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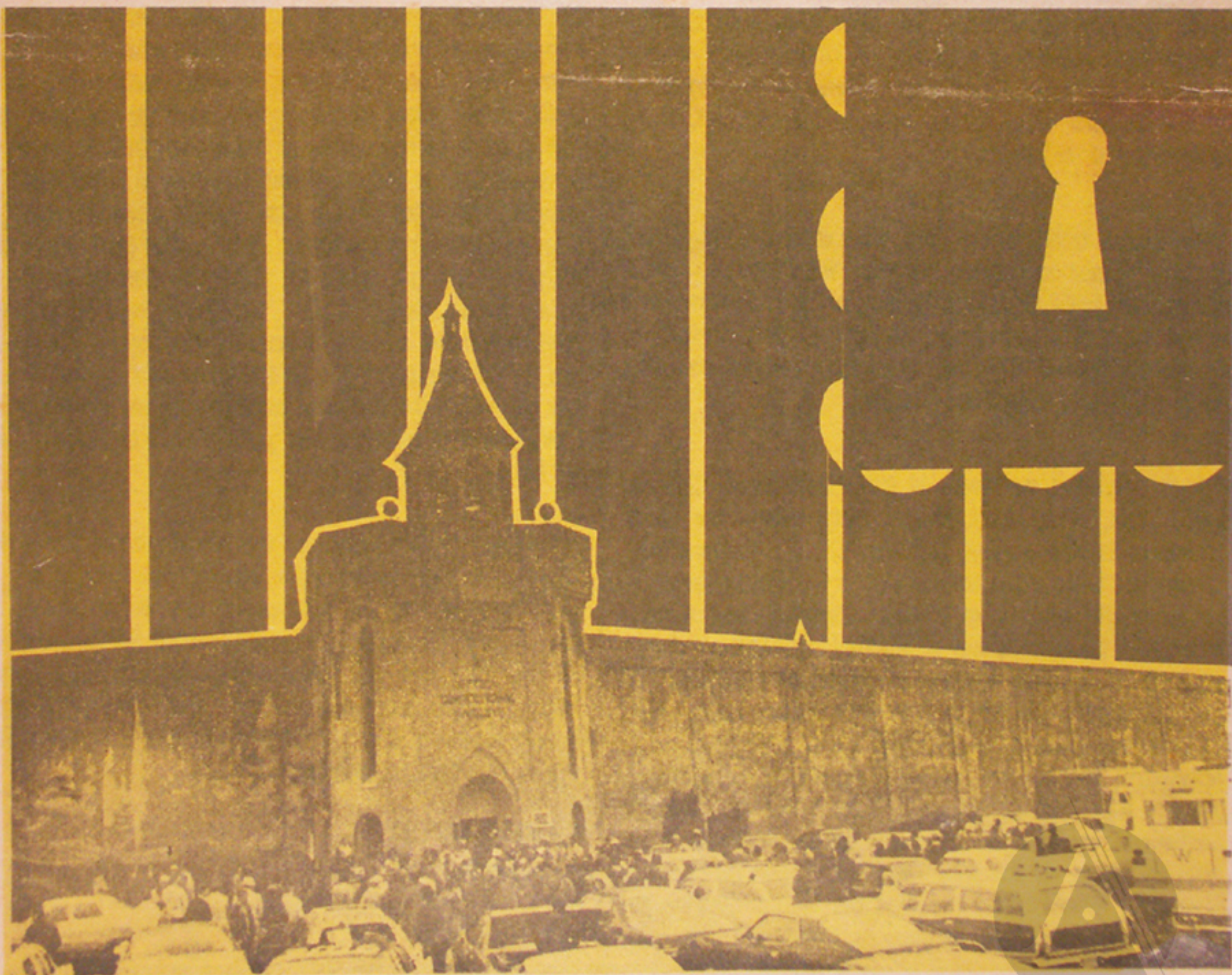
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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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MASSACRE AT ATTICA



INDICT NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND RICHARD NIXON FOR FIRST DEGREE MURDER AT ATTICA STATE PRISON

The outright murder of more than 50 inmates and guards at Attica State Prison on Monday, September 13, 1971, was conspired particularly and specifically by New York State Governor Nelson Rockefeller and U.S. President Richard M. Nixon. There is clear evidence of this fact in that the State's own correctional officers (guards, in the hands of the inmates) and the inmates themselves were shot to death with weapons belonging to nearly 1,700 National guards and State Police, sent in to do the killings. The vicious attack was ordered by and openly congratulated and supported by Nelson Rockefeller and Richard M. Nixon. The dead guards and dead inmates were filled with holes from 12 gauge shotgun blasts and varying machine guns, rifle and pistol wounds -- all the dead bodies having been mutilated by as many as 12 bullet or buckshot holes. Not one such type weapon was in the hands of any of the inmates.

The inhuman tactics of the attack were organized and carried out by a trained militia-man, formerly with the U.S. Army's counter-intelligence division in Washington, D.C., Captain Henry F. Williams of N.Y. State Police. Rockefeller, Nixon, Oswald, et al, willfully ignored all further negotiative guidance and conspired and ordered the murderous attack.


At the request of the inmates at Attica State Prison, Chairman Bobby Seale, of the Black Panther Party, entered the prison grounds on Saturday evening, September 11, 1971. Chairman Bobby explained to the prison brothers that he would leave the prison and return after consultation with other Central Committee members as to the exact nature of practical, political negotiating guidance that the Black Panther Party could and would lend, and that this required returning to the Party's Oakland Headquarters. The prisoners stated to Bobby that no guard would be killed or released, at least until his return with some practical negotiating guidance which the inmates could decide upon. That following Sunday morning, Chairman Bobby was denied permission to re-enter the prison. At this point Russell G. Oswald (State Prison Corrections Commissioner) demanded that the Chairman beg the brothers compromise their position, as Oswald felt that Bobby

would influence the prisoners greatly. When Chairman Bobby clearly stated that only the prisoners could make their own decisions and that he would not compromise their stance nor their lives, he was then not allowed re-entry into the prison yard to again reassure the prisoners of his return.

Between 6 and 6:30 p.m. Sunday, September 12, 1971, Chairman Bobby, then in Oakland, called Commissioner Oswald to explain that the prisoners had stated that "no guard would be killed or released", until he returned with further negotiative guidance for the prisoners. Returning to Buffalo, New York early Monday morning (at approximately 9:00 a.m.) to try again to get into the prison, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, heard of the vicious attack upon the prison, over the car radio news station, while on his way to the prison. Oswald had carried out his instructions as follows: Oswald delivered an ultimatum to the prisoners early that Monday morning. The prisoners asked for time, time to receive negotiating guidance from the Black Panther Party. With the full knowledge that Bobby was coming to the prison, Oswald slyly "granted" only twenty minutes, at which point he lied and said that helicopters hovering over the prison saw the brothers inside slit the throats of eight guards. Oswald then carried out the conspiring murderous instructions, on orders from Rockefeller and Nixon, and gave the word to attack, assault and kill.

The Black Panther Party, one with the peoples of the World's Communities, calls for the people, and particularly in the U.S., to come forth and bring an indictment of First Degree Murder and Conspiracy to Commit Murder against Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and also against the U.S. President, Richard M. Nixon, for the same, of First Degree Murder and Conspiracy to Commit Murder of over 50 prisoners and guards at Attica State Prison, New York, on September 13, 1971.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Black Panther Party - 
One with the Peoples of the World.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald wanted a peaceful solution.



"We are MEN. We are not beasts."

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

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 50 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.

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.

"We are MEN. We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. We will not compromise on any terms, except those terms that are agreeable to us.

"We want complete amnesty - freedom 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 judiciary, namely Constance B. Motley, to guarantee that there will be no reprisals. And we want all facets of the media to articulate this."

During that first day, the brothers inside had taken complete control of the prison; but as armed police re-inforcements moved in, they were pushed back to be primarily concentrated in one cell Block - D. Later on in the day, a counter-attack was launched by the heroic inmates, who had only their hands and clubs; but this move was soon quelled by the submachine guns, rifles with telescopic sights and tear gas grenade launchers of police.

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

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COMRADE ANGELA DAVIS: EIGHT YEARS SINCE BIRMINGHAM



COMRADE ANGELA DAVIS

The following succinctly moving statement is not only the analysis of one of our comrades, who has sat there in a jail cell now for nearly a year for having said and delivered so much toward our struggle for liberation, of the bombing in Birmingham that shook us all eight years ago, but is an account of one whose girlhood years were spent in the terror that was Birmingham, Alabama. Angela Davis was born and raised in Birmingham, a particular which can possibly be reflected upon as an integral part of the events that honed the revolutionary.

The beauty of her statement not only enforces our painful memory of the four little girls who'd knelt to pray and our subsequent commitments, but reveals a side of Angela Davis with which many are not familiar.

It's been a very long eight years since Birmingham:

Birmingham, Alabama--local Black residents used to refer to the city as 'Bombingham', a far more suitable name for a place where bombs sometimes exploded as frequently as ropes

were swung over trees during earlier eras. Long before September 15, 1963, when the beautiful, blossoming bodies of four young sisters were blown to pieces as they attended Sunday School, the bomb had become a well-tested and officially sanctioned weapon of white racism.

Among the most vivid of my earliest childhood memories are the deafening sounds of dynamite exploding--ripping apart, for instance, the house across the street which had been purchased by Blacks. Because they would not be dissuaded by the whites' insistence that the zone beginning with that particular row of houses was off limits to us, they were promptly repaid for their aggressiveness. Throughout that period, to be Black and to actively attempt to tear down the false idols of white supremacy meant that one's name was assuredly on the list of potential victims of racist bombings.

The blocks of houses on the other side of the street where my family lived ('Center Street'--the dividing line), was repeatedly assailed by dynamite. Explosions followed in the wake of each purchase of one of the houses by a Black person. A Black church--First Congregational Church--which had been destroyed by fire at its former location was rebuilt on the 'wrong' side of Center Street. It, too, was partially destroyed by dynamite. Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, leader of Alabama's most active civil rights organization, survived numerous attacks on his house. Atty. Arthur Shores, a passionate advocate of the rights of his people, saw his house dynamited several times.

Bombings occurred with such regularity in the neighborhood where I grew up that it came to be known as 'Dynamite Hill'. Cynthia Wesley, who lived only a few houses away, was well aware of what it meant to grow up in an atmosphere steeped in the terror of racism. She and Carol Robertson were among my sister's closest companions. On that fated morning eight years ago, when their lives and the lives of Addie Mae Collins and Denise McNair were so abruptly



"But you may go to church instead/ and sing in the children's choir."

and ruthlessly brought to an end, my reaction was deeply personal. Yet, I could not avoid being struck by the objective realities incorporated in that act of murder.

This act was not an aberration. It was not a fortuitous occurrence sparked by a few extremists gone mad. It was, on the contrary, logical and inevitable. Its matrix was an openly racist world, no aspect of which had to be camouflaged. The racist was ex-



"Guns and hoses, clubs and jails/ aren't good for a little child."

plicitly allowed, if not encouraged, to express himself and what he felt to be the exigencies of his environment by having recourse to all available means, including the most extreme. The individuals who planted the bomb that extinguished the lives of our four sisters were not therefore patho-

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"My men had to 'protect' themselves..."

HANRAHAN'S INDICTMENT FOR BAD LYING

At 4:45 a.m., on December 4th, 1969, nine members of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party were inside the apartment of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton on Chicago's Monroe Street. A few moments later, Fred Hampton was assassinated, as he slept in bed, and another comrade, Brother Mark Clark, was fatally shot through his heart. Both were victims of a police raid that had been planned by State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan. He had assigned fourteen of his special police to carry out the attack. Hanrahan would later tell the news media that the pigs who murdered Fred and Mark had a search warrant authorizing them to look for illegal weapons believed to be stored in Fred's apartment, and that when they knocked on the door of the apartment and announced their office, they were met with a volley of gunfire from within. The physical evidence refutes the statements made by Hanrahan and his gang of criminals. Those who examined the apartment afterwards state that only one shot could have possibly been fired by the occupants inside the apartment; yet, the police raiders say that they were engaged in a fierce life and death "shoot-out" with the Panthers for over fifteen minutes. The people knew then, as well as now, that there was no shoot-out on the morning of December 4th, but there most definitely had been a "shoot-in". We know that Fred and Mark never had a chance to defend themselves. One of the more concise accounts of what actually occurred revealed evidence that showed the Panthers in the apartment might have fired only one shot, but the police fired between 82 and 99 shots from their machine guns, carbines and .357 magnums.

The assassinations of Fred and Mark were reminiscent of the Hitler SS executions, befitting the vicious nature of Amerikan Fascists. The news of the murders shocked the Black community and progressive people around the world, shattering what little faith they previously may have had in the Amerikan system. Yes, many were shocked, but not surprised that such a thing could happen in the land of

"democracy"; for we had seen before what fate lies ahead for our vocal Black leaders who struggle in the interest of the people. We felt the pain of the assassin's bullet when Malcolm fell; we cried out in anguish as we



Deputy Chairman, FRED HAMPTON /
Comrade MARK CLARK

watched life ebb away from the body of Dr. Martin Luther King; and although Fred's and Mark's murders shocked and hurt us, we were not surprised, for we have come to expect no better treatment from those who would keep us slaves. As a matter of fact, if we are to be surprised at all, it would be because seven of the brothers and sisters in the apartment at the time of the raid survived the pigs' attack.

The contradictions in the testimony of the pigs who participated in the raid were so numerous, and the anger of the people so evident, that an investigation was called for, in order to still the Black community's demand for justice and to whitewash the raid. On December 11, 1969, Police Superintendent Conclisk decided to "clear up" the raid and ordered Capt. Harry Er-

vanian, Director of the Police Internal Inspections Division, to "thoroughly investigate" the actions of the fourteen policemen involved in the raid. Just nine days later, the Internal Inspections Division concluded its investigation, saying that the policemen had acted properly.

On that same day, December 11th, racist State's Attorney Hanrahan gave the equally-racist newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, what he termed to be exclusive stories and pictures that were supposed to support and confirm the police version of the raid. One of the pictures that Hanrahan gave the Tribune allegedly portrayed a door through which Panthers were supposed to have fired at police. When the door was examined after the Tribune display, the "bullet holes" depicted were found to be nothing more than nail holes - vivid testimony to the complete corruptibility of the lying Hanrahan.

By December 26th, there were seven separate investigations of the raid going on: One investigation involved a federal grand jury, headed by Jerris Leonard, Chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. Leonard proved to be more concerned with making political deals than seeing justice rendered to the people, for he immediately began to openly conspire with Hanrahan. Hanrahan generously agreed to drop charges of attempted murder against the seven surviving Panthers, if Leonard would promise not to indict any of the State's Attorney's policemen. The bargain was made and kept. Leonard did not have any great love for the seven survivors of the raid, but he knew that the Black community would not tolerate seeing them brought to trial on frame-up charges of attempted murder, and any attempt to prosecute the survivors on that false charge would have only exposed more greatly the lies of Hanrahan and his police.

After this federal grand jury ended its investigation, it compiled a so-

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Edward Hanrahan: "My men had to protect themselves..."

HANRAHAN'S INDICTMENT FOR BAD LYING

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called report, criticizing the police for not conducting a "professional" raid, and also criticizing the seven Panthers who survived for refusing to testify. The survivors had wanted no part in that racist judicial white-wash; and furthermore, they had already given testimony to the Black Community as to what had occurred on December 4th, at a People's Inquest, testimony that the federal grand jury already knew about and could have used had they wished to. In spite of all the damaging evidence against the police, the federal grand jury came up with no indictments.

On May 28th, 1970, an angry Chicago Black community, along with various community social and religious organizations, filed a petition in criminal court, asking for a special grand jury to be convened. On June 26th, Chief Criminal Court Judge Joseph Power agreed to allow a new jury to convene. Judge Power then appointed veteran lawyer Barnabas Sears to the position of special prosecutor in the new trial.

Barnabas Sears and his staff took over three months to complete their initial study of all the previous investigations of the raid; and, on December 8th, 1970, this 23-member special grand jury was sworn in. On April 22, 1971, reports began to circulate that this new grand jury was planning to



BARNABAS SEARS JUDGE POWER
Neither one will admit Hanrahan's a Murderer.



indict Hanrahan and other high-ranking officials on charges of obstructing justice. When this news got back to Judge Power, he began to show his true colors. Judge Power could not allow any indictments to be brought against his political cohorts. He is a friend of fascist Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, with whom he once was a partner in a law firm. Those in high places, if angered, have the ability to smash Power's career as Chief Criminal Judge; and Power knew this very well.

Special prosecutor Sears suddenly found his staff being harassed by the court, while Judge Power began making unreasonable demands of Sears, such as ordering him to call all the witnesses that had testified before the

federal grand jury when it was handling investigation of the December 4th raid. Sears told Power that he and the special grand jury had accumulated a sufficient amount of evidence to vote for indictments, and that to subpoena all the witnesses who testified earlier was an unnecessary waste of time; and, that he, in fact, refused to comply with the order that he do so. Sears was then cited for contempt of court and fined \$50. an hour until he would consent to call all the witnesses. Power also demanded that Sears allow him (Power) to read the transcript of the secret (under the law) jury proceedings. Sears refused to comply with that order also, and took his case to the Illinois Supreme Court, which vacated Sears' contempt charge, but did allow Power to read the transcripts.

A few days later, another strange development took place in Power's courtroom. Lawyers for the fourteen police who raided Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton's apartment began to appear along with lawyers for State's Attorney Hanrahan, arguing to Power that publicity about the case might have biased the grand jury and that Sears might have "exhorted" the jury to vote indictments. Judge Power naturally agreed to consider the request of these lawyers that the jury should be dismissed, rejecting all the arguments of Sears against it. Sears had argued the

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INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

WORLD'S PEOPLE DECLARE SUPPORT OF OUR STRUGGLE

APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF OSPAAAL (ORGANIZATION OF SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA) ON THE OCCASION OF THE WORLD DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE

can not only be shaken to its very foundations, but that it can also be destroyed by taking up arms, by dealing repeated blows to the enemy and also by harassing him constantly and everywhere until victory is achieved.

As for imperialism, it unleashed

Afro-Americans is enhanced by new perspectives, and faces the repressive apparatus of US imperialism and racism with redoubled energy.

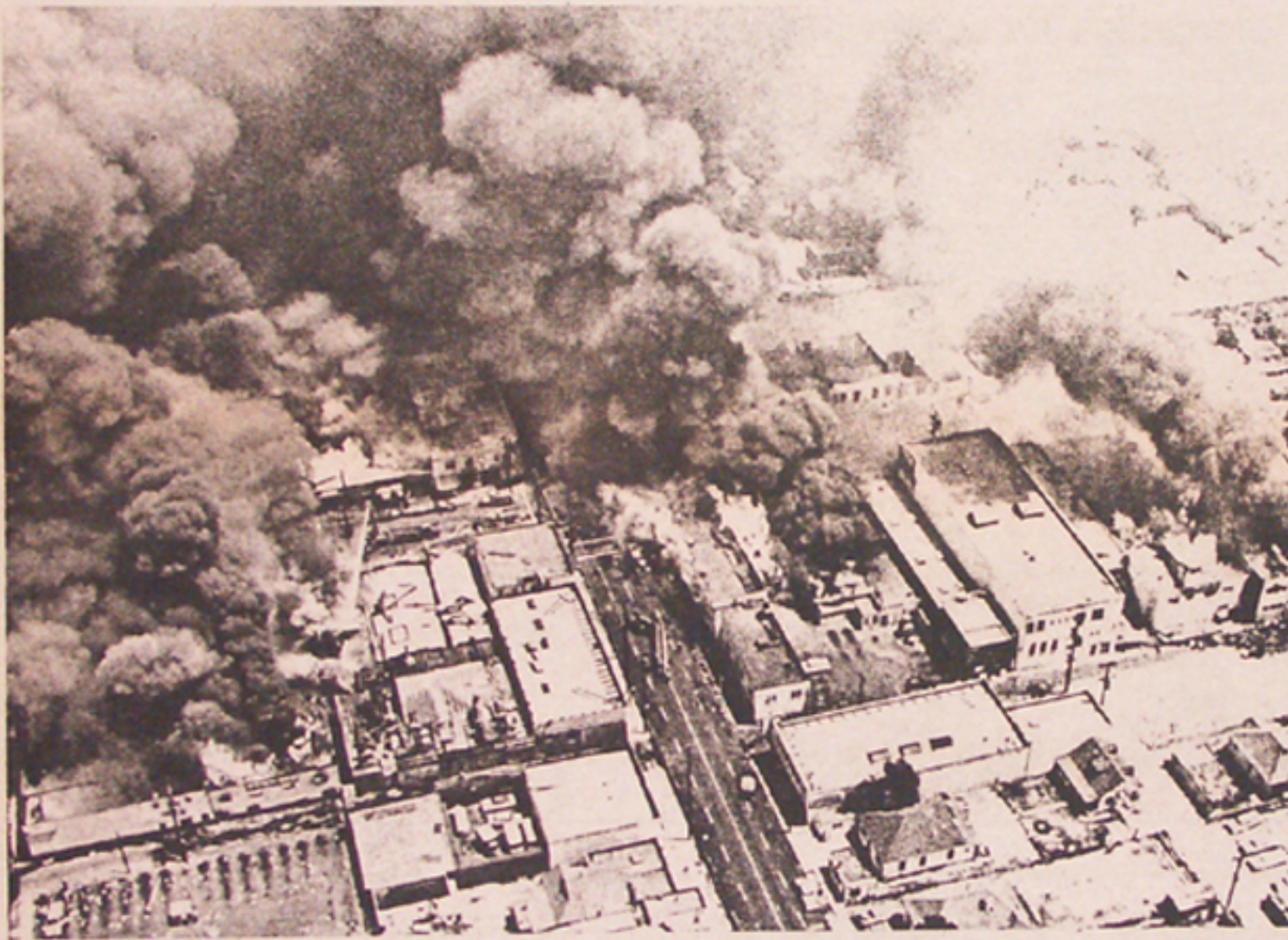
Today, six years after the Watts events, what was only a spontaneous explosion of rebellion before injustices has become a genuine political awareness of the fundamental problems affecting the life of the North American black population and of all the people in the United States. This political awareness increases day after day together with the movement of repudiation and condemnation of the Viet Nam war, the student revolt, the Chicano struggle for their rights, the struggle of the Indians and the Puerto Ricans and the increasingly active protests of wide sectors of the population which condemn Nixon's fascist policies.

On the commemoration of the sixth anniversary of the Watts events the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL expresses its full support to the struggle of the Afro-American people and declares next August 18, the World Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Afro-American People, calling on the member organizations and all revolutionary organizations in the world to denounce the repressive policy of the US government against black organizations.

At the same time, it urges to undertake the organization and development of a broad international campaign of solidarity with the Afro-American people; demanding the freedom of Angela Davis and the rest of the activists; and expressing the support to the Afro-American revolutionary struggle through effective actions and messages of solidarity.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF
OSPAAAL
Havana, August 13, 1971

"THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID:
ENOUGH! AND HAS STARTED TO
MOVE FORWARD"



WATTS, 1965 "...resounded throughout the whole 'Union'."

(August 18)

Six years ago, on August 18, 1965, the Afro-American population in the ghetto in Watts (California) staged a popular uprising of extraordinary dimensions without precedent in the political life of the United States. That explosion of violence resounded throughout the whole "Union", awakening the black population from one extreme to the other of the country and, at the same time, shook the power structure which reacted with terror to the magnitude of the revolt.

Since then, the readiness for combat and the tremendous capacity for struggle of the Afro-American masses are acknowledged everywhere; they understood that the power structure

the most ferocious of repressions against the black ghettos and communities, using the police, the National Guard and even federal troops, accompanying this repression with the distribution of some crumbs and dollars for the "welfare" of the black communities, aiming at pacifying the decided struggle of the oppressed black masses. Furthermore, they used more brutal ways of repression by murdering outstanding leaders such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and many others who offered up their lives as a contribution to the cause of the Afro-American people. At the same time, they have imprisoned numerous black leaders, as in the case of the fighter Angela Davis, who is at present being tried under rigged proceedings. At the present moment, the struggle of the

CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.



WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94706.

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

Because I have experienced the lawlessness of the United States for the past 48 years and in particular the last two years of my existence within which the State of California and the United States has murdered my only two sons, I will petition the United Nations to investigate and protect the human rights of my son George L. Jackson and those persons whose bodies remain incarcerated in the barbarous penal institutions of the State of California.

1. We ask the peoples of the nation and the world to support said petition and assist us in the circulation and gathering of signatures.

2. It should be understood that my son was not the mad dog killer that he has been portrayed to be. His love was for all people, except those who sought to oppress others. Against this group he leveled the constancy of his intellect, the might of his articulation, the power and passion of his manhood. To the former group he dedicated his writings, gave all of the funds from his published and unpublished works and his boundless warmth and love.

Now that they have murdered the body of George L. Jackson, which they are attempting to conceal with the Hitlerian technique of the big lie, they will attempt to eliminate the rest of the family through phony indictments and charges. We expect charges to be brought against us, but we have no fear; George L. Jackson's spirit did not expire on August 21, 1971.

PRESS STATEMENT

We the people of the communities of the world charge the California Department of Corrections, Chief executive of the State of California,



*Mrs. Georgia Jackson and Penny Jackson -
Mother and Sister of George*

Ronald Reagan, personnel of San Quentin Penitentiary, and the Judiciary of the State of California did with malice aforethought perpetrate the cowardly murder of one George L. Jackson, willfully, deliberately, and with premeditation on Saturday, August 21, 1971 at the California State Prison at San Quentin.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

1. As and for the defendants, Departments of Corrections and the personnel of San Quentin's role in the a-

bove mentioned conspiracy is the tactical use of sophisticated and not too well concealed group racism, terrorism and fascism for the dehumanization of persons incarcerated in the penal institutions of the State of California. These tactics which are daily perpetrated are amply demonstrated by the sequence of events which commenced on January 13, 1971, whereon three inmates were brutally slain by the guards of Soledad. Reprisal was taken and scapegoats were needed--George L. Jackson, John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo were groundlessly charged with having taken said reprisals.

2. As and for a second count against the Department of Corrections and the personnel of San Quentin, their role in the above mentioned conspiracy is the practice of hiring guards who are known fascists with militaristic and sadistic tendencies and thereafter training whatever humanity they have out of them.

3. As and for the motive of the Department of Corrections and the personnel of San Quentin to participate in this conspiracy; their use of the above mentioned group tactics and hiring practices concomitant with the mental torture, spiritual suffocation, threat of withholding parole, bodily injury, and death perpetrated against the individual are methods of "rehabilitation" and control which have failed to deprive George L. Jackson of his dignity and humanity. He refused to ever allow himself to be forced by these conditions into a response that was not commensurate with intelligence and his final objective. His strength has begun to spread across all boundaries within and without the penal institutions of America. His murder was a necessity for the continued perpetration of the above mentioned barbaric acts of brutality against the persons confined in the penal institutions of the State of California.

RONALD REAGAN

1. As and for Ronald Reagan, his acts in this conspiracy to murder George L. Jackson were both ones of commission and omission. He has created and perpetrated a state-wide atmosphere of hostility toward the have-nots. His every political move has been to deprive the poor of their living space. His political ineptitude is in fact a guarded mastery of thievery and debauchery of anything that could be decent in this corrupt society for the poor. He is fully aware of what transpires in the penal institutions of this state and he not only condones it by his failure to act but also by his overt approval of murder. He thereafter indicts, preliminarily examines,

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COMRADE GEORGE JACKSON: ON MEMBERSHIP IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The following letter was sent to us on June 21, 1971, from our then incarcerated Comrade, George Jackson. Because of confusion created particularly by the present government's propaganda media surrounding Comrade George's membership in the Black Panther Party, and, because the message the letter contains is so clearly important as a guide to our struggle, we feel it appropriate to now print the letter here:

Mass movements that are egalitarian and aimed at the future establishment of revolutionary mass society must at all substructural levels be guided by an

aggressive and disciplined vanguard political party. Without this leadership, positive actions and unitarian conduct of the people's affairs is not possible. One simply cannot act without a head. For the vanguard party, it is always the interests of the people and their forward movement that is of primary concern. Without the vanguard party, though, all are in fact equal. The Party itself cannot act with purpose without the truest expression of Democratic Centralism: the Party cadre, freely elected or otherwise distinguished in the service of the Party and the people, must reach for majority decisions that once arrived at must be resolutely

carried out by all, even those who may have in the process of decision-making opposed the measure.

Nothing can be accomplished without such disciplined and principled conduct. We have to contend with not only the enemy forces that would restrict our movement, but also primal impulses within each of us, little understood and at most occasions just barely under control.

Disciplinarian conduct is the conscious effort to suppress the egotism, self-indulgence, introversion that we absorbed while still in the helpless non-conscious state. It is actively combating the self-centerment, the pig in every man that polices his behavior to conform with the repressive attitudes of the predatory hierarchical society that we must destroy.

The Prison Movement - not to be confused with the opposite prison "Reform" Movement - but the Prison Movement, aimed at the protection and liberation of political prisoners and the convict class in general, and also politically motivated to prove to Amerikan Fascism-Corporativism that the concentration camp technique will not restrain our movement, was, from the outset, fashioned and forwarded by the Black Panther Party. The several characteristics of the movement were conceived by the Supreme Servant, Huey Newton; the Chairman, Bobby Seale; and Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. These included the bussing programs, designed to combat some of the isolationist aspects built into prison camp life, relatives, friends and legal aids are transported to the various prisons free of charge; in special cases attorneys were and are being employed to help prisoners with problems that can still be addressed in legal forms of struggle. Revolutionary art and literature are being provided prisoners to further develop their potential contribution to the eager movement upon release. Then, of course, some of the necessities that can be purchased with money are being funneled into the prisons and prisoners. Mass attention is being focused upon the rationale of the concentration camp technique.

When we three Soledad prisoners, Fleeta, John and myself, were singled out for persecution in the death of a pig in the wing that we were housed in January of 1970, it was the Black Panther Party that provided the first \$10,000. that went toward our legal defense; the Black Panther Party that did most of the heavy political work and organizing around the case; the Black Panther Party that buried our dead after the trial of combat in Marin - August 7th. They gathered up the bodies, cleaned them, explained them and never thought to deny or condemn their people's intense longing to be free. But in the true Marxist-Leninist

GEORGE L. JACKSON

PETITION

George L. Jackson's body was killed on August 21, 1971 by the Prison guards at San Quentin Penitentiary.

BE IT RESOLVED, that George L. Jackson was at one with those people of the world who became stronger in the face of the oppressor.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the explanations of the State of California for the death of George L. Jackson are an insult to the intelligence of all mankind.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the State of California nor the United States of America will conduct an unbiased investigation of the killing of George L. Jackson's body.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the United Nations Charter provides for international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights, and that the United Nations shall promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the right to live is a fundamental human right.

HENCE, I HEREBY DEMAND THAT THE UNITED NATIONS TAKE JURISDICTION OF THE CASE OF GEORGE L. JACKSON AND INVESTIGATE HIS DEATH.

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Please return this Petition to Mrs. Georgia Jackson, Penny Jackson and Edward Bell, Esq. P.O. BOX 68
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94701

interpretation of people's guerilla warfare supported it on the principle that people fight "...in certain periods of acute economic and political crises...", and because we know that "...it is not guerilla actions which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control." (V.I. Lenin) I have been a member of the Black Panther Party since the Supreme Servant appointed me, when he himself was still in prison. I hold my membership and obligation to serve the people with all

the sincerity of which I am capable. To date, instead of placing our total defense, legal and political, in the hands of the Party, we have allowed various elements of the non-partisan Black and radical white communities to conduct aspects of our defense on the theory that involvement on such a basis would promote wider mobilization into the movement in general from our substructural level; that is, exposure in this particular area of anti-establishment would serve to move them into actions later on at higher levels. Insoluble contradictions have resulted...

We condemn no one. We thank all those sweet, earnest people who have tried to act in our behalf. But, we do now recognize that all aspects of the movement through the two stages, rebellion and socialization, must proceed under the purposeful guidance of the People's Vanguard Party.

George Jackson
San Quentin Prison
June 21, 1971





FIGHT SICKLE CELL ANEMIA



----- SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO: DR. BERT SMALL, CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S SICKLE CELL ANEMIA FUND, c /o THE BOBBY SEALE PEOPLE'S FREE HEALTH CLINIC, P.O. BOX 8642, EMERYVILLE, CALIFORNIA 94608. CALL (415) 653-2534 OR 848-7740.

BLACK GENOCIDE

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

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 retaliated 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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

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 bail 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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MASSACRE AT ATTICA



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



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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

WHY MUST BLACK PEOPLE
LOOK AT EACH OTHER THROUGH PRISON BARS? WHERE IS OUR FREEDOM?

