

# JUSTICE ADVOCATES

CURE AND PRISON REFORM

**UIC** Jane Addams Center for  
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## By Charles Hounmenou, PhD

### About the Center

The Jane Addams Center for Social Policy and Research brings together the resources of academic institutions and community groups to advance social welfare policies and programs that meet the needs of urban communities, especially poor families and children. The Center conducts research and evaluation studies, analyzes public policies, holds forums on important policy issues, and tests new program models and service delivery strategies. The Center's Justice Advocates Program focuses on social work, families, and the criminal justice system.

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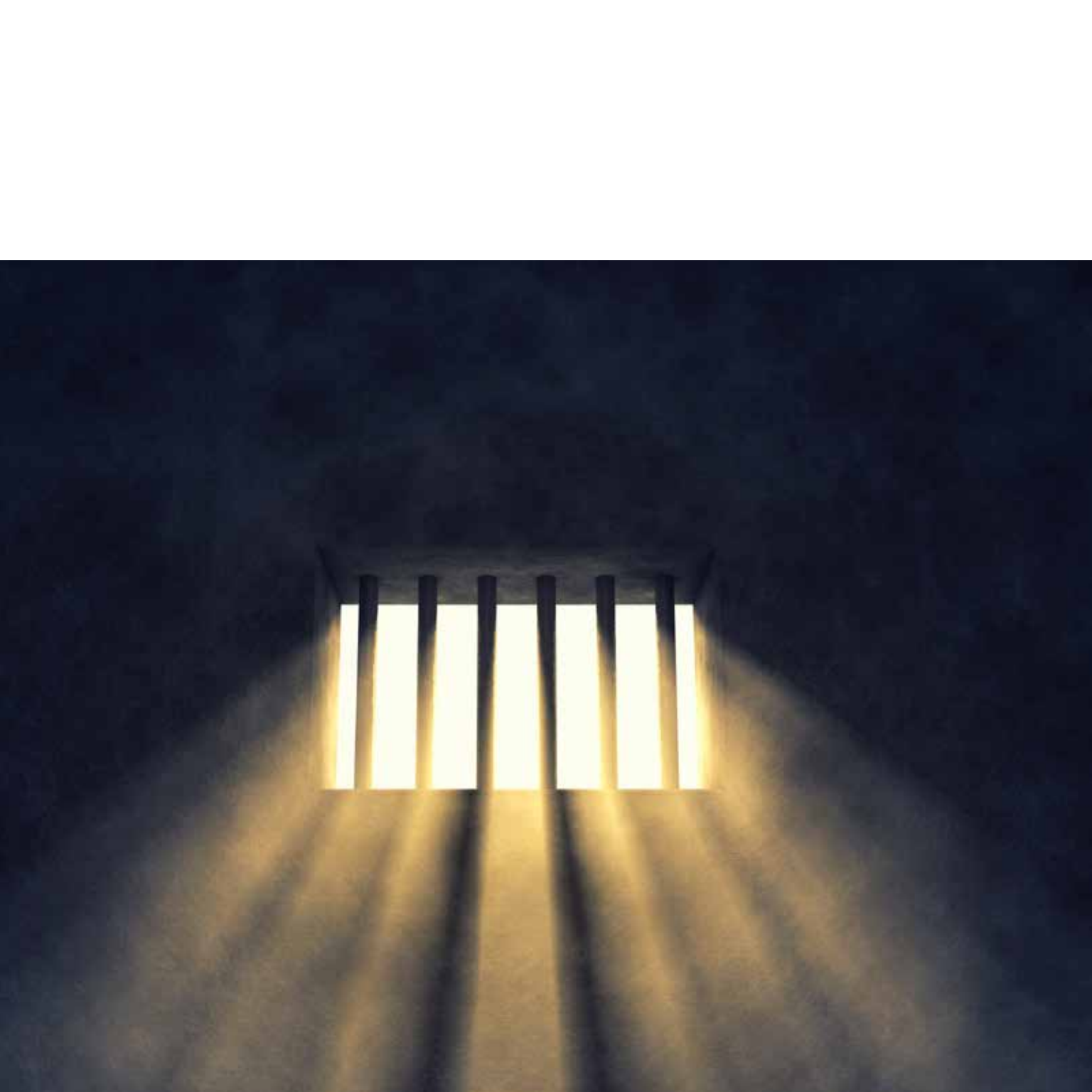
### Acknowledgements

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## FOREWORD



The Jane Addams College of Social Work is pleased to join with CURE in celebrating more than 40 years of advocacy for human rights and prison reform, first in the United States and then throughout the world. Our shared goal of advancing social justice and social reform in the spirit of Jane Addams, the College's namesake, has provided a firm basis for an important

working relationship over many years. We are especially pleased to have joined with CURE in cosponsoring the international conferences that bring together people from diverse backgrounds and cultures to discuss solutions for problems we share in common. The work of the organization is personally meaningful as well for the CURE leaders and members provide powerful reminders of the importance of personal commitment and endurance in advancing social change.

*Justice Advocates: CURE and Prison Reform* is a collaborative project of CURE and the College's Jane Addams Center for Social Policy and Research. The booklet documents the history of CURE, highlighting important organizational accomplishments. At the center of this document are the strategies, campaigns, and mobilizing that led to reform legislation, new programs and changes in correctional practices. At the heart are the dedication and caring of CURE's founders and leaders, Pauline and Charlie Sullivan. We are honored to recognize Charlie and Pauline's work by presenting them the Jane Addams Center for Social Policy and Research 2014 Justice Advocates Award. We know that in accepting the award they do so in recognition of the many CURE members and chapter leaders who have worked, and continue to work, over the years to make justice a reality in the criminal justice system.

**Creasie Finney Hairston, PhD**

Dean, Jane Addams College of Social Work  
Director, Jane Addams Center for Social Policy and Research  
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## INTRODUCTION

In an environment of an alarmingly rising prison population and a lobbying thrust for the construction of more prisons in the country, Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE) has become an anchor for the over 2,000,000 detainees in U.S. prisons. The organization has two main goals: 1) to use prisons only for those who absolutely must be incarcerated; and 2) to provide rehabilitative resources and opportunities which those who have to be in prison need to turn their lives around. For over forty years, CURE has worked for transformation of justice and prison systems from primarily retribution to primarily restoration, rehabilitation, and reintegration systems- in short, for restorative justice. The organization's traditional stance is that the federal government must stop paying for big, new prisons, and direct more resources toward alternatives to incarceration. Likewise, states should develop restorative sentencing options, including: diversion-from-prison programs; community-corrections programs including residential facilities with rehabilitation programs such as alcohol and drug addiction treatment, education, mental health services, job-skills development and job placement; and post-release assistance. CURE consistently advocates the use of such alternatives to reduce prison and jail costs, to hold people accountable for their crimes, and without compromising public safety, to help former offenders successfully reintegrate into the community.

CURE is a multi-layered grassroots organization from top to bottom. Its leaders come from the ranks of people formerly in prison and family members or friends of prisoners. Likewise, its members are prisoners, former prisoners, family members, and friends of prisoners as well as other concerned citizens who work to reduce injustice in the criminal justice system. The majority of the organization's limited financial resources come neither from private nor public funding, but from membership dues and contributions of supporters including prisoners. CURE does not provide services; it promotes positive changes in the criminal justice system by working with policymakers in all branches of government, and by providing information to its membership to empower them for advocacy for changes in the criminal justice system.

Charles and Pauline Sullivan founded CURE in 1972. As co-directors of the organization, they are major champions for prisoners in the U.S.A. The selfless, lifelong dedication of these leaders to activism for a humane treatment of prisoners is fascinating. Their outstanding advocacy efforts in the policymaking arena have led to lawmakers' increasing attention to prison issues. This booklet highlights the organization's accomplishments and testifies to Charles and Pauline's vanguard role in the fight for the human rights of prisoners not only in the U.S.A., but also in other parts of the world. As the reader will soon realize, it is quite difficult to separate the story of the work of CURE from that of the leadership roles the Sullivans have played through the decades.



## THE EARLY YEARS

### The Call to Activism for Prison Reform

The year 1969 was a time of life-changing decisions for Charles—most known as Charlie—and Pauline. It was during that time that he quit the calling of priesthood after criticizing the Catholic Church for its cautious position on the civil rights and similar social issues in his native Alabama. It was within the same time span that Pauline chose to quit her sisterhood after spending 13 years in the order. Her fight for the achievement of such causes as the American Indian Movement and the Gay and Lesbian Mobilization was at odds with the Church's guarded stance on such issues in her native Minnesota. Just like Charlie, she felt that the anti-war movement and social changes were propelling her faster than the Church would condone. "I couldn't do so many things in religious life that I thought I should be doing,"<sup>1</sup> she said. "Also, I was very lonely." She met Charlie in St. Paul, Minnesota on a blind date arranged by Joe Selvage<sup>2</sup>, and they got married. Then, as activists, they spent a year traveling and living in a 1965 Volkswagen van before settling in Texas. "We just felt very strongly that if we were going to do something with our lives...it should be something that was going to really be for the people at the bottom,"<sup>3</sup> Pauline explained.

At the time, during a visit to a friend detained in the Bexar County jail "on a bogus charge of civil disobedience,"<sup>4</sup> Charlie could not help but listen to the conversations of other detainees describing their jail woes. And, when these detainees went on hunger strike to protest their poor conditions of detention, the Sullivans organized a sympathy strike outside the jail. This led to Charlie's detention for disorderly conduct for a few days.<sup>5</sup> "As I look back 30 years ago, what



Photo by Alan Pogue

"Down through the bars." The picture is illustrative of idleness in prison.

stands out was the first clanging of that cell door and the thought went through my mind that maybe I will never walk out!!!”<sup>6</sup> Charlie said in 2001 when reflecting on how he got involved in jail and prison reform. During his short stay in jail, Pauline and about a dozen other people kept a 24-hour vigil outside the detention facility. “I shall never forget the first morning in jail looking out the window and seeing Pauline and that very small group singing ‘We shall overcome!’”<sup>7</sup> On his release, Charlie insisted on having a jury trial and used the five hours of the court proceedings to make many statements on prison reform, which led the judge at the end to say jokingly that he was up to his neck in lessons about jail reform.<sup>8</sup>

A short time later, the Sullivans left San Antonio and continued to travel and search for their niche. They got arrested with 15,000 others for participating in the May Day, 1971, anti-war demonstrations in Washington, DC. At the time, both were members of the peace movement made of anti-war activists. They were also part of a grassroots movement seeking changes in the Catholic Church. “We were still travelling and living in our VW van and even had a visit with Dorothy Day at the Catholic Worker seeking her advice on what we should do apart from civil disobedience,”<sup>9</sup> Charlie said. Dorothy was in charge of the Catholic Worker Hospital-ity House in New York City. As an admirer of President Fidel Castro for his achievements on behalf of Cubans in health-care and education, she encouraged Pauline and Charlie to visit Cuba.<sup>10</sup>

The actual answer to the Sullivans’ search for a worthwhile cause other than protests came in September, 1971, while they were lobbying against the military draft and living in their van on Capitol Hill in Washington. An uprising of people incarcerated at Attica prison in New York occurred and put the spotlight on prison conditions in the country. The tragic climax of failed negotiations, especially the killing by the state of not only 29 prisoners but also ten correctional

officers strongly influenced Pauline and Charlie to return to San Antonio, Texas, and work long-range on jail and prison reform.

## **Launching CURE**

Before the late 1970s, almost all the Texas prisons were located in the eastern region, which made it very difficult for prisoners’ families from other parts of the state to stay in touch with their incarcerated loved ones. “For some it could mean a 500-mile round trip, a trip that for many was not only long but prohibitively expensive, since once they arrived in the town nearest the prison, they’d have to take a taxi to the facility,”<sup>11</sup> Charlie explained. Some people had not seen their imprisoned family members for over 10 years. Thus, in San Antonio where they were living, the Sullivans initiated a prison visit bus service.

They launched the service with just both of them and a few volunteers from the peace movement to drive four leased buses filled with friends and family of inmates on an arduous 500-mile round-trip. “Thus, CURE really began in San Antonio on January 2, 1972, at 5 a.m.,”<sup>12</sup> said Charlie, “when the engines of four broken-down buses were started, and their lights turned on.” The unanticipated great success of the bus initiative motivated volunteers to replicate the service in other major Texan cities such as Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, El Paso, and Houston. “The volunteers would send us the names of people who wanted to go. As a result, we were developing a kind of political constituency among people throughout the state made up of the relatives of prisoners,”<sup>13</sup> he said. “We were organizing without quite knowing it, laying the groundwork for the advocacy work we’d be doing later.”

The acronym CURE appropriately describes the focus on rehabilitative measures the organization has built itself on. Yet, the way the Sullivans came up with the name itself is more illustrative of the goals of the group. According to Pauline, when they decided to find a name of the organiza-

tion they had just created, it was easy for them to retain the word “citizen” for the letter C because they wanted to have grassroots organizing involving all citizens.<sup>14</sup> Then they thought of “united” as giving a sense of working together and got the letter U. They believed that most Americans supported the concept of rehabilitation for prisoners. “Surveys have shown that 70 percent of the American people still think that rehabilitation should be one of the purposes of incarceration,”<sup>15</sup> Pauline stated. That was how they chose R for “rehabilitation.” Fascinatingly, they realized the acronym started to spell “cure.” The last word had to begin with E and be suitable for their plan to advocate for offenders and prisoners. Thus, they used a dictionary and found the term “errants” meaning people who make mistakes. Eventually, the word “errant” became an accepted term in Texas for prisoners, and it was used by some of the legislators.<sup>16</sup>

### **Moving from Services to Advocacy**

During the prison visit bus trips they organized, Pauline and Charlie became aware of the “building tender” system—a cruel guard system consisting in using inmates as guards and heads of prison cell blocks. “Building tenders” had access to weapons and could act with impunity, punishing or even killing fellow inmates whom guards had deemed troublemakers or whistleblowers. “When a warden wanted to stop a prisoner from filing lawsuits, he would ask the BT [“building tender”] over his cellblock to threaten, injure or even kill the prisoner,”<sup>17</sup> Charlie explained.

As budding policy entrepreneurs, the Sullivans decided to fight for the ending of the “building tender” system. In February 1973, they delivered a news release to the media at the Capitol in Austin, formally announcing the creation of CURE as a prison reform organization. Then, Frances and Fred Cruz who back then were legendary prison reformers within the Texas prison world drafted the piece of legislation addressing the concern at stake. Pauline and Charlie wanted the bill to be introduced in the regular legislative

session that began in January and would end in June. So, they tirelessly visited legislative offices at the Capitol to seek sponsors for their bill. “We were discouraged by our negative reception,”<sup>18</sup> said Charlie, “until newly-elected Rep. Joe L. Hernandez, representing San Antonio’s poorest district said he would introduce it.” He became CURE’s first public official sponsor in the Texas legislature. Pauline and Charlie drove many volunteers to testify about the “building tender” system and challenge prison officials’ claim that “building tenders” were prisoners selected by the administration to do just janitorial work. They also encouraged family members and friends of detainees to call their state legislators about the urgency to put an end to that cruel retaliatory practice. “We could tell them who to call, but we weren’t the ones who would make the call; doing it themselves was part of the empowerment,” Charlie remarked.

In April 1973, the legislators swiftly passed House Bill 1056 introduced by Rep. Hernandez, doing away with the “building tender” system. The law stated that no inmate could have administrative, disciplinary or supervisory power over another inmate. However, it was 10 years later, only after a federal court ordered a massive prison reform, requiring that the prison authorities hire more correctional officers to replace prisoners being used as “building tenders,” that the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) implemented the law. U.S. District Judge William Wayne Justice quoted the legislation secured by the Sullivans and their friends as a key reason for his court decision.<sup>19</sup> As a result, 2500 more correctional officers were hired to take the place of the inmate guards in Texan prisons.

Following the “building tender” prison reform win, Pauline and Charlie realized that the organization might not be able to survive by both providing services and doing policy advocacy because of the risks and constraints associated with each. Direct services helped find short-term solutions to prison issues. However, they maintained status quo and

hardly effected any actual change of the prison system. Many policymakers and politicians would enthusiastically support or allocate funding for prison services. On the opposite, although advocacy aimed to bring about lasting change in the system through involvement in the policymaking process, getting resources for it was difficult. When an organization focused just on advocacy, it could be highly challenging for it to get the support necessary to achieve its goals because, as Charlie remarked, “Advocacy is not where the money is because it can be controversial.”<sup>20</sup> For instance, very few lawmakers would support or sponsor organizations doing prison reform advocacy. “The prison system liked us when we only ran the bus service. When we advocated banning the ‘building tender’ system, they saw us ‘as the enemy,’”<sup>21</sup> he explained. Subsequently, the choice between services and advocacy work became obvious for CURE. “We are 100% in agreement then and now that CURE must be an advocacy organization,”<sup>22</sup> he added.

CURE’s option as an advocacy organization was reinforced by its leaders’ deliberate adoption of a non-confrontational approach<sup>23</sup> when dealing with the prison management system. This implied moving from a confrontational approach to cooperative strategies, and no longer being involved in demonstrations because anything that might occur during protests sponsored by the group could irretrievably damage its brand and reputation.<sup>24</sup> “We realized that if we were ever going to have any success in prison reform in Texas, we would have to “adjust our marketing strategy,”<sup>25</sup> Charlie said. Therefore, CURE’s leaders began to be actively involved in the policy-making arena, advocating at various levels of the legislature while avoiding any activist actions that might annoy power players. “We thus joined ‘the establishment’ and became this nice ‘do-gooder’ couple who were properly dressed and who wanted to bring about prison reform,”<sup>26</sup> Charlie said. “We had become members of the jury to hang the jury!” However, the non-confrontational approach was not unanimously well accepted among other CURE’s

members. “They want us to confront more than we think is good,”<sup>27</sup> said Pauline. “They think you can put people against the wall and shout at them to change.” Through their selfless leadership, the Sullivans showed CURE membership that a nonviolent approach was a relevant alternative way of bringing about change in the prison system. By their work in the field of policymaking, they showed that lobbying, although hardly used by activists, was a strategy more suitable than demonstrations for “speaking truth to power.”<sup>28</sup>

In July 1974, the Sullivans moved from San Antonio to Austin—the state capital. “We also felt that if we were to move more in the direction of advocacy, we should relocate to Austin, the state capital, and be in close touch with the Texas legislators,”<sup>29</sup> Charlie said. Consequently, during the next 12 years, they were actively involved in policymaking at the Capitol, hardly having time for full time jobs for a living.



Photo by Alan Pogue

A meeting of CURE members and supporters in Austin, 1975. Charlie, standing in the background on the right, is addressing the audience. They are having the meeting to try and persuade Austin’s State Sen. Lloyd Doggett to have minorities appointed to the Parole Board.

## Impact of Spirituality on the Activist Couple

Life in Austin was not easy for the Sullivans. They used to do part-time jobs and lived on \$400 a month.<sup>30</sup> “Besides donations for the work, I did substitute teaching, and Charlie drove a cab. That was a disaster, because he kept getting lost,”<sup>31</sup> Pauline said, explaining how they supported themselves during their early years of prison reform advocacy. They got their clothes from second-hand stores or from friends and acquaintances. For instance, Rep. Hernandez, for instance, used to donate his suits to Charlie. “Whatever Joe wears this legislative session,”<sup>32</sup> Charlie candidly said, “I will be wearing the next.” “But we’re not lacking for anything that’s important to us,”<sup>33</sup> Pauline said. “The expenses we’ve cut out are things like cars, new clothes—we get our clothes second hand—and life insurance,” she added.

In Austin, they walked or took buses to wherever they went. Then one day Nick Kralj, a restaurant owner, got tired of seeing them often waiting for buses on street corners and offered them a 10-year-old Volkswagen car, telling them that even God did not like them waiting for buses every time.<sup>34</sup> Many people in Texas were bewildered at seeing the Sullivans show so much happiness and passion in willful poverty despite their excellent level of connection and education. Charlie had a Master of Arts degree and did advanced studies in theology, whereas Pauline had a Bachelor of Arts degree and did graduate work in special education.

Most lobbyists at the Capitol in Austin represented big interests. Not only were they very well remunerated, but also they spent a lot of money on lawmakers to influence the way legislation was made in their areas of intervention. In stark contrast, Pauline and Charlie, the only “lobbyists” or advocates for prison reform at the Capitol, had no one to pay them for their work, and were not even seeking any remuneration. They could not afford to pay for meals for any legislators or provide donations to political campaign coffers as lobbyists would do. Instead, sometimes their own meal



A newspaper clip featuring Pauline and Charlie, Houston Post of February 27, 1977.

tabs were picked up by legislators. “They hosted no cocktail parties and had no donations to dispense; they offered only photocopied fact sheets and earnest testimony,”<sup>35</sup> Robert Perkinson wrote in his (2010) book, “Texas Tough: The Rise of America’s Prison Empire.” In opposition to the mainstream lobbyists at the Capitol, the Sullivans represented not the ‘Super Americans,’ referring to the Texas’s booming millionaire class in the 1970s, “but the most wretched Americans”<sup>36</sup>. They operated in an inhospitable environment because prison reform was still such an unpopular and hot-



button policy topic few lawmakers dared to raise. “One of the group’s problems is that the population for which they lobby (prisoners) does not elicit much sympathy,”<sup>37</sup> S. D. Williams stated in his 1991’s article titled “CURE for America’s Prisons” in the journal, *Corrections Compendium*. “Outsiders frequently do not see the wisdom of giving resources to those who must be in prison,” he explained. The Sullivans campaigned in the lawmaking arena with the hope that there were people in a position of leadership who would be sensitive to their policy proposals for the welfare of detainees. Retired State Senator Babe Schwartz expressed his admiration for the Sullivans’ leadership on educating policymakers in these terms:

Until Charlie and Pauline came along, I had never seen anyone advocate on behalf of a prisoner [...]. I didn’t know anyone in prison. But the Sullivans started to tell me about prisoners and their families and the depredations [. . .]. They just opened up a whole new world.<sup>38</sup>

Only from a religious perspective is it possible to fathom the self-sacrifice of this couple passionately committed to activism for prisoner rights. “We wouldn’t be in this work if it didn’t have a spiritual basis,”<sup>39</sup> Pauline said. “Although I left religious life and married, what I’m doing now is a continuation of that life of service,”<sup>40</sup> she added. The underlying principle for their modest lifestyle could be traced back to their resolve to keep the vows of poverty they had taken when they respectively joined priesthood and sisterhood a long time ago. “It’s certainly a choice, the simple life style, and we probably made it because of our background in religious life,”<sup>41</sup> she further explained. Charlie said that when he lacked time to pray-- which did happen time and again because their work was so overwhelming — to sustain himself spiritually, he often relied on the prayer by Michel Quoist called “*Lord, Why Did You Tell Me to Love?*”<sup>42</sup> The anecdote behind this prayer was that once there was a person

who wanted to do God’s will and help others, but he was overwhelmed to find people coming at him from every side, through the doors and through the windows. So God assured him not to worry because while people were pouring in, He slipped in with them.<sup>43</sup> More than faith, mutual support and communion provided the fuel for Charlie and Pauline to carry on their “mission” on behalf of prisoners. “I couldn’t go on here if it weren’t for Pauline,” said Charlie. “You have to have someone who’s going through it with you.”

It seems ironic that the Catholic Church provided the biggest support to Charlie and Pauline’s work for decades although both had left their orders. It was as if the Church had a deeper understanding of the bold choice the couple made and decided to accompany them in their ordained mission to fight for prisoners. In Austin, the Texas Catholic Conference helped CURE in various ways. Bishop John McCarthy, who was the executive director of the Conference in the 1970s and his successor, Brother Richard Daly, were supportive not only with funding, but also with encouragement and advice for CURE’s activities. Later, in D.C., CURE received



Photo by Alan Pogue

Father Michael Bryant giving out communion to female prisoners. He has been very supportive to CURE for years.



Houston State Rep. Mickey Leland, Vice-Chair of the Legislative Committee, responding at a news conference in Houston in 1974 to the release of the report by the Citizens Advisory Committee. Charlie (5<sup>th</sup> from the left), chair of the Citizens Advisory Committee, with four other leaders of the Committee.

a lot of help from the Archdiocese through the chaplain at the D.C. jail, Father Mike Bryant. Besides, Pauline's former faith community, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in Minnesota, were very supportive of her.<sup>44</sup>

### **Advocating from Inside the Policymaking Arena**

In Austin, Pauline and Charlie would spend most of their time roaming the halls of the Capitol. They would accost legislators, testify before committees and panels, or prod the press to get their policy points across.<sup>45</sup> They were often pleading for more humane treatment for detainees, more work-release and community-based corrections programs, and fewer new expensive prisons, yet often without much success, because most legislators thought the couple's re-

form demands were naive. "They are trying to attack a fleet of tanks with a toothpick,"<sup>46</sup> Houston State Rep. Mickey Leland said, reflecting on Charlie and Pauline's tenacity in adversity in the lawmaking arena. "But if every member of the legislature sat down and listened to them, at least in their hearts they'd vote with them,"<sup>47</sup> he acknowledged.

In 1974, Charlie was appointed to a citizens advisory committee of a legislative task force studying prison reform that he helped launch earlier, and was unexpectedly elected chairman.<sup>48</sup> He proceeded to hold hearings across Texas and visit prison units. The committee's report harshly criticized the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC)'s management of the prison system, making Charlie a *persona non*



*grata* with the leaders of the corrections system, especially the director of TDC, William J. “Jim” Estelle.<sup>49</sup> The latter rejected the committee’s claim that the Texas prison system needed reform. He also rejected CURE’s request to set up chapters on each prison unit. Even so, he was invited to the organization’s first state convention in Huntsville, Texas, in September 1975. He walked out of this meeting without delivering the speech he had brought after being publicly questioned by convention participants about an issue of inmate repression in a prison he himself admitted as a foul play.<sup>50</sup> Later, he sent the assembly an apology indicating that he overreacted. According to Charlie, Estelle’s attitude reflected a lack of experience when dealing on an “equal plane” with organized detractors.<sup>51</sup> In the image of Estelle, CURE faced many opponents among TDC officials and lawmakers in Austin or elsewhere. Yet, the organization managed to remain active and maintained a steady stream of criticism toward the state corrections system.

Still in 1975, CURE started to focus on jail and probation issues. It helped establish the Texas Commission on Jail Standards and the Texas Adult Probation Commission.<sup>52</sup> It influenced the establishment of community corrections by twice defeating proposals to construct more prisons. The organization helped bring about changes on the TDC Parole Board. For instance, the organization was successful in having minorities appointed on the Board, whose major problem then was its consistent opposition to granting paroles. In 1978, CURE opened an office near the Capitol in Austin. In the same year, it published “*The Maze*”, a well-publicized booklet that detailed the cumbersome process that expectant parolees had to go through and revealed how the Governor<sup>53</sup> could become a big obstacle to the parole process.<sup>54</sup> The booklet also provided a guideline for families of prisoners writing their own letters and visiting the Parole Board themselves instead of hiring an attorney. The Parole Board eventually adopted “*The Maze*” as their official information guide.<sup>55</sup>

Between 1978 and 1981, CURE helped facilitate the litigation of *Ruiz v. Estelle*. This was the longest and most comprehensive prison reform lawsuit in the U.S. history.<sup>56</sup> The organization’s leaders solicited testimony across the state and led the grassroots mobilization to stop efforts of TDC’s leaders and lawmakers to hamper the lawsuit process.<sup>57</sup> Litigation started in 1972 when inmate David Ruiz sued the director of TDC, William J. Estelle over dangerous and degrading living and working conditions. In his class-action suit, Ruiz claimed that the TDC’s management of prisons constituted “cruel and unusual punishment”, which is prohibited by the 8th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The lawsuit was organized around five issues: prisoners’ physical safety, living and working conditions, medical care, punishments, and access to the courts. After eight years of pre-trial activity, the case of *Ruiz v. Estelle* finally went to trial. The trial itself was lengthy—129 days—during which the state contested every claim made by the plaintiffs. In the end, the U.S. District Court in Tyler, Texas ruled in the plaintiffs’ favor citing numerous instances of mistreatment, institutionalized neglect and inadequate resources and facilities. As a consequence, in 1981, Federal District Judge William Wayne Justice ordered major sweeping changes in the state’s prison system. He found that Texas prison conditions were unconstitutional.

CURE’s fortune changed dramatically when the state legislature eventually decided to address massive prison reforms in 1983. The thrust behind this swift move was the lack of financial resources at the state level. As a matter of fact, forced by a recession and falling oil prices, to find an inexpensive means of handling the rising prison crowding, State budget writers initiated talks with prison reformers led by CURE leaders. The same issue of declining state surpluses pushed conservative legislators, who had repeatedly rejected prison reform, to reconsider their support of expensive additional maximum security prisons for the rising prison crowding and embrace the alternative concepts CURE had



Photo by Alan Pogue

David Ruiz's lawyers, William Bennett Turner (center) and Donna Brorby, on Turner's right, are pictured after a day in court in 1978. Surrounding them are a few who led the grassroots mobilization to stop efforts of TDC's leaders and lawmakers to hamper the *Ruiz v. Estelle* lawsuit. Pauline is first from the right, and Charlie is fourth from the right. Second from the left is CURE chair, Don Taylor. In front of Don is "Mama" Fortenot.

been defending without much success for years such as halfway houses, restitution centers and increased paroles. At that time, Texas had 94% of its inmates in maximum security while the national average was 42%.<sup>58</sup> "Locking up criminals in maximum-security facilities is not a luxury we can afford anymore,"<sup>59</sup> warned Dallas Republican Ray Keller. "The taxpayers are getting nothing out of it except a bunch of professional inmates," he explained. There were just nine prisoners on work release out of 37,000. The credibility of the prison system was at its lowest in 35 years. Thus, lawmakers who used to despise CURE and especially its charismatic leader Charlie for his "naïve" reform proposals, started to plead for help in solving the problem.<sup>60</sup> As a result, House Speaker Gib Lewis put forward a package of almost two dozen bills.

Ultimately, what emerged was sixteen bills, two resolutions, and one constitutional amendment, sponsored by eight



CURE's lobby day in the 1981 legislative session in Austin. Rep. Hernandez speaks to prisoners' families.

senators and 15 house representatives. "The most productive legislative session in criminal justice reform in Texas history,"<sup>61</sup> Charlie proudly observed. Of the 20 measures passed at the 1983 session, the bill creating restitution centers was especially popular with the public because the Governor allocated money for immediate implementation. Under this bill, property offenders scheduled to go to TDC prisons would be confined at a facility in the community for up to one year, and they would have to work. After living expenses were deducted, the rest of their paychecks would be used for restitution to the victims of the crime.<sup>62</sup> The changes got some high profile push from a few people, including: Federal Judge W. W. Justice—the famous maverick judge who boldly ordered an unprecedented massive prison reform in Texas in the early 1980s; Texas legislators such as Rep. Ray Keller (R. Duncanville), Sen. Craig Washington (D. Houston), and Sen. Ray Farabee (D. Wichita Falls); prison board members like Harry Whittington, a Republican. CURE

leaders had thought Democrats would be their best support for prison reform at the Capitol, and were surprised to be wrong. “[. . .] It was the Republicans more than the Democrats who finally got some of the reforms through,”<sup>63</sup> Charlie remarked.

Almost all the bills put forward by the House Speaker were passed with little debate. In addition, as experienced policy entrepreneurs, CURE leaders seized upon that unexpected window of opportunity to push through other policy proposals and bills that had been blocked at the level of various subcommittees for years. “When we realized this was happening, we and our key legislative sponsors furiously tried to introduce every feasible prison reform bill in our files,”<sup>64</sup> Charlie stated. “For the first time, and perhaps only time, the wagon was going in our direction. Let’s load it up! In the end, we were successful in ‘piggy-backing’ a third of the twenty measures on the community corrections’ legislation,”<sup>65</sup> he further explained.

CURE got additional push from other Republican legislators, especially Ed Emmett, who sponsored and introduced CURE’s bill to make it possible for prisoners to have contact visits instead of having to speak to their family members through a glass screen. CURE organized families “to hit the right political note”<sup>66</sup> during legislative hearings on Emmet’s bill, which was eventually enacted. The Sullivans had already left for D.C. when contact visits became reality in the prisons. When Charlie returned to one of the prison units a few years later, and saw the outside contact visiting settings, he was moved to tears.<sup>67</sup> In addition to helping to get the Texas legislature to support contact visits, CURE also played a key part in the passage of another pro-family measure, a five-day furlough program for prisoners.<sup>68</sup>

The massive prison reform passage resulted in the departure of TDC director Estelle, who during the 1983 state legislature had been requesting a lot of taxpayers’ monies for the con-



Photo by Alan Pogue

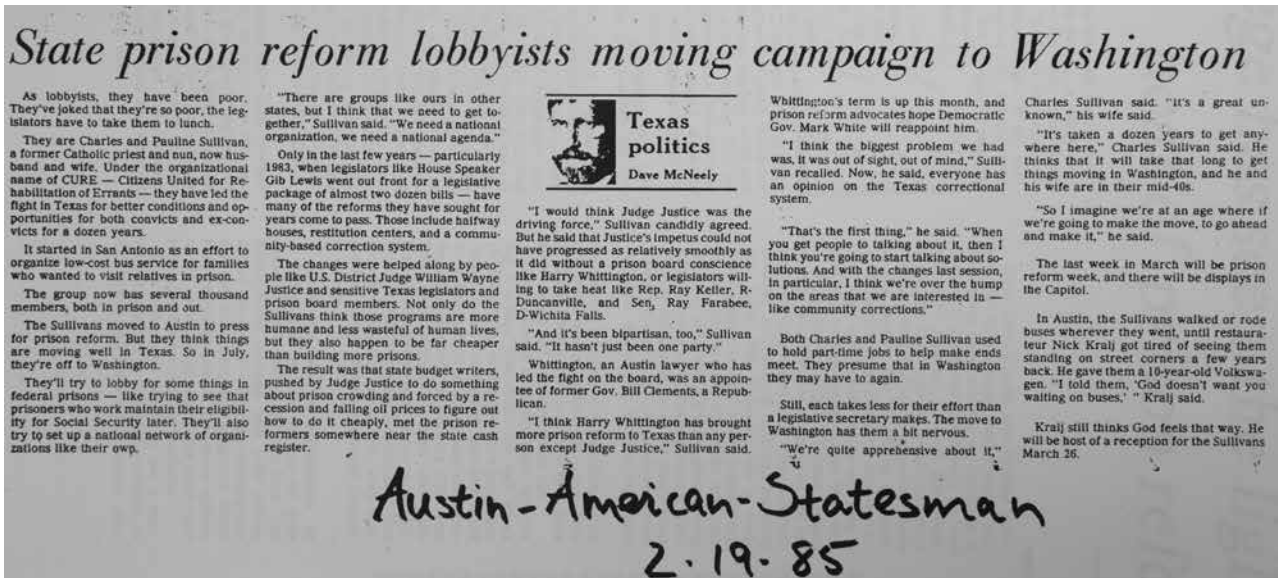
Charlie (first from the left) talking with TDC Director Raymond Procnunier (first from the right) and with Texas prison board member Harry Whittington (2<sup>nd</sup> from the right), Austin, 1985.

struction of more maximum-security prisons. After Estelle had left office, TDC switched to another leadership style. In fact, at the behest of CURE leaders, who insisted that radical reforms were needed to “cut out the entire cancer that’s plaguing TDC,”<sup>69</sup> the corrections board appointed Raymond Procnunier, an outsider, to serve as the new permanent director. Procnunier, also known as “the Pro,” was an experienced prison leader who had previously worked in California. On taking office, he decided to dismantle the obsolete control model in the prison system. This move resulted in officers and nearly half the system’s wardens losing their jobs while, through a series of directives, he enforced what he called a “more sophisticated organizational approach.”<sup>70</sup> Under Procnunier’s leadership, TDC and the state’s attorney general entered into serious settlement negotiations. Pressed by successive defeats in the courts, the state signed consent decrees regarding health care and the use of force in pris-

ons. The Republican board chair, Robert Gunn, called the consent decrees a turning point in TDC's history. "The war is over. The side of reform has won," he said. "The Sullivans viewed the settlement as a major achievement of CURE. "We have moved closer to the possibility of a humane prison system with opportunities for rehabilitation,"<sup>71</sup> Charlie wrote in the *Texas Observer*.

In 1984, CURE's relationship with TDC rose to an unprecedented level when Proconier spoke at the organization's state convention. "Our dreams have finally become a

reality,"<sup>72</sup> said Charlie. "I don't think there's much more we can do here [in Texas]." In 1985, that is 13 years after the creation of CURE, the Sullivans were ready to move onto a bigger and more effective lobbying stage to replicate what they achieved in Texas and expand the leverage power of CURE in advocacy for prison reform. The move had actually been contemplated for four or five years earlier. "We need a national organization,"<sup>73</sup> Charlie concluded. "We need a national agenda."



A newspaper clip featuring Pauline and Pauline's reform success in Texas and their move to D.C.

*Austin-American Statesman*, February 19, 1985



## CURE TAKES THE NATIONAL STAGE



Photo by Alan Pogue

Charlie and Pauline walking to the Capitol Hill, D.C., 1985.

Still riding high on the waves of the unexpected massive prison reform win achieved by CURE under their leadership, Pauline and Charlie held their most successful fundraiser ever and decided it was time to take their movement national.<sup>74</sup> Then they packed their meager belongings, rented a U-Haul truck, and drove to Washington, D.C. in August 1985. “Their plan was to mobilize a coast-to-coast network of ex-prisoners and their families and to replicate in Congress what they had already accomplished in one of the

most conservative states in the union,”<sup>75</sup> Robert Perkinson wrote in his book, *Texas Tough*. In fact, the move of CURE’s headquarters to the national capital was motivated by, first, the need to expand the group’s grassroots organizing by establishing state chapters; second, the need to work with policymakers in Congress to affect prison reforms at the federal level; and third, the need to address the lack of national prison organizations that specifically focused on prisoners and their families. Their arrival in the federal capital did not much affect their austere lifestyle. For several years, they lived and worked out of a one-bedroom apartment in a drug-ridden neighborhood in Northeast Washington.<sup>76</sup> CURE’s office, then located at the top of a narrow flight of iron stairs in an old Catholic Church a few blocks from the Capitol, used to be a priest’s bedroom.

### Establishing and Developing Chapters

From their public policy advocacy experience in Texas, Pauline and Charlie were aware that grassroots organizing would play a key part in the achievement of one of CURE’s main objectives, that is, bringing about prison reform both nationally and locally by establishing state chapters that would empower their members. They were also confident that developing chapters around the country could provide CURE the networking leverage CURE needed to influence policymaking for prison issues at Congress. However, at first, it was difficult for them to reach out to groups in other parts of the country because of lack of resources, both human and financial. Fortunately, the news of CURE’s impact on an unprecedented prison reform in Texas preceded their arrival in D.C. Thus, by the end of 1985, various groups

started writing the Sullivans for advice and guidance on starting advocacy groups for prison reform in other cities and states. Pauline and Charlie became overwhelmed with invitations to help launch state chapters and to speak to groups and associations of family members and friends of prisoners in many cities. After helping establish more than a dozen chapters, CURE held its first national convention in June 1987 in D.C. The national gathering provided the biggest opportunity to that point for CURE to showcase of its nationwide presence. Delegations and members from more than 10 states attended the event. Since then, the organization has consistently organized a national convention every two years. A lot of the rationale behind these national and international gatherings goes back to Wally Ellinger who was a longtime leader of Texas-CURE. According to Charlie, Wally taught CURE members many things about organizing.<sup>77</sup> One of the most important was to have a face-to-face meeting with all the persons you would be working with on prison reform. Once you have had this meeting, you can follow up with phone calls and other communications. “But, the physical meeting is essential,” said Charlie, “and the work with the person before and after the visit is like “night and day” in effective organizing.

In 1991, special issue chapters were organized, a critical step as these chapters were national in membership and focused on more specific issues such as treatment for sex offenders and organizing families with loved ones on death row. They advocated in Congress about situations affecting special categories of prisoners and their issues nationwide that could not be effectively addressed at the state level. Since the start, over a dozen CURE special issue chapters have been created. Some were terminated due to lack of resources or became inactive after dealing with the issues for which they were established or due to lack of resources. Among them were the following ones: C.U.R.E.-E.N.O.U.G.H. (Everyone Needs Opportunity, Understanding, Guidance, and Hope), 1992-1994; Federal Prison chapter,

1991-1994; C.U.R.E.-I.A. (Incarcerated Aliens), 1994; Life-Long C.U.R.E., “Lifers” in prison, 1992-1994; C.U.R.E. for Veterans, 1991-1994. The following are the existing issue chapters:

- FedCURE, which works to establish a hybrid system of federal parole and increased good time allowances; and provide re-entry opportunities for federal offenders”
- FIND-CURE (Furnishing Imprisoned Non-citizens with Direction), which provides information, resources, and tools for incarcerated and detained non-citizens working to help other non-citizens who are involved in the criminal justice system;
- NDRAN (National Death Row Assistance Network), which works to provide support to prisoners on death row and their loved ones;
- CURE-SORT (Sex Offenders Restored through Treatment, which works to promote restoration of people who have sexually offended by establishing alternatives to incarceration; and to foster a sense of community, responsibility, and concern between offenders nationwide through correspondence with people incarcerated for sex offenses;
- CURE-Women Incarcerated, which provides a network of resources and support for incarcerated women, their families, and loved ones; and
- CURE for Vets, working to assist war veterans involved with the criminal justice system.

In their tours to help launch chapters around the country, the Sullivans struggled with a particular concern leaders of new chapters raised: the latter often believed they needed the leverage of high profile politicians or experts to put their organizations on the map. “We are always looking for a Messiah! Someone to save us!”<sup>78</sup> Charlie remarked. “This is certainly true when we begin a chapter and also valid when we get it off the ground.” Thus, he was surprised to find

that certain lack of confidence permeated even very successful chapters. He heard too many times people complain that “If we could just get a high-profile person involved, we could really do something!” Even though some chapters developed a dynamic prison reform movement in their states, they still believed they needed more expertise. “There is a tendency to deliver it over to a ‘biggie’ when WE ARE THE EXPERTS!!!”<sup>79</sup> Charlie exclaimed. Whenever he was invited to launch a chapter, he emphasized the crucial need of confidence and team work in which everyone should be valued. “Without a team approach, you will not make it in this work,”<sup>80</sup> he observed. “And by ‘team’, I mean not only free-world people but also prisoners including those on death row.” To help and strengthen the leadership of chapters, CURE launched a program called *Chapter Leadership Development Training* in 2003. Thanks to this program and through periodic conferences and workshops, the organization has trained hundreds of members planning to build a chapter or to make an established chapter more effective. Former CURE Board Chairperson Kay Perry of Michigan CURE has coordinated the *Chapter Leadership Development Training* for several years now.

CURE also developed empowerment initiatives to reinforce its policy campaigns in D.C. and other surrounding cities. Good examples are the voter registration campaigns CURE initiated in 2002 in the Baltimore City jail and at the Washington, D.C. jail.<sup>81</sup> The primary motive of these campaigns was to show that America’s jail population represented a legitimate political constituency since most jail inmates were eligible to vote. According to Charlie, voting is a rehabilitative act because it empowers inmates to contribute to democracy by exercising their civic rights.<sup>82</sup> After meeting with the Director of the Maryland State Administrative Board of Election Laws and the Attorney General’s Office, CURE leaders got the approval of the Secretary of Corrections to begin the registration of prisoners in the Baltimore City jail. For instance, Charlie became an official Voter Registration Volunteer (VRV)

for the state of Maryland after a special training. As a VRV, he could train jail staff and inmates as VRVs so that they in turn could register the inmates in their respective cell blocks. Through this initiative, hundreds of inmates were registered to vote in 2004. In the D.C. jail, Charlie registered 75 prisoners to vote, that is, approximately 10% of those eligible to do so. Still at the local level, CURE spearheaded various campaigns to improve the detention conditions and communication between families and their incarcerated loved ones. For example, CURE persuaded the D.C. Department of Corrections to get more buses to take families to Lorton—the District’s prison for convicted prisoners across the river in Virginia. The organization also worked hard against the death penalty initiative that was on the ballot in D.C. in 1992. Pauline recruited volunteers in every precinct of the district and others who delivered sample sermons to local pastors and ministers. As a result, the death penalty initiative was voted down by two to one.<sup>83</sup>

Beyond programs developed at the local and state levels, CURE chapters helped bring about reforms that have impact either at the state or national level. For example, recently, under the leadership of Dianne Tramutola-Lawson, Colorado CURE facilitated a program where persons once incarcerated with life sentences mentored other formerly life term persons lifers to make their transition back into the community. Under the direction of Deborah Forbes, North Carolina CURE was able to have the state prison system in North Carolina become the first prison system to comply with the ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act). This ranges from wheelchairs for prisoners who need them to treatment for those who have mental problems. Michigan CURE advocated for the use of parole guidelines that are now used routinely in the state and elsewhere. The Michigan chapter also worked with the American Friends Service Committee to organize their members to participate in the Administrative Rules process to influence how rules were written for the Department of Corrections. That campaign led the Michigan



state government to make the department processes more transparent and accountable. For years, the chapter also worked on the prison phone issue in the state and got a significant reduction of prison phone rates.

However, according to former CURE Chairperson Perry, who serves as the Director of Michigan CURE, it is difficult, if not impossible, for any CURE chapters to take full credit for policy initiatives in their own states, let alone at the federal level. Actually, CURE has traditionally encouraged collaboration among chapters about any important reform at stake in a state. Furthermore, CURE's policy proposals and campaigns have often got the support of other groups not affiliated to the organization. "We [CURE] are just one voice among many that are calling for more logical and humane policies,"<sup>84</sup> Perry said. "It is simply impossible to know if something we said or wrote had a significant impact on the final outcome." Discussing the contributions of CURE and its chapters to policy reform, she stated,

"What we [CURE] can take credit for is giving hope to the thousands of people who are incarcerated and their loved ones. Our newsletters and our responses to their letters help them to know that someone out here understands what is happening. They know that things should and can be better. And, we give them some idea of what they might do to help make things better."<sup>85</sup>

### **A Determined Quest for Sponsorship for Prison Reform in Congress**

Although their Texas experience with state legislators prepared the Sullivans for policy entrepreneurship<sup>86</sup> at the federal level, once in D.C., they came to see that the legislative system in Congress was much more complex with its over 500 legislators. "In Austin we knew everybody in the state capitol building. It was almost like a community,"<sup>87</sup> Pauline



CURE members at the National Convention of 1987, in D.C. Charlie (first from the right of the 2nd row) and Pauline (second from the right of the 1<sup>st</sup> row). On Pauline's right is Father Jim Sunderland who helped to initiate Colorado-CURE. Next to Father Sunderland is Lois Williamson who became the Chair of National CURE in 1990.



Photo by Alan Pogue

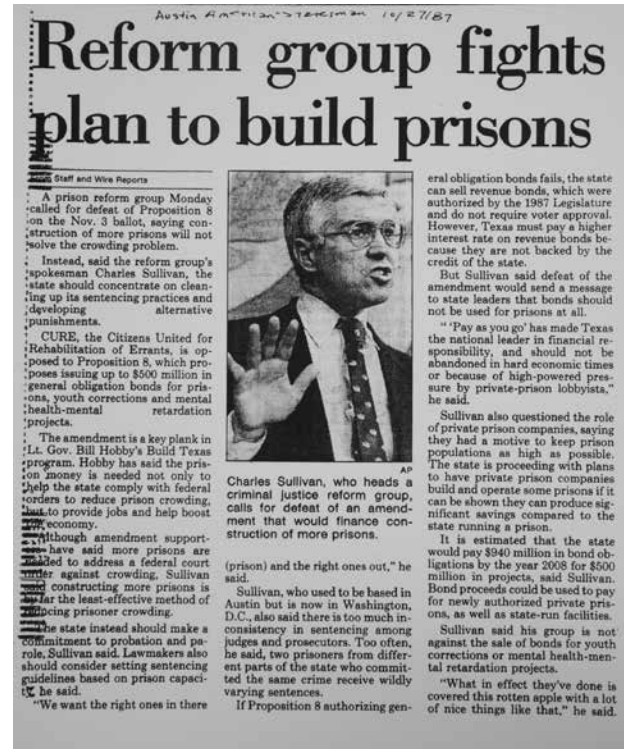
Rep. Conyers of Detroit, receiving an award from the hands of Charlie in 1987, D.C.

said. "But here, I'd go up to Congress when we first arrived, and it seemed very lonesome. So the first two years were hard,"<sup>88</sup> At the start, they were surprised at finding that no one besides them was doing direct advocacy on prison reform in Congress. It was also very hard for them to find any member of Congress who showed any interest in prison issues, a touchy topic very few lawmakers dared then to raise or support.

One day, tired and despondent, Charlie managed to catch the attention of Congressman John Conyers, Jr., of Detroit, then Chairman of the Criminal Justice Subcommittee, after a hearing. He managed to give the Congressman, right in the hallway, a 30-second elevator speech about CURE's work.<sup>89</sup> Rep. Conyers was so impressed that he asked Charlie to come to his office to provide him further information about CURE. That single encounter rewarded the Sullivans' great patience and determination and provided CURE its first key support in Congress. "As Rep. Joe Hernandez did in Texas CURE in 1973, Congressman Conyers did for National CURE in 1987. He put us 'on the map',"<sup>90</sup> said Charlie. "He's the legislator who has helped us the most in Washington," he added. In June 1987, Rep. Conyers was the keynote speaker at CURE's first national convention, during which he became the first person the organization ever honored with an award at any of its conventions.

CURE's major support in Congress came from the Congressional Black Caucus. The organization worked with many Congressmen from this caucus including Robert Scott of Virginia, Danny Davis and Bobby Rush, both from Illinois. Although Congressman Conyers has been CURE's champion on Capitol Hill, Congressman Bobby Scott is a very close second. Congressman Rush was behind the emphasis on released prisoners obtaining Medicaid in the House and also was CURE's Congressional leader on the prison phone issue. Congressman Danny Davis has been most supportive concerning reentry issues. CURE also collaborated with

other members of Congress<sup>91</sup> over its proposals for alternatives to incarceration. For instance, two Republicans, Congressman Frank Wolf and Sen. James Inhofe have been most supportive of CURE.



Austin American Statesman, October 27, 1987.

A newspaper clip featuring Charlie taking position against a bill amendment that would finance the construction of more prisons in Texas.

## Contributions to Prison Reform at the Federal Level

From 1989 to 2013, CURE has spearheaded or contributed to a substantial number of legislation on prison reform passed in Congress, through testimonies, policy proposals, lobbying at both state and federal levels, and grassroots organizing. Federal legislations and programs the organization has contributed to include the following:

- **The WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) program of 1989.** CURE spearheaded a campaign to make it possible for pregnant prisoners to receive supplemental foods through WIC. “Pauline had to practically move mountains to get Congress to provide WIC coverage of pregnant prisoners,”<sup>92</sup> said Charlie. Initially, staff members at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which oversees WIC, were upset with Pauline for advocating for pregnant prisoners to be eligible for WIC and nicknamed her ‘the prison baby lady.’ “But finally I got them to say that at least they wouldn’t fight me on the issue,” she stated. “Luckily there was a woman in the WIC office who agreed with me, and so did a Republican who was on the staff of the Congressional Committee on Agriculture.”
- **The Family Unity Demonstration Project Act of 1993.** The law was to have non-violent female prisoners serve their sentences with their small children. Pauline spearheaded CURE’s efforts to have the law passed. Congresswoman Maxine Waters from Los Angeles, then Head of the Congressional Black Caucus, helped CURE with the Project bill. Yet, although the bill was enacted, not one dollar of the 20 million authorized has ever been appropriated.
- In 1996, CURE contributed to efforts to have an Office of Correctional Job Training and Placement established within the U.S. Department of Justice. Likewise, the organization worked with other groups toward the creation of Specter Grants which provided for prisoner education a smaller replacement for Pell Grants.<sup>93</sup>
- **The Second Chance Act of 2007,** signed into law by President Bush on April 9, 2008, was designed to ensure the safe and successful return of prisoners to the community. CURE was part of a coalition which successfully campaigned for the passage of this legislation.
- Special issue chapter FedCURE was one of the main organizations that pushed for the bill called the **Federal Prison Work Incentive Act** also known as the **Good Time Bill** introduced on March 12, 2009. This legislation would allow for deductions in prison terms (other than life terms) to be granted to prisoners whose record demonstrates that they have observed all prison regulations, have not been punished, or have participated in industrial employment, meritorious service, or outstanding duties in institutional operations. Despite rumors that circulated for a while throughout the U.S. Bureau of Prisons that the bill was about to be signed by President Barack Obama, it never emerged from the House Committee on the Judiciary.
- The most recent reform win for CURE occurred on August 9, 2013 when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) announced measures to regulate predatory prison phone rates by significantly reducing the cost of inmate phone calls four times less, from one-dollar to twenty-five cents a minute. Specifically, FCC ruling establishes per-minute rate caps of 21¢ for debit interstate calls and 25¢ for collect interstate calls from all detention facilities. The order requires phone companies to cost-justify any rates that exceed 12¢ for debit and 14¢ for collect calls. It also prohibits charging persons with hearing disabilities higher rates. According to Char-

lie, the FCC's decision to dramatically reduce the cost of inmate telephone calls was a great victory for CURE and all the groups which collaborated with CURE on the issue through a 12-year national grassroots campaign.

### **Models of Winning Campaigns**

In January 2000, CURE launched a nationwide campaign to lower phone call cost for inmates called “Equitable Telephone Charges” campaign (or ETC campaign). Former CURE Board Chairperson, Kay Perry coordinated the campaign. The objective was to pressure prison administrators and phone companies to reduce commissions, introduce debit calling, and lower per-minute rates. The campaign also aimed to get the FCC to stop the practice that required families to pay 66 percent more for phone calls from prisoners than what non-prisoners paid. When CURE began working on this issue, calls in all but one state had to be collected—only in Nebraska could incarcerated persons make debit calls using their own funds. Alleging that people failed to pay for those collect charges, the phone companies argued that they needed to inflate the already high rates to cover the bad debt. They entered into exclusive contracts with the prison and jail administrators to provide telephone services. Interstate prison calls were dominated and controlled by two private equity firms, Global Tel Link Corp. and Securus Technologies Inc.<sup>94</sup> Not only were the calls expensive, but there was also a wide disparity between prison rates. It was not unusual for people to pay as much as \$18 for a call of only fifteen minutes. In Texas, for instance, it cost \$6.45 for a 15-minute interstate call of the same time length whereas in Idaho it was \$16.55. Prisoners made collect calls or set up prepaid accounts either funded by relatives or by their earnings from prison jobs that paid only cents per hour.<sup>95</sup> As an incentive to the administrators, phone companies offered substantial commissions to the prisons and jails. Commissions were routinely 40-50% of the cost of the call per hour and sometimes as much as 60%. People who did not pay

their bills or whose phone companies did not have billing agreements with the prison phone provider were prohibited from receiving calls.

The ETC campaign started with the creation of a website and wide grassroots organizing through which over 37,000 packets were mailed to participants in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.<sup>96</sup> The American Friends Service Committee's Criminal Justice Program in Michigan assisted with CURE's efforts. The packets contained materials that were in turn meant to be sent to state legislators, governors, prison system leaders, and telephone company leaders. From the campaign headquarters in Michigan, materials went to state legislators. In most states, campaign materials were even personally delivered to the office of each legislator. Attorneys were challenging the high phone rates in several states. While those lawsuits were generally dismissed in favor of the phone companies, they made awareness of the problem grow and spread. In 2003, a court finally responded to a lawsuit challenging the high rate of interstate calls by sending the case to the FCC for a resolution. CURE was one of the plaintiffs in that litigation.<sup>97</sup>

Consequently, CURE's pro bono attorneys pressed the FCC to take action. CURE Chapter leaders from throughout the country met with FCC staff to educate them on the importance of affordable phone rates. Bills to solve the issue were introduced in Congress, but never saw action, and then the case remained before the FCC for nearly ten years with no movement. A coalition of groups under the banner “Campaign for Prison Phone Justice” formed in 2012 to advocate for FCC action. The coalition, led by the Center for Media Justice, Prison Legal News, and Working Narratives, began urging individuals to share their stories on an Internet website. It also worked with groups and individuals who were not generally associated with advocacy on behalf of prisoners. The Right on Crime Campaign, for instance, was an organization of conservative national politicians; their voices



Kay Perry, former CURE Board Chair and Director of Michigan CURE, leading a workshop at the 2012 CURE Convention, D.C. She coordinated CURE's successful Equitable Telephone Charges (ETC) Campaign.

were helpful in convincing the FCC that elemental fairness was at issue and something should be done.<sup>98</sup> The coalition encouraged people to contact the FCC to tell their stories and urge industry regulation. And, they met with the Chair of the FCC to argue that a 10-year wait for action was too long. Testifying as to the impact of the various contributions to the ultimate success of the ETC campaign, the campaign coordinator Perry said, "There is no doubt in my mind that the many other groups that have recently joined that effort deserve considerable credit. FCC Commissioner Mignon Clyburn was also a critical ally."<sup>99</sup> According to Perry, four lessons can be drawn from the campaign:<sup>100</sup>

1. One of the most important characteristics of effective advocacy is tenacity. This has been a very long campaign;
2. Coalitions are very helpful. Different groups bring other resources to the effort. Because the focus of each group may be just a bit different, the mix can be energizing;

3. There is power in numbers. Not only do policy-makers pay more attention, but people who are harmed by predatory systems are much more likely to speak up when they know that many others are doing so. Consequently, the fear of retaliation diminishes; and,
4. Internet-based advocacy and social media can significantly contribute to campaigns. It is much easier and a lot less expensive to engage many more people. The tools available make it simpler for individuals to participate and to tell their story in their own words.

Along with the ETC campaign, in September 2000, CURE launched the national ecumenical *For Whom the Bells Toll* campaign. The goal of the campaign was to engage all religious congregations, churches, synagogues, abbeys, monasteries, mosques, and temples throughout the country to toll their bells for two minutes at 6:00 p.m. on the day of any execution in the United States. Recognizing that many places of worship might not have bells, the organization encouraged them to place a black drape over the outside door of the building and/or tie black ribbons around the trees and utility poles surrounding the church. Otherwise, it asked them to display a very striking black & white, indoor-outdoor banner, about 4 feet by 6 feet designed for the campaign.

Dorothy Briggs, a Dominican nun, coordinated the movement. In 1978, she began working in the prison system, and this ultimately let her to death penalty ministry and the *For Whom the Bells Toll* campaign. She was the founder of Massachusetts CURE. Her role in the campaign was to contact religious groups all around the country, explain the campaign to them, and ask them if they would consider joining this effort. According to her, in just a few short months, that project spread quickly in more than 35 states with groups participating in tolling the bells. The project made capital punishment more real to people as they walked down some



street and heard the bells toll knowing someone was being executed in some state in this country. Sister Briggs is now deceased.



A picture of the black and white, indoor-outdoor banner, about 4 feet by 6 feet designed for the CURE's For Whom the Bells Toll campaign of September 2000.

## Pending Prison Reform Projects

There are many prison policy proposals and a national campaign CURE and its chapters are still working on. In fact, in the wake of the FCC's decision on prison phone cost regulations in August 2013, CURE launched another nationwide campaign, this time over safe hot and cold temperatures in prisons and jails. A strong support of the Texas CURE allowed the purchase and distribution of thousands of fans to people in the Texas prisons to show policymakers and prison leaders the need to address temperature issues in prison settings. "The heat issue in prison throughout the country is life-threatening," Charlie explained. "We were able to bring it to the attention of the American Corrections Association." The American Corrections Association (ACA) is the organization that governs accreditation and prison standards in the United States. Dianne Tramutola-Lawson, Executive Director of Colorado-CURE and current CURE

Board Chairperson, has been CURE's representative at ACA national meetings twice a year. As the wife of a person formerly incarcerated, she especially has been a voice for those in prison and their loved ones. Also, she has over the years gained great respect from the wardens and prison directors who are members of the ACA. Although the Association turned down CURE's request for climate control, two state prison directors who are members of the ACA spoke about the importance of setting and enforcing standards for temperature conditions in prison.

For the last seven years, CURE has campaigned for a controversial proposal: the privatization of prison industries. Although opposed to private prisons, the organization's leaders believe that prison industries in private hands could be a big help for inmates. CURE's leaders argue that this will not only involve paying the minimum wage to inmates, but it will be more likely to provide the latter with meaningful work experience that could help them find jobs on release. Unions like the AFL-CIO are highly opposed to the idea. But Charlie has a reply for them, "Most of them [inmates] are idle and most of them are going to come out. If we don't give them employable skills, we're in trouble."<sup>101</sup> "Why cannot private business come in to teach high-tech skills that lead to good-paying jobs?" He wondered. CURE leaders view work and education as the path to better lives for prisoners and their families, but at the same time, they demand that private prison industries should be accompanied with guarantees and protection against exploitation of the inmates and constant monitoring of inmate work arrangements.<sup>102</sup>

Juvenile justice has been another major issue on the reform agenda of CURE for the last ten years, because there is a growing tendency among law enforcement services to "crack down" very severely on young offenders. The organization's position is that rehabilitative opportunities for incarcerated juveniles are essential. CURE has fiercely advocated in Congress against the practice in many states that allows



Photo by Alan Pogue

By the 1991 Convention, there were many chapters started throughout the country. Shown at the Capitol are some of these founders.



Photo by Alan Pogue

More and more persons who have been incarcerated are now leaders of CURE. For example, holding the banner at the 2006 convention on the far right, wearing dark glasses is Checo Yancy who is President of Louisiana CURE. Checo was also President of the Lifers' organization when he was incarcerated at Angola state prison, LA.

life sentences for children and youth. Other prison reform projects CURE is still advocating for in Congress include:

- reforms to abolish control units and long-term lockdowns in prisons;
- measures to return Pell (education) Grants to inmates;
- funding for mentoring programs for incarcerated youth;
- reforms for medical treatment of the mentally ill in prison;
- federal aid to states for assistance programs for violent offenders when they are released;

- increased staff for the prison and jail litigation section within the U.S. Department of Justice.
- rehabilitation at the local and county levels instead of sending prisoners to state penitentiaries;
- measures to slow down the application of the death penalty through the Racial Justice Act.
- reforms to restore voting rights to persons serving felony convictions in prison; and
- reforms to abolish sex offender registries and civil commitment of persons convicted of sex offences.



## CURE MOVES ONTO THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE



Photo by Alan Pogue

Charlie and Bishop John McCarthy, a major supporter of CURE through the years, 2013.

By the late 1990s, the national stage became too small for CURE's enterprising vision on prison reform. Thus, confident about their established advocacy competencies and accomplishments, and seeking an international leverage for the work being done at the state and federal levels, CURE leaders decided to take prison reform advocacy to the global level. "Take it easy Charlie. You have done enough,"<sup>103</sup> Bishop McCarthy, one of the biggest supporters of CURE, said to Charlie. "Not so," replied the latter. "We want to go INTERNATIONAL!"

### CURE's Global Outreach

Fifteen years after moving to D.C., National CURE has now become International CURE, consisting of state and issue chapters as well as foreign country chapters. The organization has collaborated with prison organizations in various countries since 1997.<sup>104</sup> International CURE has chapters and affiliates on most continents. Currently, there are twenty-four CURE country chapters,<sup>105</sup> including twenty in Africa, two in Asia (India and Thailand), and two in South America (Brazil and Peru). Delegations from thirty-five U.S. states as well as four country chapters attended the CURE's international convention of September 1-3, 2012 in D.C. Many African chapters could not attend the meeting because of U.S. visa issues. To promote outreach, dialogue, and action among its chapters, International CURE established an international program of networking. A component of this program is the creation of websites for CURE chapters in African countries. Today, CURE Nigeria, CURE Ghana, CURE Togo, and CURE Zambia each have a website.

International conferences on human rights and criminal justice reform are a major part of CURE's global outreach and research efforts. From 2001 to this year, six conferences took place on four different continents.

- The first International Conference on Human Rights and Prison Reform took place in New York City, October 6-11, 2001. It was a success even though it occurred just three weeks after the tragic events of September 11<sup>th</sup>. During this Conference, key UN human rights documents were reviewed by 225 citizens from 24 countries. Each of those landmark documents has provisions related to criminal justice. Representatives from each country evaluated the application of those provisions in their own country. The reviewed documents included: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Second Optional Protocol to the Interna-



CURE Chapters' Board Meeting, 2011, Baton Rouge.



Photo by Alan Pogue

CURE chapter leaders at the 2012 Convention, Harrington Hotel, D.C., September 2012. The participants included delegates from Malawi, Nigeria, Benin, and Japan.

tional Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Aiming at the Abolition of the Death Penalty; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Representatives from the participating countries were asked to introduce a resolution in the UN that would “make

real” the principle of universal suffrage in regard to prisoners.<sup>106</sup> Jane Addams College of Social Work, UIC, co-sponsored the conference and four subsequent ones.\*

- The 2nd CURE’s International Conference on Human Rights and Prison Reform took place in Geneva, Switzerland. Very little information could be

\* Jane Addams College of Social Work, UIC, has been a co-sponsor over the years on CURE’s newsletters and gatherings. This is especially true concerning CURE’s international conferences. This was most needed when the first conference in New York City in 2001 meant that many people planning to come to the conference could not receive visas immediately after 9/11. CURE leaders were close to cancelling the conference but didn’t because of the support of the College. There were unforeseen expenses due to participants not being able to make it. Also, Dean Creasia F. Hairston was at that conference and chaired an important panel on the plight of families of prisoners throughout the world.

found about that event, and, according to Charlie, the Conference was a disappointment in terms of attendance and achievements.

- The 3<sup>rd</sup> CURE's International Conference on Human Rights and Prison Reform took place in Washington, D.C., June 24-27, 2006. It was combined with the 2006 CURE National Convention. It focused on the analysis of the detention conditions in South American prisons. At this conference, CURE released a study titled, *Dignity of the Individual: Evaluation of Prisons in the Organization of American States*. This was the result of two years' work involving over a hundred volunteer workers in 35 countries in the western hemisphere. The book examines key problems in prison systems in American countries and has 24 recommendations. These recommendations apply particularly to the social integration of detainees, but many of them, and the restorative philosophy they represent, are very applicable more broadly, and particularly to the larger population of marginalized, socially disabled persons.
- The 4<sup>th</sup> CURE's International Conference on Human Rights and Prison Reform was held June 22-24, 2009, in Geneva, Switzerland. Actually, it took place in the period when the OPCAT (Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment) Commission reported to the Convention Against Torture (CAT) Commission. The theme of the Conference was "*Prison Reform in the World*." Seventy-five persons attended the Conference. They were representatives of 20 countries on the five continents, including Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay and Zambia. A consequence of the con-

ference was a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon, which was included in the Proceedings of the Conference.<sup>107</sup> A major component associated with this conference was the PAJART process (Prison and Justice: Assessment, Recommendations and Transformative Programs), a comprehensive assessment of prisons and justice systems in 13 African countries.

- The 5<sup>th</sup> international conference, also co-sponsored by Jane Addams College of Social Work, was held in Abuja, Nigeria, February 21-24, 2011, with an attendance of 170 participants from 25 countries, including representatives from the U.S.A., South America, Europe and Africa. The theme of the Conference was "*From Retribution to Restoration, Rehabilitation and Reintegration*." Sixteen panels discussed the transformation of justice and prison systems from mainly retribution to primarily restoration, rehabilitation, and reintegration. At this conference, International CURE released a booklet titled, "*Ways-Forward to Transform Justice and Prison Systems—From primarily retribution to primarily restoration, rehabilitation, and reintegration*." The booklet presents multi-country analyses of 5 key problem-areas, drawn from CURE assessments of justice and prison systems in 14 African countries<sup>108</sup> and 35 countries in the western hemisphere. It provides the basis for CURE's platform of 48 ways to bring about significant prison reform in the world by 2015. As part of the follow-up to this conference, International CURE sent hard copies of both the Abuja Conference Communiqué and the booklet to national directors of prisons in 34 nations.<sup>109</sup> Excerpts from the cover letter, signed by Charlie, state:





Photo by Alan Pogue

Participants from 20 countries who attended the 4th International CURE Conference which was held at the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, 2009.

We challenge you to become part of this worldwide transformation movement, and set 5-year and 10-year goals for justice and prison reforms that are most meaningful in your country. We hope you will find that a subset of these 48 Ways-Forward will largely match some of your country's needs.

- The 6th International Conference recently took place March 4 – 8, 2014 in Bangkok, Thailand. The theme of the conference was *"Looking at the plight of incarcerated women."* Participants came from 18 countries. The conference concluded with a tour of a 4,500 female prison near Bangkok.



Photo by Alan Pogue

Charlie at a meeting with delegates of African country chapters during CURE's 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference at Abuja, Nigeria, February 2011. Standing is Sylvester Uhaa of Nigeria CURE who coordinated the Conference.

## CURE and the United Nations

International CURE has consultative status with the United Nations Organization, which enables it to participate in international commissions on a broad range of discussions on issues affecting incarcerated people in many regions of the world. Every year, the organization sends representatives to meetings of the Human Rights Council in Geneva and to meetings of the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ). International CURE submitted an intervention paper to the UN Commission on Social Development at its meeting of February 6-15, 2008 at the UN Headquarters in New York. The document was titled "*Poverty, Prisons, and Social Development.*" On March 7, 2008, International CURE presented a report to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, of the Organization of American States. This was the result of two years' work involving over a hundred volunteer workers in 35 countries in the western hemisphere. The material for the presentation was drawn largely from the book produced by International CURE titled *Dignity of the Individual*.<sup>110</sup>



International CURE's presenters after the meeting March 7, 2008 of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington, DC. Shown left to right: Charlie Sullivan, Betty Cypser, Alan Pogue, Jose de Jesus Filho, Dr. Anthony Payan and Dr. Rudy Cypser.

In 2010, CURE had significant input in various UN commissions. In February 2010, the organization submitted another written intervention to the 48<sup>th</sup> meeting of the UN Commission on Social Development. The intervention included 15 key recommendations for reform in justice and prison systems. Copies of that intervention were given to all the country delegates at the Commission meeting. In the same month, Cora (Betty) Cypser, a veteran member of International CURE, presented a verbal statement from the organization to the assembled UN delegates on prison reform. It was notable that the CURE verbal presentation was one of the very few followed by applause.

Pauline and Charlie, and longtime CURE member Kathryn Rodriguez represented International CURE at the 12th United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice which was held April 12-19, 2010 in Salvador, Brazil. Over 3,000 representatives from 102 countries participated in the Congress. At the beginning of the event, Charlie reported on the progress in the United States in ratifying

the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture (OPCAT). The same year, CURE had input in the UN Universal Periodic Review (UPR) on Corrections in the United States. The UPR, established by the UN General Assembly resolution 60/251 of 15 March 2006, is a new human rights mechanism. Through the UPR, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) reviews, on a periodic basis, the fulfillment by each of the United Nations' 192 Member States of their human rights obligations and commitments. For the 2010 UPR, which includes an assessment of the United States'

adherence to its commitments, Charlie established thirteen working groups, each consisting of 3-6 experienced CURE members, to examine possible US human rights violations in thirteen key subjects and report on these. The thirteen committees identified violations of specific parts of a number of human rights documents to which the US is bound. Then they made recommendations to reduce those violations. Their results were submitted to the UN's Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.<sup>111</sup>



## ACKNOWLEDGING LEADERSHIP

*My main point is the example of how much good can be accomplished if a few people with a vision are willing to make a sacrifice in order to confront evil and injustice. After setting CURE up on a stable statewide basis, Charles and Pauline went national and succeeded in setting up CURE organizations in almost every state in the nation. Finally, they have gone international. Most people who get locked up are poor. Their families are poor. Resources are terribly limited and therefore they can be virtually friendless. CURE is the best friend that prisoners have and I hope they continue to grow ever stronger and more effective.*

Bishop John McCarthy,  
“Criminal Justice System—  
Friends to the Friendless.”  
January 23, 2013.

Today, by their accomplishments, Pauline and Charlie, the two iconic founders and traditional co-directors of CURE, are unquestionably among the most prominent prison reform advocates in the U.S.A. Their infectious optimism and passion for the defense of the human rights of detainees have earned them high regard among policymakers, lawyers, prisoners and their families, and people who advocate against all forms of injustice in the criminal justice system. “They are as close to saints as anyone can be,”<sup>112</sup> said Bill Turner, a close friend of the Sullivans’. They avoid talking about various recognitions bestowed on them, yet they received more than a dozen awards at state and national levels including the following:



Photo by Alan Pogue

“No more projects,” Pauline is saying as they rest and chat at a public garden in DC, on Labor Day, 2012. Charlie does not seem to be listening.

- In 1978, as co-directors of CURE, Pauline and Charlie received the **Junior M. Ator Legal Improvement Award** recognizing their efforts to reform the criminal justice system through advocacy in the policymaking arena;
- In 1990, the Sullivans received the **Isaac Hecker Award for Social Justice** from the Paulist Center Social Action Committee, for their fortitude in seeking fair treatment for prisoners, victims, and families;
- They received the **America's Award**, known as the **"Nobel Prize for Goodness,"** from the Positive Thinking Foundation in 1995 for their advocacy for justice. They each received \$1,000 from the Foundation. The America's Award was founded in 1990 by Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, a minister and author, to honor unsung heroes who personify the American character and spirit;
- Pauline's former religious community, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in Minnesota honored her with an award in fall 1995 for her advocacy work;
- They received the **Father Mike McGough Award** from the National Convocation of Jail and Prison Ministry in 1996;
- On May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2012, Pauline was among four leaders honored by the Visitors' Services Center in Washington, D.C., at its **Sixth Annual Awards Celebration**, for inspiring and empowering incarcerated and newly released men and women to successfully transition back into their communities as productive and contributing citizens;

- On October 3, 2012, Charlie was honored by the Justice Roundtable with the **Advocacy for Criminal Justice Reform Award** as an Advocacy Champion of criminal justice reform. The Justice Roundtable is a diverse coalition of over 100 national organizations working to reform the U.S. justice system; and,

The Sullivans' battle against the legislative and prison systems could be figuratively compared to the famous combat between David and Goliath. Houston Rep. Leland once thought that the Sullivans fought armored tanks with toothpicks,<sup>113</sup> and yet sometimes their determination did pay. "If politics could be put aside," said Rep Leland, "opponents of measures Pauline and Charlie long advocated for would probably side with them on most."<sup>114</sup> Lawyer James Hamm, a highly regarded attorney in Tempe, Arizona, compared the couple to Sisyphus. Just like the mythic Greek figure Sisyphus pushing a titanic rock up a hill over and over again, the Sullivans steadily push prison reform uphill in the face of hostile public opinion, and lawmakers keep trying to roll it back down.<sup>115</sup> Bishop McCarthy believed that the Sullivans' extraordinarily dedicated and effective contributions, which produced real changes in the prison system, were achieved mainly through faith and hard work. As he pithily observed:

Just imagine it. Facing the challenge of a deeply ingrained intractable problem, the Sullivans start locally with no visible resources. Then they go state-wide into a national program in 48 states and finally visible efforts around the world.<sup>116</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As they contemplate their unavoidable retirement, 73-year-old Charlie and 75-year-old Pauline worry about CURE's long-term stability. They never left any doubt that they had no wish to embody CURE. "I don't want to be a martyr for a cause," Charlie said, "we're not gonna be here forever." They hope a fund can be set up so they can pass a monetary legacy on to the new leadership. "We would like to establish an endowment," Pauline suggested, "in order that the new staff of National CURE would have a 'cushion' to operate."<sup>117</sup> They struggle, naturally with their exit strategy out of concern that the succeeding leaders will share their selflessness and commitment, and take the organization to a higher level or at least sustain it. As Pauline stated,

"We're trying to interest younger people in the work. But if they come, will they be able to live the way Charlie and I do, on a shoestring? And if they go the route of seeking grants, will they be able to keep their autonomy?"<sup>118</sup>

Tired of hearing about the Sullivans' concerns about CURE, Sister Briggs of Massachusetts chapter once told them, "Just go ahead and do your work because you can't spend your time worrying about whether or not CURE will survive." Link Summers, former Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) inmate and then-secretary of CURE in the early 1980s in Texas ominously suggested that if the Sullivans left CURE, "it'd fall apart."<sup>119</sup> Certainly over thirty years ago, Summers's observation was valid, but no longer today.

There are many elements to show that CURE will still have an effective leadership on prison reform in the future. Em-

powerment has always been the group's driving force. In fact, it has succeeded in providing opportunities for empowerment of its members, prisoners and their loved ones, and done so many times.<sup>120</sup> The organization's board of directors has many leaders who have a proven record of accomplishments in prison reform. Regular national conventions and yearly chapter board meetings allow CURE leadership to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses and accordingly adjust to the changing sociopolitical context in the country. The successful policy campaigns CURE spearheaded for years show the high level of management skill within the group, and the use of strategic planning so as to achieve policy goals. CURE's established leadership base is largely the result of regular training of leaders and members in a decade-old leadership development program. Through the years, many great leaders have contributed, with their expertise, to the accomplishments of the organization. Pauline and Charlie are more confident than anyone else that CURE chapters need no outside experts or "biggies" to continue to be the leading force for prison reform.

Overall, with the tremendous grassroots organizing CURE has developed through the U.S. and on other continents, there certainly will be other great leaders—maybe not as selfless as the Sullivans—to sustain the prison reform flame the activist couple started from scratch more than four decades ago. Pauline and Charlie argued that changing or keeping the name of CURE after their exit does not really matter, but what does matter for them is that "An organization like CURE should be keeping an eye on every prison and jail in the world!"<sup>121</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. Jon Standefer, "Post Personality—Couple core of prison reform lobby." *The Houston Post*, February 27, 1977, 1D.
2. Joe Selvaggio, another former priest who went on to develop a national model housing program in the twin cities for the poor.
3. Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt & Company, 2010), 424.
4. Charles Sullivan, in an e-mail to the author. January 5, 2014.
5. Standefer. "Post Personality," 1D.
6. Charles Sullivan, Reflections on thirty years of prison reform organizing—A note to fellow reformers. February 15, 2001.
7. Idem.
8. Idem.
9. Interview with the author, October 1, 2013
10. Charles Sullivan and Pauline Sullivan. "Thirty Years of CURE: The Struggle is its own reward." In *Criminal Justice: Retributions Vs. Restoration*. Edited by Eleanor Hannon Judah & Rev. Michael Bryant, 2004. The Haworth Social Work Practice Press. NY: Binghamton, 234.
11. George M. Anderson. "A Catholic couple for justice: An interview with Charles and Pauline Sullivan." *America*, 176, no 16 (May 10, 1997):11.
12. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 235.
13. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 11.
14. *Ibid.*, 12
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 236.
18. *Ibid.*, 236.
19. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 13.
20. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 237.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. A non-confrontational approach implies the use of non-aggressive attitudes and dialogue skills to find acceptable solutions to a problem that cannot be addressed through direct confrontation or radical positions when negotiating with a stronger adversary or party. It calls for perseverance and openness to compromises.
24. Sullivan and Sullivan. "Thirty Years of CURE," 241.
25. *Ibid.*, 238.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Jay Rosser, "CURE, Sullivans planning move to Washington." *Greenville Herald Banner*, December 2, 1983 –A-9.
28. Sullivan and Sullivan. "Thirty Years of CURE," 238.
29. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 12.
30. Rosser, "CURE, Sullivans planning move to Washington," A-9.
31. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 12.
32. Sullivan and Sullivan, Thirty Years of CURE, 239.
33. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 15.
34. Dave McNeely, "State prison reform lobbyists moving campaign to Washington." *Austin-American Statesman*, February 19, 1985.
35. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 423.
36. *Ibid.*
37. S. D. Williams, "CURE for America's Prisons." *Corrections Compendium* 16, no 3 (March 5, 1991).
38. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 423-4.
39. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 15.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Standefer. Post Personality, *ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 425.
49. Standefer, "Post Personality," 1D.
50. Sullivan and Sullivan, Thirty Years of CURE, 238.
51. Ben M. Crouch and James W. Marquart, *An Appeal to Justice: Litigated Reform of Texas Prisons* (University of Texas Press, 1989), 119.
52. Sullivan and Sullivan, Thirty Years of CURE, 238.
53. Texas voters sided with CURE in 1983 and supported a constitutional amendment to remove the Governor from the parole process.
54. *Ibid.*
55. In 2002, in a similar project, CURE developed a resource guide for ex-offenders returning to the Washington, D.C. area. The Federal Bureau of Prisons updated it and published it for the Bureau staff preparing D.C. prisoners for reentry.
56. Here Comes the Judge. Cruel and Unusual Punishment : Ruiz v. Estelle (1980) [http://www.laits.utexas.edu/txp\\_media/html/just/features/0505\\_01/ruiz.html](http://www.laits.utexas.edu/txp_media/html/just/features/0505_01/ruiz.html)
57. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 239.
58. Charles Sullivan, "Prison reform finally arrives," *Texas Observer*, July 8, 1983, 6.
59. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 425.
60. Crouch and Marquart, *An Appeal to Justice*, 120.
61. Charles Sullivan, "Prison reform finally arrives," *Texas Observer*, July 8, 1983, 6.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 12.
64. Charles Sullivan, "Prison reform finally arrives," 8.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 240.
67. *Ibid.*, 240-1.
68. *Ibid.*, 241.
69. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 426.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*

72. Jay Rosser, CURE, "Sullivans planning move to Washington." *Greenville Herald Banner*, December 2, 1983, A-9.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 427.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. Charles Sullivan, an e-mail to the author, February 26, 2014.
78. Sullivan, *Reflections on thirty years of prison reform organizing*.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. The Sentencing Project, *Jail-Based Voter Registration Campaigns*, May 2003. [www.sentencingproject.org](http://www.sentencingproject.org) In Maryland and D.C., jail inmates are eligible to register to vote as long as they are not currently serving a felony sentence, even if they have prior felony convictions or are awaiting trial for a felony offense.
82. The Sentencing Project, 4.
83. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 14.
84. Kay Perry, an email to the author, February 12, 2014.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Policy entrepreneurs are people or interest groups who take responsibility to propose solutions to social problems in the spotlight or disregarded by politicians and policymakers. They advocate for reforms for various purposes including social values, good governance, or a political agenda. They often have policy proposals ready and look for a window of opportunity to recommend them to lawmakers. A window of opportunity can be an unexpected crisis, scandal, incident or series of events that causes policymakers to realize the urgency for an appropriate response to a problem.
87. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 13.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 241.
90. *Ibid.*
91. CURE's public official sponsors include: Sen. Daniel K. Akaka, HI; Sen. Tom Harkin, IA; Sen. James M. Jeffords, VT; Cong. Howard L. Berman, CA; Cong. John Conyers; Cong Lane Evans, IL; Cong. Danny K. Davis, IL; Cong. John Lewis, GA; Cong. Sheila Jackson-Lee, TX; Cong. James P. Moran, Jr., VA; Cong. Charles B. Rangel, NY; Cong. Martin O. Sabo, MN; Cong. Robert Scott, VA; Cong. Louise M. Slaughter, NY; Cong. Fortney "Pete" Stark, CA; and Cong. Mel Watt, NC.
92. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice, 13.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Bishop John McCarthy, "Friends to the Friendless." January 23, 2013. <http://www.bishopjohnmccarthy.com/tag/charlie-sullivan/>
95. *Ibid.*
96. See "The Equitable Telephone Charges (ETC) Campaign" at <http://etc-campaign.com/etc/more.php>
97. Kay Perry, "CURE's eTc Campaign," *International CURE, Newsletter* Fall 2013, page 1 to 3.
98. *Ibid.*, 3.
99. Perry, an email to the author, February 12, 2014.
100. Perry, CURE's eTc Campaign, 2.
101. Roberson, "Low-Pressure Lobbyists for Humane Prisons," para. 10.
102. *Ibid.*, para 12.
103. Bishop John McCarthy. "Miracles? Believe in Them!" A Bishop's Blog - Common Sense Catholicism. August 2, 2013. <http://www.bishopjohnmccarthy.com/tag/charlie-sullivan>
104. Countries in which CURE has partner and affiliate organizations: Armenia, 2000; Argentina, 2000-2002; Australia, 2000-2001; Bangladesh, 2000-2002; Belgium, 2000-2001; Benin, 2001; Brazil, 2000-2001; Burundi, 2001; Cameroon, 2001; Canada, 1998-1999, 2001-2002; Denmark, 1999-2001; England, 2000-2001; Ethiopia, 2000-200; France, 2000-2001; Germany, 2000-2001; Guinea, 2001; India, 2000-2002; Iran, 2001; Ireland, 2000-2002; Japan, 1998, 2001-2002; Liberia, 2001-2002; Malawi, 2000-2001; Netherlands, 1998, 2000-2001; Nigeria, 2001; Norway, 2001; Peru, 2000-2001; Philippines, 2000-2001; RDC, 2001-2002; Russia, 2000-2001; Senegal, 2001; South Africa, 2000-2001; Switzerland, 2001-2002; West Indies, 2002; Zimbabwe, 1998, 2000, 2002.
105. Active International CURE Chapters include :Guinea-CURE, Brazil-CURE, Côte-d'Ivoire-CURE, Ghana- CURE, Kenya-CURE, Malawi-CURE, Mali-CURE, Nigeria-CURE, Togo-CURE, and Zambia-CURE. .
106. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 244.
107. More information on the Proceedings of International Conference in Geneva, Switzerland of the conference at [www.internationalcure.org/pdfs/CURE2009Conference.PDF](http://www.internationalcure.org/pdfs/CURE2009Conference.PDF)
108. See "*Prisons and Justice: Assessments, Recommendations, and Transformations*," produced by International CURE at [www.internationalcure.org/pajart.htm](http://www.internationalcure.org/pajart.htm). This work stems from a review of 14 African Country Assessments, in the light of prison standards, reform conferences, and human rights documents at: [http://www.internationalcure.org/HR\\_list.htm](http://www.internationalcure.org/HR_list.htm) and <http://www.internationalcure.org/pajart.htm>. The base of the book is the human rights that were highlighted in the Geneva conference, and reported in the Proceedings of that conference at: [www.internationalcure.org/pdfs/CURE2009Conference.PDF](http://www.internationalcure.org/pdfs/CURE2009Conference.PDF)
109. These included Directors of Prisons in Angola, Argentina, Belize, Benin, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, D.R. Congo, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, and Zambia.
110. See *Dignity of the Individual*, at [www.internationalcure.org](http://www.internationalcure.org) and the summary in *International CURE Newsletter*, Spring 2008, page 9.
111. To see this CURE report, and its thirteen sets of recommendations, please go to [http://www.internationalcure.org/UPR\\_USA.htm](http://www.internationalcure.org/UPR_USA.htm).
112. Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 425.
113. Standefer, "Post Personality," 1D.
114. *Ibid.*
115. Lefevere, *Locked Up*, 11.
116. Bishop John McCarthy. "*Miracles? Believe in Them!*" A Bishop's Blog—Common Sense Catholicism. August 2, 2013. <http://www.bishopjohnmccarthy.com/tag/charlie-sullivan>
117. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 244.
118. Anderson, "A Catholic couple for justice," 15.
119. Standefer, " Post Personality," 1D.
120. Sullivan and Sullivan, "Thirty Years of CURE," 244.
121. *Ibid.*







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