

other time. But of course with the death penalty, of course with the kind of violence that we see in our community where the police are also the executioners, we don't have this chance of negotiation. They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but none of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right, every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

George Jackson, even after his death, is a legendary figure and a hero. He must be - to the oppressor. This is true, I know it's true, because of the words of the oppressor. To cover their murder they say that George Jackson killed five people, five oppressors, (and) wounded three in the run of 30 seconds. You know, sometimes I like

they will grow up trying to live by the standard that George Jackson set. George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because, after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living. So the body becomes of very little importance, the body of one individual. But the body of all of us, who cannot be eliminated (they cannot kill all of us as they killed George Jackson). By this, by this George left a legacy and he will go on, he will go on into immortality, because we believe that the people will win, we know the people will win, and we

down, to our very knees, he might crush us to the ground, but it's physically impossible for him to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, and when his legs get tired, then George Jackson, the people will tear his knee caps off.

But first the state sets such violence, you see. And some people say that we can't get rid of this kind of physical conflict with more of it. Well I would take issue with it (if we use that example of the oppressor stomping George Jackson down to his knees). He can't go on. And with the violence then, we act, when we return it, in our defense, by tearing his legs off. Of course he won't have a leg; but the violence will stop, because we don't care to take it on. It's true that the violence that he committed against us, by beating us down, we'll be hurt by it; but his leg will also be hurt, or his



to look over the fact that it's physically impossible. But after all George Jackson is my hero. And I would like to think that it was possible; I would like to be very happy that George Jackson had the strength; he must have had to be a superman. (Of course, my hero would have to be a superman.) And we will raise our children to be like George Jackson, to live like George Jackson and to fight for freedom as George Jackson fought for freedom.

We say that even after death, George Jackson still is alive, because his ideas, his spirit will be manifested in the physical. Again, we see our young Panthers here, who are growing up, and

will advance wave upon wave.

Even with George's last statement - his last statement to me - at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. He made a statement that the unjust will be criticized by the weapon. And this will certainly be true, because the people will take care of that. George also said one time that the oppressor is very strong and he might beat him down, he might beat us

missing leg - the stub will ache him very much. So it is bad for us and it is bad for him also. But we're determined not to let him wipe the people out. We know that he cannot wipe the people out, because we will fight on. We will tear his legs off, we'll tear his head off and we'll take the example from George Jackson. In the name of love and in the name of freedom, with love as our guide, we'll slit every throat that threatens the people and our children. We'll do it in the name of peace, if this is what we have to do; because as soon as it's

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STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

over, then we can have the kind of world where violence will no longer exist.

So we will be very practical, we won't make statements and believe the things or try to believe the things the prison officials said to make them true, such as the 30 seconds and five people being eliminated - who were definitely oppressors - we will go on and live very realistically. In spite of the kind

of hero George was to me. I know we don't come by, through that overnight. There's much pain and much suffering necessary in order for us to develop. So even in our suffering, even in our suffering I see a strength growing. I see the example that he set will not be let down. We know that all of us will die someday. But we know that death has two kinds of characters, the reactionary kind and the revolutionary kind. One death is significant and the other is not. George certainly died in

a significant way, and his death will be very heavy; while the ones that fell, the ones that fell that day in San Quentin, their deaths will be lighter than a feather because it's insignificant; and even those who support them now will not support them in the future, because we're determined to change their minds. We'll change their minds or else in the people's name we'll have to wipe them out thoroughly, wholly, absolutely and completely.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D

too and all the other comrades are too. He died in a revolutionary way and not a reactionary way, which was right on.

Ralph
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth
Institute

August 24, 1971

Dear Jackson Family,

How are you doing. I hope you are in high spirits. How is Penny. I hope she is in high spirits. I am sorry that George Jackson and Jonathan Jackson were assassinated. I am very sad about your son you just lost. I am crying inside, very deeply. Although the loss of my comrades has made me very sad, I will continue to serve the people body and soul, because I believe that is the way George would want it. All Power to the People

Michelle
Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth
Institute

Open Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Jackson

Mother and Father of warriors, with these words we offer you, instead of sympathy or sorrow, our thanks. Because of you, two truly beautiful Black revolutionary warriors have stepped in the face of this racist Amerikkkan Empire. You should be proud in that you are fortunate to have brought into existence two real revolutionaries, who by their deeds and actions have done more to transform the consciousness and plight of our people than many thousands whose idle enemy lives add nothing to our struggle.

We inside the walls of Folsom have also been in many of the other California concentration camps, and we can and always felt the traumatic vibrations which George set into motion, with his determination, will and undaunted spirit. There is not one day goes by when Comrade's (George) name is not uttered by some appreciative, newly-developed revolutionary, who was fortunate enough to cross his path and be energized by his magnetic personality and undying love for his people.

In the next few days the fascist enemies of the people will be trying

their best to slander his name and run the memory of him through the dirt. Those of us who knew him will never be turned against so beautiful a comrade. We will always know and speak the truth; he was a staunch enemy to racism, exploitation and the many perverted attacks by sick-minded rabid dogs. We love him as the true warrior he was, no one can erase his being from our eyesight. True, the physical entity that was George Jackson is no longer with us, but the spirit of his existence will live forever.

We know, Father and Mother Jackson, that our pitifully few words fall far short in filling that vacuum created by George's murderers; you see we feel that vacuum also. You must be strong and take consolation in the reality that George lives in all of us and we all therefore are your sons. Take pride in the fact that you have a large strong revolutionary family of budding warriors---we will not let you down.

Comrade George...the battleground



Where he once stood, a thousand more will rise to stand in his place, filled with a new burning desire to be free from the clutches of this brutal and vicious monster.

True warriors come few and sometimes far between. Comrade George was, as was Jonathan, a true warrior, honed to perfection; and he instinctively performed with the nature of a Panther backed against the wall...they'll think before they attack again.

The only sorrow comes in that we have waited again until another death to praise a hero, yet while he could hear it we turned deaf ears, blind eyes and cold empty hands to his warnings. We as a people have historically allowed our leaders to be swept away with only a nod of the head or forced tears in supplication. We become victims of murder...too timidly.

is defined and that split between the enemy and ourselves has become a chasm. This cruel cut can never heal; the pain is too intense.

Folsom Cadre
Black Panther Party

THIS MESSAGE IS FROM THE SEVENTH OF AUGUST MOVEMENT. IT HAS NO NAMES ON IT, BECAUSE THEY ARE ALL STILL PRISONERS IN CALIFORNIA'S MAXIMUM SECURITY INSTITUTIONS. THEY ARE THE CELL-MATES, THE COMRADES, THE STUDENTS AND FOLLOWERS OF GEORGE LESTER JACKSON. THE BROTHER WHO SENT THE MESSAGE KNEW COMRADE GEORGE FOR TEN YEARS, INSIDE THE PRISONS.

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MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

There are many of us assembled here today who knew our Comrade, George Lester Jackson, directly or indirectly. But only those who really knew him can begin to imagine the egregious loss that fascist Amerika has once again bestowed upon us.

Speaking for myself and countless others whom society terms "convicts", he was many things. First and above all, he was a man. Not in the abstract sense of a man, but in the concrete sense; George was a leader, not in the abstract sense but in the concrete; George was a love, not in the context that we understand it, but in the remote ways that we wish it would be; George was and always will be to us, the members of the 7th of August Movement, the epitome of manhood.

George gave us our manhood, showed us our creed through his everyday actions and teachings. For many years George was forced, out of historical necessity, to carry the load of those comrades much weaker than he. He was a man who could not stand to see wrong perpetrated by the unjust upon helpless and defenseless people. This is one of the reasons why he was singled out to be murdered by California's Department of Corrections.

In the year 1961, when racism in the California Penal Institutions was at its zenith, countless Blacks were dying at the hands of the neo-nazis. It was George who taught us how to defend ourselves. It was George who founded the so-called "Capone Gang", which later came to be called the 7th of August Movement, in honor of Jonathan Peter Jackson's siege of the Marin Civic Center.

George taught us that freedom came out of the barrel of a gun (but in our particular case, from the point of a knife) and since we were a minority, mostly uneducated, we had no politics, and very few of us could read or write. But George Jackson was a natural-born teacher. He taught us to read, he taught us to write, and our basic arithmetic; he taught us to form collectives within the prisons. George's mother, who was always at his side, used to send him money each

and every month. There were many of us who had no families, consequently we had no funds. But through the collective it was possible for everyone to have something.

George taught us that we were Black, and that all that really meant was our culture was different from the European's, and that we came from Africa and were descendants of kings.

He taught us that if we were to walk with our heads unlifted, in reality it

George grew through the years. When we were cell-partners he would read as much as 16 hours a day. And he had a way with words and books, where he could take the most complex matters and break them down to the simplest form. George, unlike most university intellectuals, was outgoing and longed --sometimes demanded--to share a new-found truth. This is why he's a leader.

The prison authorities started to witness something new among the



would be one and the same as denying our heritage.

George explained that we were a minority. He taught us the mechanics of slavery, capitalism and imperialism on a level where we could all understand it. In this way it was possible for him to revolutionize the consciousness of countless blacks.

George taught that all people could live together. He constructed programs, starting in around 1966, which were composed of blacks, browns, and whites. He attempted to use the Marxist world outlook of historical and dialectical materialism to transcend racism. He pointed out to us the commonality of our circumstances and that the same pig that had a boot up a Black man's ass, just so happened to be the same identical fascist that had the same boot up this white guy's ass. This basic truism, along with hours and years of teaching, is the cause and the birth of the present prison movement.

prisoners; the kind of men who, despite a seventh-grade point average on his achievement tests when he entered prison, could use words and etymologies in a context to defend himself in disciplinary hearings; the kind of man who would finally object to working in the cotton mills, furniture factories and shoe shops for the meager sum of 3¢ an hour. George taught us how to organize strikes. He set out the guidelines for lists of demands, explaining to the prisoners that we were part of the working class and consequently we were entitled to at least a minimum wage.

Naturally the idea of prisoners running around talking about minimum wages, striking and disrupting Pat Brown's and then Ronald Reagan's slave wage system, just could not be tolerated. And it was at this point that George Lester Jackson was singled out to be murdered.

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MESSAGES FOR GEORGE FROM THE PEOPLE

This is the creed of the 7th of August Movement:

Ulysses' Vow

If ever I should break my stride,
Or falter at my comrade's side,
This oath will kill me!
If ever my word should prove untrue,
Should I betray the many or you few,
This oath will kill me!
Should I be slow to make a stand,
Or show fear before the hangman,
This oath will kill me!
Should I misuse the people's trust,
Should I submit ever to greed or lust,
This oath will kill me!
Should I grow lax in discipline,
In times of strife, refuse my hand,
This oath will surely kill me!

When Fidel Castro, who was later to lead the Cuban people to freedom, was captured by the Batista forces and brought to trial, he uttered a statement that went down in history, known as "History will Absolve Me." In that speech to the fascist court, he spoke of the revolutionaries in the prisons; and we adopt his words as our own:

"We were never permitted to talk or remain in the same prisons; yet we were in full accord as to how to act. When men carry the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them isolated, neither the walls of prisons nor the sod of cemeteries, for a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single consciousness, a single dignity, will sustain them all."

From the 7th of August Movement who are continuing the struggle inside the Fascist Prisons of America!



MESSAGES OF LOVE AND SOLIDARITY WERE ALSO SENT BY REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS FROM: SOLEDAD PRISON -- MAXIMUM SECURITY SECTION:

Madison Flowers Jr.
Edward Whiteside
Manuel Torrez, Jr.
Victorino Murillo
Henry Aldridge
Charles Johnson
Raymond C. Mosley
Lawrence Mosley
Raymond Marquez
Ricardo Romio Garcia
Leroy Wynne
Jerry W. Lund
Richard Clemence

Eric Victor Hilton
TEHACHAPI PRISON CAMP:

Bonewell
Kenneth Favre
Freddie Pendleton
Wendell Wade
Cowyge
Jessie Wright
Paul Morgan
Howard Custard

DEATH ROW, WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY:

Arthur N. Aiken
Leodis Smith
David W. Riggins
Antonio N. Wheat

As for the facts, George Jackson entered prison at the age of 18 and only left it, dead, at the age of 29. He had been arrested for a theft of \$70. A serious crime, if you are young Black adolescent in my country. And, if you are white, still talking about my country, a mere childish prank. All white Americans, though they may deny it, know that no white American would have been given such a savage sentence.

So be it. He is dead. Neither his younger brother, Jonathan, now dead, nor Angela Davis, now imprisoned, has ever killed or assassinated anyone. The murders were committed by the

American police. In short, these murders and attempted murders have all been carried out by the American state in order to serve American interests, which mainly involves its investments in the United States as well as in the rest of the world.

George remained in prison and finally met his death there confronted with a murder charge which would not stand up under even the most superficial examination—because something in him refused to accept his condition of slavery. This made him a bad example for the other slaves, because the Americans still believe that they are running a plantation and that this plan-

tation is now the world. That means, as someone else has already said so well, that in the eyes of Americans, all of us are Black today. And if you think that I am exaggerating, take a look at the results. I would gladly ask the top American party leaders to refute all I have just said, if I had the slightest respect for them and could believe them capable of a grain of honesty. George Jackson is the last victim of a system of exploitation, sometimes called "cheap manual labor", and universally known under the name of slavery. From this point on, every corpse will be put on the bill that this civilization can never hope to pay.

JAMES BALDWIN



August 31, 1971
Habana, Cuba

Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
1048 Peralta Street
Oakland, California

The assassination of Afro-American leader George Jackson by the racist San Quentin wardens at the instigation of the Nixon Administration arouses the unanimous indignation of the Asian, African and Latin American people and all World progressive

forces.

This revolting crime is aimed at thwarting the increasing struggle developed in the United States by Black people and the popular masses, exploited by the Yankee imperialist oppressor. This again demonstrates the Yankee imperialist's aim to exterminate the Afro-American leaders, spokesmen and liberation hopes of the twenty-two million Blacks in the United States.

The Jackson assassination forms part of the plot U.S. racists contrived a-

gainst Professor Angela Davis. We demand the severe punishment of Jackson's murderers. He has been victimized by the revival of United States fascist forces who were shamefully defeated by the Vietnamese people. The struggle of Black people, workers and students is strengthened with every new crime their Yankee imperialist oppressors perpetrate. Glory to George Jackson, immortal Afro-American fighter.

Executive Secretariat
OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America)

The Americans kill off the Blacks they can't understand or buy off. One must reconsider the sense in which a man "belongs" to a country in which, in the final analysis, he just happens to be born. George Jackson belongs to us. If he belonged to anybody's jurisdiction, it was the same jurisdiction to which the youth of all nations belong and the people of all nations crushed under foot by America. Reagan's police plotted to kill George Jackson and shot him down. Jackson was not afraid of the trial that the San Francisco judges were preparing for him. He did not want to escape. The American police handled this business like the OAS and the paratroopers in Algeria when they take the Arabs out "for a ride". On closer inspection, police methods are the same everywhere, to such an extent that one is tempted to ask whether there isn't a new International ... of police encircling the globe in a network of blue. . .

I returned to this idea: who were George Jackson's countrymen, if not

those of us who read, loved and admired his book and the people, but entire peoples, whole countries of men for whom he wrote, deep in the bowels of Soledad Prison.

The failure of the Vietnam war, the devaluation of the dollar, the worldwide questioning of White America and of its morals - the ghettos can only sneer at all that. From certain signs one realizes that America is afraid; it is the most afraid of the Blacks within its boundaries, whom it suspects are becoming increasingly intelligent. America had Malcolm X killed; it killed Martin Luther King. Last year prison correctional officer Mills shot, for sport, three Black prisoners in the recreation yard of Soledad Prison. The police killed eight Black students in Georgia. They put Bobby Seale in prison and gagged him during the Chicago trial; they condemned Huey P. Newton; Angela Davis is now in their clutches in the San Rafael jail. But the premeditated murder of George Jackson is a sign, and this time a visible sign, that America

is afraid and that her power is inexorably waning. America is getting edgy. California doesn't even have time now to create for herself the suitable attractive image. The death of George Jackson means that the Blacks, Chicanos, radicals are making themselves heard more and more.

Jackson belonged to us, like the Black Panthers and the American revolutionaries.

One must do what he can to continue his actions and derive inspiration from his book. One can expect anything. As I write this, the director of San Quentin is repeating his version of the event: Jackson was armed (but how? and whose help did he have?); he tried to escape, but the warden does not say that Jackson had been in prison for 11 years for being involved in a \$70 theft.

In these 11 years, Jackson learned to write and to think. The American police shot him down.

JEAN GENET

FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

didn't oppose capitalism, they didn't oppose hierarchy when they should have opposed them, in the '30's and '40's. They didn't fight then.

You've heard of Ho Chi Minh's line, I think he wrote it while he was in prison, it goes something like this, in part: "When the prison gates blow open, the real dragon will fly out." You've heard that. Panther was a counter-terror. The first act of terror was committed against us. I understand, I've read all the arguments about violence being immature, and violence being non-scientific; but, of course, I disagree. There is a way of approaching violence, scientifically; and, of course, my position, wherein I accept the existence of a mature fascism in this country, means that in essence I understand that the only way one can, an organization or people can move against fascism is with counter-terror. Counter terror. Panther wasn't a terror. Panther was a counter terror. The first act of terror was created against us. I'd like to suggest that the violence perpetrated against us all - not just the Black community, but the poor, period, people, ordinary man in the street, the ordinary man in society - the violence perpetrated is through the institutions, through the fascist institutions, the corporative institutions that were intended to perpetuate their own existence. The violence that they force on us in the maintaining of these institutions, the maintenance of their power and the prestige of their power. There's one way to combat it - counter violence, counter-terror, when we can, where we can.

On top of all this, we have to consider a couple of very, very important points in allowing these men who mechanate at the center and above society to perpetrate their violence, which is much, much more damaging and much more severe than anything that we've ever done. And really, we've done nothing to deserve the violence; and considering that - we have to consider that also, right - let's consider that in taking steps, namely arms, whatever, to stop their violence. I sincerely believe, I stand on the principle, on the fact that in stopping them, and stopping them now, rather than stopping them over the next 50 to 75 years, will



save more lives, will save more destruction of minds and of property and of innocent people, human potential.

That's just what happened during World War II. Socialist consciousness was building to the point where it had to be distracted, so they offered foreign war, and it appealed to loyal instinct, patriotic instinct, to divert the people from their real interests. Because, of course, it's easy to understand that in protecting the state, we're protecting the right of the people who own and run the state to continue to own and run the state. It comes right down to protecting hierarchy. In the event of violent, people's war, we're building an infrastructure, the separating of the people's world from the government, from the enemy state. If the corporative powers, the fascist powers saw this thing happening, it's very possible that they would start a war with someone else, and try to appeal to our loyalty instincts. But that will no longer work. Socialist consciousness all around the world has grown now to the point whereas ideas like that are no longer, it's no longer possible to foist ideas like that on people. I believe, I sincerely believe that

socialist consciousness around the world has - and in this country, when I say the world I'm including this country too, although they do separate themselves, that includes this country too - I believe the socialist consciousness has grown to the point where we won't go for it a second time. We can see that right now. I think we have something like 30,000 draft resisters right here in San Francisco. Correct? And there's nothing the government can do about it. Nothing whatsoever.

The power of the establishment, the power of the hierarchy depends upon us. They can't do the things that they're doing without some consent from us, some consent. That consent can be extracted with brutality; it can be extracted with propaganda, brands of, agit-prop; it can be extracted through appealing to short-term interests, but I don't think it will work this time. We have powerful forces working on our side that won't let it happen again. But to get back to the question of fighting, of resisting, of finally saying no, and meaning it, and getting out in the street, if necessary, if necessary

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FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

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getting out in the street and turning tanks inside out with our specialized weapons, ones that we can move right in our basements. I say right on. If we have to do that, we'll do it; we'll stop the streets; we'll bust the bridges; we can't uproot all the pigs, we don't want to - we might want to use them later, after the revolution. We will break down the viaducts and bridges. And, we can stop transportation; we can stop everything, every utility that every city in this country depends upon to maintain order. And as we're doing that, we can rebuild the people's world. We can, we will. Che had ideas about the new world, so did Lumumba, so

did Jonathan. Huey's got ideas about the new world. But the pressing problem right now, I believe, is dealing with this one right here. But, in general, what we want, I think, is a world where there won't be any war.

Well, one other thing. My reading of the revolutionary literature of Che, Giap, Huey, Angela - I like to mention them - and Jonathan - they envision a world where it adds up. Our principal concern, their principal concern, our really principal concern right now is with the living and the present. But we do have ideas of the way things should be; and principal among those ideas is that terrorism from any

quarter should be acknowledged; and that as long as we have to have administrators, those administrators should be chosen from the people, should have distinguished themselves in some way for the people. They're not administering people; they're not administering our lives, really; actually what they're doing is, as far as I'm concerned, they should be administering things - they can see the big picture, as an individual, and make the ideal feasible, so it will hang together. I would say that each one of the positions should be dependant upon meritorious conduct of duty, and they'd have to be replacable.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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PETITION

FOR CROSS SECTION OF COMMUNITY ON JURIES AND FOR PROBATION OR APPEAL BAIL BOND FOR BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED COMMUNITY PEOPLE, DO HEREBY PETITION THAT BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, PRESENTLY HELD BY ALAMEDA COUNTY AS A POLITICAL PRISONER, BE GRANTED HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF AN APPEAL BAILBOND OR PROBATION, PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE TO A HIGHER COURT.

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION STATES THAT JURIES SHALL REFLECT A CROSS-SECTION OF A COMMUNITY, OR A PEER GROUP. THERE WERE NO BLACK PEOPLE ON THE JURY IN THE CASE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, ALTHOUGH 38% OF THE OAKLAND COMMUNITY IS BLACK. FIVE BLACK PEOPLE SAT ON THE JURY IN THE RECENTLY DISMISSED CASE OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS, EVEN THOUGH ONLY 9% OF THE NEW HAVEN COMMUNITY IS BLACK. THEREFORE, THE CASE OF DAVID HILLIARD, PARTICULARLY, CLEARLY POINTS OUT THE NEED TO HAVE PROPER REPRESENTATION ON JURIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF AN APPEAL BAILBOND OR PROBATION, PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE TO A HIGHER COURT, AND THAT THE RE-TRIAL JURY REPRESENT A TRUE CROSS-SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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