

# LIBERATED *Guardian*



inside/ PRISONS: A YEAR OF RESISTANCE

Those who protest at injustice  
are people of true merit  
When the prison doors are opened  
the real dragon will fly out.

—Ho Chi Minh





# ANTI-WAR ACTIVISTS

The period before Presidential elections is a time when people in America are confronted with daily debates on key issues and the choices—real and unreal—which face them. The next month and a half confronts the left with an opportunity to speak to the powerlessness, confusion, and desire for change so manifest throughout this recent period. It challenges us to mobilize our capabilities to influence the course of American politics and the Indochina war.

## ON THE

### INDOCHINA PEACE CAMPAIGN

One attempt to meet this challenge is the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC)—literally a campaign/project, not a new national umbrella organization. National in scope, the IPC is a massive popular education campaign "to ensure that the war remains the foremost issue in this election period, for ending the war has never been more possible." The intention of the campaign is to bring a wide variety of educational resources to people who have not traditionally been reached by the anti-war movement. While not by-passing the campuses (where, in many places, almost no real work has gone on for the past two years) and the liberal labor unions (which have been the backbone of the movement), IPC is making an intensive effort to broaden the base of anti-war sentiment and activism.

The Indochina Peace Campaign describes its goals as follows: (1) To support the right to self-determination of the people of Indochina by promoting the 7-Point Peace Plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, which has been both distorted and ignored in the U.S.; (2) To expose the false claim that the war is winding down; (3) To educate the American people about the land, history, and culture of the Vietnamese people in order to show that they are neither our enemies nor expendable; (4) To defeat the Nixon strategy; and (5) To expand anti-war consciousness and strengthen the movement.

To achieve these ends a three-part strategy has been projected. Most visibly, a high-powered, whirlwind tour of the seven swing electoral states (New York, California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois) is being coordinated out of IPC for Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Holly Near, and others who have experiences in Vietnam to share or other forms of "expertise." They are speaking, giving seminars in conjunction with slide shows, etc., to organizers, community and church groups, the press, civic organizations, even McGovern people—any people open to participating. Wherever possible, the tour has been set up to reinforce or stimulate grass-roots work being done by local anti-war groups. In Ohio, for example, during state and county fairs, IPC



LIBERATION FORCES OF VIETNAM ON THEIR CAMPAIGN TRAIL

people spoke to audiences ranging in numbers from one to three thousand. One time they complemented prior work done by a street theater group. Another time they were surprised to find themselves being officially welcomed. Jane Fonda's discussion on the Dick Cavett show has brought letters pouring in with requests for more information from people conventionally labelled in the press as "Middle Americans."

In addition to the tour, regional and local IPC offices have been established to aid and encourage activity aimed at the people and organizations who have never mobilized explicitly against the war. To support this aspect of the campaign, IPC clearing houses throughout the seven states have amassed substantial educational re-

### OCTOBER 14th COALITION

Independent of IPC, the October 14th Coalition, a Bay Area group, has issued a call for broad-based, nation-wide demonstrations in as many places as possible in mid-October to (1) support the spirit of the 7-Point Peace Plan, and (2) to denounce Nixon. They believe that, since major crises in the war now occur daily, the present period should be reacted to as forcefully as the Cambodian invasion and the mining of Haiphong harbor were. The object is to place responsibility for U.S. genocidal and racist policies with the present administration and to explain that there is a just solution to the war by spelling out the contents of the 7 Points.

## CAMPAIGN TRAIL

sources. These include slide shows, photo-documentation exhibits, information packets, films, and a speakers' bureau. Speakers, including Vietnamese students living in the U.S., Vietnam Vets, and various resource people, are available. Workshops to train individuals in the use of slide shows and other materials have been established.

An interesting and potentially important emphasis of the campaign, and the tour in particular, is the assertion that it is those who protest the unjust, immoral, and criminal prosecution of the Vietnam war who are the true American patriots. People connected with the campaign contend that the Vietnam war is the defining experience of our lifetime, in the sense that the moral and legal questions it raises about self-determination, responsibility for war crimes, resistance to criminal acts carried out by governments, etc., including finally, patriotism, are fundamental and will have far-reaching repercussions into the next generation.

One of the independent programs being stressed by IPC is Medical Aid to Indochina. Its function is to raise money to purchase supplies, medicines, books, and equipment in the U.S. and Europe for shipment to North Vietnam for distribution. This program, like the others, can act as an organizing tool either at large institutions (e.g., hospitals, universities) or "door to door."

People who live in the 43 remaining states are being urged to adapt this strategy to local conditions and get in touch with the nearest IPC office. It is hoped that the energy being generated by the campaign will spread beyond the seven states and will complement demonstrations being planned for the fall.

National clearing houses for IPC are Box 24C51, Los Angeles, California 90024, (213) 477-0968; and 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 527, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 255-0726. They can be contacted for regional and local resource centers.

Each area must plan its own appropriate demonstration/event in line with local conditions. Suggestions include: *A media campaign* revolving around the 7-Point Peace Plan. In some areas successful struggles with local media have forced them to print and discuss the 7 Points. *Mass rallies* as organizing tools, perhaps focusing on Nixon headquarters or on the campaign trail. The emphasis is on community education building up to the demonstrations in order to raise levels of consciousness and increase the commitment of those who participate. *Ecocide as an issue.* The anti-war movement can cooperate with ecology groups to inform the public that carpet-bombing and chemical and biological warfare add up to ecocide and affect the entire world population. *Racism and Repression.* The tiger cages on Con Son Island are related to the "holes" in American prisons. The anti-war movement can demonstrate how prisons are a reflection of American society and how they are related to U.S. racist wars of oppression and repression in the Third World. *The Economy as a War Issue.* The majority of Americans can be shown how inflation, unemployment, wage-freeze, and other injustices of the American economy are linked to Nixon's war policies.

The Coalition urges people/groups to contact them, let them know what they're doing, send in their ideas, stay in touch. Their address is 149 9th Street, San Francisco, California 94103.

In New York, plans for October 14th include a march from Nixon headquarters to a People's World Fair in Central Park. People will gather at 1:30. At the park, tables and booths will be put together by different groups around the city, and films will be shown into the night. For more information contact the New York October 14th Coalition, Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY; telephone number (212)982-7162.

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### MUNICH AND AFTER

A forum on the Palestinian struggle, with Sheila Ryan and George Cavalletto, who spent over a year in Jordan and Lebanon covering the Palestinian struggle for the left press, including the Liberated Guardian.

★ NAAIC-CAIM Forum  
Harkness Theater  
Basement of Butler Library  
Columbia University  
116th & Broadway  
Tuesday, Oct 3, 8 PM ★

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# Mme. Binh in Cuba— The Terms For Peace Are Clear

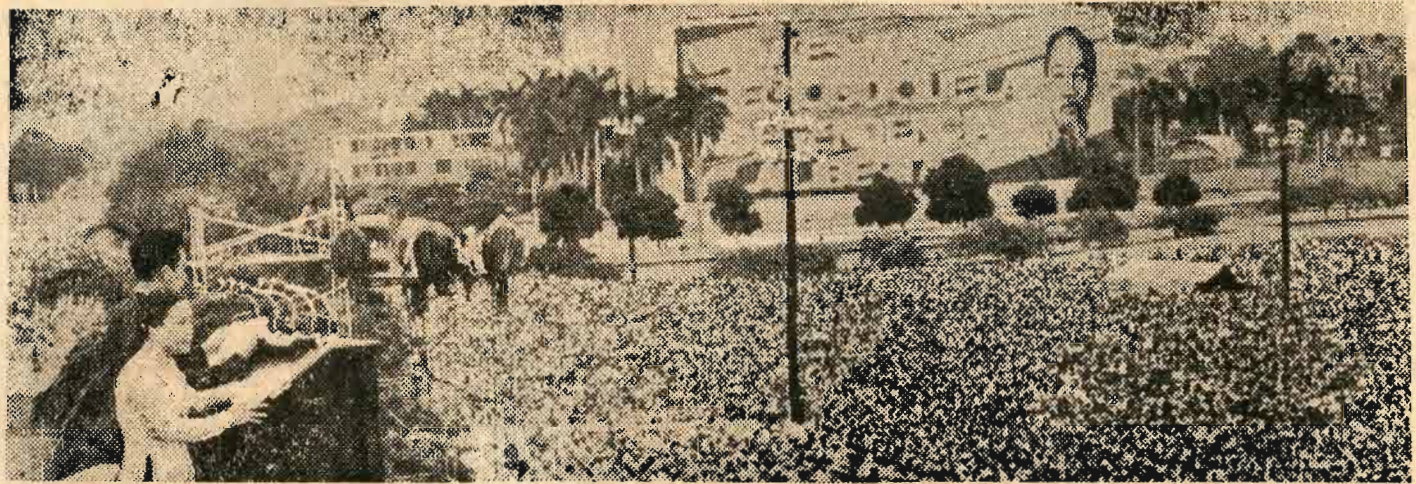
The following report was written "special to the *Liberated Guardian*" in Havana in late July. We feel it is a timely and relevant analysis of both the state of the war in Vietnam and the military and political strategy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Since Mme. Binh's press conference, events have confirmed what she said. The word from Nixon-Kissinger-Thieu is now that there will be no cease-fire prior to the elections and that there is no end of the war in sight. They know the military situation is desperate for the Saigon forces. Every day, US papers tell of another outpost under attack by the liberation forces and every day the fighting intensifies in the Saigon area, where the few remaining Thieu troops are being consolidated. Nixon can only hope that massive American air power will prevent major defeats up until election time, and that the American people will believe his propaganda about American POW's and the "winding down of the war".

—by Julie Nichamin and a member of the collective

On July 22, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, arrived in Cuba heading a Vietnamese delegation which included Le Truc, a member of the General Staff of the Peoples' Liberation Armed Forces, and members of the PRG delegation to the Paris peace talks.

Here, only 90 miles from the enemy who daily drops hundreds of tons of bombs on Vietnam, the people of Cuba share a special closeness with the people of Vietnam. Mme. Binh herself described the basis for this closeness: from the time Fidel entered Havana in 1959 to the present; from the popular uprisings which began in 1959 in South Vietnam to the founding of the National Liberation Front and finally the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Cubans and the Vietnamese have been engaged in the same struggle—to win and defend independence and the right to self-determination.

This year the Communist Party of Cuba chose the theme of International Solidarity with Vietnam for the celebration of July 26, the 19th anniversary of



MADAME BINH SPEAKS IN THE PLAZA OF THE REVOLUTION—JULY 26, 1972

the attack on the Moncada barracks.

The presence of Mme. Binh underlined the historic importance of this theme. On July 26, Mme. Binh spoke, along with Fidel, to close to one million Cubans who were gathered for the massive celebration in the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana. In her speech, Mme. Binh reviewed the strong ties of solidarity which have developed between the Vietnamese and Cuban people, and described the present phase of the struggle in Vietnam.

## CUBAN SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM.

The theme of support for Vietnam reflects a constant effort on the part of the Cubans, particularly in the last six months, to offer material help in building international solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

All of the international prestige of the Cuban Revolution has been placed on the line for Vietnam. For example, throughout his recent trip to Africa, eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Fidel

emphasized that Vietnam represents the supreme test of communist internationalism in the world today. In Algeria Fidel said: "In Vietnam a battle for the liberation of all people is being waged . . . For this reason we say that we are ready to shed our own blood for Vietnam!"

And immediately following Nixon's escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam in April, the Cuban Revolutionary Government sent a special medical team to Hanoi. As Mme. Binh said in her speech July 26: "The solidarity of the

Cuban people with Vietnam has become a mass movement, deeply rooted in Cubans in all walks of life, from children to old people, youths, women, intellectuals, workers, and peasants, taking thousands of varied and passionate forms."

## PRESENT PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE

The offensive of the last four months carried out by the liberation forces has brought the struggle in Vietnam into a new phase. The victories of the NLF and popular uprisings on every front clearly show that Vietnamization has failed.

The complete bankruptcy of Vietnamization is clear from both the victories of the NLF in the south and the desperate escalation of American bombing in the north. While the establishment US press measures the number of feet moved up or down the road to Hue, NLF troops have tied up the crack troops of the Saigon regime as well as the major portion of US air power around a few isolated areas—Anloc, Quangtri, Hue. At the same time, tremendous gains are being made in the Mekong Delta area where over half the people of South Vietnam live.

In the past few months over one million people in 1100 villages in the delta region have been liberated from Thieu's control, while the US command reports that "the enemy has been stopped at Quangtri" or "stalemated at Anloc". Thousands of ARVN troops have also been captured or killed in this area and many more convinced to abandon the puppet army and return to their homes. The answer to the question of which side is being stalemated therefore seems clear. Mme. Binh emphasized very strongly in her speech on the 26th that the effectiveness of the current offensive far surpasses any of the past, including the Tet offensive of 1968.

In the light of the realities of the situation, Nixon has escalated the war even more—instead of "winding down" the war, Vietnamization and the air and naval war have been intensified to a new level.

Behind the strategy of Vietnamization has always been "the strategy of genocide". With every battle that ARVN loses, more and more US air and naval power is unleashed on the people of Vietnam. Almost every major city and town in North Vietnam has been subject to tons of US bombs—the targets in these cities and towns have been schools, hospitals and churches among others. And in the south, as Mme. Pha Thi Minh, a member of the Vietnamese delegation, put it: "If

you want to know where the liberated zones are, look for where the B-52's bomb." In the last four months of the war, one million tons of bombs and projectiles have been dropped in Vietnam, which is approximately equal to the tonnage of bombs dropped in all fronts of Europe during all of World War II.

The most desperate of Nixon's measures has been the bombing of the dikes in the North. Fifteen million out of twenty million North Vietnamese people live under the protection of these dikes. None of Nixon's lies can cover up this last-ditch attempt to militarily preserve the Thieu regime even if it costs the lives and homes of millions of Vietnamese people.

## THE TERMS FOR PEACE ARE CLEAR

• In her speech on July 26 as well as in a press conference the following day, Mme. Binh once again clarified the position of the PRG on the Paris peace talks. She began by saying that Nixon found himself caught between the serious defeat of his program of Vietnamization on the battlefields of South Vietnam and the pressure of world opinion, forcing him to go back to the Paris peace talks. "Nevertheless," she continued, "he goes on escalating the war, intensifying the bombings, and at the same time obstinately persisting in his aggressive position."

Mme. Binh said that Nixon has put forward conditions in the form of an ultimatum, such as his position in his May 8 speech (which is still being represented as the American position by Porter in Paris) that states that the Vietnamese should accept an immediate ceasefire and free the captured North Americans without delay. In this manner, she pointed out, Nixon asks the Vietnamese people to give up their struggle for their political rights of self-determination and independence.

There is no way, said Mme. Binh, that the Vietnamese people will accept this means of maintaining the Thieu government and thus the continuation of US neo-colonialist domination of Vietnam.

"We want to reaffirm," she said, "that the people of Vietnam who are fighting for their independence and their liberty will never go back one step, regardless of the difficulty or hardship, and will never abandon their struggle in any way until these sacred objectives have been achieved!"

In order to end the war, Mme. Binh said, "Concretely, the US government must immediately cease the bombings and all acts of war against the Vietnamese people; put an end to their policy of

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Vietnam, a land of heroes whose sons are raised in the most beautiful principles of human solidarity. This is why Vietnam will win.



# CRACKS in the EMPIRE

## THE OLYMPICS

One event that ABC's copious coverage didn't quite catch was that a comrade from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (as Chris Schenkle explained, "As we all know, PRK stands for North Korea") won the small bore rifle competition. The brother explained that before he left, the Premier of his country, Kim Il Sung, had told him to shoot as if he were shooting at the class enemy (and we all know who that is, Chris), which he did, and that is why he won.

\* \* \*

Seven Irish Republican Army cyclists crashed an Olympic race. "We staged similar protests in Australia in 1956 and in Rome. We want to protest England's interference [through] sports," said a spokesperson.

\* \* \*

Olga Connally, the American flagbearer, was severely hassled by Olympic officials when she tried to distribute anti-war petitions in the Olympic Village. The petitions, calling for a cease-fire during the period of the games and action to put a halt to the conflict, were ripped down by US Olympic officials when they were posted, and she was threatened by US team officials if she continued to pass them out.

## CUBA

After a year of increased mobilization of women and the population in general, Cuba has registered a good tobacco crop for the 1971-1972 year. This year's output represents a 57% increase over last year's drought-stricken crop and a 15% increase over the 1969-1970 output.

## VENEZUELA

Renewed guerrilla activity has been reported in two provinces. The left-wing guerrilla group *Bandera Roja* (Red Flag) has claimed credit for the kidnapping of "tin can millionaire" Carlos Dominguez, although the police still can't figure out who did it.

## CHILE

The People's Republic of China has purchased 100,000 tons of Argentinian maize for delivery to Chile as part of their aid program. And in another bright spot, the National Institute of Statistics reported that manufacturing production rose by 16.3% in the first quarter of 1972 as compared with the same period last year.

## PUERTO RICO

The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization voted 12-0, with 10 abstentions, a resolution recognizing the status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States. Pressure from several nations, especially Cuba, and a world-wide campaign by Puerto Rican independence fighters overcame objections by US imperialists that the status of Puerto Rico was the "result of the self-determination of the Puerto Rican people."

## ARGENTINA

Rawson Prison, a concentration camp near Trelew, Argentina, is that country's maxi-maxi version of Attica. 300 out of 1500 admitted Argentine political prisoners are incarcerated there. On August 15, a busload of 20 guerrillas entered Rawson with fake ID's, armed 150 political prisoners, and took over the prison.

The goal was to free 25 guerrillas with leadership roles in three Argentine underground groups. They were partially successful. Although all 25 got to Trelew Airport, only 10 got away. They hijacked a jet to Chile, and from there left for Cuba. But when the others tried to follow, they were caught by the pigs, who'd been warned by the pilot of the first plane. They were all murdered, along with one supporter; three more supporters were captured. However, approximately 250 (out of 800) other Rawson sisters and brothers split during the confusion and are still "unaccounted for".

## CONNECTICUT

At Danbury Federal Correctional Institution, eleven prisoners who had begun a fast to the death were transferred to the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri. In response, a group of ex-prisoners and friends staged a two-day vigil and fast at the prison gates, and a 70-mile march to New York City. Danbury is where the Berrigans and a lot of other anti-war political prisoners are held.

## MANHATTAN

Asian-American groups have reacted angrily to an International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) subway ad campaign. The ad features an American flag with a headline "Made in Japan". The ad reads, in part: "Has your job been exported to Japan? If not, it soon will be." Recalling the World War II days when hostility toward Japan got taken out on Japanese-Americans, fed by ads such as these, Asian-Americans for Action said in a press release: "... [P]itting the frustrations and anger of workers toward an ethnic minority group is not the way to deal with these problems. The ILGWU... diverts attention from the real culprits: Big Business... and the Nixon Military-Industrial Administration." Concerned people are urged to write or call Mr. Louis Stulberg; President, ILGWU; 1710 Broadway; New York City 10019; phone CO5-7000.

## BROOKLYN

Jerry "The Jew" Rosenberg, famed jailhouse lawyer and one of the heroes of the Attica rebellion, recently won \$7500 from the pig who arrested him in one of the highest awards of its kind ever. Claiming that the pig gave out prejudicial statements before his trial, Jerry will be suing five more pigs in October. Jerry got his law degree through correspondence and is a member of the National Lawyers Guild. He has helped many of his brothers with their legal matters and won some 39 cases for them.

## HARLEM

Two weeks ago, nurses and doctors at Harlem Hospital refused to do operations on weekends because of inadequate recovery room care. This started a process of staff members and community residents bringing up a lot of complaints that had been piling up for a long time: nurse and non-professional staff shortages, bad food, decaying buildings, inadequate electrical equipment, not enough elevators, poor ventilation. On September 8 staff people held a demonstration, which started as an orderly picket line, then spilled into the streets, and then, on a planned signal started blocking traffic with hospital beds. The pigs, not wanting to provoke a riot, stayed away.

## ATLANTA

The Atlanta Hempdealers Cooperative made a donation of \$500 to help bail out sisters and brothers who were busted in Miami during the Republican Convention. Right on to the people's dealers!

## GREECE

Members of the Greek resistance Group Popular Revolutionary Resistance, who bombed two government cars during Agnew's visit, recently bombed the US Embassy in Athens as well. It takes a long time for some people to learn they're not wanted. They said in their communique: "We declare that in their 'exclusive domain', as the imperialists call our country, there are still men with revolutionary tradition who know well how to throw out their 'protectors'."

## PORTUGAL

In fascist Portugal on August 9, 18 bombs exploded against high tension wires, injuring no one, but reducing power to Lisbon by 30%, and temporarily cutting all power to Oporto, second largest city in the country. The bombings, done by the Armed Revolutionary Action, an armed underground group with a long, proud history, were timed to celebrate the inauguration of Portugal's ceremonial president, Americo Thomaz, a 77-year-old former admiral who'll kick the can any day.

## PHILLIPINES

The New People's Army is on the offensive, and support among the Philippine people is growing. Last weeked, six soldiers were killed in Isabela Province, and during the preceding week several bombs exploded in public places in Manila. President Marcos sees the new movement as a serious threat and warned that it could overtake state power in two years unless the counterrevolutionary forces are strengthened.

## HAWAII

On March 2, 1972, human blood was poured on top-secret documents in a planning room of the directorate of electronic warfare at Pacific Air Force Headquarters, Hickam Air Force Base. The Hickam 3, Chuck Giuli, James Albertini, and James Douglass, have acknowledged responsibility, and except Chuck, have recently been convicted of misdemeanors of destroying property and conspiracy. The trial tried to bring home the connection between US military domination of Indochina and of Hawaii, and raised consciousness as well as lots of support through a week-long workshop.

## DETROIT

The Wayne County Department of Health has brought suit against the Ford Motor Company for causing lethal air pollution. The company was charged with polluting the air with smoke, hydrocarbons, iron oxide, lime dust, slag dust, zinc oxide, fly ash, coke particles, sand and hydrogen sulfide; violating county air pollution standards 143 times in the past two years; and emitting pollutants in amounts between 330% and 570% above federal standards.

## PAWNEE, OKLAHOMA

About 40 Oklahoma Indians seized the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Pawnee for two hours on September 12 to protest the lack of educational funds.



FREED ARGENTINE GUERRILLAS



# PRISONS: A YEAR OF RESISTANCE



It has been a year now since the Attica rebellion. For many of us, the death of George Jackson and the Attica rebellion and subsequent massacre played a very heavy role in raising our consciousness about prisons and the prison struggles that have been going on all around the country. In the past year, the growth of the prison movement has been enormous. We have become clearer in the past year on why our society needs prisons to function smoothly—to control political opposition and maintain the dominant value of the sanctity of private property. We have been learning that in many ways maximum security is being locked up in jail and minimum security is being locked up in school or in a job you don't like but need to survive; that in fact the very communities in which third world and very poor white people live are "minimum security prisons" which as yet do not have bars or fences, but where the control of racist, brutal police power is clear. We have been learning that it's the same people, the Rockefellers, Reagans, Oswalds, etc., who are in charge inside the walls and out; the same people who give the orders and pass out the campaign buttons; the same people who control all our lives. This knowledge has brought us closer to our sisters and brothers in prison.

## ROOTS OF THE PRISON MOVEMENT

A tremendous growth of consciousness in prisons began to spread at the same time that black rebellions

happened in Watts, Newark, Detroit, etc. The people who lived through the 60's and eventually ended up in jail spread there the awareness they had gained in the civil rights and black power movements, giving a tremendous push to the young prison movement.

The movement has grown to the point where there are now prison collectives whose ideology is anti-capitalist and internationalist in scope in most major prisons in the US. After the Attica rebellion, brothers were transferred all over the state in an attempt to break the collective that had developed during the struggle. Papers like the *LG* receive many letters and statements dealing with anything from taking legal actions about restrictions on mail to the relationship between the prison struggle and the anti-war movement (like the statement from Green Haven prison in this supplement) which are written by collectives or other groups of prisoners.

But just as prisons have been and are being used as instruments of social control, it is now becoming increasingly clear that locking people up is not having the effect the state would like. Rather than breaking people, the prison experience has had the effect of giving many people their first feelings of individual and collective strength. The state has responded with increasing levels of repression. Through such insidious means as psychosurgery, maxi-maxi prisons designed to separate political prisoners and other so-called "incurables" from the

general prison population and keeping a large part of the prison population drugged on downs, the state hopes to cool down the prison movement.

## SUPPORT FROM THE OUTSIDE

If the prison movement is to grow, one of the most important things that must happen is that support from people on the outside must be stronger and more visible. Only through a strong movement on the outside will it be possible for prisoners to continue to "educate to liberate", and for the brothers and sisters on the inside to survive the repression, indictments and trials that are the natural consequences of their organizing. The legal victories of the Soledad Brothers in California and the acquittal of the Tombs 3 in New York might not have occurred without support from the outside. In both cases, jurors told news reporters that having people in the courtroom during the trials affected them in a positive way. It is also clear that there are many sisters and brothers now sitting in jail because of lack of support from us. While we need to build a movement that can support struggles inside of prisons, we also need our sisters and brothers, and all the wisdom they have gained from jail experience, back on the streets.

## JOBS, MONEY, VISITS

One of the purposes of this prison supplement is to give ideas to people who want to do prison work of some sort in their communities. We hope that the interview with Harold Walker of the Attica Survivors Committee as well as the resource list in the centerfold will help do this. If you have questions, there should be a group or organization listed that can answer it. If not, let us know and we can at least pass the question on to people who may be able to answer it.

One thing that remains clear is that one of the major considerations of the revolutionary movement in this country must be to bring people in jail closer to the communities they come from and to bring those communities closer to people in prison. We can begin to do this, whether it be through a job referral program, sending commissary money to prisoners who don't have any, or even using a van or bus one of us may have to take relatives of prisoners to visit. These things represent only a few ways that people on the outside can relate to prisons. As the struggle develops more and more levels become necessary, but through these concrete things we can begin to demonstrate our commitment to aid, support and understand the movement for justice and liberation going on in the prisons of America.



# Prisons...in the wake of Attica

"Attica did not start here. nor will it end here..."

Even the sketchy and erratic reports of the establishment press provide enough information to show that Attica surely was not an isolated incident. "Incidents" that get reported in the press do not generally reflect the daily, "non-sensational struggle" going on in prisons. However, in many instances the sisters and brothers inside have been self-conscious enough to make clear to people on the outside why a particular event is happening—through letters, petitions and spokespeople.

The following is a chronology of just some of the prison struggles which have taken place in the year since the Attica rebellion.

## September 13, 1971

43 prisoners and guards were murdered by state troopers as the Attica rebellion is put down.

## September 14

Women in the federal penitentiary in Alderson, West Virginia began a demonstration in support of the brothers at Attica and the 28 demands. During that week, the demonstration grew into a building takeover and work stoppage that affected the entire prison. Earlier in the summer, over 300 women inmates had signed a petition for clarification and reform of parole procedures.

## September 15

As a result of the Attica uprising, 180 prisoners in the Baltimore City Jail, Maryland, barricaded themselves in the jail cafeteria after breakfast. Eleven prisoners were injured when the uprising was quelled.

## September 21

A disturbance involving 500 prisoners at the Dallas County Jail, Texas, was thought to have been caused by "grievances over medical care and food".

250 prisoners at Orleans Parish Prison, Louisiana, rioted and barricaded themselves inside the prison for five hours.

## September 22

At Eastern New York Correctional Facility (Catskills)

inmates fasted in a memorial to Attica and issued a set of demands which "virtually echoed the demands made by Attica inmates".

## October 3

140 prisoners at the state prison in Windsor, Vermont ended a five-day work stoppage during which time they remained locked in their cells. They won a partial victory which included commissary privileges and hot water in their cells.

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## ATTICA - THE STATE OF THE STRUGGLE

*Prior to succumbing, the human being's natural warning system forces him to rally his remaining strength to put up a struggle. We put up such a struggle—an irrepressible struggle for survival, born out of misery and oppression which is Attica. Struggle comes in many forms, keeping our loved ones well fed, clothed, healthy and secure is struggle. Aiming for equal and meaningful employment is struggle. Aspiring to racial equality is struggle.*

*Now we must also struggle in another direction. We must strive for unification and place aside our petty differences, our personal grudges and human prejudices. The road is hard, but then we are not a weak people. We cannot think that the way will be a bed of roses and if we do we will still have to consider the thorns.*

*The events of September 9 through 13th, 1971, were the results of our struggle to be recognized and accepted as human beings. And due to our mutual*

*sufferings—being subjected to the same repressions in equal measure—our unity evolved instinctively. This unity is still with us a full year after the massacre we call "Bloody Monday." This September 13th is a milestone symbolic of our belief that only in unity can we survive and move toward our universal goal of peace. We hope that this year will be everlasting in our memories, as a year of hardship, suffering, friendship and the true and sincere acceptance of each other as the real and faithful brothers we have become.*

*By no means is our fight over. Our struggle is endless for once we cease in our just endeavors we will become no more than what the system wants us to be. Let us formulate, establish and adopt what is needed if we are to pursue our dreams, ideals and aspirations.*

*Power to the People  
From Brothers in HBZ, Attica*

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Curtis Brown

The following article was written by the legal advisor to Curtis Brown, who defended himself in the Tombs trial. He was involved with the trial on a daily basis as a part of the defense team.

by Bob Cantor

The people of this country have had a long string of popular victories in the criminal courts during the last two years. California saw the Soledad Brothers, Angela, and Los Siete de la Raza win, while Carlos Feliciano and the Tombs Brothers triumphed in New York. The Panthers won in New York, New Haven and New Orleans. In all these trials, the jury has unanimously acquitted. Now juries have become the target of attack from State officials, including district attorneys, legislators, and lately the US Supreme Court.

Since a defendant in a criminal case is being processed through a system designed and operated by the ruling class, it is becoming increasingly clear that the only exploitable chink in the legal armor of state power is the jury which will hear the case. Especially in trials which are "political" in nature, it is absurd to expect a judge who will be impartial. District attorneys work closely with their judges to ensure that the "prosecution team" will function effectively in its task of keeping the country safe for democracy by locking up the people who are most oppressed. Criminal codes define as illegal all acts against property, the possession of drugs which are themselves introduced into black and Third World communities by the State, and anything at all which may be seen as an attempt to organize politically against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

But jurors can be intruders on the otherwise complete class dominance which exists in courtrooms. Unlike grand jurors, petit jurors (trial jurors) are not necessarily propertied or privileged and are often selected through a system based on voting lists. Thus, in large urban areas it is at least possible to have a jury composed of some black, brown, and working people.

There is even one contradiction within the law which seems to accentuate the importance of a jury: the state may not appeal from a verdict of acquittal. So jurors can have the last word. In the same vein, some juries are beginning to comprehend that the finality of their verdict assures that their power extends further than the judge tells them it does. Ultimately, jurors may disregard a law which they find invalid and refuse to convict a person who may have violated it. They can use this power, called *jury nullification*, even though the standard legal formula says that the judge makes rulings on matters of law while juries must make findings of fact and apply them to the law as given them by the judge.

The recent trial of three of the seven men singled out to be brought up for charges for the Tombs Rebellion of October 2-5, 1970, can be seen as a

## Tombs Brothers Acquitted

# Jury Convicts the State

struggle by the defendants, Curtis Brown, Nathaniel Ragsdale, and Ricardo DeLeon, to establish their solidarity with the people of the jury. New York County District Attorney Frank S. Hogan handed down 74 count indictments against each man, fifty of them being separate kidnapping charges, each punishable by life imprisonment. Hogan's indictments were a hard-line response to the vision of mostly black and Third World inmates organizing themselves by selecting those leaders from amongst themselves whose actions inspired trust and confidence. Other New York City district attorneys allowed inmates indicted for rebellions occurring in other City prisons during the same week in October to plead guilty to misdemeanors and to receive no extra time.

It is therefore clear that Hogan made a political response to the rebellion. He selected John Fine to prosecute the case, and Fine is the man who prosecutes most of Hogan's political trials. After the debacle of Judge Murtagh in the Panther trial, a judge was selected here who was slicker, smarter, and more able to represent a liberal "fair play" facade to the jury. However, the Honorable Harold Birns quickly began to attack the defendants with legal rulings made out of the hearing of the jury, the most unprecedented of which was his demand that the defendants announce, prior to the swearing in of the very first witness, whether or not they would seek to use the defense of justification. After thereby coercing the defense to reveal their plans, the Judge then ruled justification inapplicable to the case, prior to hearing a

word of testimony! The political nature of the ruling was transparent to all. Birns wanted the jury to determine the fate of Brown, Ragsdale, and DeLeon on charges of leading a prison rebellion without the benefit of hearing evidence of the material conditions to which the inmates responded: poor legal representation, high bail, racist social relationships and subhuman living conditions. Judge Birns was declaring any and all of these factors to be legally irrelevant to whatever factual findings the jury might later make.

However, after four months of testimony and 20 hours of deliberation, the jury acquitted all three of the men on each and every count. A primary reason for the verdict was surely the fact that Curtis Brown represented himself throughout the entire length of the trial. Prosecutor Fine, employing a particularly sharp racist tactic, gambled that he could permit a primarily black and Third World jury (10 out of the 12 jurors) to hear his case since it was to be introduced chiefly through the mouths of two black prison guards. But Brown was too painstaking to allow such a tactic to work. He questioned each potential juror intensively as to his relation to and awareness of racism in this country. White potential jurors were pushed to

understand the difference between calling a black co-worker "friend" and actually socializing together in each others' homes. Blacks who had become channeled into "making it" were forced to remember their brothers at Attica. After the six-week jury selection process, Fine never had a chance. Brown had found a communality between himself and the jurors which completely excluded the prosecutor and which ultimately was strong enough to overcome the myth of a benign magistrate presiding impartially over a contest which was politically value-free.

Brown, DeLeon, and Ragsdale were acquitted for other reasons as well. The evidence against them simply was unconvincing. Brown and defense counsel Henry diSuviero and Robert Markfield repeatedly asked the jury how three men could be put on trial for a rebellion of almost three hundred men. The prosecution's contention was the one suggested by Nelson Rockefeller following Attica—a few revolutionaries were the sole cause of prison rebellions. The fact that masses of prisoners were reacting against an oppression which was becoming unbearable was deemed to be immaterial. Yet the State was dealt a clear setback when the jury refused to

accept such an obviously fantastic explanation, and this becomes even more telling when it is recalled that prison conditions were not mentionable to the jury due to Birns' ruling on justification. Hogan expressed the State's venom by lashing out at the jury and its verdict. The District Attorney felt both personal embarrassment and political uneasiness as the Attica trial loomed large behind the Tombs acquittal. Certainly the Tombs case would stand for the idea that the mere assertion by the State that an inmate was a politically conscious leader did not make him criminally liable for all acts occurring during a prison take-over.

Frank Hogan termed the Tombs verdict a "miscarriage of justice," crying that "the jury has gone beyond their oaths and the rules of the court." While the latter assertion may be a correct understanding of the jury's power to circumvent the bourgeoisie's carefully drawn boundaries, the former represents a repeat of the district attorney's response to the Panther verdict. Furthermore, by calling the verdict a "political statement", Hogan pretended to be hypocritically ignorant of the political nature of his own office's prosecutions against black and Third World militants. Yet, predictably, the fourth trial of the Harlem 4 is due to

begin later this month, the Fine-Birns team prepares for the upcoming trial of Carlos Feliciano, and Hogan announced his intention to prosecute the remainder of the Tombs 7 on the very same discredited evidence.

The State cannot be expected to sit still in the face of so many people's victories. Two major curbs on the power of the juries are already in the political works. The United States Supreme Court has recently ruled that criminal convictions need not necessarily come from a unanimous jury. This decision would seem to fly in the face of the universally accepted principle that defendants must be proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt; if three out of twelve jurors vote to acquit, this would seem to show a reasonable doubt. Yet the Court's ruling means that the legislature of each state is now free to pass laws calling for non-unanimous criminal verdicts. While this can conceivably be helpful in some cases where a few jurors hold out for a conviction, it will generally become a powerful prosecutorial tool to bar a defendant's relying on one or two open jurors in a politically unpopular trial.

A second State strategy may be the usurpation of a defendant's right to pick his own jury. Federal judges already select juries in federal cases, and New York State briefly legalized the same procedure a few years ago. There is now considerable political activity in Albany around the proposal by many backward legislators to re-enact the bill which passes the voir dire from the defense to the judge. The contradiction between the legal mechanism and those who are most



oppressed by it can be seen to be increasing. Inmates are becoming stronger and are feeling the strength which each struggle gives to them. Several prison rebellions have erupted within the one year which has passed since Rockefeller's army invaded Attica. The State has responded with the increasing use of maximum security prisons or areas within prisons to isolate "ringleaders", and by trying to shore up its weak link by tampering with jury procedures.

For inmates not to be isolated in their struggle against the oppression of the State, people on the outside must support them and must realize, as one survivor of Attica put it, "that jails are merely maximum security versions of the outside neighborhoods where blacks, Third World and more and more white people are forced to live."



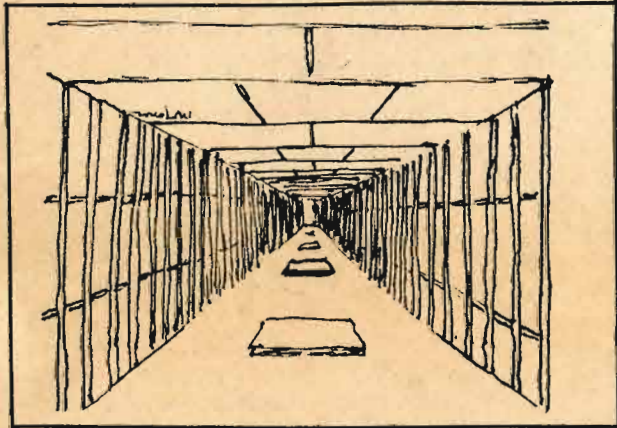
## ATTICA SURVIVORS COMMITTEE

# SUPPORTING THE BROTHERS INSIDE

The following interview was done with Harold Walker of the Attica Survivors Committee. The Committee is composed of a group of brothers who took part in the Attica rebellion of last September and who have since been released from prison. For more information on the Attica Survivors Committee or to send money and any other useful things, write to the Attica Survivors Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 722, New York, N.Y., or call (212) 741-2640.

*Liberated Guardian: Can you start off by telling us what the purpose of the Attica Survivors Committee is and what you all do?*

**Brother Walker:** The Attica Survivors Committee was set up about a month and a half ago to aid brothers coming out of Attica, primarily, to get established in society. That is, to pay their rents, to get them peddler's permits, to have a job referral system for them, to aid them with their basic needs so that they don't resort back to criminal activities. Also, we send money inside the prison to brothers who need cigarettes, stamps, and legal information. We maintain contact and solidarity with them in terms of what's happening with the grand jury in Wyoming County [that's investigating the Attica rebellion]. We keep them abreast of the legal maneuvers, and we keep them abreast with what the observers are doing.



*Liberated Guardian: One of the things about Attica was that aside from the 28 demands that the brothers had that dealt with simply regaining their humanity, the Attica rebellion helped bring those brothers closer to their communities on the outside. What do you think people on the outside can do to get closer to the people on the inside?*

**Brother Walker:** Well, there are many things. Basically, there is a certain awareness that's needed as to what's going on in prison. A lot of citizens—people who aren't Third World so to speak, but who are in favor of changing the system—can lobby in Albany. People can also propose certain bills to change the conditions in prisons. Prison reform is the first step to making things humane. I don't endorse prison reforms at all; I believe in the abolishment of prisons, but in terms of practicality, citizens can lobby, they can petition to their congressmen to remove the inhumane conditions. Also, they can do more basic things like sending food. Legal things are needed. Small things are needed. Correspondence is needed. They can form groups in their own community—you know, prison groups to focus in an objective manner on what's happening in prison and make more people aware of what's going on. This could change the prison system tremendously.

*Liberated Guardian: Recently, in prison, there has been a rising consciousness among brothers and sisters. Can you talk about the kinds of things that prisoners do to prepare themselves for when they get out, for instance the Muslims?*

**Brother Walker:** Well, I couldn't speak on that with any degree of substantiality. I have seen the Muslims with a lot of solidarity studying and worshipping. The other brothers that I know, apart from the Muslims, study books that are economical and political. They begin to understand the system that they are dealing with, and they see reasons as to why they are in jail. This is why there is more political awareness. Instead of reading a lot of nonsense books, people are reading books that can help them.

*Liberated Guardian: What is it about the oppression that all prisoners face that unites them into the kind of force that you had at Attica? What kind of oppression do people undergo to make that kind of unity possible that we, in fact, don't have on the outside?*

**Brother Walker:** Well, at Attica, everything is regimented similarly to army life. Wherever you go, you must have a pass, you must be counted. You must be escorted by a certain amount of hacks, who are correction officers. Your mobility is very regimented and limited. You become almost chattel. You're stripped of your humanity and individuality. There are frequent searches in your cell. Your cell is just torn to pieces if they want to. This is the form of oppression that builds up and forces people to go beyond their individual hangups—like the race question, which you know is a divisive measure. So all people come together: blacks, whites, and Puerto Ricans. And they identify that they are all victims of an oppressive system. This is what builds up to a point of solidarity.

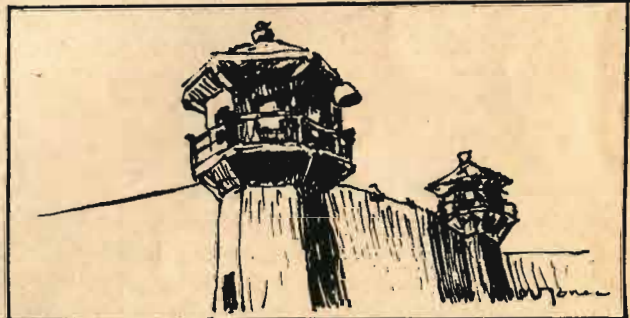
*Liberated Guardian: A lot of times people talk about the differences between maximum and minimum security, in the sense that maximum security is in the joint and minimum security is outside. Can you talk more about what that means to people who are in jail?*

**Brother Walker:** Maximum security prison is the prison itself where people go and they're locked behind bars and they're under heavy supervision. We call the street, the so-called free world, a minimum security prison. Imperialism is the keynote. Without being rhetorical, everything is controlled on an economic basis and people are manipulated. The aspect of consumerism comes into play. People are manipulated by mass media and by other things. They don't do exactly what they want to do. They are also victims of an imperialistic system. So the larger world out here which is not readily identifiable to the people makes them think they are free. But they're just doing what the system wants them to do. So, in terms of that, that's the minimum security prison.

*Liberated Guardian: You're a jailhouse lawyer. Just what does that mean?*

**Brother Walker:** Jailhouse lawyer is a designation that's given to a person who's been in jail, who has some kind of expertise at making writs and in dealing with legal questions. I became a jailhouse lawyer and joined the National Lawyers Guild. They classify me as a jailhouse lawyer. We have a writ, a class action, which is very

popular at this point. It started on Oct. 2, 1971, when we protested illegal detention at Attica. There were 40 dudes on the gallery, so the only thing we could do, sensibly, was to make a writ which is a civil rights act. Well, this writ continued until I was released on June 2, 1972. At that time, we had lost in a sense, in the western district of New York, so we appealed to the United States Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, which is the second highest court in the country. It was a *pro se* motion, meaning we did the writ ourselves, without lawyers. At one point we had volunteer lawyers, at one point we didn't, but we began without lawyers. So when I came home the writ was still *pro se*, and I had to write about what had ensued and developed. I had submitted a writ for all the brothers—a class action or an appellate brief, so that we could have an oral argument, which is 20 minutes in the 2nd Circuit. Then the respondent, who's the opposition, submitted his brief and a date was set for oral argument. So, I wanted a competent lawyer to do it who knew all the ramifications of law. But they told me I should do it since I was saturated with the issue. So I had my big day in court as a jailhouse lawyer. You have to wear a suit and a tie and all that business. But we gave a very good argument and I think we might win. For now we received a reserved decision. So in terms of that I'm a jailhouse lawyer.



*Liberated Guardian: As a jailhouse lawyer, you have to work with other lawyers. Do you encounter problems of professionalism or racism as a jailhouse lawyer on the outside?*

**Brother Walker:** Well, frankly speaking, I haven't encountered that because I'm not in that realm of elitism. The lawyers I'm with relate to me in a lawyer-lawyer relationship, rather than a lawyer-client relationship. A lawyer will tell me in all sincerity: 'Harold, read that brief and see what you think of it.' And I'll say, 'well, you should do this, or you should do that,' and they take my opinion with credence. So I haven't encountered those things that you get from straight lawyers. I guess a straight lawyer would speak down to me, but I haven't encountered that as yet.

*Liberated Guardian: Is there anything else you want to talk about?*

**Brother Walker:** I would just like to say that the brothers in HBZ [Housing Block Z where some of the alleged leaders of the Attica rebellion are being held] who have suffered and the brothers out here are thankful and grateful for your concern and solidarity.

## CHRONOLOGY CONT.

### October 3

A demonstration for improved conditions was held at the **Bristol County House of Correction**, New Bedford, Massachusetts. 100 out of 111 inmates participated.

### October

Disturbances and demonstrations swept five other Massachusetts prisons during a week in October. They occurred at **Walpole**, **Concord**, **Billerica**, **Deer Island** and the women's prison in **Framingham**.

### Thanksgiving Day

500 men were involved in a 24-hour rebellion at **Rahway State Prison**, New Jersey. The brothers issued a petition with demands relating to poor medical care, inadequate food, high commissary prices, parole practices, lack of vocational training, racism by guards and delays in mail.

### November 27

90 inmates at **Essex County Jail**, New Jersey, released an inmate from solitary confinement to protest his being put there unfairly.

### December 16

An uprising at the **State Youth Reception and Correction Center**, Yardville, New Jersey, ended after 24 hours. The disturbance erupted after an incident of guard brutality. More than 500 inmates locked in their cells cheered on 100 other inmates directly involved. A statement was issued by the brothers about the brutality and two hostages were held and later released. 43 Rahway inmates had been transferred to Yardville after the Thanksgiving Day Rahway rebellion.

### New Years Day

Guards at the **Framingham Women's Prison**, Massachusetts came down on the women inmates after a New Years Eve party at which the women were allegedly drinking "home brew". During a search of the cells guards attacked the women and a lot of fighting broke out. The attack came after a month in which there had

been a sit-in, a grievance committee formed and a "people's paper" published.

### February 8

The formation of a prisoners union at **Green Haven Prison**, New York to negotiate wages, hours and work rules was announced.

### February 25

A 17 hour demonstration involving 90 inmates at the **Tombs**, New York City occurred to protest a fellow inmate not being allowed to attend a funeral for a member of his family (the report of the death in the family later proved to be untrue).

### February 28

About 420 inmates at the **Federal Correctional Institute at Danbury**, Connecticut staged a work stoppage.

A weekend hunger strike by 900 out of 1050 inmates at the **Connecticut Correctional Institution**, Somers, Connecticut ended. The inmates were protesting about the poor food, lack of medical attention and harassment by guards.

### March 16

An inmate at **Clinton State Prison**, New York, was awarded \$1500 damages for mistreatment in prison.

### March 18-19

About 300 prisoners at **Walpole State Prison**, Massachusetts broke out of their cells into the prison yard following the stabbing of an inmate. Five prisoners were seriously injured when the uprising was put down. In October, Walpole had been "beset by disturbances" and in 1969, state troopers had been sent in to stop a strike at the prison.

### May 30

Inmates at **Passaic County Jail**, New Jersey seized seven hostages including the warden in a three hour uprising which was called by the negotiator "a spontaneous, unplanned reaction to inhuman conditions."

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### TWO BOOKS OF INTERVIEWS

## We Are ATTICA Voices From Inside

available for 50¢ each (including postage)

All money goes to the Attica Defense Fund

rm. 722, 156 5th Ave., N.Y.C.



## BALLAD OF THE FIRST OFFENDER

A succession of events  
let to a bust  
A first offense  
But my being confined ain't hardly new  
For I am black—born with time to do  
Crime—submission to a society  
whose hustle is oppression  
Sentenced to exist in a living death  
of tokenism and repression.  
So now they have my body in jail,  
My, our minds have been in a captivity  
from which there is no bail.  
Sentenced to fight a system  
To lose is a fatal loss.  
Our children doomed to continue this struggle  
Wherever we leave off.  
So now they've made the bust official  
And you wish to the 'wrong' I've done,  
You ask do I feel I deserve a second chance?  
Shit! I never got a first one!

Riker's Island Women's House of Detention

Here are some names and addresses of groups doing prison support work. Write or call up for further information.

California Prisoners Union, Box 2858, Sacramento, Ca., is an organization of convicts, ex-convicts, and friends. They have set up a Prisoner Legal Defense Fund and are working to educate people about the prison system.

Inside—Out, 910 N.E. 53rd, Seattle, Wa., (206) LA 4-2778, is a prisoner support group working not only to support prisoners and their families, but to change the prison system. They publish a newsletter, provide rides to the prisons, help with legal problems, etc.

Midnight Special, c/o NLG, 23 Cornelia St., N.Y.C., (212) 255-8028, is a collective that puts out a prison newsletter which aims to increase communication among prisoners.

Fortune Society, 29 E. 22 St., N.Y.C., (212) 677-4600, is a group of ex-prisoners who help other former inmates find jobs and work out practical problems of living on the outside. They also provide speakers.

## SAM (GROSMAN) MELVILLE

They called him "the Mad Bomber." "Mad Bomber Melville," you can still hear them say. But he called everybody "brother" that would be a brother to their fellow man, and for all the dynamite he set—and there was plenty—all the property he destroyed, he never killed or wounded anyone. The pigs he simply called "the Pigs," by their true name, they were all the same to him. For him the lines were drawn.

Whether he was or not, we called him "Sam, The Weatherman," and when the lightning came in the morning after the heavy rain-fall, of course he was one who got it; for it sought him out as though pre-plotted on a chart; guided from God knows where; long, fore-ordained, pre-charted in a plot to kill us all someday, I suppose...

all failed. I remember once the Fascist brought two (2) white inmates to my cell. I was told they had nowhere else to house them at the time and that they would have to stay in my cell for about 45 min. And they would be moved. Now this is something these Fascists do not do. And that is put a white in a cell with a black. So I knew my life was at stake. So I did the only thing I knew to do. I waited for them to make their move and was ready for it. I was cut up bad. My chest and midsection looks like a crossword puzzle, but I'm living and one of them is minus part of a lung. Or something like that. No charges was brought against either side. Later one of the whites told me he was sorry for his part in the attempt. But when asked if he would repeat this in court he said no. Which for him was good thinking because he would have never made it as far as the courtroom. Neither would I. How long will I escape death from the Fascist? As long as I can keep my thinking one step ahead of his. Pride, determination, a strong and everlasting spirit, along with a good sense of thinking is all that is needed. We have it brothers and sisters. Let's keep it. And crumble these walls to the ground.

On these road camps the inmates are forced by a Fascist with a 12 gauge shotgun to dig ditches, lay pipe, cut right away, build bridges, etc. eight (8) hours a day without pay. If he refuse to do this slave work his time can be extended. While at work if he is bitten by a snake that is poisonous and he is working 50 miles from his camp—and 5 miles from a hospital, he is carried to his camp first and if he is lucky enough to live long enough to get to the camp. Then the Fascist will (attempt) to get him to a hospital alive. These inmates are also forced to do this work without pay. The state of Klanlina do not even give the inmates who cannot afford it a toothbrush and toothpaste.

After they have murdered an inmate, you know what these racist mad dogs do, they charge the inmate's family somewhere around \$60.00 to get their son's body.

Here we are only allowed to visit for 30 min. and only two people are allowed to visit you then.

The food what little we get are unfit to eat, and we have to eat the same thing weekly. It is never anything new to eat.

We shower twice a week. And get one change of clothing once a week.

We get recreation (5) five days a week. (1) One hour a day. The other two days we are made to stay in our cell. And come out only to go to chow. Many inmates do not get out then.

Many inmates here do not even know, they have medication here. It is very hard to come by.

There is no cooling system here, inmates are frequently falling out in their cells from too much heat.

In 1968 4 black inmates went blind from the effects of mace. The mad dogs here said it was from drinking paint thinner. Nothing was ever done about it, the inmates were made to serve out the rest of their time in a cell.

This is just a few of the things that are happening to the Political Prisoners here. And in this you will find just a few changes that is needed here.

I'm now trying to get a little thing together called the P.P.F.F. Political Prisoners Freedom Fighters. I hope to get outside help and support on this. We feel that getting outside support and help will be our hardest job. But we also feel that it will be our greatest accomplishment.

Peace: My Brothers and Sisters  
Free All Political Prisoners  
Power to the People..

# WE WILL BE FREE



Attica Defense Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, room 722, N.Y.C., (212) 741-2640, is a group which does educational work around Attica, organizes support demonstrations, and raises money for expected trials.

Project Second Chance, 147 Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., (212) 875-9390, is an organization set up to do counseling, job referrals, and support work with ex-offenders returning to the Brooklyn job market.

Connections, 3189 16th St., San Francisco, Ca., (415) 863-1604, is an information and support service for prisoners and their families. They supply free transportation to the various prisons in California on a first come, first serve basis and serve as an information center about prisons.

Chicago Connections, 21 E. Van Buren Ave., room 605, Chicago, Ill., (312) 939-4227, is a prison support group providing assistance to prisoners, their families, and to ex-prisoners. It does legal referral, helps people find jobs and places to stay upon release, collects books, clothing, art supplies, etc. It has speakers available.

They didn't have their way, all the way, and killing Sam slaked their thirst for us somewhat, and he took the heaviest pain, he took the heaviest rain of bullets of those he stood amongst. We haven't time to forget that one year later! We haven't time to forget that ever!

And he didn't die the way they say and what they say doesn't really matter to us anyway. He is *ours* and they can't touch him anymore; he's *ours* and they can't set him up again. He's *ours*, but we'd better not forget him; better not remember only now and then

They killed him since they didn't want to try him. He died getting in their way, instead of us. "Greater love hath no man," We had better not deny him.

By a brother who was at Attica with Sam

## BLOODSHED

They're moving towards revolution out there  
They're saying the move of the vanguard is near,  
And I hear voices cry 'Rise now, my dear'!  
Yet still I feel vibrations of doubt and fear.  
Bloodshed! Are you ready?  
Bloodshed! Got a gun?  
Bloodshed! Will you take what's yours,  
Or when it jumps off will you run?  
Are we a black people blood shy?  
It looks that way, but I can't see why.  
The letting of our blood is as natural  
As the fullness of our lips,  
And since all this bleeding is what's happening  
Why not to free us of these oppressive grips?  
Bloodshed.  
When a nigger has a jones, and he's about to have a fit  
He'll shed as much blood as he must, pints to get a hit.  
I know what I'm speaking on. I've felt the disgrace  
And how 'bout all them "High Noon" incidents  
Like when them dudes came through the Gold Lounge  
And blew off WATU's face?  
Our world is a bloody one. I know what I'm talkin' 'bout.  
Remember the late 50's, if you weren't in a gang jitterbuggin'  
You risked getting your teeth knocked out?  
Niggers scared of bloodshed!  
Shit that don't even sound right.  
50 niggers cut up 50 other niggers  
In them bars every Friday night.  
Come on, mama, get up off your knees  
We speak of revolution and you go into a deep freeze.  
And you out of all of us would know where it's at  
Since you woke up that morning and found me bitten by a rat.  
If all this bloodshed must persist  
If this just got to be,  
Why not bleed to obtain a goal  
Instead of indiscriminately?  
Besides, when the rise comes to pass,  
All aggression will be spent on the enemy (at last).  
The objective will be to liberate his blood for our CAUSE  
So why fear the approach of revolution?  
At least this way, all the blood that's shed

WON'T  
BE ALL  
YOURS'

Riker's Island Women's House of Detention

## OBSERVATIONS

The calculated speed of  
a prison seagull is measured by  
its flapping wing repetitions  
from one tower to another.

The moon is measured in  
the black sky  
travelling from one window bar  
to another.

On the floor I stare  
watching the criss-cross patterns  
of the invading sun's shadows  
crawl across the cement to the wall.

California Mens Colony  
San Luis Obispo

## COUNT TIME

It is count time in the prison  
yesterday I placed a mark  
on the green wall where the sun  
had been.

Today  
the sun has come back to it.

In Vietnam  
it is also count time  
the dead are counted  
in Asia  
but there spots don't come back.

Progress is tallied  
by the head count  
of the dead.

California Mens Colony  
San Luis Obispo

## THE BANGS IN PRISON

Bang, quiet & listen! Stay in single file.  
one bang means line up and keep quiet; two bangs means stop or go—understand? and any more bangs—then it's on your head. . .  
o.k., turn around—strip and take everything off! pause—pass your fingers through your head, let's see your palms, the other side, raise your arms, lift your balls, turn around—spread your cheeks, lift your feet—now the other one. . .  
o.k. Bang! Step up one—give your name, charge, bit—and remember the number you'll be given—at all times—Ready, move it! Pause. . .  
o.k. Bang! You'll be assigned a cell. . .at 8 pm the bell rings—that means *no talking*, at 11 pm the lights go out—that means you'll be asleep, in the morning 3 bells, get up, 2 bells means be dressed and 1 bell means lineup for chow—chow is at 6:30 am. No talking in the halls! you'll come back to your cell, and at 12:00—chow! The same thing. . .at 4:00 chow! The same thing. . .  
You'll receive one shower, once a week. . .state shaves, once a week. . .change of clothes once a week. . .and haircuts, toilet paper and state wages (\$5.00 if you work) once a month. . .  
Your cell will contain one bed, 1 mattress, 1 (cold water) sink, 1 toilet bowl, 1 light, 2 blankets, 2 sheets, 1 pillow and pillowcase—all in a 6 by 8 ft. cell. . .  
Do what you're told and don't ask questions—then you'll find out it's not all that bad. . .  
Privileges—earphones, library books (crime and cowboy books), commissary, and (2 hour) yard—notice, for any infraction you receive, you'll automatically lose one of your privileges or all of them. . .  
Ready, pause. . .Bang-Bang-Bang—to your  
Cells!!!

By a brother in Attica reprinted from a packet put out by the Attica Defense Committee



# FASCISM IN THE PRISON WARD

by Don Jackson  
reprinted from *Gay Sunshine*

During the 1950's, lobotomy was a popular cure for a wide range of behavioral differences. Dr. Walter Freeman performed well over 4,000 lobotomies, including many as a cure for homosexuality at Atascadero State Hospital. In all, some 50,000 lobotomies were performed by Freeman and his accomplices. Lobotomy is a rather crude brain surgery in which the frontal lobe of the brain is severed with a surgeon's knife. Sometimes the operation accomplished its dubious purpose. Just as often the patient was turned into a vegetable by such terrible side effects as loss of intelligence, loss of memory and loss of ability to control bodily functions such as defecation.

During the 60's, lobotomy fell into disrepute and disuse. It was outlawed as a worthless atrocity in most states. Now being called "Psychosurgery," it is making a big comeback. But it's not quite the same thing. Advances in technology have made it possible to perform highly refined, delicate surgeries on the brain which can alter the personality with a minimal risk of adverse side effects.

Psychosurgeons claim that criminal behavior results from a hereditary defect or injury to the limbic region of the brain, and that homosexuality results from a defect or injury to the hypothalamic nucleus of the brain. They propose to cure these conditions with brain surgery.

Two German doctors, Prof. Dr. F. Roeder and Prof. Dr. D. Muller, pioneered what they call "the sterotaxic treatment of homosexuality."

The doctors published a monograph on their theory of the cause of homosexuality. In the monograph, the doctors say that psychosurgical experiments on homosexual cats proved that homosexuality results from a defect in the hypothalamic nucleus of the brain. The cat experiments convinced the doctors that a similar brain surgery could be used to cure homosexuality in human males. So they searched around and found a few judges who were willing to release homosexuals serving long prison terms, on condition that they agree to let the doctors cure

them of homosexuality by brain surgery. Several homosexual prisoners "volunteered" for the surgery.

The operation perfected by the doctors consists of what they call "unilateral destruction of the sex behavior center" in the central hypothalamic nucleus of the brain. The operation is performed by inserting electronic probes into the sex behavior center. Then, the doctors turn a switch and destroy the area of the brain by coagulating it with an electrical charge. The patient remains conscious throughout the operation.

All but one of the doctor's patients were completely cured of homosexuality. The exception, the doctors say, was a man who had very deep seated homosexual tendencies. "His sexual drive is greatly diminished, but not lost," they report; "He has volunteered the information that he had masturbated once (after the operation), but had difficulty getting aroused."

"The patient is being kept under regular observation," the paper continues, "If the necessity should arise, the possibility of an operation on the opposite nucleus or the use of androgen antagonists [chemical castration] will be considered."

In the summary the doctors note that 4 to 6% of the male population is infected with homosexuality: "As a matter of public health policy, the treatment of such patients is at least as important as the treatment of those

with organic neurological disease or neurosis." Fortunately, the doctors say, the epidemic of homosexuality can be stopped by their operation. "There is no doubt," they say, "that homosexual tendencies can be removed by surgical procedure in the region of the sex behavior center." The sterotaxic treatment of homosexuality is not limited to Germany. It is in widespread use throughout Europe and Great Britain. *Lancet*, the prestigious publication of the British Medical Association, recently editorially endorsed psychosurgery for sex offenders, because "castration is open to criticism on ethical grounds."

Dr. Peter Breggin, anti-psychosurgery crusader, was the keynote speaker at a recent symposium on psychosurgery at the University of California Medical Center in

San Francisco. At the symposium, which was heavily attended by gays, Breggin denounced psychosurgery as "a gross crime against humanity. Psychosurgery is partial murder, assassination of the mind, destruction of the personality, the memory, the intellect. It is a crime and cannot be condoned on medical, ethical or legal grounds."

Breggin warned that both Federal and California prison officials are "contemplating" the psychosurgical "cure" of habitual criminals, homosexuals and aggressive prisoners.

Figures as to how extensively the sterotaxic treatment of homosexuality is used in the United States are



difficult to come by. Dr. Freeman openly admits to performing numerous brain surgeries on homosexual inmates at Atascadero. Dr. Hunter Brown, a neurosurgeon at the U.C.L.A. Neuropsychiatric Institute has volunteered his services free to the state in exchange for letting him cure homosexual and habitual criminal inmates in state prisons and mental institutions. Dr. Brown boasts that he has already performed the surgery on a large number of "sexual psychopaths," but he refuses to say where.

California Department of Corrections Director Raymond Procunier has had lengthy correspondence and negotiations with Dr. John Adams, Professor of Neurology at the U.C. Medical Center, San Francisco, and Robert Derzon, Director of the U.C. Hospital. The letters concern plans to perform brain surgeries on inmates from Vacaville prison. According to the agreement, the prisoners are to be transferred from Vacaville to the Medical Center in San Francisco for brain surgery. The Department of Corrections denies it has any such plans. However, the editor of *Synapse*, the Medical Center student newspaper, claims that the letters between the Department of Correction and U.C. officials have come into his possession. The letters which discuss the financial arrangements, security arrangements and other intricate details, were published in full in *Synapse*.

The great interest of the California Department of Corrections in psychosurgery can be traced back around thirty years. Former San Quentin Warden Clinton Duffy advanced the theory that criminal behavior, excess sex drive and homosexuality are somehow all interconnected. In his book, Duffy says that 70% of the inmates at San Quentin are homosexuals—evidence he believes that everyone who ever commits a homosexual act is a homosexual. The book outlines the arguments that crime results from excessive or perverted sexuality. The conclusion implied in Duffy's book is that castration is a cure-all for crime.

Duffy's ideas have dominated the thinking of many officials in the Department of Corrections for many years. Castration was, and still is, used as a punishment for sex offenders in California, but it is done at the probation and court level rather than within the prison system. Public opinion vehemently opposes castration as a punishment for non-sex offenses.

Psychosurgery provides the Department of Corrections with a solution to their dilemma. It provides a way for them to implement their ideas about castration as a cure-all for crime without coming up against the castration taboo. They have found a way to put another label on castration and so make it acceptable to the public.



graphic by the grape/lns





The Pre-Trials of Ruchell Cinque Magee

# REBEL ON A MODERN-DAY SLAVESHIP

by Lincoln Bergman

Ruchell Magee is charged with murder, kidnap and conspiracy in connection with the events at Marin County Courthouse on August 7, 1970. The 17-year-old man who entered that courtroom with a gun was Jonathan Jackson, the brother of George Jackson. Jonathan once wrote, "People have said that I am obsessed with my brother's case, and the movement in general. A person that was close to me once said that my life was too wrapped up in my brother's case, and that I wasn't cheerful enough for her. It's true I don't laugh very much any more. I have but one question to ask all you people and people that think like you—what would you do if it was your brother?"

Ruchell Magee is a black prisoner in the so-called Adjustment Center at San Quentin Prison. He believes that he was unjustly imprisoned, and he has an absolute sense of justice. He hates slavery and loves freedom. He calls himself Ruchell Cinque Magee.

## THE AMISTAD REBELLION

Cinque. The name comes from the revolutionary history of his people. In 1839 the Spanish slave ship *Amistad* left Havana for other Caribbean islands, carrying a large number of captured Africans. The ship was lost in a storm, food was running out, and the Africans saw the situation was desperate.

The Africans found boxes of machetes in the cargo. Arming themselves, they took over the ship. Most of the whites were killed; a few were left to steer the ship. The Africans demanded to be returned to their homeland. Instead, the whites guided the *Amistad* to the United States, and they were eventually brought to shore.

By 1839 slavetrading, but not slavery, had been declared illegal in the United States. So the *Amistad* Rebellion raised many questions. The Spaniards wanted the ship returned to Havana, while the Africans wanted to go home. After many decisions and appeals the US Supreme Court ruled that because slavetrading was illegal, the Africans were people, not property. Because they were people, they had a right to rebel against deprivation of the right to live. John Quincy Adams was the attorney for the Africans and Northern capitalism won out over Southern slavery. In 1843 the rebels of the *Amistad* went home to Sierra Leone. Their leader was named Cinque.

Ruchell Cinque Magee sees the *Amistad* case as one example in the law that a human being has the right and the duty to rebel against slavery. He sees the prison system in the United States as a racist slave system and also sees, in his own case, that he was sentenced to life on an illegal conviction. The last ten years of his life have then been spent in illegal confinement, or slavery. So his actions during the Marin County Courthouse Slave Rebellion were justified.

## IN HIS OWN DEFENSE

The *Amistad* case is only one of many arguments that Ruchell Magee has intended to marshal in his own defense. His own defense. His own defense. There is detailed proof of false convictions in his previous case, involving both fraudulent transcripts and violation of rights. He also contends that he did not kill Judge Har-

old Haley, but that Haley was shot by then assistant DA Gary Thomas—who has recently been appointed a judge by Reagan. Thomas is paralyzed from wounds resulting from the courthouse events.

In his own defense. The most important thing that has happened in the Ruchell Magee case so far is that he has been denied the right to defend himself.

In his previous conviction, in 1965, a court-appointed attorney, against Ruchell's will, pleaded him not guilty by reason of insanity. There never was a sanity hearing, the attorney changed his story in final arguments, and Ruchell was convicted. The charge was kidnapping, which resulted from an argument over ten dollars worth of marijuana and in fact had nothing to do with kidnapping.

Since then he has been attempting to appeal, attempting to defend himself. He has studied the law, used it, but all to no avail. He has helped many other prisoners file writs, and some of his legal imagination has helped win some cases.

After his case was severed from that of Angela Davis, and after many judges had been disqualified through his motions, Judge Leonard Ginsberg ruled that he could defend himself, could act as his own attorney. Judge Morton Colvin of San Francisco, who got the case after a change of venue from Marin County to San Francisco was granted, has now reversed that decision.

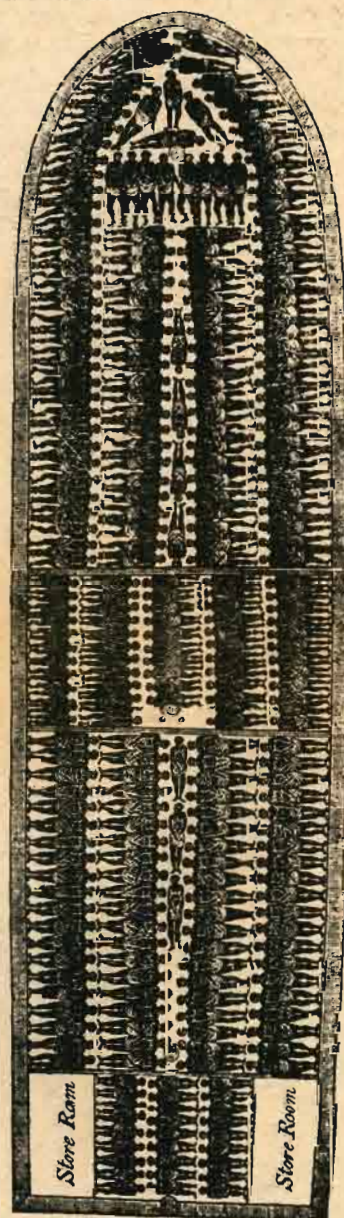
This is both unusual and irregular—for one trial judge to reverse the ruling of another on the same court level. This didn't stop Colvin and so far all appeals to higher courts for the right of self-defense have failed.

## MANY MOTIONS FILED

There have been a series of pre-trial hearings over the last two months. They have been marked by many motions filed by Ruchell Magee which contest the legality of the proceedings. He argues that the state courts have violated his constitutional rights and that therefore the case should be put into the federal courts. He argues that Judge Colvin should be disqualified. Colvin is reported to have been a close friend of the late Judge Haley, crying at his funeral.

Ruchell Magee also argues that the charges should be dismissed because he has been denied the right to a speedy trial. He wants the current court-appointed attorney, Robert Carrow, to leave the case. He has spit on Carrow in court and

filed motions asking for his dismissal. Carrow also wants out of the case. Yet Judge Colvin has denied even Carrow's motions. Carrow says he took the case on the condition that Ruchell Magee would also be acting as an attorney, defending himself, and since Colvin has violated that condition he no longer wants to be involved. He has also cited poor health. He wants out and even if it means risking contempt charges is likely to withdraw.



Slave Ship

Ruchell Magee once mentioned in court that he wants Ramsey Clark to assist him. Ramsey Clark did visit him recently at San Quentin. But it is not at all clear whether he will become more involved or whether Ruchell is ready to have him. If Carrow leaves, the state may try to put a public defender on the case.

The hearings are held under strict security. There is a bulletproof screen between the spectators and the court. Six guards with machineguns sit in a nearby room monitoring a closed circuit TV screen that takes in the entire court area. All press and spectators are searched. The matrons who search the women are behind a partial screen, and through their comments tactical squad officers can make jokes about which women don't wear underwear.

Ruchell is brought into the courtroom. He attempts to make a motion questioning the entire proceedings. Sometimes it is presented through Carrow. Then in protest Ruchell either motions for his own removal or is removed. In addition to spitting on Carrow, he has called both the judge and the prosecutor racist dogs and murderers, and at the last hearing he said to the judge, "Kiss my ass." The protest is always made when he is denied the right to speak. When he is removed he is kept in a holding cell where he can hear the proceedings, and there are occasionally loud protests from the holding cell when the judge makes a particularly disgruntling ruling.

And the rulings have been incredible. Attorney Carrow says that there are already over 200 grounds for error and therefore appeal. Despite the fact that many defense witnesses won't be available until mid-November, despite the likelihood that Carrow will leave the case, and despite numerous appeals to higher courts, Judge Colvin has set a trial date for October 11. It is doubtful that the trial will happen that soon, but not impossible, for the state seems quite willing to keep the railroad running as fast as possible, even if it means trying Ruchell Magee *in absentia*.

And so as you read this Ruchell Magee is in San Quentin, denied the right to defend himself, perhaps sometimes feeling wild anger at all the forces arrayed against him, at other times saying as he has, "As long as you keep on fighting the outcome remains in doubt; as long as you keep on fighting, there's a chance." He is not some idealized revolutionary leader—he is a black prisoner, deeply changed by many years in prison, who is fighting in every way possible to gain his freedom and who maintains a dignity and resistance in the face of countless racist statements about his intelligence and behavior.

As long as you keep on fighting.

What would you do if he were your brother?

## CHRONOLOGY CONT.

### June 26

520 out of 820 inmates at *Rahway State Prison*, New Jersey refused to work and issued a set of demands for changes in the state's parole regulation.

### July 16

250 inmates took control of the *Maryland State House of Correction*, Jessup, Maryland in ten hours of rioting. The disturbances began when a group of inmates "trying to escape" were fired on by guards who shot one of them while on a 12-foot barbed wire fence. In all, 1400 inmates took part in the demonstrating which eventually ended after police dogs were brought in and the governor of the state agreed to talk with a group of inmates.

### July 17

75 inmates seized part of the *Maryland State Penitentiary* in downtown Baltimore, holding four hostages for five hours. The governor came to negotiate about medical care, food, visits, and overcrowding.

### July 18

In the third disturbance in less than a week, inmates at *Prince Georges County Jail*, Maryland, took three guards hostage for 3½ hours in order to force a grievance meeting to discuss their complaints. Almost all 100 inmates in the jail were involved.

A state of emergency was declared at *Attica State Prison*, New York after hundreds of inmates refused to leave their cells to protest the firing of a respected nurse. The nurse was eventually rehired, but a strike continued for a number of days to protest the poor conditions in the prison.

### August 25

A disturbance broke out at *Trenton State Prison*, New Jersey when an inmate was refused permission to make a phone call. Six guards received minor injuries.

### September 13

Inmates at the *Tombs*, New York held a one-day fast to commemorate the first anniversary of the Attica rebellion and massacre.



## Green Haven Prisoners Statement

# "Compared to the US gov't we are innocent as babies."

*This Petition to the Peace Movement, which has been edited by the L.G. for space reasons, was signed by 51 inmates of Green Haven Prison.*

We are inmates of Green Haven Prison, in New York State, who are becoming more and more aware that we are also Prisoners of War—POW's inside America.

What follows is not an attempt to rationalize the injuries many of us have done to "non-combatants" (and there are more than a few of us who are not guilty of the crimes for which we are being punished). What follows, really, is a petition to the communities which spawned us, to help all of us help each other.

It is not an overstatement, or a case of inflated political rhetoric in an election year, to talk of genocide in Vietnam and of squeezing the poor at home. American presidents, with the aid of what one of them warned was a fast developing "military-industrial complex," have planned and carried out global mass murder and other criminal acts that dwarf those charged against any of us confined in American jails or South Vietnamese tiger cages. The last South Vietnamese politician, for instance, who dared run against President Thieu in an "election," has been in jail for four years, convicted of "showing sympathy for the Communists." Inside America the system is more sophisticated, but the distinctions between criminal and political prisoners everywhere are blurring.

On a war footing in the '50s and '60s (like most decades in our history) America was still translating domestic racism, this time into international exploitation of an emerging Third World. Those devel-

oping countries which most resisted American hegemony, Korea and Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, felt the lash most. Cynics say that "Vietnamization" merely "changes the color of the corpses," but it is nothing new in war for the dead to run 10-20 to 1 more black, brown and yellow.

Nixon could not make any fundamental changes, or would not. In spite of Vietnamization and reduced American casualties, American air and sea bombardment increased. American casualties dipped, but those of our so-called "allies" and "enemies" held steady or mounted.

And, of course, the streets overflow with crime.

The jails overflow with "criminals."

A convicted class, condemned to jail and recidivism, is having its own population explosion.

In the prisons, by all accounts, we inmates have become increasingly politicized. Jails from New York to California have become synonymous with riots. But none of them have been aimless.

ATTICA!!

We inmates have become more and more aware of the roots of our oppression.

We are also becoming more aware of all forms of oppression: the various connections and relationships between what oppresses us and what oppresses others; what oppresses us and what oppresses our families; what oppresses us and what oppresses our communities—even what oppresses us and what oppresses our guards.

We are beginning to understand the relationship between what oppresses us

and what oppresses the Vietnamese.

Many of us have done duty in Vietnam.

Kennedy's administration, the Johnson administration, and now the Nixon administration and their subsidiaries, the state and local governments, have made us into a rebellious surplus labor force at home and mercenary killers both at home and abroad. They have decorated many of us with medals, and football halftime ceremonies commemorate our grisly accomplishments in Southeast Asia.

They have called us "patriots" for killing and maiming people—men, women and babies—many of whom we have never seen and never will; and we have done this to them in their own country, in their own homes. People we had nothing against and who have done us no harm.

MY LAI!!

When we have robbed and killed and raped inside America in order to survive, or as part of our society-induced madness, we have been found guilty, condemned and imprisoned.

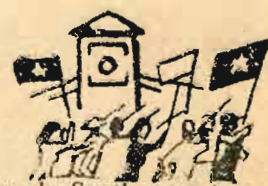
When we do these things in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, we are widely acquitted.

We are prisoners of war, prisoners of our government, at least as much as American soldiers and pilots are the prisoners of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The New York Times reports that over 600 lbs. of bombs for every single Vietnamese have been dropped on their country, and bombs continue to fall at a seemingly ever accelerating rate.

The cost of those bombs and their delivery is in the billions of dollars.

Those are billions that have been criminally stolen from us by the United States government and used to rob, rape



and murder Southeast Asians.

And we are called "criminals." Well, we do not deny it. Criminals we are, or have been, but we are not hypocrites, and we affirm categorically that, compared to the United States government, we are as innocent as babies.

In Green Haven shops we are forced to make American flags, but we tell you that we are ashamed to do it.

For these reasons of morality and self interest, we the undersigned inmates of Green Haven prison take this opportunity, through a constitutionally protected method, to condemn the United States government for the war in Southeast Asia and its latest escalation.

We in the jails call on America to stop the killing, the maiming, and yes, the robbing and raping of Vietnamese for resisting foreign domination, or for any reason.

In a like manner we fundamentally reject the logic, if not the reality, of our imprisonment for struggling to avoid material and spiritual poverty in our lives, and for refusing to accept a national code of conduct at least as immoral as our own. Our isolated robberies and murders and rapes can never match those of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon and their respective power elites.

We realize that help will come to us in our POW camps, the Atticas and Clintons and Comstocks, the Soledads and San Quintins, the faster we make friends in our communities and realize with them the oneness of our oppression. We feel also that our war against society will end faster if America as a nation can make peace in Vietnam.

We recognize a community in the Anti-War Movement in America—one to which we would like to belong. We offer our help in the form of this petition and other appropriate acts.

We ask for help with our many problems, in whatever ways can be made available.

INMATES OF GREENHAVEN PRISON



From: Union of North Americans  
Resident in Cuba

To: Our Courageous Brothers in the  
Imperialist Concentration Camp  
at Attica, New York

You, refusing to be beaten and driven like beasts, correctly analyzing the reality of your particular social, economic and political situation, exhausting all possible legal means of gaining your basic human rights, threw aside personal differences and petty personality conflicts and collectively moved in a truly revolutionary manner to oppose the fascist practices of the armed representatives of the New York prison system under which you are unjustly confined, brutalized and tortured.

We are not deceived by the lies and half-truths published and broadcast through the ruling class news media, nor by the insidious whitewashing maneuvers of the Rockefeller-appointed McKay Commission in their efforts to discredit your just struggle and minimize the political importance of your clear demands for justice and humane treatment.

The massacre of September 13, 1971, the resulting brutality, torture and murder of the inmate survivors of that massacre, coupled with the creation of a new maxi-maxi detention facility at Attica, are proof positive of the impotency of the New York prison system faced with your clear and just demands—demands which forced State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald to publicly admit that they were the most awesome challenge he had ever faced in a lifetime career of criminology.

It is clear that your heroic actions were not motivated by desires to escape or to take vengeance on your keepers, but rather to call public attention to the atrocious, inhuman prison conditions which govern your everyday lives.

Your conduct, discipline, courage and unswerving determination to carry your actions to their logical conclusion is admired as an example to all who struggle for justice and respect as human beings. Your sacrifices have not been in vain; they are the inevitable price demanded of all people who struggle to be free. You dared to take the initiative and your voice has been heard throughout the world.

Our Vietnamese comrades here in Cuba have met with us and send this special message to you and to the entire US prison movement:

"We are indignant about the brutal prison system in the United States which we have heard and read about. George Jackson's letters from prison have deeply moved our youth. Angela's example is brilliant.

We know that there are thousands of American revolutionaries in US prisons, and although we cannot always express our support for them because of the US news blockade, our hearts are always with them.

We express our admiration for those Americans imprisoned for fighting against the war in Viet Nam.

In particular, we send our combative greetings to those black people in prison.

We support your struggle and are fully convinced that you will triumph together with other progressive American people.

Our victory in Vietnam is also your victory.

We, the Union of North Americans Resident in Cuba, take the position of unconditional solidarity with all our brothers in Attica, condemning the actions of prison and law enforcement personnel in their underhanded transfer of prisoners, depriving them of legal representation and preventing them from being able to prepare adequate legal defense.

We close with a special message of hope and encouragement to the brothers in HBZ, housing bloc Z, and to brothers Frank Smith, Eric "Jomo" Thompson, and all others who were wounded or tortured.

You have written an invaluable page in the book of history which can never be erased. Hang on brothers, you are not alone. The people will avenge you.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF ATTICA!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

From North Americans in Cuba

# "Hang on brothers - you are not alone"



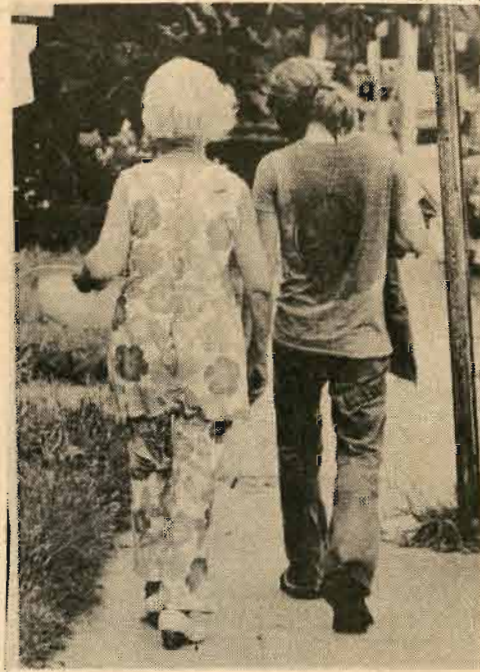
photo by Richard Balaguer

# miami!



Clouds of teargas over Miami, Wednesday night. Even though they moved from San Diego, even with \$500,000 worth of pigs, they could not hold their convention in peace.

photo by LNS



One of the best things about Miami was how friendly the old people were to us and how together their politics were.

photo by Jean Raisler



Women from New York doing a guerrilla theatre on abortion. Although women were outnumbered 3:1 on the land, the women did a lot of strong work as women—the women's rally Monday was dynamite.

photo by LNS



On the floor. Nixon delegates chant "4 more years" and stick out 4 fingers duplicating the old Nazi salute.



photo by LNS



Guerrilla theatre during the Street Without Joy, Tuesday night, a really creative and effective demonstration.

photo by LNS



The Vets were the largest single presence on the land and held several very together and effective demonstrations.

photo by LNS



Confronting delegates during the Street Without Joy. Several were shaking as they walked through our lines into the hall.

## Terms for Peace (con't)

'Vietnamization of the war', and set a reasonable final date for the complete withdrawal of North American troops in South Vietnam."

In addition, she went on, the US government must put an end to all support of the administration of Nguyen Van Thieu, who has been the instrument of their policy of Vietnamization. "Nguyen Van Thieu must immediately renounce his office; the Saigon administration must abolish the policy of re-

pression and terror against the people in order, in that way, to open the way to the formation in South Vietnam of a government of national concord made up of three components that represent all the sectors and political and religious tendencies in South Vietnam. This government will be in charge of the organization of the general elections, truly free and democratic, so that the Vietnamese people can choose for themselves their own political regime."

Once these two fundamental problems are resolved, she emphasized, all other problems including the ceasefire and the

release of prisoners will be easily arranged.

Finally, Mme. Binh exposed the cheap and deceitful tricks used by Nixon to justify his genocidal escalation of the war, such as accusing the Vietnamese of wanting to humiliate the US government, or trying to impose a communist government on the people of South Vietnam, and even claiming that if the US withdrew, there would be a bloodbath in South Vietnam.

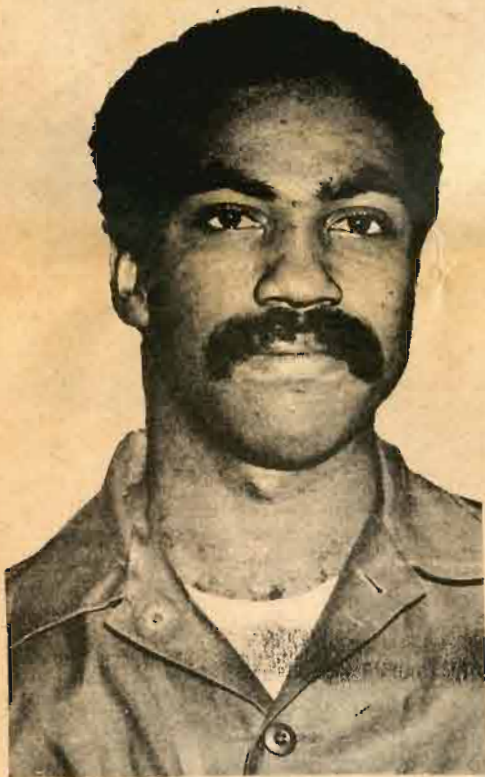
When questioned at the press conference about the PRG evaluation of the nomination of George McGovern as

Democratic presidential candidate, Mme. Binh said that the PRG did not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of the US. However, she said that they did feel that the demands of the anti-war movement in the United States for immediate withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam and an end to the bombing and to all support of the Thieu government had converted the war into a major issue in the elections. And she added that "we have noticed the rise in anti-war consciousness among all sectors of the US population."



## BILLY DEAN SMITH

A black GI who hates the army brass has been singled out to stand trial at Fort Ord in Monterey, California for the events of March 15, 1971, when a fragmentation grenade exploded in an officers' barrack in Bien Hoa, killing two lieutenants and wounding a third. The Pentagon has officially conceded that there were 209 fraggings in 1970. In 1971 there were estimates in one unit of a fragging a week. Billy Dean Smith is the first black GI up on a fragging rap to stand trial within the US. He is charged with two counts of premeditated murder against two lieutenants, the attempted murder of his CO, a captain, and a first sergeant, and two counts of assault on two MP's. The only evidence against him consists of a grenade pin found in his pocket on the night of March 15—a pretty common item to find on a GI in Vietnam—and the fact that Billy openly hated the army, and hated murdering Vietnamese. Billy's trial was moved to the US because the army feared massive militant support for him if his trial were held in Vietnam. But when GI's at Fort Ord found out that he was being held in isolation in the stockade there, they established a defense committee with civilians and veterans, set up picket lines and leafletted outside the gates, and held demonstrations in the community. In a statement explaining why he had been made the scapegoat for fraggings in Vietnam, Billy said, "I didn't have a puppet mind and I was a candid, black, outspoken individual. I had stated time and time again that the war in Indochina was unjust and racially motivated, and most of all that I strictly hated all who had a high regard for habitual butchery of the Vietnamese people."



PRIVATE BILLY DEAN SMITH

## KANSAS CITY 4

Three brothers in Kansas City—Randy Gould, Richard Stanley and Ken Sandusky—were arrested during the last week of August on bombing charges. Their arrests, on state charges, were made possible because Arnold Stead, who has been subjected constantly to threats and manipulation by the government, agreed to testify against them. Stead was threatened in Johnson County, Kansas, with being sentenced as a habitual criminal after taking a deal in Douglas County and pleading guilty to two felony charges there. After he lost a hearing in State Court to suppress obviously coerced and untrue statements, he decided to take the government's deal and pled guilty to a few more charges. His Johnson County deal is supposed to be like his deal in Douglas County, i.e., he will be sentenced to indeterminate consecutive terms, but after he testifies the prosecutor will recommend that the judge change those to concurrent sentences. The credibility of Stead, who has been isolated in a mental institution and has difficulty distinguishing between fantasy and reality, is extremely weak. The defendants believe that they can win jury trials. But their danger is compounded by the fact that they have to go to court two or three times and are in a poor financial situation with enormous expenses. In addition to state charges they and Marty



## RAP BROWN

Rap Brown's New York trial is scheduled to start soon after he appears in court, with co-defendants Arthur Young, Sam Petty and Levi Valentine, on September 19. Rap is accused of opening fire on policemen after allegedly sticking up 25 people at the Red Carpet bar in Manhattan. It appears that there isn't a single witness who can identify him as one of the hold-up men, but Rap was trapped on a rooftop near the bar and shot twice in the stomach. In addition to the New York indictment, Rap still faces charges of inciting to riot, riot, counselling arson, and arson in Cambridge, Maryland, where riots began after police fired shots into a crowd that was listening to Rap speak in

July, 1967. Although the arson charges have been acknowledged to be a frame-up by State Prosecutor Richard Kinlein, they led to an indictment and conviction in New Orleans for carrying a gun across state lines while under indictment for a felony. Early this summer, New York officials ignored a court order and transported Rap in a small two-engine plane to New Orleans for resentencing on the gun charge, even though he had a large infected wound in his groin. When the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the original sentence of five years, it used language suggesting it found the sentence too stiff. Rap's new five-year sentence is being appealed on that basis and because of illegal wiretapping.

Baumgarten also face a federal conspiracy indictment for the overt acts in the state charges and a few more. Send contributions to the Kansas City 4 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 3366, Jayhawk Station, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

## JAMES RICHARDSON

On June 28, 1972, James Richardson was on his way to work at Lincoln Hospital where he had worked for two years as an admitting clerk. Waiting for the subway at Hunts Point, he saw a white man shooting up the station. While he was trying to get out of the way, he was shot twice. Finally managing to get to the top of the station stairs, Richardson saw two white cops and told them that a crazy man was shooting up the subway. The two cops went to investigate and six shots were fired. The crazy man lay dead with six bullets in him. Police further investigated the situation and found out that the crazy white man was an off-duty cop. Now police and Bronx District Attorney Burton Roberts have decided that Patrolman Shagen was trying to arrest Richardson for gun possession and that Richardson will be held responsible for the murder of a cop by other policemen. James Richardson is not a member of any national or local progressive organization, but the charges against him are political and a defense committee has been formed around his case. For more information, contact the James Richardson Defense Committee, c/o National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 1184, Harlem, N.Y. 10027.

## BERRIGAN/McALLISTER

On September 5, Judge R. Dixon Herman announced that the Rev. Phillip F. Berrigan was sentenced to two years in prison for smuggling letters in and out of the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and that Sister Elizabeth McAllister would spend a year in jail with



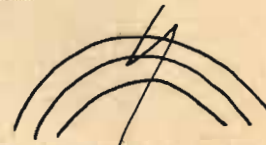
three years probation. Following the sentencing, the prosecution quietly moved to drop the first three counts of the indictment, charging the Harrisburg 7 with plotting to kidnap White House adviser Henry Kissinger and to blow up the heating tunnels under the Capitol. That decision also means that the five others indicted on the conspiracy charges will no longer have to go on trial. The case started off with sensational accusations by the late J. Edgar Hoover (may he rest in eternal torment) and ended with the jury voting 10 to 2, in favor of acquittal on the conspiracy charges, but convicting the priest and the nun on letter-smuggling counts. The conviction is being appealed on the grounds that even a light sentencing on minor charges was only to lick the wounds of the government for loosing a case that never should have been brought to trial. However, the jury's decision shows that American juries are reviewing the evidence before them and are not so willing and eager to convict their fellow citizens for crimes they did not commit or for acts which are not crimes against humanity—as the US government is.

## STEPHANIE KLINE

A predominantly white middle-aged jury in San Francisco has acquitted Stephanie Kline, accused—in sensational headlines—of murder and possession of explosives after a car registered in her name blew up last January killing former Panther Tommy Davenport. From the beginning it was clear that Stephanie, a white community health worker whose car was regularly used by dozens of people connected with the health clinic and who was at a birthday party in her apartment the night of the explosion, was the victim of a frameup. The state eventually dropped the murder charge when an FBI report proved that Davenport was holding the bomb that killed him, and Stephanie was tried only on the explosives possession charge. But that happened only after the local press—newspapers, radio and TV—had engaged in a sensational campaign showing her picture side-by-side with Davenport's, with captions Reading: "Black man victim of bomb/White woman charged with murder." Stephanie and her defense committee believe that the press campaign was motivated by a desire to fan hostility towards white radicals in Oakland's black community. Explaining to reporters the reason the state had made her the victim of a political trial, Stephanie said, "The government has not been able to solve any of the recent bombings in this country. Tommy Davenport was probably engaged in an armed attack on the state. So the Oakland police decided to make an example of me."

## RICARDO CHAVEZ ORTIZ

On April 13 Ricardo Chavez Ortiz hijacked a plane for the sole purpose of holding a news conference where he could talk about the conditions he and his family and other Chicanos live under every day in this country and be assured that people would listen. Chavez Ortiz had no intention of taking the Frontier Airlines plane or its 33 passengers anywhere. The gun he used wasn't even loaded. His trial took place in Los Angeles at the end of July before a jury of six men and six women—none of them Chicanos and only two blacks. Although Chicanos account for 22% of the population in Los Angeles, there had only been two Spanish-surname persons among the sixty prospective jurors. Only one of them was selected for the initial panel, and she was eliminated on a peremptory challenge by the assistant US prosecutor. After three and a half days of proceedings, Chavez Ortiz was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment, pending a 90-day psychiatric examination. His defense committee is now demanding a new trial where his case can be heard by a jury of his peers. The Los Angeles Chicano community has given him a lot of support from the time he was first arrested. Each day of the trial, supporters gathered outside, and on August 12—despite an incredible downpour—250 women and children marched through downtown Los Angeles to dramatize his case. Ortiz is now being held at the federal prison on McNeil Island, Washington for a 90-day observation period. At the end of that time the judge will pass sentence.



## DETROIT WEATHER TRIAL

On July 24, 1970, 12 Weatherpeople were indicted on charges of conspiring to bomb. Seven of the original twelve are now underground. The remaining five were expecting the government not to want to disclose their wiretaps in light of the recent Supreme Court decision. But recently the government said that they would disclose their wiretaps before November, and it looks like the five will go to trial soon.

## Dear Knucklehead Brother—

No contract promises but you could probably make Pro in 6 to 10 months or less. Depends on your attitude. Call Chuck or contact us if you believe as I do that to be part of the future you must be part of the present.

Love to see you.

Inky, Koko and Koffee



## Collective Comment

# MUNICH

How to talk about the tragedy of Munich? 20 people dead and seemingly so little accomplished. The Palestinians wanted to free 200 of their comrades imprisoned in Israeli jails, just a fraction of the number of Palestinians held captive one way or another by the Israeli government.

In Israel there is the daily tension of a nation at war. However, for the Palestinians there is no war zone. They are now a landless, homeless people. They have undergone what Jews might call a diaspora, uprooted from their native land. The Israelis have never let Palestinian Arabs resettle. They have no base of operation, as the Vietnamese, or even as black and brown people have in the US. They have no factories where masses of people are employed. Most of the Palestinian people still live in "refugee camps", which are little more than desert concentration camps; the rest are spread out throughout the Arab nations, but nowhere are they concentrated enough to feel secure.

For the Palestinians the war zone is wherever they can find Israelis or Israeli interests. It is not neat and clean just because the Olympic athletes were not fighting at the time they were killed. In the first place, the Olympics are political games. The US Army trains teams in handball so Americans can win as many medals as possible. Witness the exclusion of China; witness the expulsion of Rhodesia. The Olympics are also used by reactionary countries to foster national-chauvinist ends and distort the meaning of the athletic competitions.

But secondly, everyone in Israel is part of the war machine and very few (but a growing number, largely ignored by the American press) Israelis have spoken out for a just settlement with the Palestinian Arabs. Also, it must be remembered that the Israelis, with their far superior military technology, have not been discriminating in who they murder, from Deir Yassin and Kafr Qassem, to air raids on schools and villages which the guerrillas had long since left, to "comb and purge" invasions of Lebanon.

Many of us criticized the indiscriminate murder of Puerto Rican pilgrims by the Palestinians. We said the action had no focus, the people killed were not directly responsible for the misery the Palestinian Arabs suffer. This cannot be said about the Munich action. Murder was clearly not the object; freedom was. It is clear to the world that the decision to pull the trigger was made in Tel Aviv and Bonn. The "leaders" refused to deal seriously or honestly with the Palestinians. The plane at the airport had no crew and snipers followed every step of the guerrillas. The Munich police admitted shooting first. They were willing to sacrifice the lives of the Israeli athletes in order to preserve law and order, in order to continue the pacification of the Middle East. That the act was political and that the decisions of both sides were political seems to have been forgotten in the media coverage of Munich. Golda Meir is the fanatic who says "no deal under any circumstances".

This is the first anniversary of Attica. People on the left in America should

think hard about the hostages of Attica and the hostages of Munich and remember Nixon's congratulations and support to Rockefeller as well as to Willy Brandt and Golda Meir. Desperate acts by desperate men. But desperation is not always crazy, uncalled for or irrational. The men of Attica had no place else to take their plea for plea for humanity than out in the yard. The Palestinians too have seen their pleas go unheeded. There is moral outrage at the deaths in Munich and not a word about the Palestinian refugees and the Arab victims of Israeli attacks.

The feelings expressed in the banner carried in New York "1000 Arabs for Every Jew" go very deep. The racist self-righteousness of the Israelis and many other Zionist Jews will only serve to make the Palestinian Arabs even more desperate, as well as contribute to a resurgence of anti-semitism. Just as when reactionary Jewish organizations in New York accused the Young Lords and the Lincoln Hospital Pediatrics Collective of anti-semitism (anti-Jewishness; the Palestinians are also Semites) because in their attempts to improve the intolerable conditions at Lincoln they demanded and got the replacement of some hospital administrators who happened to be Jewish. Religion was not the issue until it was interjected by the reactionary Jewish organizations.

The Israelis have done wonderful things with the land of Palestine. It flourishes today in many places that were formerly desert. No one can deny or belittle this

accomplishment. Nor can anyone deny the oppression Jews have experienced in Europe that left Palestine the only alternative for thousands. But the land does not belong to the Israelis.

Palestinians have never been anti-semitic. For many years Jews and Arabs lived together in Palestine in peace, until the Balfour Declaration made it clear that Zionist Jews had more than a historical or religious interest in Palestine, and that nothing short of a sectarian Jewish state would satisfy them. This state was built on the backs of the Palestinians. So now the land flourishes, but the people who used to live and work there in peace live in concentration camps.

We feel a sense of tragedy about Munich; we feel a pain and sorrow that people are killed in war, no matter what war and no matter what side. But we feel as well the tragedy of the Israeli genocide against the Palestinian people, a tragedy that kills not 20 people but 2 million, and a culture thousands of years old, or tries to. The tragedy is that Jews in Israel have run from persecution and genocide only to perpetrate persecution and genocide, and instill in former friends the hatred from which they have run.

THE LIBERATED GUARDIAN WORKERS COLLECTIVE

### NOTICE

To the woman in Portland who wrote about distributing the L.G., we lost your address! Write again.

Vocations for Social Change, is for people involved or wanting to be involved in working full-time for social change on the job in mainstream institutions, in communities, and creating alternatives. VSC is a collective serving as a national information clearinghouse. Our magazine, WorkForce, provides listings of job openings, articles on how to organize, how to start your own projects, etc., and a resource section of over 250 groups willing to answer questions about problems and processes in their fields. A \$5 donation is asked for 6 months since we are a non-profit corporation. \$10 for institutions for a year.

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## 'n' if you wanna

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...../ Tell me/us how I/we can distribute the LG.

# LG OFFICE RIPPED OFF

About a month ago, as we were getting ready to typeset our last issue, our office was ripped off. We came in one morning to find that a bunch of records, some supplies, subscription and distributor lists and our cash box were gone. The side door had been crow-barred, and there was a wierd note saying not to call the pigs and that everything would be explained to us. We were wierded out, needless to say.

While we were sitting around in a daze, we got a phone call, advising us, among a lot of strange talk, that half the stuff was sitting in our hallway, and that the rest would be returned after "negotiations" the next day.

Sure enough, everything else was returned, and we got another phone call. What emerged was a picture of a brother who was under a lot of mental strain, and who couldn't cope with it—and this was driving him to do irrational things. He didn't tell us his name, but we did learn a few facts about him. He'd been involved in various kinds of movement groups and activities for several years, even though he

was pretty young. He told a few wild stories—how he had been badly hurt by someone "high up in the movement".

While we were unsure how much of what he said was real—as he interspersed his talk with all kinds of wierd things—we felt like much of what he said had a base in truth, although it was exaggerated.

\* \* \*

What to do? Our stuff had been returned, and so our only hassle in that regard was that our schedule had been set back. We realized that we had been slack as to security with our office, and took some measures to remedy that. We obviously had no intention of calling in the pigs. Our biggest worry was how to relate to this brother.

He seemed to be saying by his action that he wanted someone to be in a position where they had to deal with him, on some level help him—although he refused to say that he wanted help. But, both in terms of our limited people-hours and in

terms of our security, we could not risk to get deeply involved with this brother; and besides, we didn't feel safe or comfortable having him involved with us.

Our consensus was that if in some way there could be found a means by which he could get help and support that would be good, but that the priority was not to let a relationship of any kind between him and the *Liberated Guardian* develop.

\* \* \*

There were a few phone calls, a couple notes, and then about a week or two ago we got a series of letters—in his handwriting, which we recognized immediately—from jail. We weren't sure what he was in for—in fact, we had doubts whether it was for real—and he still didn't sign his name. There was no new information in the letters—which came one or two a day for a week and then stopped; only random wierd talk. And so at least for now and at least for us, it's over.

\* \* \*

The pain and struggle involved in surviving as a revolutionary are staggering. All of us are scarred by it. Some of us it beats, and that is something that we have got to deal with together.

The brother who ripped off the LG was beaten by that pain. He was sensitive and intelligent, he had done a lot of political work. But the strains of security, struggle and relating to people were too much for him, and he began to act in irrational ways because of that.

There are plenty of people like him, and few of us have ever thought about or dealt with their needs. The pigs have, though—in many cases they have used insecure, hurting people, by threatening, harassing or bribing them, to gain information, to fabricate incriminating stories, to act as provocateurs and to attack the movement.

Study and projects and a lot of thinking and struggle by all of us around this are really important. Our sisters and brothers who are hurting like this brother need us—us, not pigs, not shrinks.

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## TUPAMAROS

# A MOVEMENT WITHOUT A HEAD TO CUT OFF

by Robert Cohen

"We've been able to construct an organization that is indestructible by now. We may suffer defeats, they might set back our work; the struggle will have its breakthroughs and setbacks, including serious setbacks. But what they won't be able to do anymore is destroy us. We've sunk our roots deep among the people."

—Actas Tupamaras

"I'm Rufo and I don't surrender!" shouted Raul Sendic to the soldiers who had surrounded the house where he was hiding in old Montevideo and called on him to give up. The words of the Tupamaro were accompanied by fire from his gun. In the long shootout that followed—a shootout which the guerrilla fighter had no chance of winning—Sendic was shot, and his lower jaw and parts of his palate and tongue were destroyed by a bullet. Unconscious, badly wounded, the man always referred to in the bourgeois press as the maximum leader of the Tupamaros—the National Liberation Movement of Uruguay (MLN)—was captured.

The fact that he chose to fight it out with the overwhelmingly superior military forces instead of surrendering will surely have a positive moral effect on the MLN and the struggle which it leads. His courage, his faithfulness to his convictions to the very end, and his adherence to the long-standing Tupamaro principle that leadership shares the risks of struggle in action and example, will certainly help counteract the negative effect of his capture.

Undeniably, it was a heavy setback for the Tupamaros. But Sendic's capture can't be understood apart from the current situation in Uruguay, the general characteristics of the organization and the whole context of the Tupamaros' armed struggle against the regime.

His capture September 1 was one more in a series of heavy blows inflicted against the MLN and the left forces since April 14th, the date when the Tupamaros executed four key figures in the repressive apparatus. The regime's response to this righteous offensive was swift and ruthless: declaration of a so-called "state of internal war," suspension of rights and granting of sweeping terror powers to the military and police under joint command. This reaction had been described as a de facto military coup roughly on the Brazilian model—while retaining Juan Maria Bordaberry as figurehead President, it smashes all but the most formal aspects of Uruguay's famed "democracy." The myth of the "Switzerland of Latin America" was buried forever amidst the most brutal Brazilian-style tortures and murders of revolutionaries. Massive dragnets and house-to-house searches without warrants began; absolute censorship of the media made it possible for government crimes to be carried out in relative silence. Dozens of Tupamaros and other militants were killed in shootouts or while in custody; hundreds were arrested and tortured. A people's jail and many MLN hideouts, caches and supply deposits, plus several fully-equipped field hospitals—all underground—were discovered.

All during this fierce repression Sendic stayed at his combat post. The rumours that he had fled Uruguay to "direct the guerrilla struggle from abroad" were only part of the psychological warfare employed by the regime with the help of North American experts. For a decade wanted posters bearing his

likeness have hung in every police station and military barracks throughout the country (as well as in the homes of the rural and city workers, to whom he is a hero), but Sendic has not limited himself to a purely political or organizational role, nor has he left the country. It was always understood that complete personal incorporation into the struggle was the only way for leadership to win the confidence of the people—and the only way for that leadership to be correct and effective.

Predictably, official mouthpieces of the regime, such as Radio Carve, ventured that "the fall of the top ringleader will mean the complete disintegration of the subversive movement." The New York Times wrote: "His capture comes at a moment when the urban guerrillas appear to be losing their battle with the authorities." Past experience, however, seems to have taught very little to these observers, whose pronouncements contain more wishful thinking than anything else.

Sendic was arrested for the first time on August 7, 1970—ambushed in a blind alley in the Malvin district of Montevideo without time to unholster his gun. His capture also elicited facile victory celebrations that time, especially since many other of the organization's top leaders were imprisoned during the same period. But some of the MLN's most important and complex actions—the multi-million dollar haul in the National Loan Institution, Operation "Estrella"; the escape of 38 women guerrillas from prison; and the spectacular break-out of over 100 Tupamaros from maximum security Punta Carretas prison in downtown Montevideo—were carried out while Sendic and other key members of the organization were jailed.

It wasn't because of modesty, but for profound political and organizational reasons, that Sendic always rejected the idea of becoming the Tupamaro leader. He wasn't minimizing his importance but was simply going according to the facts when he said after being arrested in 1970 that he was "just another fighter."

By now everyone knows, or should know, that the leadership of the MLN is impersonal and collective, that the organization is structured in such a way as to guarantee flexible, immediate response to the capture or death of its leaders. Democratic centralism has ruled the internal life of the organization since 1968. The Tupamaros themselves have said: "The

leadership is collective, there are no 'sacred cows.' The risks and hardships are the same for all. Leaders take part in action—we don't want pure theoreticians." (Actas Tupamaras)

In his introduction to the French edition of *Actas Tupamaras*, Regis Debray writes: "It is no exaggeration to affirm

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that at least at present and since its foundation, the MLN has substituted the mystique of the Chief or the Leader, common to almost all the Latin American countries, for that of the revolutionary organization being constructed. In other words: a movement without a head to cut off, one in which the political and symbolic representation isn't concentrated in a precise and sooner or later detectable point of the apparatus, but one in which every component part is prepared to assume, if necessary, the representation of the movement and put into practice—through individual efforts and in the name of all—the organization's general line." There is reason to believe that the so-called combined forces weren't far off when they speculated through a spokesman recently that the members of the MLN's central leadership "may be new figures who are totally unknown."

Perhaps that is why Interior Minister Alejandro Rovira tried to minimize the importance of a development which otherwise would have provoked ecstasy in the regime: "Sendic's arrest," he said, "is but one more episode in the fight against the guerrillas."

This obviously doesn't make his capture any less important. A revolutionary leader close to the people, Raul Sendic

went to northern Uruguay during the first years of the '60s to organize the sugar workers in Artigas and participate in their struggles. He was among the first to foresee that the inexorable development of the Uruguayan crisis would lead the ruling classes to defend their privileged status with violence. At a time when Uruguay was still being called an "exception" in an otherwise explosive Latin America, Sendic was a decisive figure in the patient, silent preparation of the armed response which the people had to organize if a revolution were to succeed in that country.

The magnitude of the popular support for the movement which he helped build shouldn't be measured in the glorious moments of Tupamaro victories, but now when the MLN has suffered the heaviest setbacks in its history. A Gallup Poll published triumphantly by the Uruguayan government said that in July—when the repression reached its highest level, with thousands arrested and tortured—20% of the Uruguayan people told the pollsters (who for all the people knew might just as well have been pigs) that they sympathized with the Tupamaros.

Moreover, there are indications that as a direct result of the blows suffered by the MLN, certain sectors of the population which in the past had been only spectators to the Tupamaros are now moving

actively to support them.

So the enemy would do well not to confuse tactical defeats with the on-going correctness of what they stand for, the popular vitality which guarantees their re-organization, and eventually, their strategic victory.

The inevitable lull in Tupamaro activities during this period should not be interpreted as the "complete disintegration" of the MLN. There were almost two years of absolute silence when the organization was being formed and the first anonymous actions were being carried out. There have been other periods of relative inactivity (in terms of visible actions) as well as tactical cease-fires. But the Tupamaros came back stronger each time, having gained from the pause, having consolidated past victories and learned from past errors and defeats.

The National Liberation Movement of Uruguay has been building the people's army which will someday mean the end of imperialist domination and class oppression in that country. The struggle continues. Sendic's shout: "I don't surrender!" can be taken as the Tupamaros' word of honor.