In this issue of *Mass Dissent*, we offer a critical look at the recently passed First Step Act with articles written by formerly incarcerated people on the front lines of the prison abolition movement. In her piece, Ms. James articulates why she rejects the FSA and her vision for a just society. Mr. Kilgore explains why we must fight against Electronic Monitoring and the expansion of E-carceration as well as tips for Defense Attorneys. We conclude with recommendations on how to move forward from the Justice Roundtable.

Radical Black intellectuals and organizers have worked for decades, honing the critical analysis and building up the power of the people to demand an end to the carceral state. It is due to this movement that mass incarceration is finally on the national agenda. The question of what prison reforms we should support and with whom we should collaborate is at the heart of this moment and goes far beyond the specifics of this legislation. Right wing businessmen like the Koch Brothers and their associates have positioned themselves to frame solutions to mass-incarceration that will advance the capitalist agenda and preserve the racialized social control at the core of the prison industrial complex. They are not about challenging America’s historic dependence on racialized state violence. Rather, they are fundamentally about maintaining those same controls, but through a privatized market platform. We know that the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house and it is unacceptable to work with those who aim to benefit from the suffering of our communities.

Two-million Black, Brown and poor people wearing GPS shackles and being controlled by “community corrections” do not represent a solution to...
Join A Guild Committee

Litigation Committee:
Established in 2011, the Committee brings civil lawsuits against large institutions (such as government agencies, law enforcement, banks, financial institutions, and/or large corporations) which engage in repressive or predatory actions that affect large numbers of people and perpetuate social, racial and/or economic injustice or inequality. To get involved, please contact the NLG office at 617-227-7335 or nlgmass-director@igc.org.

Mass Defense Committee:
The Committee consists of two sub-committees: (1) “Legal Observers” who are trained to serve as NLG Legal Observers at political demonstrations and (2) “Mass Defense Team” (criminal defense attorneys) who represent activists arrested for political activism. To get involved, please contact the NLG office.

Street Law Clinic Project:
The Street Law Clinic project was established in 1989. It provides workshops in Massachusetts to address legal needs of various communities. Legal education workshops on 4th Amendment Rights (Stop & Search), Housing Law, Workers’ Rights, Direct Action, Bankruptcy Law, and Immigration Law are held at community organizations, youth centers, labor unions, and shelters. If you are an NLG member and would like to lead a workshop, please contact the NLG office.

NLG National Projects & Committees
(Full list at https://nlg.org/committees/)

NLG National Immigration Project (NIP):
NIP works to defend and extend the human and civil rights of all immigrants, documented and undocumented. Located in Boston, NIP works in coalition with community groups to organize support for immigrants’ rights in the face of right-wing political attacks. For more information contact NIP at 617-227-9727.

NLG International Committee (IC):
IC supports legal work around the world “to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property interests.” It plays an active role in international conferences, delegations and on-going projects that examine and seek to remedy conditions caused by illegal U.S. or corporate practices. IC has done work in Cuba, the Middle East, Korea, Haiti, and other countries. For more info go to https://nlginternational.org.
GUILD CALENDAR

NLG HAPPY HOUR

The April NLG Happy Hour will host local activists who have organized a Court Watch program. The purpose of the program is to send trained activists to courtrooms across the state to observe and monitor the court proceedings, and then report back on the fairness and justice of the court. Among our guest speakers will be Mallory Hanora, a local activist involved in the works of the Massachusetts Bail Fund and prison abolition organizations. Please join us for a great conversation and camaraderie.

NLG HAPPY HOUR
Wednesday, April 10, 2019
6:00-8:00 pm
Red Hat Café
9 Bowdoin St., Boston

NLG ANNUAL DINNER

This year the NLG-Mass Chapter celebrates its 50th Anniversary! For this occasion, the 2019 Annual Dinner will be devoted to the Chapter and our Founders - activist law students and lawyers who in 1969 brought the Chapter back to existence, after a 16 years of hiatus. (The Chapter was disbanded in 1953 because of McCarthyism).

At the Dinner, we will also have a special “Lifetime Achievement Award” given to Lynn Weissberg, a long-time NLG supporter.

Lynn is a partner at Shapiro Weissberg & Garin, LLP and has practiced with her partners since 1980.

We hope all NLG members and friends will be with us at this special event! Over the last 50 years, we’ve had ups and downs, but we’ve survived, and the new generations of radical legal professionals have proudly carried on the torch lit by our revolutionary founders!

NLG ANNUAL DINNER
Friday, May 17, 2019
6:00-10:00 pm
St. Paul Center
85 Bishop Allen Drive, Cambridge

NLG BOARD MEETING

NLG-Mass Chapter members are invited to participate in monthly meetings of the Chapter’s Board of Directors. The meetings are held on the 3rd Wednesday of a month (except July and August), from 6:00 to 8:00 pm, at the NLG Office (41 West St., Suite 700, Boston). Please notify the office if you plan to attend.

ARTICLES FOR MASS DISSENT

The April issue of Mass Dissent will give an update on the NLG work around the country. If you are interested in submitting an article, essay, analysis, or art work (cartoons, pictures) related to the topic, please e-mail your work to nlgmass-director@igc.org.

The deadline for articles is May 10.
In March, Mass Chapter members gathered for our Annual Meeting. After short reports from the co-chairs and committees - Litigation, Mass Defense, Finance, and Dinner - and the Referral Directory, we held elections of the new Mass Chapter’s Board of Directors and Officers.

All running candidates were elected to serve on the Board of Directors (see page 2). **Bonnie Tenneriello** was elected to serve a 2-year term as Chair of the Chapter.

We would like to thank the outgoing Co-Chairs of the Chapter - **Josh Raisler Cohn** and **Carl Williams** - for their work during their tenure. We would also like to extend our wholehearted “Thank You” to **Jude Glaubman** and **Ricardo Arroyo-Montano** for their service on the Board and their commitment and passion for the NLG and our Chapter.

Thank you!

*GUILD NEWS*

(Please see the images for visual content.)
Hepatitis C in the Department of Correction

We want to hear from you if you are (or were) a prisoner in the Department of Correction and have concerns about Hepatitis C, including if:

• You have asked to be tested for Hepatitis C but have been denied testing;
• You have Hepatitis C but have not been evaluated recently, or told whether and when you will be treated for it;
• You have Hepatitis C and have not been assigned priority level for treatment; and/or
• You have other questions or concerns about Hepatitis C treatment.

Prisoners’ Legal Services and the National Lawyers Guild are monitoring the settlement in Fowler v. Tureo, a class action concerning the testing, evaluation, and treatment of Hepatitis C in the DOC. The Settlement calls for universal testing for Hepatitis C (the prisoner can decline testing,) regular assessments of those who have Hepatitis C to determine their priority level for treatment, and treatment to be given within certain time frames to those who qualify. The settlement also limits the reasons why the DOC can deny treatment to prisoners who otherwise qualify for it.

If you have questions or concerns about Hepatitis C, please contact PLS or NLG with as much detail as you can give about your specific issue:
    PLS: 617-482-2773
    NLG: 617-227-7335

Street Law Clinic Report

The following clinics and trainings were conducted for members of Boston area organizations and agencies:

**February 13:** Know Your Rights training for staff at the Grassroots International, by Josh Raisler Cohn.

**February 14:** Stop & Search training for participants in the St. Stephen’s Youth Programs in Roxbury, by Makis Antzoulatos, Jude Glaubman, and Zach Lown.

**February 21:** Legal Observing at a rally at the South Bay House of Corrections in support of detainees who were on hunger strike, by Sarah Block and Zach Coto.

**March 1:** Legal Observing at a rally organized by Harvard for Prison Divestment Campaign at Harvard, by Genevieve Butler, Geoff Carens, and Randa Wahbe.

**March 7:** Legal Observer training for students at UMass Dartmouth School of Law, by Benjamin Evans.

**March 7:** Stop & Search training for students at Northeastern University School of Law, by Makis Antzoulatos.

**March 23:** Direct Action training for activists from the Extinction Rebellion in Boston, by Melinda Drew and Jeff Feuer.

**March 24:** Legal Observing at a rally organized by the Pioneer Valley Project in Springfield, MA, to demand drivers licenses for undocumented individuals, by Noah Meister and Kristen Wilmer.

**March 27:** Legal Observer training for activists from Showing Up For Racial Justice, by Rebecca Amdemariam and Jude Glaubman.

What’s the First Step Act

*Continued from page 1*

mass incarceration. It is a frightening evolution that brings us further from our goal of abolishing the criminal legal system, and we’ve come too far to let the First Step Act derail the abolition train to our collective freedom.

- Makis Antzoulatos & Jude Glaubman -
Why I Oppose the First Step Act

by Andrea James

The criminal legal system has for decades been used to oppress and control cash poor and people of color communities. Millions of predominantly Black people, their families and communities have been disrupted and harmed due to imprisonment, fines & fees, stigma and barriers created by the legal system. All of this has deepened our marginalization and poverty. We deserve more. Our people sitting in prisons deserve more. And the First Step Act does not deliver a fraction of what we need.

I oppose the First Step Act because it provides no relief to too many people who deserve a chance to come home. The First Step Act was an opportunity to create second look provisions for people serving life without parole. That didn’t happen.

I oppose The First Step act because it will push the prison walls further into our communities.

We must resist the privatization and post-incarceration monitoring by parole and probation, electronic monitoring tools and surveillance.

This is not reform.

This is net-widening and the start of incarcerating us in our own living rooms.

I oppose the First Step Act because it introduces risk assessment tools to reclassify federally incarcerated people into low, medium, or high-risk categories under the guise of determining their risk of recidivism. But the truly significant impact of these classifications is that they determine eligibility to participate in programming and to benefit from earned time credits upon completion. The two major categories of exclusion -- Firearms and Trafficking -- are made up of 74% Black people. The other largest category is Immigration. These three categories make ineligible predominantly Black and Brown people. It is unacceptable that the feds have created a new classification system, using a risk assessment tool that is notoriously unreliable, inaccurate and racist at its core that provides relief only to a few.

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Why I Oppose the First Step Act

Continued from page 6

not reform. This is net-widening and the start of incarcerating us in our own living rooms. Awarding people earned credits to leave prison earlier will come at a huge cost if it increases the use of these tools and the increased surveillance of our people and communities.

I oppose the First Step Act because I am a Black, formerly incarcerated woman living in the most incarcerated community within my state. I lived in a federal prison and I am married to a man who served years in a federal prison. I have family and friends sitting in prisons across the country, some serving life sentences.

As a community organizer, I work with hundreds of other formerly incarcerated women and social justice advocates fighting for justice for our loved ones and communities. We need to indict the system that is deeply flawed, racist and classist. The system that marginalizes, disrupts and deprives communities most directly affected by mass incarceration of the resources we need to recover and thrive.

Rather than indicting the prison system, the First Step Act continues to indict the person already in prison. A mere 3% of the current federal incarcerated population will benefit from this law, most of whom have low level, white collar convictions. For every few that will be released early, thousands more from our communities are currently awaiting sentencing that will land them for years on a federal prison bunk. That’s not reform. Eighty-five percent of people convicted in federal court last year were sentenced to prison. Meaningful reform needs to address that.

I pray that people find relief from the passage of the First Step Act. I care that even one person might be released due to the few opportunities the law may provide. When I was in prison I counted and recounted and rechecked the sentencing guidelines and counted down every second until I got home. But I cannot support a bill that abandons the vast majority of our people. A law that, again, indicted them, leaving them with no relief while a few are provided a chance to reduce their time.

Finally, I oppose the First Step Act because I believe in community organizing for the long term. I organize with incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women and girls to understand the power we have in our millions. We cannot let others define and carve out justice that does not provide meaningful change for our people and communities. Ninety-one percent of Americans support criminal justice reform that will reduce our current prison population for real. The First Step Act will not achieve this and we are long overdue an Act that will. Our communities will not collude to create names and excuses for ineffective criminal legal reform proposals. Our work is to build public support that translates to real action for massive systemic change. We will continue to organize our sisterhood to build our power and reimagine our communities on our terms.

Andrea James is the Founder of the Boston-based, Families for Justice and Healing and the Founder and Executive Director of the National Council for Incarcerated and Formerly Incarcerated Women and Girls.

To read more, see her article in the Yale Law Review 128 25 Feb 2019.
The recent struggles over the First Step Act have thrown the complexities of “criminal justice system reform” into the spotlight. Among other things, the Act will likely trigger a much wider use of e-carceration — the deprivation of liberty by means of technologies such as ankle monitors. Fortunately, an increasing number of people are reaching the obvious conclusion: electronic monitoring (EM) is not an alternative to incarceration but an alternative form of incarceration.

The U.S. has about 200,000 people on these devices right now with the numbers, especially among immigrants, steadily rising. Indianapolis seems to lead the nation’s cities in electronic monitoring with more than 4,000 people forced to wear these devices. As prison abolitionists, we oppose adding more prisons, push for people to be freed from them and try to close them down. Along the way, we fight to reduce harm by opposing torturous practices like solitary confinement, shackling mothers during birth and mandatory minimums. Similarly, we must resist the expansion of "digital prisons" with our demands for: no new shackles, reducing the number in operation and reducing the harm being done by them.

The two most egregious harms done by EM are restrictions of movement and imposition of user fees. Strict regimens of house arrest associated with electronic monitoring replicate the confinement of prison and can block people from employment, family activities, medical care and practicing their religion. While the stipulations of the First Step Act make some provisions to allow movement for specific purposes, without a major ideological transformation in the federal Bureau of Prisons, these are likely to remain empty promises.

User fees are equally problematic. People pay up to $35 a day to be monitored. A recent lawsuit brought by four plaintiffs in California asserted that monitoring fees totally disrupted their lives, cost them their homes, their cars and jeopardized their health. Moreover, the debt from fees can press individuals who are on pretrial electronic monitoring to accept an undesirable plea bargain just to get off the e-shackle and be freed from onerous payments and intrusive surveillance.

It is also important to note that more than 70 percent of electronic monitors today are GPS-enabled. A GPS monitor is not simply a device for enforcing criminal legal sanctions; it tracks a person's location and stores that information with little or no oversight as to what happens to that data. Historically, this represents a technological continuation of tracking of the movements of enslaved Black and dispossessed Indigenous people which is at the core of American settler colonialism. The data points of a GPS map are the modern equivalent of the “lanterns laws” that forced Black and Indigenous people in New York to carry candles if they travelled after dark. Only the lights of data points never really go out.

Mass Incarceration Meets the Surveillance State

Electronic monitors form the point of convergence between mass incarceration and the surveillance state. E-shackles not only act like an e-cage but also mimic a team of spies following people around, tracking...
The First Step Act: Gateway to E-Carceration?

Continued from page 8

where they go, who they hang out with, and notes all their personal habits. If they are undocumented or profiled as “gang members,” these shackles can be used to spuriously link them to their “partners in crime.”

The tracking data from GPS monitors joins other databases that profile and punish criminalized sectors of the population — poor people who are disproportionately Black and Brown. As Virginia Eubanks stresses, these databases are part of “automating inequality.” With three major tech companies, Google, Facebook and Amazon now controlling over 50% of computer cloud storage space, our data is not in good hands.

Furthermore, future iterations of electronic monitors hold the potential to impose geofences on the same communities that have been the targets of mass incarceration. This technology can reduce the need for brick-and-mortar prisons, use algorithms and metadata to determine the risk level of letting people mosey out of their assigned areas and charge “users” for the privilege of being surveilled. In a recent New York Times op-ed, Michelle Alexander referred to electronic monitors and other forms of e-carceration as the “Newest Jim Crow.”

When we push back against electronic monitors, we not only resist incarceration, we fight back against a racialized surveillance state. We need to resist laws that deepen incarceration and we need to think carefully about what incarceration and freedom will look like in the future.

James Kilgore, the Director of the Challenging E-Carceration project, is an activist and writer based in Urbana, Illinois. Having spent a year on an electronic monitor as a condition of his parole, he has campaigned against their use for many years. For more information, see www.centerformediajustice.org/our-projects/challenginge-carceration-electronic-monitoring/nomoreshackles/

EM BOX: ADVICE TO DEFENSE ATTORNEYS

If you have a client who is going to be released pretrial or on parole, fight to keep them off EM. There is no justification for it and no evidence that proves it has any positive impact. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence that it creates many problems including restricting freedom of movement, getting technical violations due to device failure or repressive parole officers and creating inconveniences for loved ones.

If you have a client who will be put on EM, fight for the following:

1. No daily user fees.
2. Use a radio frequency device (often called curfew) which only reports whether they are at home. Avoid the problematic GPS-enhanced device which tracks and records location.
3. Whatever device they are on, press for them to get freedom of movement from early in the morning until late at night. Ensure they are at liberty to move freely during their time out of the house. Be sure they are not required to submit separate requests for every place they go and/or be required to submit a list to the parole officer of everyone they meet or visit.
4. Ensure they have permission to respond to family and personal emergencies without needing formal permission.
5. Make sure they are allowed movement for any medical/mental health treatment they require or to attend any courses, programs or court dates that are mandated.
6. The conditions for EM should be in the judge’s order of sentencing, not merely verbally agreed in court. The person on the monitor needs a document to back them up.

If you seek amicus support in your case, email stephanie@eff.org.
RECOMMENDATIONS FROM JUSTICE ROUNDTABLE’S SENTENCING REFORM WORKING GROUP

Sentencing Retroactivity
With enactment of the First Step Act in 2018, over 2,600 people serving crack cocaine sentences that predated passage of the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010 will have an opportunity for retroactive sentencing reductions. Additional sentencing reforms incorporated in the First Step Act will help to limit other mandatory minimum sentences in the future. Unfortunately, these changes are not retroactive and thousands of people in federal prisons today serving sentences under now reformed statutes will not benefit, including many people who will die in prison without retroactivity.

Mandatory Minimums
Congress must pass legislation eliminating mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses and apply those changes retroactively.

Second Look at Sentencing
There must be a sentence review for anyone who has served 10 years. If the request is denied, the person should be allowed to apply for a sentencing review again in two years.

Limit Life Sentences
The Bureau of Prisons reported in 2016 that 6,720 people in federal prisons were serving a life sentence; of these nearly 60% were serving life without an opportunity for release. Among those serving life without parole sentences, half (49%) were convicted of a drug crime.

Effectively Confront Fentanyl
While they may claim to target “kingpins,” experience shows that these harsh penalties often fall on the shoulders of people who play a small role in the drug trafficking business and are typically from communities of color. Congress has passed overdose and criminal justice reform legislation in recent years on a bipartisan basis. The push to increase penalties on fentanyl and other synthetic drugs undercuts all this good work and should be opposed.

Fix the Trial Penalty
The ‘trial penalty’ refers to the substantial difference between the sentence offered in a plea offer prior to trial versus the sentence a defendant receives after trial. This penalty is now so severe and pervasive that it has virtually eliminated the constitutional right to a trial. Defendants face a sentencing differential so great that innocent defendants often plead guilty in order to avoid the risk of a substantially greater prison term if they go to trial. Possible reforms include repeal of mandatory minimums, modifying aspects of the Sentencing Guidelines that discourage trials, pre-plea disclosure requirements, “second looks” at lengthy sentences, prohibitions against surrendering appeal rights, and judicial oversight of plea discussions.

Conspiracy Charges
The offense of conspiracy – basically an agreement to commit a crime – lacks clear definitions and limitations and too often misrepresents or overstates the culpability of the accused. Minor participants, most often women, swept into the conspiracy net can be held responsible for the most serious crimes committed while the actual perpetrators receive reduced sentences in return for providing information to the government. Reforms that should be considered include requiring meaningful overt acts for all conspiracies, raising the bar for the type of evidence necessary to establish conspiracy and limiting the conduct of co-conspirators that is attributable to defendants.

Fines and Fees
Exorbitant criminal sanction fees and fines violate the rights of vulnerable people and exacerbate poverty. Unable to pay and entangled in court systems that ignore that fact, individuals end up in jail for minor offenses. Criminal debt collection prac-
**NLG-Mass Chapter Sustainers**

In the spring of 2003, the Massachusetts Chapter of the NLG initiated the Chapter Sustainer Program. Since its inception, the Program has been very successful and has been enthusiastically joined by the following NLG members & friends:

- Anonymous
- Patricia Cantor & Jeff Petrucelly
- J.W. Carney
- Howard Cooper
- Melinda Drew & Jeff Feuer
- Roger Geller & Marjorie Suisman
- Lee Goldstein & Mark Stern
- Benjie Hiller
- Andrei Joseph & Bonnie Tenneriello
- Martin Kantrovitz
- Nancy Kelly & John Willshire-Carrera
- David Kelston
- John Mannheim
- Jonthan Messinger
- Hank Phillippi Ryan & Jonathan Shapiro
- Allan Rodgers
- Martin Rosenthal
- Anne Sills & Howard Silverman
- Judy Somberg

The Sustainer Program is one of the most important Chapter initiatives to secure its future existence. Please consider joining the Program.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

Continued from page 10

...practices must be curbed for low-income individuals, and fees and fines must not be used to fund criminal justice systems. Congress should also expand the authority of the Department of Justice to investigate court practices and authorize an examination of the impact of criminal justice debt. Technical assistance and resources should be made available through the Bureau of Justice Assistance so that state and local court systems can end “offender-funded” criminal justice systems.

**Confidential Informants**

Within the criminal justice system the widespread use of confidential informants has led to wrongful imprisonment, perverse incentives and has put members of the public in danger. Their use in drug cases is especially troubling. The lack of oversight and regulation of this area of the criminal justice system calls out for Congress’ attention to this issue.

**Community Sanctions**

Congress should more closely examine supervision practices and sex and public conviction registries. Over reliance on these community sanctions serve as significant drivers of incarceration because of the overly punitive nature of supervisory and registry requirements. Additionally, sex offense and other public conviction registries carry with them complicated and technical requirements for compliance that can trigger sanctions if not followed and ultimately lead to incarceration. These sanctions are typically new felony prosecutions for failing to comply, as opposed to sanctions for breaching a condition of supervision. If not repealed, penalties for these administrative offenses should be drastically reduced, should require a specific intent to not comply, and impose fewer obligations.

*For the full report visit: [https://justiceroundtable.org/about/working-groups/](https://justiceroundtable.org/about/working-groups/)*
"... an association dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system. We seek to unite the lawyers, law students, legal workers and jailhouse lawyers of America in an organization which shall function as an effective political and social force in the service of people, to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property interests."

_Preamble to the Constitution of the National Lawyers Guild_

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**Mass Dissent**

**USPS 0760-110 PERIODICAL**

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**We Need Your Support!**

The NLG-Mass Chapter provides legal representation and assistance to the **radical and progressive** movements.

Please help by donating to the Mass Chapter by sending this form and a check to

41 West St., Suite 700, Boston, MA 02111

or visiting [www.nlgmass.org/donate](http://www.nlgmass.org/donate).

I, ____________________________ (name), am donating $_________ to the NLG-Mass Chapter to help support the fight for the people,

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**Join Us!**

Dues are calculated on a calendar year basis (Jan.1-Dec.31) according to your income*:

- Jailhouse Lawyers: Free
- Law Students: up to $15,000: $25, $15,000 to $20,000: $40, $20,000 to $25,000: $50, $25,000 to $30,000: $75, $30,000 to $40,000: $100, $40,000 to $50,000: $150, $50,000 to $60,000: $200, $60,000 to $70,000: $250, $70,000 to $80,000: $300, $80,000 to $90,000: $350, $90,000 to $100,000: $400, $100,000: $500

* Any new member who joins after September 1 will be carried over to the following year. Dues may be paid in full or in quarterly installments. Dues of $80 cover the basic membership costs, which include publication and mailing of **Mass Dissent** (the Chapter’s bi-monthly newsletter), national and regional dues, and the office and staff.