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BLACK GENOCIDE

JACKSON FAMILY DEMANDS U.N. INVESTIGATION OF GEORGE JACKSON'S DEATH

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tries, convicts, and sentences those caught in the wake of the holocaust that he both advised and encouraged.

2. The motive for Ronald Reagan's participation in said conspiracy was to blunt the rebellion of the persons incarcerated in the penal institutions against the aforementioned processes. George L. Jackson was selected because of his strength and prowess of articulation.

CALIFORNIA JUDICIARY

1. As and for the judiciary of the State of California after the murder was committed, has aided the principals, Department of Corrections, personnel of San Quentin and Ronald Reagan, in said felony, by refusing to grant the discovery motions of the people, with the intent that said principals may avoid arrest, having knowledge that said principals have committed murder.

2. As and for the County of Marin's coroner's office after the murder was

committed, has aided the principals, Department of Corrections, personnel of San Quentin and Ronald Reagan in said felony, by the mutilation of George L. Jackson's body and the refusal to release the coroner's report, with the intent that said principals may avoid arrest, having knowledge that said principals have committed murder. As and for the San Francisco Examiner and Oakland Tribune after the murder was committed, has aided the principals, Department of Corrections, personnel of San Quentin and Ronald Reagan in said felony by the fabrication of vicious and foul lies against the Jackson Family, with the intent that said principals may avoid arrest, having knowledge that said principals have committed murder.

FURTHER ALLEGATIONS

1. Los Angeles Times newspaper for printing entire criminal record of George L. Jackson in two consecutive issues of the newspaper.

2. Prison officials did not notify parents of George L. Jackson of his death, only to give stories to news-

papers and radio stations beforehand so said parents could hear of his death over the media.

3. Prison officials suppression of George L. Jackson's personal effects from the year 1960 to 1971.

4. Prison authorities' allegations that George L. Jackson was in fact trying to escape from the worst of all maximum security facilities that he knew inside out and was fully aware of the securities of said institution.

5. Prison officials for refusing to give any information or allow parents or legal counsel for the Jackson family to obtain information or enter prison complex upon the murder of George L. Jackson.

YOUR MESSAGES OF SUPPORT OR REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION MAY BE SENT TO:

Mrs. Georgia Jackson, Penny Jackson, Edward Bell, ESQ.
P.O. Box 68
Berkeley, California 94701

COMRADE ANGELA DAVIS: EIGHT YEARS SINCE BIRMINGHAM

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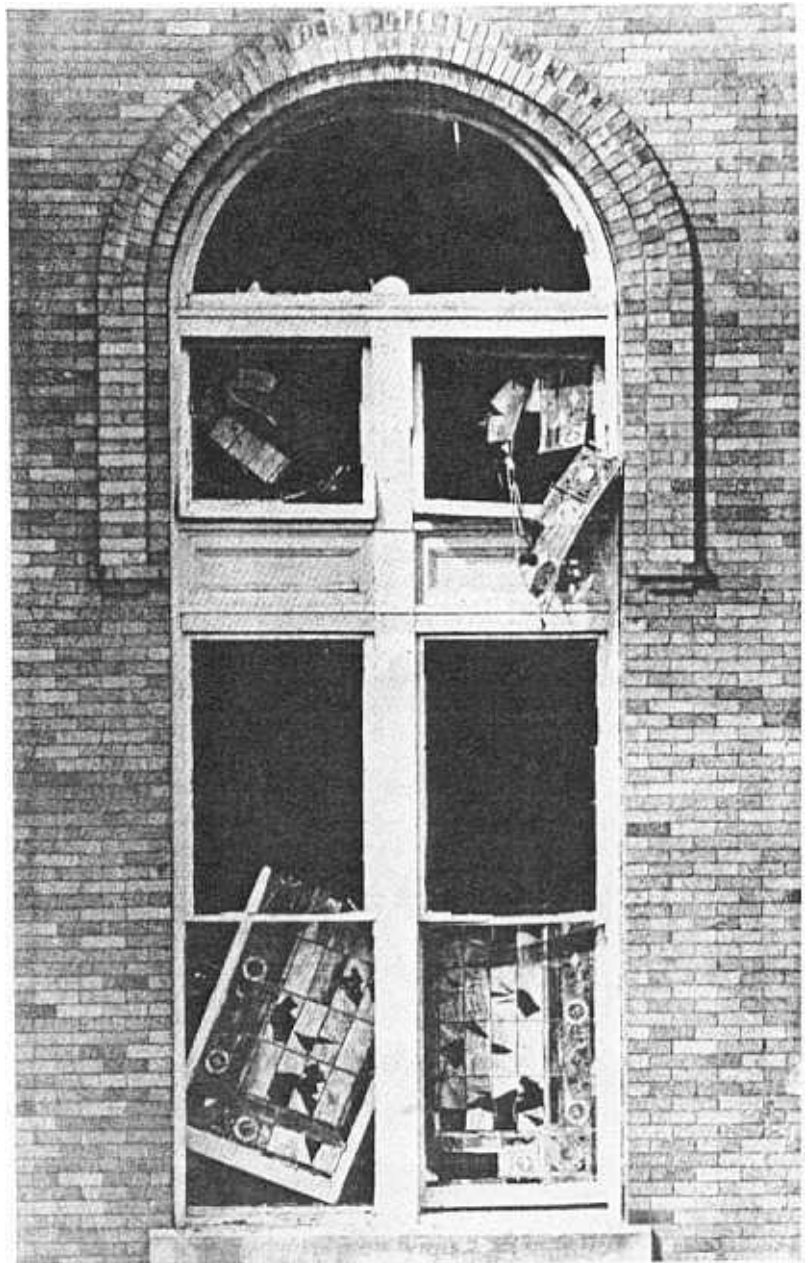
logical, but rather were the normal products of their surroundings. Although their identities are known, they are still at large, for the American system of justice does not consider the murder of Black people a punishable crime.

As Franz Fanon reminded us in his essay, "Racism and Culture", "...it is these racists (i.e. the overt ones, the extreme ones) who, in opposition to the country as a whole are logically consistent. The racist in a culture with racism is therefore normal."

This line of thought may be further elaborated by advancing the thesis that the spectacular, violent events which burst forth out of the daily and sometimes dull routine of racist oppression, capture the 'normal' pattern of racism. Crystallized in these spectacular incidents is the ultimate meaning of racism. They are symbols of what would be the universal destiny of Black people--unmitigated subjugation, economically, politically and culturally--if racism were not met with resistance.

The racists who placed the bomb in the restroom in the basement of 16th Street Baptist Church on the morning of September 15, 1963, did not specifically plan the deaths of Carol, Cynthia, Addie Mae and Denise. Indeed they may not have even consciously taken into account the eventuality of anyone's death. And, in fact, it is in the purely arbitrary character of their act that its significance must be sought. Clearly, the purpose of the bombing was to terrorize Birmingham's Black population. Given this goal, the possibility that people might be killed as a consequence was undoubtedly a non-essential consideration--it did not matter one way or the other. In this light, the murders appear even more horrible than if they had been consciously planned.

Even in its brutal concreteness, the attack on the 16th Street Baptist Church was a symbolic one. It was symbolic in the sense that it was unmistakably intended as a warning to all Blacks who were actively involving themselves in the Civil Rights struggle, but especially to those who, having sympathized with the movement, were on the verge of joining it. The 16th Street Baptist Church -- Birmingham's largest Black church -- was selected



"Her mother smiled to know her child/ was in that sacred place."

as the target because it was frequently used for movement mass meetings.

This leads into yet another level of meaning present in the church bombing, a level which, although unrelated to the intentions of the perpetrators, is nonetheless objectively present in the act itself. The attack on the church must be seen within the framework of the role of religion in the historical

development of the oppression of Black people. It then becomes immediately clear that the attack was objectively a response to the fact that Black people were beginning to transform an institution, which had been originally designed to serve as a weapon of oppression, into a weapon of resistance. The increasing participation of certain

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COMRADE ANGELA DAVIS: EIGHT YEARS SINCE BIRMINGHAM

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sectors of the Black church community in social struggles was a clear demonstration of the historical dialectics of oppression. Still contained within the boundaries of racism, Black people were forging a culture of resistance from raw material whose purpose was to promote oppression by encouraging docility and acquiescence.

The 'master' was experiencing what must have been the horrifying recognition that his own weapons were being turned against him. It must have been painfully reminiscent of the earlier eras of religion-inspired slave uprisings. Under attack himself, he unleashed all his fury; it fell upon four young sisters, growing into maturity, destined perhaps to become revolutionary advocates of the liberation of their people.

In its crude and indifferent brutality, in its arbitrary striking out at Black youth, there could not have been a more perfect expression of the racism of the period and the direction it was about to take. The bombing prefigured, eight years ago, the intensification of repression which was to come, the brunt of which would be borne by fighting Black youth. By Bobby Hutton, Fred Hampton, Jonathan Jackson, and now by



..Baby, where are you?"

George Jackson, whose fighting spirit and revolutionary message can never be destroyed. It was the youth who were then in the process of seizing the reigns of resistance and who would soon begin to reveal in theory and in practice, the new and revolutionary dimensions of the Black thrust towards freedom.

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the church bombing, we must also remember that even then, before the era of mass uprisings in the country's urban centers, our people responded swiftly, aggressively and in large numbers. Blacks spontaneously retaliate en masse by taking to the streets. They burned police cars, stoned them and fought with racists. So great was their rage, that tanks had to be brought out to subdue them. It was because of such actions that years later George (Jackson) could say, "I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undammed."

Our responsibility -- to Carol, Cynthia, Addie Mae and Denise, to L'il Bobby, Jon, and now to George, to our people and to all the oppressed is clear. We must gather up that rage and organize it into an invincible movement which will irresistibly advance towards the goal of liberation. It must smash the capitalist order and its attendant racism and must ultimately begin to build the new society.

BALLAD OF BIRMINGHAM

MOTHER MAY I GO DOWNTOWN,
INSTEAD OF OUT TO PLAY,
AND MARCH THE STREETS OF BIRMINGHAM
IN A FREEDOM MARCH TODAY.

NO, BABY, NO
YOU MAY NOT GO
FOR THE DOGS ARE FIERCE AND WILD
AND GUNS AND HOSES, CLUBS AND JAILS
AREN'T GOOD FOR A LITTLE CHILD.

BUT, MOTHER, I WON'T BE ALONE
OTHER CHILDREN WILL GO WITH ME
AND MARCH THE STREETS OF BIRMINGHAM
TO MAKE OUR PEOPLE FREE.

NO, BABY, NO
YOU MAY NOT GO,
FOR I FEAR THE GUNS WILL FIRE.
BUT YOU MAY GO TO CHURCH INSTEAD
AND SING IN THE CHILDREN'S CHOIR.

SHE'S COMBED AND BRUSHED HER NIGHT-DARK HAIR
AND BATHED ROSE PETAL SWEET
AND DRAWN WHITE GLOVES
ON SOFT BROWN HANDS,
WHITE SHOES ON HER FEET.

HER MOTHER SMILED
TO KNOW HER CHILD
WAS IN THAT SACRED PLACE.

BUT THAT SMILE
WAS THE LAST ONE
TO COME ONTO HER FACE.

FOR WHEN SHE HEARD THE EXPLOSION,
HER EYES GREW WET AND WILD.
SHE RUSHED THROUGH THE STREETS
OF BIRMINGHAM,
YELLING FOR HER CHILD.

SHE DUG IN BITS OF GLASS AND BRICK
AND THEN PULLED OUT A SHOE
OH HERE'S THE SHOE MY BABY WORE
BUT, BABY, WHERE ARE YOU?

BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEAD- QUARTERS MOVING TO ATLANTA

Many of the roots, much of the history of Black People's struggle for liberation in this country are found, of course, in the South. For it is here that we were brought, in chains, to an alien land to build an Empire whose very creation was dependent upon our labor. For almost three hundred of the four hundred years we have been here, we were primarily situated in the South, confined to this particular region of the U.S. out of avarice, by a greedy, profit-oriented oppressor who needed us there as a free labor force. And it was here that some of the oppressor's most vicious savagery and brutality was first experienced by Black people.

Three hundred years later, in the twentieth century, we were to discover that the rights, written into the United States constitution, allegedly for which a war to protect and enforce such rights was fought, were still not ours. In the ensuing struggle in pursuit of these rights, we discovered further that not only were these legal rights being denied, but the right to life itself was denied.

Out of this realization came many things: primarily shock and horror, when the homes and churches of our Southern Black communities were bombed, our people savagely beaten and blatantly murdered for merely attempting to vote, to work at a meaningful job, to get a decent education, to peacefully attain our civil rights; also a recognition of the fact that human rights, much less civil rights, would only be obtained by our defending, by whatever means necessary, our very right to live. Robert Williams, Malcolm X and the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana exemplified this. Watts, Detroit, Newark -- also marked our struggle - the eruption of our anger, of a people whose rights were being trampled upon, a people whose lives were measured only in dollars and cents by the oppressor.

The Black Panther Party evolved from all of these things. When Huey and Bobby organized the Black Panther Party (for Self Defense) in 1966 in Oakland, California, the symbol of the Panther, taken from the Lowndes

County Freedom Organization in Lowndes County, Alabama (an alternative political party to the Democrat - Republican parties, created with the aim of serving the interests of Black People) which had previously used the symbol of the Panther to represent the right of our people to what was ours under the law -- came to represent not only the recognition of the fact of our rights under the law, but our rights, our lawful rights, to defend and protect our lives. As they patrolled the immediate force of our oppression, the police, Huey and Bobby, with law books in their possession, to constantly remind the police and the people alike of what our lawful rights were, also carried guns, weapons to exemplify our right to defend what was written in the books and our very lives.

So it is fitting that the Black Panther Party should return to the South, for it was here that it all began. By re-locating, very soon, our Central Headquarters office in Atlanta, Georgia, we are returning to the "Origins of the crime...where the contradiction started", to the place where our oppression and enslavement in the United States began.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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HANRAHAN'S INDICTMENT FOR BAD LYING

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points of law that: 1) No one may tell a grand jury which witnesses to call; 2) A judge has no authority to delay grand jury indictments; 3) People who fear indictment have no legal standing to bring advance requests for dismissal to a judge; 4) There is no legal requirement that grand jurors be shielded from publicity.

On June 25, 1971, Judge Power was handed a sealed indictment, reportedly charging Hanrahan and others with obstruction of justice. Power managed for a time to keep the indictments sealed, by refusing to open it until the Supreme Court issued a decision on petitions filed by Hanrahan's and the fourteen policemen's lawyers that the grand jury should be dismissed. Judge Power then moved to discredit the grand jury and Sears by appointing Mitchell Ware as a "friend of the court". Mitchell Ware is well known to the Black community, and he, himself, is Black. Ware is the former head of the infamous Illinois Bureau of Investigation, or, as it was called by Black people, the "Little F.B.I.". He resigned from his

were to be special consultant to Judge Power and to investigate allegations that improper pressure was brought to bear on the grand jury in order to get indictments. In analyzing Mitchell Ware, we see that he is not only a friend of the court, but a friend of Mayor Daley and friend of State's Attorney Hanrahan. In an interview not long ago Ware said that he was interested in the special grand jury case because he could easily see himself in the same predicament as Hanrahan, a confession of his criminal collusion with the Chicago power structure in oppressing the Black community.

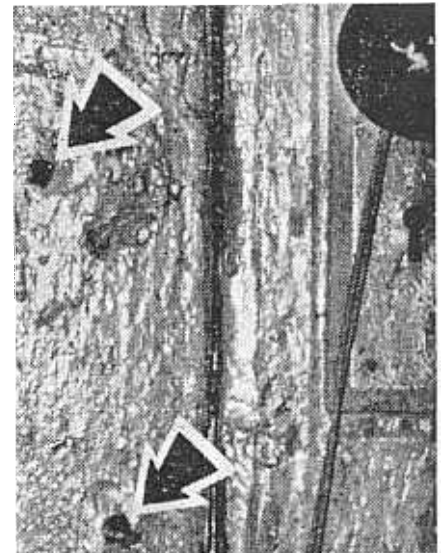
In light of all the obstacles in the way of bringing forth indictments, the prosecution prepared three petitions, that were filed before the Illinois State Supreme Court, which stated: 1) Order Judge Power to immediately make public the suppressed indictment; 2) Revoke Power's order making Ware a friend of the court; 3) Delay indefinitely the hearing set by Power on charges of misconduct on the part of the prosecution. The indictments have, of course, been released, and Ware has been dismissed as a "friend of the court"; however, an investigation is being conducted to discover whether or not Sears used any type of force to get the grand jury members to bring down the indictments.

It was at the end of August of this year that the indictments against Hanrahan and eight of the raiding fascists were handed down. The great mystique around the actual indictment of government officials was swept away. The State had actually done it - charged its own. Hanrahan was essentially charged with having lied badly, euphemistically called "obstructing justice" by the State. That is, the commission of murder was only considered unlawful for Hanrahan because he attempted to conceal the conspiratorial murder with lies, unintelligent, obvious lies that made all the State's officials look bad. Therefore, he had to be punished.

The position of the Black Panther Party on the so-called indictments is as follows:

The indictments that charged "obstruction of justice" are a feeble attempt on the part of the State to redeem itself in the eyes of the People. It cannot be forgotten that the federal government conspired to cover up, hide and protect the actions of the State's Attorney and his raiders with its federal grand jury report. We state that the federal government conspired

to cover up, hide and protect the actions of the State's Attorney and his raiders with its federal grand jury report. We state that the federal government should be charged with "obstruction of justice". We charge that Hanrahan organized in conspiracy with the raiders the assault on the apartment and should be charged with First Degree Murder, Conspiracy to Murder and Attempted Murder of the occupants of the apartment. We think it to be very narrow on the part of some to view the indictments as justice. We further state that it is purely naive to think that this is the value we place upon the lives of Black people.



Nail holes [arrows] The "positive evidence" of why police raided the home of and murdered Fred Hampton.

Mark Clark and Deputy Chairman, Brother Fred Hampton stood with the People in the implementation of the community survival programs. They were serving the people body and soul when they were murdered by Daley's and Hanrahan's fascist forces. We do not consider the indictments justice for Black people, when our community knows for a fact that out-right murder was committed on December 4th (1969). We will not forget that the same vicious and atrocious officials are still loose in our community, and that over 40 Black people have been murdered by Chicago police since January 1970.

We call for a special, independent body from the Black community to investigate the State's Attorney's office and those 40 murders, which were also concluded to be justifiable homicide, the same as the murders of Fred and Mark.

Judge Power and Mayor Daley should not go untouched by investigation for criminal interference with the grand jury.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Illinois State Chapter
Black Panther Party



MITCHELL WARE
*A friend of Hanrahan
and Mayor Daley*

\$29,500, a year position in order to accept his new post as "friend of the court". In Ware's old position, it was his responsibility to carry out raids in the Black community, presumably in search of drugs. These attacks upon the community rivaled the bestiality of the raid that killed Fred and Mark. Ware is also a political careerist, an irrefutable fact when we consider that he often invited the press to come along on his fascist excursions into the Black community. In his new capacity as "friend of the court", Ware's duties

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

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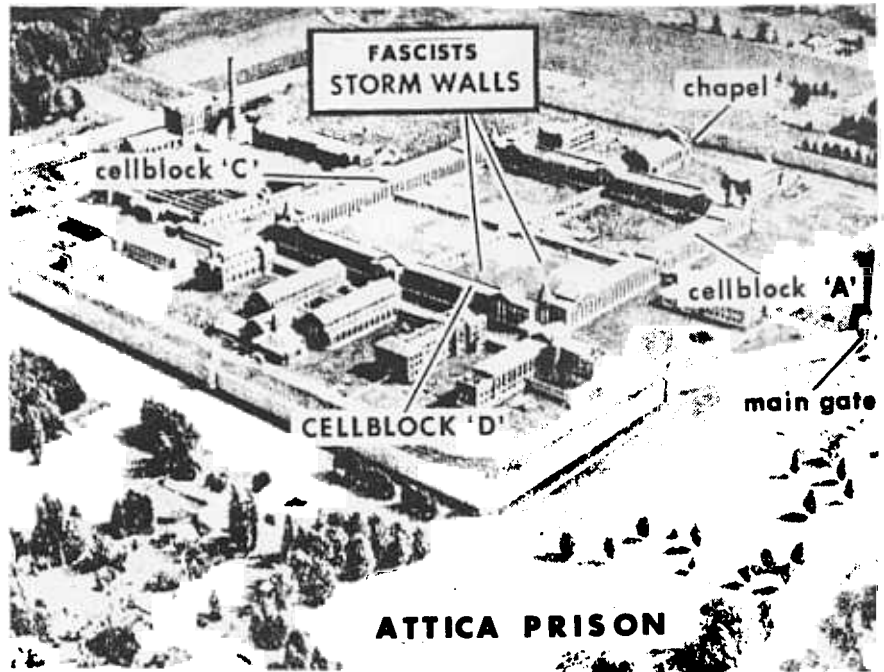
as a key negotiator, the Central Committee of our Party issued the following statement: "The Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party was contacted September 10, 1971, by the office of New York State Assemblyman, Arthur Eve, which delivered a message from 1,280 of our Brothers who are political 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 fact, be a key negotiator in behalf of our incarcerated Brothers and their 27 demands for better prison conditions.

"The said prison guards, called hostages, have actually, in reality been placed under arrest by the 1,280 prisoners, who are rightfully redressing their grievances concerning the harassing, brutal and inhuman treatment to which they are constantly subjected.

"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 Attica prison 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.

"Some 35 prison guards are under arrest; and the state wants those arrested guards to be bailed out, on the promise of the courts and prison commissioner that there will be no reprisals if the arrested guards are released.

"The U.S. District court order, however, that there will be no reprisals, is 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 means, in fact, nothing else other than out-right reprisals against our incarcerated Brothers. The state, the commissioner (Russell G. Oswald), the courts and prosecutors are acting in extreme bad faith by not going forth and obtaining an official New York



"PRISON - WHERE IS THY VICTORY?"

State and court-ordered amnesty; Amnesty that there will be no reprisals whatsoever, in the form of criminal charges or otherwise. This is the first thing that must be done to start negotiations of the prisoners' 27 demands. This is the only ball the arrested guards can have, from the analysis of the Black Panther Party.

"The Attica 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 emphasized repeatedly. Essentially, the brothers wanted freedom, not only for themselves, but really all political prisoners; particularly they cried the demand to free David Hilliard - Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party - free Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the remaining Soledad Brothers. They no longer wished to be animalistically confined; they wanted freedom - immediately. In exchange for their freedom, 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, completely contradictory to Russell Oswald's (State Prison Correctional

Commissioner) lies about the beastly actions of the brothers in regard to treatment of the guards, was human and kind. The guards themselves stated this - then, as now, after the fact, when no present "threat" exists. 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."

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CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE - After a brief first visit, he was never allowed in again.

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

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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 Lai 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."

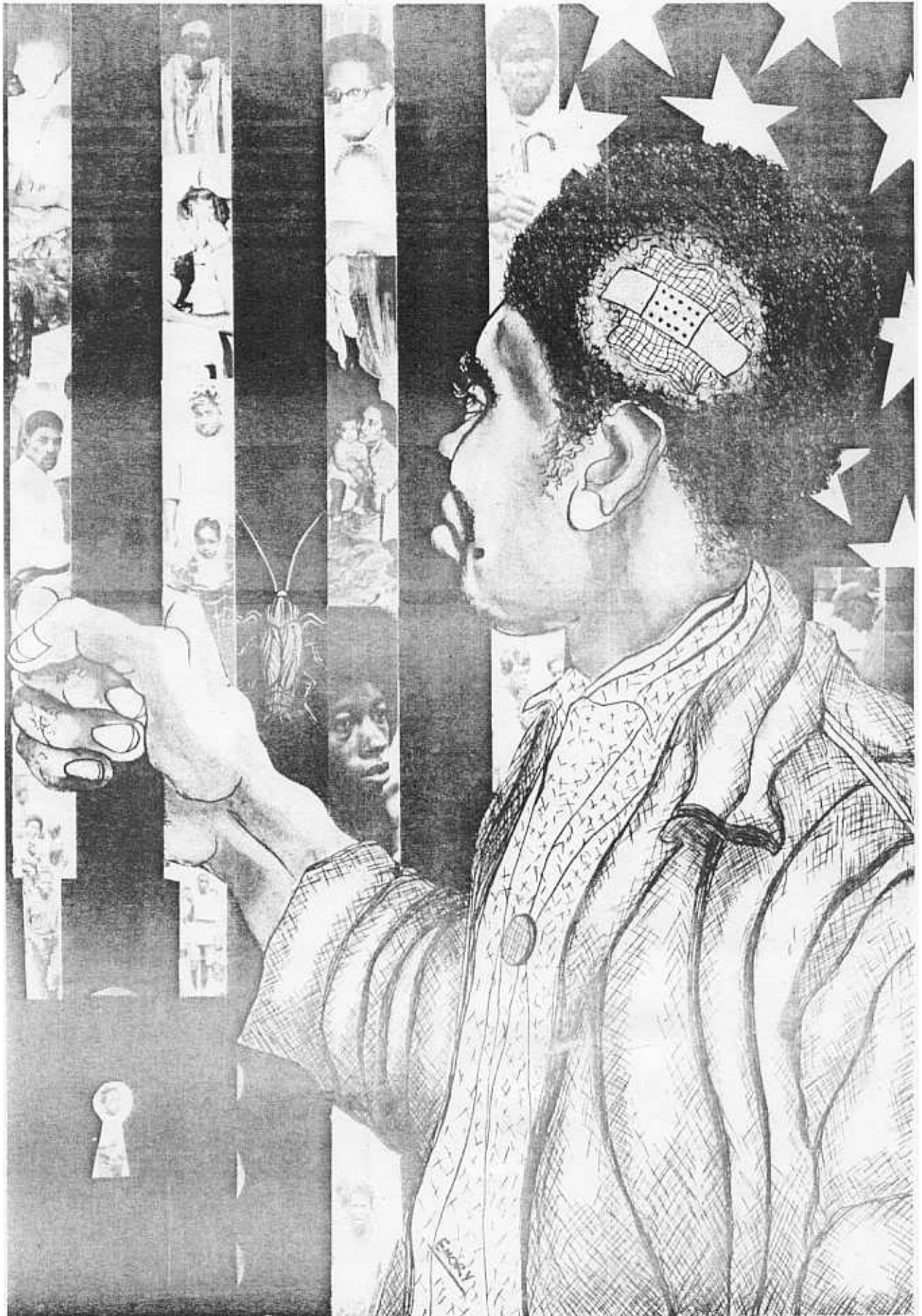
And, while human beings were joining together in response to the human cries of the inmates, Nixon was consulting with Rockefeller, with Oswald,

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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This drawing reprinted from the BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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