in which over 8000 people gathered in the NGO conference (the non-governmental part), and then people from the governmental part of it, essentially the world has really shifted on its axis because of what happened on 9/11. I think since that moment and the repercussions that we're all facing in trying to confront today about that horrific terrorist assault on the World Trade Center, on the Pentagon, and the plane that went down in Pennsylvania, the repercussions have exploded on the world scene in a way that initially brushed all other considerations to the side.

But for those of us who participated in Durban, and in the Durban dialogue, I think a critical part of trying to understand the new political terrain that confronts us, is to extract what lessons we actually can, what we learned, and to apply them to the current struggle against war, racism and repression that is going on in the United States today and around the world. I'm