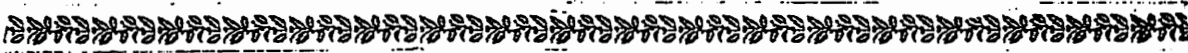


long haul
august 21 2004

Attica the movie, was a community response to the developing situation of the prison in New York. Other activists took initiative to challenge the heinous murder by the state, one example was the weather underground who set a bomb off in a prison bureaucracy office. At the time many towns had a vibrant indepent press that would inform hippies, fists, straights & the countless others who rode the fence. Herein are samples of the underground press's cry for justice. The film was completed a while after the uprising and had a small tour thru theatres across the united states. The producers though, were harassed by the fbi, ensuring then the film was a limited run. It had fallen into obscurity until the 1990's when it was put onto video tape. By the late 90's a new production calling itself Attica was made, around the same time a court case granting surviving inmates and their families a token sum of money. Conditions of course did not improve infact in many ways worsen.

prisons are increasingly a hot issue since the 70 's. The mainstream have not comprehended that lock up is the tactict used to cover the harmful policies played by war, poverty, and ordering reality with divide and conquer approaches.



some of the papers used

The Black Panther
Borrowed Times
LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS
SAN DIEGO DODGE

issues of this and related topics are documented in microfilm and are availble at some libraries(ucb,berkeley main and san fran main) if people are intrested in researching these themes of the movement, or if they want to explore the hard and real impacts of prisons today, they are welcome to submit materials to slingshot newspaper whose next issue will be laid out mid-september.

OR BETTER YET START YOUR OWN PAPER



MASSACRE AT ATTICA



Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald wanted a peaceful solution.

One of the most brutal atrocities of the Nixon-Rockefeller Regime during this past year in the U.S. was, of course, the Massacre at Attica State Prison, in Attica, New York, on September 13, 1971. People around the world recoiled in shock and anger at this wholesale slaughter of 42 prisoners and guards and the wounding of countless others by Nixon-Rockefeller directed State Troops.

Afterward, the State tried to hide its murderous acts by exhuming the bodies of the murdered guards. This was done in hopes of placing the blame on other victims - the prisoners. Even this old divide-and-conquer tactic failed. The families of the slain guards knew that the same bullets that had riddled the bodies of the prisoners had taken the lives of the guards. The State also tried to hide the fact that Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, had tried to carry out the negotiations in behalf of the prisoners and that he had been barred from re-entering the prison on the very day of the Massacre. In a People's Tribunal in October, the People exposed the facts about this, as well as other lies the state had told. The State even employed strong-arm tactics in attempts to make all those that were involved conform to the State's story. The State failed, there, too, however. People saw through the smokescreen and they recognized the prisoners' rightful and peaceful bid for freedom.

The State's violence at Attica awakened many people. For many, more clearly than ever before, the barbarous cruelty, the injustice of the American Prison System was revealed. Along with this new insight came a rise in the level of consciousness and concern among the people in the community for all prisoners. The spirit and the idea of Freedom for All was not quelled at Attica. If anything, it sparked a larger movement, a stronger resolve on the part of the people and a more concentrated effort to transform this inhuman system into one where bars and chains, economic slavery and racism are merely part of the history of a dark past.

In the September 18, 1971, issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, the following article was printed. Perhaps a review of these events would give us a frame of reference for the continuation and progression of our struggle:

They say violence erupted on Thursday, September 9th, at Attica State Prison in New York, when nearly 2,000 men wrested control of the facility from the hands of State officials and prison administrators. With this as a starting point and basis for "action", Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and U.S. President Richard M. Nixon ordered and had implemented the outright murder, the massacre of at least 30 persons, four days later. Violence

did not erupt at Attica on September 9th. The brutal beatings, the isolations cells, the secret murders, the overall inhumane conditions perpetrated by the prison administration, the State and Federal governments has existed for some time. For one group of men - the State - to claim the right to kill or otherwise destroy the lives of other men - the inmates - is certainly violence in the extreme.



"We are MEN. We are not beasts."

The seizure of the Attica State prison by those it held by force, by the inmates there, was a human response to the violence and suffering the brothers had long endured. When in a quick and organized, united move those brothers declared in action that they would take authority over their lives, they stated that by capturing control of the prison and arresting approximately 38 of the institution's guards, they wished to make it clear that they no longer wished to be confined like animals, nor treated like animals. Their aim was not to control the prison to the degree where they would confine others, confine those who had dealt them such terrible blows, but to simply go free, live like human beings, outside the prison walls - and for those who would, to even leave the country to go to one where they could be treated and respond to others as human beings. Their goal was not to take any lives, but to save lives - their own. The capturing of guards was a move to exchange lives - theirs for the guards' - for they presumed that America placed value on human lives - especially when those lives were of people who upheld and enforced the very laws which are the foundation of the "Democracy".

Their declaration made all of this distinctly clear: "The entire incident that has erupted here at Attica is not a result of the dastardly bushwhacking of the two prisoners on September 8, 1971, but of the unmitigated oppression wrought by the racist administrative network of this prison throughout the years."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

"We want complete amnesty - free-
dom from all or any physical, mental
or legal reprisals. We want - now -
speedy and safe transportation out of
confinement to a non-imperialistic
country. We demand that the federal
government intervene so that we will
be under direct federal jurisdiction.
We want the government and the ju-
diciary, namely Consueba B. Motley,
to guarantee that there will be no re-
prisals. And we want all facets of the
media to articulate this."

"The New York State Prison Commissioner, the courts, and the federal and state governments' prosecutors have deliberately allowed the creation and maintenance of the oppressive and atrocious conditions to which our African Brothers are subjected. Also, the state has for too many years willfully and maliciously ignored the legal and lawful requests and redresses of grievances from the prisoners."

the U.S. district court order, however, that there will be no reprisals against those who are not rapists, but quite fallacious and irrelevant on its face, when the state commissioner, Russell Oswald, adds that our prison brothers will face other criminal charges. To face more criminal charges is not anything else.

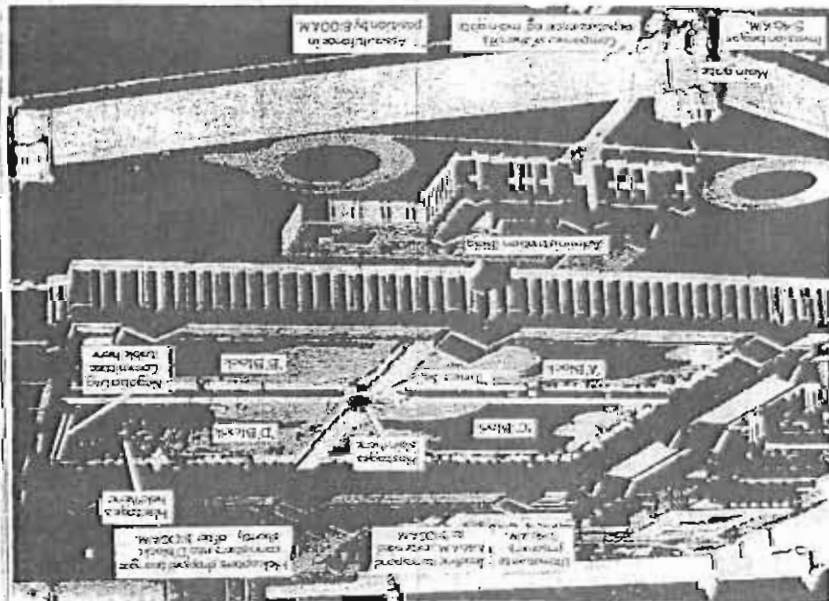
As things became more settled, the brothers began establishing a base of operation on the D-Block yard. Tents were set up for living quarters and the arrested guards were situated; also, an area was cleared for discussion and communication with news media, and the group of outside negotiators for whom the inmates had called. When news of the uprising came to the Black Panther Party as well as a call from New York to have Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, come to Attica as a key negotiator, the Central Committee of our Party issued the following statement: "The Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party was contacted September 10, 1971, by the office of New York State Assemblyman, Arthur Eve, which delivered a message from 1,280 of our Brothers who are political prisoners at the Attica State Prison in Attica, New York. The message from the political prisoners is that Huey P. Newton, of the Black Panther Party, Servant of the People, must, in

"The Artica Prison Move, composed of political prisoners and the lives of 35 arrested police guards in the hands of the prisoners, is a tactical move towards going forward to show the world's community people how to begin to end oppression and wretched, unjust prison incarceration."

The list of demands, summarily, on a general basis, requesting decent prison conditions, was read, with the chief demand being, "Essentially, the brothers wanted freedom, not only for themselves, but really all political prisoners: particularly they cried the

of Staff of the Black Panther Party - Angela Davis, "Chip" Fitzgerald, Jan-
etaine R. Davis, and others, were re-
maining. Soledad Brothers, they no
longer wished to be animalistically
confined; they wanted freedom - im-
mediately. In exchange for their free-
dom, they made it clear, they would
release the arrested guards. The
guards held by them were in no danger
as long as negotiating could continue,
to culminate in the satisfaction of the
brothers. This was simply a move made
to get a ticket to ride to the outside.
The treatment of the guards, com-

Continued on next page



PERSON - WHERE IS THY VICTORY?



CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

After a brief first visit, he was never allowed in again.

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

One guard, Phillip Watkins, who came out after the prison was re-captured by attack, said that he was given cigarettes when there were few, medical attention when needed, and, "When they ate hot meals, we had hot meals; when they had sandwiches, so did we; we had mattresses - but they didn't." The brothers were preserving, protecting life, even under the unreasonable circumstances of Oswald's instructed refusal to guarantee no reprisals or to talk of amnesty, or freedom from confinement. The brothers even implored the State, the government of the country to consider all the lives - of both inmates and guards. On September 11th, the brothers issued this statement in this regard: "We, the People, hereby present to the Administration officials of Attica Correctional Facility: That we are trying to be and act humane to the officers, as best we can under the existing, unmitigating circumstances. We have sent you four (4) of your officers out to the hospital for medical attention.

"Henceforth, we demand that you allow a doctor to enter this prison to attend to the medical needs of both the officers and inmates. If it is found that it is necessary to remove an officer for medical reasons, we demand a healthy officer in return."

Early on Saturday evening (September 11th), at the brothers' request, Chairman Bobby Seale arrived at the prison, representing the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. After a short and overwhelmingly warm meeting with the brothers, he left the prison with the promise he would return after consultation with the Party Central Committee regarding the negotiative guidance the Party could offer. The next morning, Chairman Bobby was "greeted" at the prison gate by Oswald, who demanded the Chairman discuss with him his agreements with the brothers. He demanded and tried to invoke the Chairman's agreement that the Party would compromise, or otherwise betray the brothers. When Chairman Bobby emphatically stated he would compromise neither their demands, nor the lives of the beautiful brothers inside and repeatedly reminded Oswald that the inmates had promised no harm would come to the guards until the negotiating reached an impasse - which was all pending his return - Oswald absolutely denied the Chairman re-entry to the prison.

The lives of the inmates was certainly of no concern to Oswald and his chieftains, Rockefeller and Nixon; but as would later shock most Americans, neither were the lives of the guards, who were gunned down, like the inmates, by police bullets. The guards themselves, along with the inmates, implored the State to use discretion and to listen to the inmates' reasonable demands, or that, in the words of

one guard, "My Lat was only one-hundred-or-so-odd men; we're going to end up with 1,500 men (dead) here, if things don't go right." Another guard inside, one day before the vicious police attack, spoke words expressing the feelings of the other guards inside. Sergeant Edward T. Cunningham, a 52-year old WW II Army Sgt. with a purple heart and bronze star, said amnesty was the only salvation: "Anything short of this is just as good as dropping dead." The next day, he too was murdered by police bullets. That was the answer the State gave him for his understanding plea.

While the vast majority of people were more concerned with saving life than face, Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon and Oswald plotted the vicious course that would leave over 50 dead at Attica. When importuned that he be present to aid in a peaceful settlement of the issues, Rockefeller refused to come, saying, "I am in full support of the Commissioner's actions and I will continue to help, in direct communication with him, in his untiring efforts to achieve a 'peaceful' solution."

And, while human beings were joining together in response to the human cries of the inmates, Nixon was consulting with Rockefeller, with Oswald, and so on, delivering the death orders. As well as guards and inmates coming to understand something of the nature of each other, the brothers inside were breaking all the treacherously divisionary, phoney barriers that have separated races of people in America for so long, in common understanding of the State's oppression and the right of all human beings to be free. One of the white inmates, Blease Montgomery, born and raised in the small, Southern town of Hamlet, North Carolina, spoke clearly to this, as, in his native drawl he said, "Man, there's people in here we treated like dogs down home...but, I want everyone to know we gon' stick together, we gon' get what we want, or we gon' die together...I've learned so much that if I get out of this, I want a plane ticket out of this country."

The horrendous end to this magnificent strike for freedom and human dignity came on September 13, 1971, with police helicopters firing tear gas onto the yard full of people, and then the invasion of the 1,700 police troops, armed with the machine guns, the rifles and the pistols. No person on the yard was safe from the invaders. Oswald had lied - he had not kept his promise of more time to discuss his ultimatum to those inside to restore "order" and to give up the "hostages"; and he

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MASSACRE AT ATTICA



OSWALD: "My main concern was with the safety of the hostages... and later, "...I'd do it again."

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE:

lied again - when he said the very reason he carried out his instruction to attack was because the brothers inside had been seen, by helicopter, slitting the throats of eight guards (later that figure was changed by Oswald's assistant, Houlihan, to two guards).

But the whitewash this time was unsuccessful. For although the people, particularly Black people who know the lying, vicious, racist nature of the power structure, did not believe Rockefeller's and Oswald's lies, the cold and concrete evidence of murder, of the massacre came in the corner's report. State officials didn't have to lie about the brothers in there; they felt no one would care. They admitted readily to those murders. But when Monroe County (New York) Medical Examiner, John F. Edland, gave his report regarding the condition of the bodies of the guards, the lies and the fact of out-right murder on the part of the State could not be denied. Dr. Edland, at a press conference, told the American people that no guard's throat had been slit. "They all died of gunshot wounds." Many could not believe it, until he elaborated even further: Of the condition of the guards' bodies, he said, "Some were shot once, some as many as five, ten, twelve times... with two types of missiles, buckshot and large calibre missiles." He went on and contradicted Houlihan's suggestion, after the first lie was exposed,

that possibly the inmates' zip guns could have been used to kill the guards, and said emphatically, "No". In answer to the original statement that the guards were killed prior to the attack and that the rigor mortis which had set into their bodies proved this, Dr. Edland stated, "All died yesterday morning (September 13th)." Regarding a report of castration of one inmate (said to indicate the inmates had acted like the



DR. JOHN F. EDLAND: "I am my own man. I call things as I see them."

U.S. Army animals who massacred the people of My Lai), Edland said, "There is no evidence of that." In summary, as though responding to the potential threats he may receive from the State for his disclosures, Dr. Edland stated: "I am my own man and I call things as I see them. All I know is I have 27 bodies in my office which is more than I ever want to see again in one day...I'm used to not finding what people tell me I will find."

Let us briefly speak, then, of what our beautiful brothers incarcerated at the Attica State Prison have dramatically demonstrated. Their heroic move, singly, brought into a cold and harsh light the bitter reality that is America. It is them we must praise. They sealed a bond of love among many who otherwise may have never known each other. Black people across the U.S. and oppressed people in the many communities of the world shall not ask why, nor seek to find underlying secrets that may, through lengthy investigation and discussion, reveal what "really" took place at Attica on September 13th. We shall leave that to the liberal intellectuals, the more refined racists, the undercover fascists, the defenders of the bourgeoisie, the oppressors themselves to discuss and to dissect. Their stories shall be junked in our history. We shall say and know that a massacre occurred at Attica. A massacre of our heroic brothers, whose actions of supreme courage on those few days made men of us all. We shall not forget. We shall bury them, but not forget. For their individual lives, the men at Attica, and certainly their goals were so much a part of our lives, our very existence that it was our blood that was painfully shed; so much a part of us all that no mother or father or sister or brother of any of the men at Attica shall know a pain as great as ours. But, we will not be defeated - we are not defeated. We will surely win. For their deaths were victories, because they died with glory and dignity - as men. There will be songs and poems and writings and books and words said for the men at Attica. But, in their names, and the thousands before them, and the painfully countless number that shall surely follow, there shall be People's Victory.

As for now, in the unknown names of our fallen soldiers at Attica, we re-dedicate ourselves, our lives, reaffirm our commitment to each other to the long and arduous struggle that shall lead us to that glorious victory.

In the words of one of our beautiful brothers, when asked his name, let each of us say, "I am Attica - I am all of us."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



ATTICA

(continued from Cover)

Warden Oswald was quoted as saying the prisoners' behavior was not different from their behavior on the streets where

several were convicted of manslaughter and murder. This is a statement from the man who gave the direct order to start the massacre.

Rockefeller claimed, "The tragedy was brought on by the highly organized, revolutionary tactics of the militants who rejected all efforts at peaceful settlement, forced the confrontation, and carried out cold-blooded killing..." This is the man who ordered the Attica Massacre.

The double talk, the outright lies of Rockefeller and Oswald go on and on.

Officials first said the prisoners had no guns. When the medical examiner said that all the hostages died of

gun-shot wounds, officials claimed they found zip-guns. The coroner said none of the wounds came from zip-guns.

Rockefeller has since set up his own commission to "investigate" what happened. The head of the commission, Robert E. Fischer, has publically expressed his belief in the cut-throat hoax. When a politician investigates his own house with his own whores, the result is a forgone conclusion.

How were the hostages treated by these crazed maniacs that Rockefeller and Oswald deemed to die? The hostages themselves claim good treatment. They were the first given food when they ran low on supplies. They said that they were given fresh clothing and slept on mattresses while the prisoners slept on the floor. When the prisoners became the guards they

had the decency to treat their hostages as they wished to be treated.

Everyone agrees that amnesty was the demand that caused the breakdown in negotiations. William Kunstler, one of the negotiators, believed there was still a chance to make a breakthrough in negotiations. He believes that the attack was unnecessary. The issue of amnesty was totally unacceptable to Rockefeller and prison officials. Rockefeller said he wasn't authorized under the constitution to grant amnesty and even if he was, he wouldn't. The White House called Rockefeller to let him know they supported his decision.

The insane part of the amnesty question was that if officials had granted the reforms when they were first presented, amnesty would have never been a question. Attica didn't just occur

had been presented months before and

rejected. However, after hostages were taken, authorities agreed the demands should be met. The issue of safe passage to a non-imperialistic country was ignored in negotiations. The Attica massacre probably never would have happened if the other demands had been met originally. At least not at Attica and at this time. The prisons need radical change and reforms are not going to stop the rage inside their walls.

When this goes to press, Attica's gates will be closed. No reporters will be inside. It will be the prison authorities alone with their prisoners again. It takes little imagination to wonder what will be happening inside the prison walls while you read this. They are still the "living dead." BOB HARTLEY

The Truth, The Whole Truth?

The nation's press woke up Tuesday, September 14, to a nightmare. Not to the nightmare of death at Attica and the machine that caused that death - that was merely news. But to the nightmare of a medical examiner who contradicted the hundreds of false blaring headlines screaming of bloody killings, savage convicts taking sadistic pleasure in cutting throats and sexually mutilating their hostages at Attica. He calmly told the world the hostages died from bullet wounds in the same period of time and that no one was castrated. The headlines of the day before had been proven false!

The question is why? How did the nation's news media, which is taken as objective, pure truth and fact by middle America, print the fantasy of Attica? How many times before has it printed pure fantasy and not been caught?

No reporters actually saw any of the Attica killings. They were not allowed to examine bodies or interview prisoners before or after the massacre. They were kept out of the prison during massacre and put together their stories from statements by police spokesman, police, and surviving hostages. They had no first-hand knowledge of what happened but reported as objective truth what they were told by the system that supports them. Seldom was a United Press or Associated Press story about the massacre given attribution.

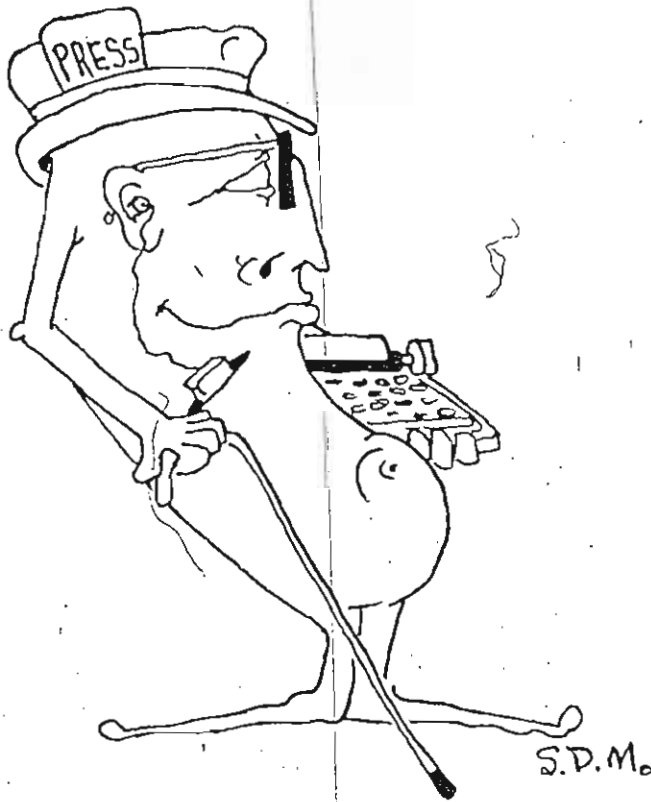
What did those stories say? Some examples:

The New York Times in its lead story said several "hostages" died when convicts slashed their throats with knives. The Times editorial staff wrote, "Prisoners slashed the throats of utterly helpless unarmed guards."

The Washington Post reported that "nine hostages were slain by prison inmates." The same story reported as fact that nine hostages had been castrated.

The New York Post's front page story started, "Autopsies today confirmed that two hostages had been killed at least 24 hours before state troopers and national guardsmen launched their siege of Attica State Prison."

This was the liberal press' version of reality at Attica. The conservative press went along the same lines only with



more sensationalism.

The New York Daily News reported, "eight of the dead hostages dies of slashed throats." The News also prominently displayed a story with the headline, "I Saw Seven Throats Cut!" It was an interview with a state police sergeant who claimed that he saw the convicts slit the throats of seven hostages.

The Chicago Daily News said that autopsies established that two slain prison employees had been dead for possibly three or four days and one had been sexually mutilated.

The San Diego Union had a story that was an interview with a hostage that said he was assigned an "executioner" who would have killed him except a sniper got the executioner first. The Union quoted another hostage as saying, "They held a knife to my throat. But the Puerto Rican guy didn't have the heart to do it. Some of the others weren't so lucky."

At best the press was guilty of lack of attribution. At worst Attica points out that the system is so intertwined that truth is the "official" version of what happened. The other side of the

story - that of the oppressed is to be ignored.

All of the following is from the San Diego Union unless otherwise indicated.

September 10:

-More than 1,000 convicts rioted at Attica State Prison, pitting fist and makeshift clubs against guns and tear gas for the control of the maximum security institution. Thirty-one guards and four shop foremen were taken hostage....

-In late afternoon the rioters opened a counter attack in an effort to retake cell blocks from officers. The law men donned gas masks and used tear gas, a submachine gun and a rifle...to repel the rioters whose only known weapons were their fists and clubs....

-A Wednesday night attack on a guard which landed a prisoner in solitary was believed to have sparked the riot....

-The Prisoners presented a list of 16 demands ranging from wages and more religious freedom to more recreation and an end of censorship and magazines....

September 11:

-A Citizens group, including a Congressman of Puerto Rican descent, and a Negro publisher, were called in last night to try and break a two-day impasse between state authorities and rioting inmates at the state prison here....

-Although a dozen guards were injured in Thursday's fighting, Sgt. Edward Cunningham and Capt. Frank Wald told the mediators they had been treated well in captivity....

-They said they were short of food but so were the inmates....Earlier in the day, corrections Commissioner Russell G. Oswald passed notes back and forth into the prison, met with the inmates and was presented with another list of demands including the higher wages and free passage to a "non-imperialistic country"....

-Federal Judge John T. Curtin of Buffalo granted one of the demands by signing a court order barring reprisals against inmates involved in the insurrection.

-A battalion of 710 state police and sheriff's deputies continued to seal off about 2/3 of the 54-acre facility....

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September 13:

—(Headline)—POLICE MASS AT SEIZED N.Y. PRISON—GOV. ROCKEFELLER WON'T INTERVENE, SUPPORTS OFFICIALS....

—Several hundred police stood ready last night for a possible attack on rebellious prisoners who have held 38 hostages for four days at Attica State Prison....

—Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller declined to intervene personally....

—At mid-afternoon, Rockefeller rejected an appeal to intervene, saying, "I do not feel my physical presence on the site can contribute to a peaceful settlement."....(L.A. Times)

—"I don't have the Constitutional authority to grant such a demand for amnesty and would not—even if I had the authority—because to do so would undermine the very essence of our free society, the fair and impartial application of the law," Rockefeller....(L.A. Times)

—(Headline)—PRISON BLOODBATH! 9 HOSTAGES SLAIN—THROATS CUT; 28 INMATES DIE IN CELLBLOCK BATTLE (Evening Tribune)

September 14:

—Nine hostages were killed by inmates and at least 28 convicts shot to death yesterday as 1,700 state troopers, national guardsmen and sheriff's deputies stormed Attica State Prison to end the bloodiest prison riot in modern U.S. history....

—Related story headline—EACH HOSTAGE HAD EXECUTIONER (note the story was told to U.P.I. by a hostage)....

—Each of us had an executioner assigned to us. My executioner was shot just before he could get to me....

—The state police sharp shooters saved many lives. Just before they started to go for us a slug would hit one of them. The knives were still in their hands....

—Two of the hostages had been dead for "three or four days", Commissioner Oswald declared. One of the prison employees had been castrated and the other had been stabbed to death....(L.A. Times)

—"When the helicopters came over the prisoners just slit the throats of the hostages they were holding," he said. "Sharpshooters were able to save some of them by knocking off the prisoners they were holding." (statement by an anonymous state police sergeant)....

—Just before the assault started, the prisoners took eight hostages into a cellblock. There was no way for the sharpshooters to get in there. They slit their throats....

—They put some other guys in trenches and poured gasoline over them. But they apparently chickened out and didn't light it....(L.A. Times)

—The remaining hostages were blindfolded and tied-up hands and feet....

—When the shooting and gassing began, my executioner knocked me to the ground, pulled me up, knocked me down again and at that point I blacked out....

—The riot must have been planned a long time. It went off so smooth....

September 15:

—A medical examiner said that eight hostages at the correctional facility died of gunshot wounds and not by having their throats slashed as prison officials have said....(L.A. Times)

—"There were no cut throats or any kind of mutilation," said Edland (Monroe County medical examiner). He said that the eight bodies he examined had been killed at the same time by gunfire at more than short range....(L.A. Times)

—The head of New York prisons, abandoning a 24-hour-old official version, said yesterday hostages killed in riot-torn Attica prison did not die of slashed throats, but were shot to death when inmates used them "as shields or forced them forward into gunfire."

—State corrections Commissioner Oswald would not say whose gunfire it was. His list of weapons found in the prison included no guns....

—"In summary," Oswald told a news conference, "it is possible from all these reported rumors and facts, that some unauthorized reports were made to the effect that all hostages had died of slashed throats."....(L.A. Times)

September 18,
—Much of the press, including some of the countries most respected newspapers, at first reported as fact parts of the now-discredited version of the Attica massacre originally given by police and prison officials....(L.A. Times) (Pages 12&13)

—The most common mistakes were in reporting, without attribution, that prisoners slashed hostages' throats, that prisoners murdered two hostages before police stormed the prison, and that one hostage was castrated....(L.A. Times)

—This article goes on to cite examples of erroneous reports published in Newsday, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The New York Post, The New York Daily News, The Chicago Daily News, and United Press International. The other major wire service, Associated Press, handled the story more cautiously, attributing the accounts to official sources.

Reality can be changed from day to day with the nation's press. They were embarrassed by Attica but it seems that even through embarrassment the press prospers. The sad truth is while the papers cover their misstatements and distortions it will be the inmates of America's prisons that will pay for the press' mistakes. BOB HARTLEY

RACIST

DISEASE

Sickle cell anemia is a racist disease. It attacks only Blacks, and mainly young ones. Few live through the age of twenty-five if they have been afflicted. And of those that do, it becomes a torturous life.

Sickle Cell Anemia is caused by a freak genetic imbalance. Long ago, when Blacks lived in central Africa, they were afflicted with malaria. The female Anopheles mosquito could not be eradicated... and few knew at that time, if any, that that little insect was the host-carrier. So the body came to the rescue. The Black became immune to malaria after hundreds of years of genetic experimentation. What occurred was that the red blood cells formed into a sickle shape, literally flattened out. This stopped the malaria from getting enough host foods, in some strange way, and it had no further effect on Blacks.

But that was years ago. American Blacks are direct descendants of those central Africans. Through inbreeding, the sickle cell genes became more dominant. And now, if both parents are carriers, the child born to the couple will have the disease. If only one parent has the disease or is a carrier, some of the children will be carriers, but will not have the disease.

Science has not found a cure for this affliction. Geneticists have begged Blacks to stop inbreeding... in other words, racially intermarry. This would eliminate the dominance in the genes within fifty years. Blacks do not want to do this. It goes against their new thought of "Black Is Beautiful."

There are other methods to control this disease. Those couples who marry are asked to get a quick blood test to see if either is a carrier or has it and is not aware. If they are, the doctor can counsel them to not have their own

children (adopt others), or, if they do, to know what the chances are for the child to be a carrier or to be afflicted.

It is hoped that by genetic counseling the birthrate of carriers will be cut down, cut out.

It is believed that one in ten Blacks in the United States is a carrier or afflicted with sickle cell anemia. That is, about 2 1/2 million persons.

The only hope for sickle cell sufferers at present is an immediate transfusion of clean blood to the victim. What occurs during an attack is that the red blood cells begin to sickle. They lose oxygen, cause cramps within the arteries, muscles... the joints are particularly sore. The pain is excruciating.

Shots of urea and sugar are being used to lessen pain, as well. But these are treatments, not cures.

There are five new tests, quick and near painless, that can detect sickle cell anemia. ALL Blacks should be tested.

There is a Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation in New York. Few know that it exists. Last year it raised about \$100,000. Diseases afflicting many times fewer persons have national foundations raising millions of dollars. But these other diseases affect whites mainly, so whites contribute to them! Only Blacks get sickle cell anemia. Few whites give a damn!

It takes much research and lots of money to find the answers to diseases, especially genetically induced diseases like sickle cell anemia. This is your chance to really help Blacks. If you oppose racism, help raise funds for the SCA Foundation, throw a party and donate the bread, sell Doors and turn over the proceeds, raffle off your dope or auction it to the highest bidder.

Help stamp out racism... in all forms. Help stop SCA. RAY SCHWARTZ.

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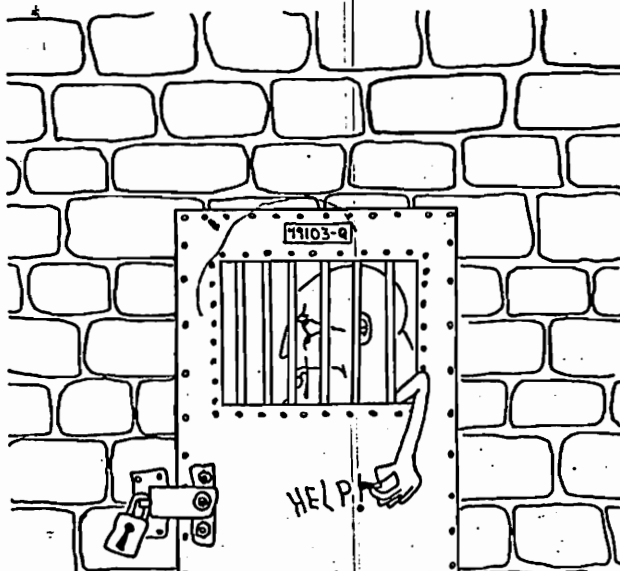
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ATTICA: The State Makes A Stand

THE STATE'S ATTACK on the prisoners who survived the massacre at Attica State Prison on Sept. 13, 1971, which ended the rebellion there has been accelerated during the last month, as 60 of the brothers have been indicted for many crimes ranging from promoting prison contraband to murder. These charges were contained in 37 sealed indictments handed down Dec 15--and this may be only the first batch. So far, none of the prison staff or state police have been indicted for as much as assault.

This article is compiled from reports by Liberation News Service and the Syracuse Sun.

ON THE MORNING of Sept. 9, 1971, the prisoners exercised their right to rebel against intolerable oppression--the same right of rebellion that was exercised in 1776 against the British overlords.

In D yard, the 1,280 prisoners developed a powerful unity of all races and religious groupings. For four days they controlled their own lives, providing medical treatment and sharing what they had. As an example to the prison authorities, they treated their hostages with humanity, fed them well, gave them double mattresses and guarded them from attack.

Above all, they overcame the racism that is the prison's (and society's) most effective tool for dividing and controlling the population. The negotiators at the table were black, white and Chicano, and the clear demands they raised called for human treatment for all, and an end to racist attacks.



On the morning of Sept. 15, 1971, without warning or clear ultimatum, the state mounted a massive lethal attack on the prison population. The assault force of prison guards and State Police had been stirred up to a pitch of racist hatred by totally unfounded stories of guards getting raped and castrated in the yard.

They were armed with shotguns and buckshot, and high-powered rifles loaded with flat-nosed dum-dum bullets (which can blow a hole a foot wide in a person.) 39 people, including 10 hostages, died in the assault, and hundreds more were wounded under the guns of the state.

In the following days at least 700 prisoners were viciously beaten, tortured and abused by State troopers and prison guards, despite New York Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald's promise that there would not be any physical reprisals. 100 alleged leaders were rounded up and segregated in the "Box" for months.

While this "orgy of brutality" (in the words of the U.S. Second Circuit Court) went on unchecked inside the walls, outside Oswald's sidekick, Walter Dunbar, was telling the press that the dead hostages had had their throats cut by the prisoners, and that one guard had been castrated--all of which he knew at the time to be monstrous lies.

This story, which was the first to hit the headlines, was specifically designed to make the Attica brothers look like animals, and to shield those who actually ordered the massacre and those who actually killed the hostages.

WHAT WE ARE now seeing in these indictments and the coming trials of the Attica brothers is the final desperate attempt by the state to protect those officials responsible for the murders Sept. 13 from being brought to justice: an attempt to punish those politically aware men who had the respect of the prisoners in their struggle for basic human rights, men whose solidarity and determination make them a continual threat to the state.

The state has carefully avoided charging the brothers with crimes that people usually identify with political trials. Instead, most of the indictments are for very specific, traditionally "criminal" acts--murder, attempted murder, kidnapping, even rape.

As one lawyer put it, "Making the indictments for very specific acts was a tactical decision to de-politicize the indictments. With the indictments they're trying to portray the prisoners as animals."

The state is also hoping that heavy charges like murder and kidnapping will have the same effect it tried to achieve with the lies told the world on Sept. 13--turning the weight of public opinion against the prisoners' struggle, and inducing the people to ignore the fact that 35 people were killed by the state police.

THE WYOMING COUNTY GRAND JURY that handed down these indictments is one of the most blatantly stacked juries in the history of grand juries.

Its members are drawn from the community around Attica; they are all white, mainly elderly (one member under 20), and unanimously biased against the prisoners. When the jury was questioned by the judge and the D.A. for possible partiality, twelve members stated openly that they had friends who work as guards in the prison or as state troopers, and five had friends who were hostages in the yard. The foreman of the jury, Raymond Becker, runs the school bus outfit in Attica and claims many friends among the prison guards.

The only "evidence" this "impartial" jury has heard in its year of duty has been presented by Deputy Attorney General Robert Fischer, the man appointed by Rockefeller

to investigate and prosecute all crimes committed at Attica. As a state official himself and as an attorney who defended state officials involved at Attica in court, Fischer has stated that he could not impartially investigate the crimes of state officials, and requested that a special agency be appointed for that purpose. This, of course, has not been done.

No one is seriously investigating or prosecuting the men responsible for the primary violence at Attica, the mass murders and tortures on September 13.

Fischer and his agents have accordingly spent the past year investigating the alleged crimes of prisoners. They have bought their



testimony from prisoners by offers of pardon or parole, or by threats of indictment for those who refuse to testify as directed by the D.A. We know of several prisoners who were refused parole because they refused to testify.

The result, 15 months after the rebellion, the indictments against the prisoners were revealed. Beginning Dec. 18 and continuing for three weeks, each day a few men were brought into the grim courthouse in Warsaw, the county seat of rural Wyoming Co. where Attica is located.

Many of the defendants seemed bewildered. Most of the ones who had come from prisons were told they had a visitor and were thrown into a strip cell until they were dragged off to Warsaw. When they got there, all the charges against them were not revealed at once--only charges from one indictment. A number of prisoners were brought back a second or third day, never knowing when they had heard all of the charges against them.

IN THE WORDS of one of the Attica Defense Committee lawyers, "The state has decided to make a stand here. It had a choice, to let people forget about the rebellion along with the people who were killed by the state, or to get the rebels. And it chose to get them."

Dec 17 or 18 1971
Raymond Becker

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ATTICA

by Bob Hartley

Attica is over. It's over for Middle America, Richard Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller and for Warden Oswald. It's over for the 24 dead men who died in Attica's prison yard. There will be commissions to study it. They will find reasons why it happened. There will be trials for "ringleaders" of the rebellion. Television will have specials on Attica and prison conditions. There will be public outcries for legislation on prison reforms that will be forgotten when the next issue comes up. But the excitement is over - except for the hundreds of thousands of men and women who live under the brutal dehumanizing prison system in America.

Why did Attica happen? The prisoners told us. We don't need a commission to find out. They called themselves the living dead. They were allowed one five-minute shower and one fresh change of clothes each week. They had made their demands six months before the rebellion. They only asked for the most basic of human rights. They only asked to be treated as men (see the list of demands on this page).

Their demand to be treated as human beings was met by the only answer the prison machine seems capable of - a hail of bullets. The prison system showed itself so inflexible that it was "forced" to kill eight of its own members to restore order; eight hostages and 34 prisoners' lives were expendable to make the problem disappear.

(continued on pg. 6)

She's Carole King



STOCKROOM

are men. We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." The Attica report can deal with a sociological and psychological analysis, but the prisoners themselves, their lives and hopes, some-how, despite over 3,000 interviews, remain hidden.

"The actual uprising by the prisoners, the capture of the guards as hostages, and the establishment of a Black yard as a base of operations is treated very highly. While the report contains all the facts and logistics of the seizure, again, the sense of factor, the emotions, the sense of sacrifice and cause, falls outside its realm. The report speaks in terms of the 'spontaneous burst of violence' vs. 'pre-arrangement'. It fails to grasp how the two have become intertwined with each other through the years.

The essential feature of the capture of the guards as hostages and the proposal for exchange (exchange of the guards for free, safe transport to a 'non-imperialist country') was that it was an attempt to save life not take it. The prisoner uprising at Attica was a statement of life, of human concern for survival with dignity, addressing all-to-clearly the backwards and armed forces of racism, exploitation and death. The Attica report would attempt to translate the meaning of an event which gripped the consciousness of oppressed communities throughout the world in the ludicrous terms of 'alienation' and 'hostility against established institutions of government and law...."

It is in discussion of the Observers Committee and particularly their analysis of the murderous assault that the Attica report's vagueness comes to full light. The report, 'believes, that direct negotiations between inmates and the State are preferable to the use of outsiders'. This can only be interpreted as suggesting the further isolation of the prisoner population from the Black and poor communities on the outside. It adopted it would effective-ly sever those ties of solidarity and deny the prisoner population any expression of support. The State, would then be able to secretly kill and justify it. The report continues with the comment that if 'outsiders' CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
8501 EAST 14th STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621
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YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$8.75
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ATTICA: A MASSACRE DENIED

The prisoner's rebellion was to preserve life, not take it.



On September 13, 1972, a year to the day of the Massacre at Attica, the Commission To Investigate the Attica Prison Riot was released. It has been one year since, 'Bloody Monday', when state troopers were ordered to 're-take' Attica State Prison and end the 5-day seizure of the prison by over 2,000 prisoners. One year since the State of New York, in a vain attempt to regain their forever shattered prestige of power, slaughtered 43 human beings, prisoners and guards alike.

The Attica report is highly critical of many aspects of the conditions at Attica prior to the uprising and of the police action which followed. It stops short, however, in condemning those responsible for the Massacre; rationalizing and justifying while never pinpointing those vicious administrators whose decisions led to cold-blooded murder.

In the end, the promise of rehabilitation was a cruel joke. If any one was rehabilitated it was in spite of Attica, not because of it. With

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PAGE 12

EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

The Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute is a school designed to help our children think. It is located in the Oakland Day Area and it points out through example that other schools have provided only the most basic courses. Courses that have little relevance to the survival of poor people. We are trying to expand the concept that the whole world is the children's classroom.

The youth at Samuel Napier receive instruction in language arts, mathematics, science, health, physical education, political education and people's art. All of these courses are geared to the development of a well-founded human being.

We need the help of all interested people in making our school run smoothly. Since its inception in 1970, its enrollment has rapidly increased. We need more instructors. Instructors with ever-changing ideas to cope with the ever-changing ideas of the children.

If you have teaching skills and can donate some of your time, please contact the Black Panther Party at 6501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California; or phone 562-2086. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth we, as a people, can not survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

ATTICA: A MASSACRE DENIED

truth were that: 1) there were no plans or provisions adopted for the medical care of the injured or wounded and 2) "...the use of shotguns not only increased the risk but virtually assured the death or serious injury of innocent persons in the congested confines of D-yard."

While the report slaps Rockefeller's wrist for not participating in the negotiations, the ultimate irony, in the statement, "There was no commander-in-chief," no one "in charge". All the excesses of brutality and murder are justified this aimply. In truth, however, there was a "commander-in-chief" upon whose orders the ultimate responsibility for the Massacre rests. This is the same man who, under whose reign, the world has witnessed such events as: the murders of Comrades Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago; the assassination of Comrade George Jackson at San Quentin; the

slaying of students at Jackson State in Mississippi and Kent State in Ohio; the Myal tragedy, the courtroom killings at San Rafael; Attica and most recently the murders in Munich. Without a doubt there was a "commander-in-chief" at Attica, a man whose sense of justice and power are the most reprehensible in history--Prison Warden Richard M. Nixon, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States.

One year later, the memory of Attica lingers. Nothing, let alone such a poor white-wash as this report, can remove the pain or the anger that the thought of the Massacre at Attica brings to mind. Yet, while the dead have been buried and the Massacre etched into our troubled history, the spirit of Attica, of faith, dedication, and struggle remains. It is another reminder that we must achieve the victory desired by all humanity.

1. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessman will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

2. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept no payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

3. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

4. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

5. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

6. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people.

7. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people, now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

8. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station in which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessman will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WAITS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

4. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

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BERKELEY RENTS RISING DESPITE THE "FREEZE"

Urban decay is frequently the topic of discussion by reformist philosophers and sociologists. The conclusions drawn from these needless discussions usually state the theme that the cities are decaying because white people are moving out and Black people are populating the inner cities. The neglect or refusal of absentee landlords to make needed housing repairs and improvements is seldom mentioned.

Recently, the people of Berkeley, California took a progressive step toward gaining control of one aspect of their lives. In the June 6, 1972 elections, a Rent Control Charter Amendment was approved by the voters. 11,000 signatures were required to place the Charter Amendment on the ballot. Most of the work of gathering signatures and organizing a successful campaign was done by an organization called the Fair Rent Committee. The Charter Amendment passed by a margin of 2,400 votes.

The Berkeley Board of Realtors waged a highly financed campaign to defeat the rent control amendment and is continuing the campaign even though the amendment has been passed. The provisions of this new law are:

1. All rents are frozen as of August 2, 1972.
2. On January 23, 1973, a 5-member Rent Control Board will be elected at large by the community.
3. Ninety days after the election, the Board will administer a rollback of all rents to the August, 1971 level (the time when the wage and price freeze went into effect).
4. The Board will rule on all adjustments of rents following the rollback. Tenants and landlords must petition the Board at public hearings for rent increases or decreases.
5. The Board will rule on all evictions.
6. The Board and tenants themselves can take punitive action against landlords who raise rents without Board approval.
7. The Board will set rents on all new constructions.

When the Secretary of State Ed-



Residents of the Berkeley community demand that the rent freeze be enforced.

Mund Brown Jr. signed the Rent Control Charter Amendment into law on August 2, 1972, the rent freeze went into effect. This meant that after August 2, 1972, there were not supposed to be any rent increases in Berkeley. The freeze will be in effect until 90 days after a Rent Control Board is elected to administer the city's rents.

Several large realtors and landlords have increased their rents in complete disregard of the new city law. Berkeley city attorney, Donald McCullum, has been receiving 30 -

40 complaints daily but still he refuses to enforce the rent freeze or even register new complaints. The Berkeley City Council has rejected several motions by councilwoman Ilona Hancock to enforce the freeze. The reactionary members of the council who serve the needs of the realtors and landlords have decided that the new rent control law is not in their interests. The fact that it is the will of the people means nothing to them.

At the Berkeley City Council meeting which took place on October 19,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
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"Solidarity at Attica is at an even stronger point as a result of the uprising."

WE SURVIVED ATTICA

AN INTERVIEW WITH HAROLD WALKER
OF THE SURVIVORS OF ATTICA COMMITTEE

The following interview is with Brother Harold Walker, a survivor of the fascist Attica State Prison massacre of September 13, 1971. Brother Harold Walker is also the Vice-President of the Survivors of Attica Committee.

He has been very active in aiding those still at Attica and in exposing the corrupt prison system of America since his recent release. The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service thanks him for sharing his first hand information with us for the benefit of our readers.

Q: Brother Harold, you were there at Attica, as a prisoner yourself, on the day that Rockefeller, Nixon and other government officials ordered the murder of the Black, white, and Puerto Rican prisoners and their own prison guards. Could you tell us what

happened, why it happened--your interpretation of the conditions that led up to the State murders?

HAROLD WALKER: The Attica rebellion signaled the oppression and exploitation that goes on at all the Atticas throughout the country, particularly at Attica prison where there is a maximum security system setup to dehumanize those unfortunate enough to be sent there, to strip them of their individuality and to keep them at a certain level, economically and educationally. This is a tool used to control people in prison. For example, everywhere that the inmates went they were subjected to a series of "counts." We were counted on the gallery, in the corridors, at every point we reached -- regardless; whether it was in the mess hall, the hospital, the movies... This is the general routine.

The work system is based on slave labor. The metal shop at Attica makes 3 million dollars a year, while the brother who actually works in this shop only makes 28 cents a day. The metal shop makes millions of dollars annually from the prisoner's labor; this is a fact and there are statistics to substantiate this. This is outright economic exploitation of the prisoner.

There is a small town, racist mentality at Attica. Most of the brothers in Attica prison come from New York's metropolitan area, but they are sent to a small town, with a racist mentality, 500 miles away. This means that the 'hacks' (prison guards), who are all white and racist, cannot relate to the brothers (as human beings). So, conditions at Attica culminated to a point where a political stand had to be taken; the prison was overtaken and exposed in the world at large.

Q: One point that sticks in our minds when we recall Attica is the State, using its brain-washing news media, attempted to portray the prisoners as the criminals. Recently, a committee which had been "studying" those events at Attica presented a "report." Do you view it as just another attempt to dupe the people? To justify the murders at Attica?

H.W.: Most definitely. Rockefeller, who is the fascist who commandeered the whole massacre, issued the executive order calling for the formation of a group panel commission to "investigate" the causes of the Attica rebellion. The causes of the massacre were very obviously racism and economic exploitation based on the capitalist system. But, to reinforce the atrocities that they had committed, Rockefeller comes along with his commission, which produced a white-wash and a smoke-screen.

The commission, I think, interviewed thousands of people, gathering information--sometimes privileged information rather than valuable--and eventually a book was issued, called 'ATTICA', which supposedly outlined conditions before, during and after the Attica rebellion. It took Rockefeller to task for not coming to negotiate with the brothers in the yard. Rockefeller's response to the commission was, "You did a difficult job, a wonderful job." Now, this really is contradictory; if they're taking him to task, why should he compliment them?

He was telling the public that this is a "social pabulum" that you will eat. In the meantime, since November 29, 1971, the grand jury in Wyoming County, which covers Attica, was and is considering bringing indictments

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WE SURVIVED ATTICA



The survivors of Attica lived through an American nightmare.

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against the brothers in the joint, also some of us out here. So this is really a white-wash and they're still trying to reenforce their law and order mentality with ploys of commissions.

Q: Can you briefly tell us what a few of the demands of the rebelling prisoners at Attica were?

H.W.: There were 28 demands which included free political activity, without persecution, a better law library, a better diet, more recreational activities, more equitable hearings on parole revocations, a Spanish-speaking person at the hospital (because the Spanish-speaking brothers did not understand what the English-speaking doctors were saying). These are some of the basic demands... As of now, not any of the demands have been met; and this is one year later.

Q: Some people believe that there have been radical or progressive changes at Attica since the rebellion and subsequent state massacre. Have there been any?

H.W.: No. There have been some superficial changes, but they weren't radical, of course. For example, in the visiting room there are now vending machines containing sodas and other knick-knacks for people who have visitors; which is good in itself but not a real change. There's so-called "night rec" now. Before we could only have recreation in the daytime for maybe three to four hours at most. This serves as a good means of security and discipline for the pigs

who run the joint. Also, the new warden has stated that he was going to let transistors (radios) come in. There has always been a heavy input, on the part of the administration, of pornographic literature to divert the prisoners minds from the real issues.

If there have been any radical changes at Attica, they have not been to the prisoner's benefit, but to the pigs. For example, the spending of millions of dollars since the rebellion to put gun towers, not around the walls (there have always been gun towers around the walls), but within the respective yards. In every yard now there is a gun tower with M-16's controlled by some pig... Attica's really worse at this point than it was before.

Q: Do the prisoners still maintain the unity showed during the rebellion?

H.W.: I think the solidarity is stronger now because a lot of petty differences between prisoners have been submerged for the real issues we have to deal with everyday, like keeping the pigs at bay. A lot of literature comes in on Third World questions and revolution. We got Bobby Seale's "Seize The Time", George Jackson's letters (Soledad Brother), Marx, Lenin, Mandel, and Cornforth. These books are read and absorbed. And we've used some principles in dealing with the pigs that they just don't understand. Solidarity is at an even stronger point as a result of what happened.

Q: You are the Vice-President of the Survivors of Attica Committee. What is the Committee's purpose and function?

H.W.: The organization was established about two months ago and is composed of brothers who survived the senseless murders at Attica. We set up programs to help brothers in the joint with legal problems, personal problems, or in any way we can. If a brother needs a citation, legal supplies or whatever, we will make provisions to send these supplies to him.

When a brother is released he comes home with \$40 and a suit given him by the State. This is not enough for him to get a room, food and look for a job. If he comes to us, we tell him that we have a job referral system and he can go and apply for employment, but in the meantime, we can make an application for a peddlers license to sell different commodities. Also, we ask him to join the Survivor's Committee to set up a defense against the forthcoming indictments that are going to be lodged against us. We also educate the public with talks and lectures on Attica now; that there are 19 brothers still locked up in HBZ (solitary confinement) whom the state says are ringleaders of the September 13th rebellion. We give benefits to raise money, we go to different colleges and we communicate with law students and try to develop legal services for the brothers in the joint. We've had simultaneous rallies in California, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Buffalo and Chicago, to let the people know that Attica is very much alive and will be even more so when the trials begin. This is what the Committee is doing at this point.

Q: In your opinion, what help can the people give to the prisoners of Attica, the prisoners throughout this country?

H.W.: I think the people can become more aware of what's going on in the prisons. They pay the taxes and taxes are going to the prisons. People were shocked when all the Atticas took place; from San Quentin, Statesville and Joliet, to the Soledad Brothers, and George Jackson. They felt it was just incredible that these things were happening. They really didn't understand the conditions that brothers and sisters are faced with in prison, constantly, 24 hours a day.

The people can organize for community control, bring the prisons to the community where they themselves can control the prisons. This would definitely be more humane for the prisoner. Even though I don't endorse prisons of any kind, in terms of practicality this would be the best thing to work for. Once the public has become more educated about the nature of prisons they will know how to ward off future Atticas, San Quentins, and fascist atrocities in general.