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# THE BLACK PANTHER

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## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

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Oakland, Calif.

# The Truth About SACRAMENTO

To get a clear picture of the significance of Black Panther Party - May 2, 1967 - see with quickly run it down, since the mass media has indulged itself in an orgy of distortion, lying, and misrepresentation seldom equaled in the history of racist U.S.A. Uniformly, the mass media has refused to report the chain of events that led up to the visit of the Black Panthers to the capital.

April 1, 1967, Dennis Dowell, age 22, was killed by a racist cop on the Contra Costa Sheriff's Department force. The press has repeatedly failed to incorporate the outrage experienced in the black community with the subsequent actions of the Black Panther Party. The facts of the Dowell's attorney, are as follows: 1) The doctor on the case told the relatives that Dowell must have been shot with his hands raised. 2) The coroner's report stated there were 6 bullet holes, while the newspaper called the Richmond Independent said there were only 3 bullet holes. White America appears content as a whole to buy the Three Bullet Theory in the Kennedy murder, but black people will not buy the Three Bullet Theory in the Dennis Dowell murder. 3) The Coroner said that death was due to bleeding, yet

no blood was found at the site of the body. The Dowell family was denied the right to take pictures of the body, or to thin out both the Hayward police and Martinez police have refused to return Dowell's clothes for further necessary evidence pertinent to the findings. No clearer case of unjustifiable homicide exists. No entry had been made into the building that the killer-cop assumed Dowell had robbed. Dowell had a hip injury which the cop was aware of, as he had arrested him before. Dowell did not have a gun, and this could have been detected by a trained protector of society. So how could 6 bullets have ever been justifiable

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THREE ARE THREE OF THE THIRTY-THREE U. S. MARSHALS' BATTERIES AT THE CAPITOL. THEY ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPIRIT OF '67. WE REMEMBERLY ARMED AND READY FOR ACTION.

### TO BLOODS

If any cop brutalizes you or violates your human rights, beats you, threatens you, or tries to intimidate you, please, please, please, get his picture or his name if he is civilized enough to give it to you; or get his badge number. As soon as you get all this information, turn it over to the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the Party will deal with it in an appropriate manner.

### TO COPS

We don't like the way you cops have been mistreating the law and mistreating the people. You are civil servants, which means that the people - all the people - have delegated to you the task of securing the people in the daily exercise of their rights. For example: the function of removing waste material from our comrades was delegated by the people to those we call

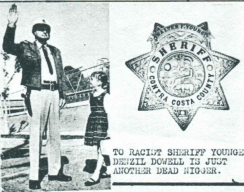
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FOUNDER, T. T. THOMPSON AND CHAIRMAN ROBERT SEALE OF B.P.P.S.D.

### Statement BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE TO THE BLACK WORLD

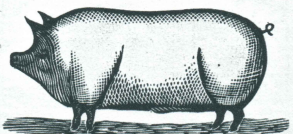
Below is the statement prepared by Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, and delivered by Bobby Seale, Chairman, of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, May 2, 1967, at the state capital in Sacramento, California. When this statement is read carefully, it becomes obvious that all that is here is TRUTH. Knowing full well they were loyally exercising their constitutional rights, the Panthers made fools of the cops who tried to take the guns away from them, and suffered the humiliation of having to give them right back. The dumb dumb cops didn't even know their own gun laws. Continued on page 2



THE WHITE CONSCIENCE



THE BLACK CONSCIENCE



### SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
(continued from page 1)

Three black men from the capitol, the scurry cops of Sacramento moved in and made the false arrest. This is what happens to black men when they have not broken a law.

THE BLACK PATRIOT PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE CALLS UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN GENERAL AND THE BLACK PEOPLE IN PARTICULAR TO TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE RACIST CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE WHICH IS NOW CONSIDERING LEGISLATION AIMED AT KEEPING THE BLACK PEOPLE DISARMED AND POWERLESS AT THE VERY SAME TIME THAT RACIST POLICE AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE INTENSIFYING THE TERROR, BRUTALITY, MURDER AND REPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE.

AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS MAKING A RACIST WAR ON NEGROES IN VIETNAM, THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN WHICH THOUSANDS AMERICANS WERE INTERED DURING WORLD WAR TWO ARE BEING RENOVATED AND EXPANDED. SINCE AMERICA HAS HISTORICALLY REVERED THE MOST BARBARIC TREATMENT FOR NEGROES, WE ARE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT THESE CONCENTRATION CAMPS ARE BEING PREPARED FOR BLACK PEOPLE WHO ARE DETERMINED TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. THE ENSLAVEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS COUNTRY, THE GENOCIDE PRACTICED ON THE AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE CONFINING OF THE SURVIVORS ON RESERVATIONS, THE SAVAGE LYNCHING OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK MEN AND WOMEN, THE DROPPING OF ATOMIC BOMBS ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, AND NOW THE CORNARD MASSACRE IN VIETNAM, ALL TESTIFY TO THE FACT THAT TOWARDS PEOPLE OF COLOR THE RACIST POWER STRUCTURE OF AMERICA HAS BUT ONE POLICY, REPRESSION, GENOCIDE, TERROR, AND THE BIG STICK.

BLACK PEOPLE HAVE HOGGED, PRAYED, PETITIONED, DEMONSTRATED AND EVERYTHING ELSE TO GET THE RACIST POWER STRUCTURE OF AMERICA TO RIGHT THE WRONGS WHICH HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN PERPETRATED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE. ALL OF THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED BY MORE REPRESSION, DECEIT, AND HYPOCRISY. AS THE AGGRESSION OF THE RACIST AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ESCALATES IN VIETNAM, THE POLICE AGENCIES OF AMERICA ESCALATE THE REPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE GHETTOS OF AMERICAN CITIES. POLICE DOGS, CATTLE PRODS AND CHARGED PATROLS HAVE BECOME FAMILIAR SIGHTS IN BLACK COMMUNITIES. CITY HALL TURNS A DEAF EAR TO THE PLEAS OF BLACK PEOPLE FOR RELIEF FROM THIS INCREASING TERROR.

THE BLACK PATRIOT PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE BELIEVES THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ARM THEMSELVES AGAINST THIS TERROR BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THE FRENCH MURKON ACT DURING THE HOUR OF DOOM ONE STEP NEARER. A PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED SUCH FOR LONG AT THE HANDS OF A RACIST SOCIETY, MUST DRAW THE LINE SOMEWHERE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BLACK COMMITTEES OF AMERICA MUST RISE UP AND DEMAND TO HALT THE AGGRESSION OF A TERROR THAT LEADS INEVITABLY TO THEIR TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE

\* See "Concentration Camps U.S.A." by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and "American Concentration Camps" by Howell I.

TO REPLY COPS  
(continued from page 1)

GEORGE DOWELL, RICH.

'dubbers'. Others have been duped into the responsibility of carrying off our return and we call them 'garbage men'. People we have hired to deliver our mail are called 'mailmen'. You have been hired by the people to keep the peace. It is your duty to go about your work in a manner least likely to displease your employers and calculated to make the people feel justified in continuing to carry you on the public payroll. But because you have grossly defiled the very name - 'Peace Officer' - by your violent actions, you have become the enemy of the people; you have become a cancerous growth on the black politic. You have an image that strikes terror into the hearts of those who buy your bread, pay your rent, and feed your children.

... that must be solved. THE BLACK PATRIOT PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE has been assuaged by the crys and suffering and pain of the people. We are here to civilize you. We are here to teach you how to love and serve the people with a humble and faithful attitude consistent with your status. We are going to do the job whether you like it or not. You probably won't like it because you are not astute in your lust to shed the blood of the people. You become insensitive even to the dying pleas of a child you have just shot with your vicious service revolver. THE BLACK PATRIOT PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE is here to shield the people from your insanity and thirt for blood.

You have made yourself the people's master; you have elevated yourself unwarrantedly. I have always had a feeling of wanting to do something for the people and working with a group that I know is working or the people is a dream fulfillment for me. I know the people of Richmond feel this way too. Like I said when a person hears Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense, talk, you know wouldn't tell you wrong. When some men shout they may rally a crowd but what the shooter is saying don't last: people lose it. The way the Panthers speak is strong and what they are saying makes sense. Something lifts inside you and you are proud. I'll tell you one thing that bothers me is when I talk to a man that won't do his part and I am supposed to protect him. I know I have to be patient but I believe every man should do his part. This is an organization that everyone can belong to, you can talk and Panthers listen. You have something to do and you can see something getting done.

Q. How did you feel going to the Capitol?

A. It is great because I was part of something that had never been done before. I felt good because I knew I wasn't breaking any law. Now they know we are equal. Now the Panther Party for Self Defense wants to be equal. We don't take nothing less. We are tired of police brutality. We are tired of being treated like dogs. If they won't do something we will do it. We are going to the Capitol was a big step and the Panthers made the first step. If we hadn't done the first step our people would be in the streets. The Panthers took the first in my brother's investigation and the first to show the world the black people need protection and we have to take care of it. That's why we are arming to protect ourselves. We are just tired of living like this. I know I did my part. I hope it won't come to bloodshed but if it does any of it, if I die, I know I did my part. That's a good feeling because when I think there haven't been too many



16 BLACK PATRIOTS AFTER ARRIVAL HERE IN SACRAMENTO MUNICIPAL COURSE BUILDING

HELP US HELP YOU  
Brothers & Sisters:

By this time you must have heard about that scene we put down in Sacramento. You haven't heard, then the bag you are in is so outrageous that you are hard to deal with. Anyway, 23 members of our organization got arrested and some chickenhit charges and the man-your money - in out to do our organization under. One of the guiding principles of our organization is that we believe in going all out to rescue our brothers from the clutches of the clutches of the cops. So we moved rapidly to get them out on bail. We thought we had to get them out on credit.

How we want to fight this case and win it. And we want to keep all the brothers out on bail. We believe that this case should be fought hard be-

cause it is going to help us snatch the covers off the racist police. To do this, we need money. So we know damn well that you've got some money. What may be harder for us is to give you your hustled coins to a bunch of us. We think you may not be hitting on anything. We can sign that. But can you dip this? The racist police will blow your head off and then all his brothers and two or three Uncle Toms will get together and rule it justifiable homicide. This just happened to a brother last month over in Richmond. We think we know how to put an end to that bullshit. At least we are willing to give it a try. So why did you send us some bread so that we can afford to continue our work. We are not kidding, you should understand that. Get all your soul together and make them give up now

DAH V IN THANH

Hart Comfort, our great fighter for the rights of black people, is now in jail as a result of one battle for human rights, and awaiting trial on another. He has recorded a song against the war in Vietnam to raise money for his defense. The 45 record will be available under name - take checks payable to Hart Comfort Defense Fund, and send to: P.O. Box 227, Oakland, Calif. 94621.

ADVERTISING RATES

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- Full Page \$150.00
- Half Page \$75.00
- Quarter Page \$37.50
- Eighth Page \$7.50.
- One Line \$25.00

For further information, write to Huey P. Newton, 6814 Broadway, Oakland, California.

George Dowell, brother of the murdered Daniel Dowell, gave the Panther Party the following statement. George is the captain of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Richmond.

Q. How did you hear about the Black Panther Party?

A. Jack Comfort told me that the Panthers were a group interested in the problems black people in the ghetto. My brother was killed by a cop and nothing had been done by the city officials when we set out for an investigation. My sister Ruby was killed by a cop in Newton and they came right over to a meeting at Neighborhood House. The most interesting was Bobby Seale and some more Panthers were over and ran the most of an investment at the site of my brother's death.

Q. How did you feel about the Panthers?

A. I was really impressed. They made me feel like they were really interested in the people and they were going to help use. They were the first group I ever seen that have the law down pat. People like you know, everyone needs someone to help. They are the people the kind of help and advice that gets results. Most of the other person is telling the truth and that's what all our people need to hear. When my family and I saw that the Panthers were a determined group, I didn't want to come once and never come back. I joined the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. I feel like a man and now I'm acting like a man. I have always had a feeling of wanting to do something for the people and working with a group that I know is working or the people is a dream fulfillment for me. I know the people of Richmond feel this way too. Like I said when a person hears Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense, talk, you know wouldn't tell you wrong. When some men shout they may rally a crowd but what the shooter is saying don't last: people lose it. The way the Panthers speak is strong and what they are saying makes sense. Something lifts inside you and you are proud. I'll tell you one thing that bothers me is when I talk to a man that won't do his part and I am supposed to protect him. I know I have to be patient but I believe every man should do his part. This is an organization that everyone can belong to, you can talk and Panthers listen. You have something to do and you can see something getting done.

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# FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION OF POLITICS.

BY HUIY P. MEMTON

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When the peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics is discontinued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political.

Because we lack political power, black people are not free. Black reconstruction failed because black people did not have political and military power. The black people at the time were very clear on the definition of political power. It is evident in the songs of black people at that time. In the songs it was stated that on the day of Jubilee we'd have forty acres and a mule. This was promised black people by the Freedman's Bureau. This was freedom as far as the black masses were concerned.

The talented tenth at the time viewed freedom as operative in the political arena. Black people did operate in the political arena during reconstruction. They were more educated than most of the black people in the south. They had been educated in France, Germany and England, and were very qualified to serve in the political arena. But yet, Black reconstruction failed.

When one operates in the political arena, it is assumed that he has power or represents (continued on page 4)

# MINISTER OF DEFENSE



HUIY P. MEMTON

# FEAR AND DOUBT

BY HUIY P. MEMTON

The lower socio-economic black male is a man of confusion. He faces a hostile environment and is not sure that it is not his own sins that have attracted the hostility of society. All his life he has been taught (explicitly and implicitly) that he is an inferior approximation of humanity. As a man, he finds himself in a state of things that bring respect and a feeling of worthiness. He looks around for something to blame for his situation, but because he is not sophisticated regarding the socio-economic milieu and because of negativistic parental and institutional teachings he ultimately blames himself. When his child's parents told him that they were not affluent because "we didn't have the opportunity to become educated", or "we did not take advantage of the educational opportunities that were offered", they tell the child that things will be different for him if he is educated and skilled, but there is absolutely nothing other than the occasional warning (and often not even that) to stimulate education. BLACK people are great worshippers of education, even the lower socio-economic black person, but at the same time is afraid because he is vulnerable to having his fears verified; perhaps he will find that he can't compete with white students. He tells himself that he could have done it if he had really wanted to. The fact is that because of the assumed educational opportunity (continued on page 4)

# WHAT WE WANT NOW!

TO THOSE POOR SOULS WHO DON'T KNOW BLACK HISTORY, THE BELIEFS AND DESIRES OF THE BLACK PARTNER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE MAY SEEM UNDESIRABLE. TO THE BLACK PEOPLE, THE TEN POINTS COVERED ARE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL. WE HAVE LISTENED TO THE RIOT PRODUCING WORDS "THESE THINGS TAKE TIME" FOR 400 YEARS. THE BLACK PARTNER PARTY BELIEVES THAT BLACK PEOPLE WANT AND DESIRE BLACK UNITY AND SELF DEFENSE WILL MAKE THESE DEMANDS A REALITY.

1. **WHAT WE WANT**
1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER HUMAN BEINGS.
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DEGRADING AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.
6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.
8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.
9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR OWN RACE OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES. AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE.

# WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
2. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THEN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESS MEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND ENJOY A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.
3. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RECOMPENSATION FOR THE 400 YEARS OF SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR PARTY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THIS MURDER. BUT OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.
4. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY, THEN THE HOUSING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MOVED INTO COOPERATIVES SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AID, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSING FOR ITS PEOPLE.

# WHAT WE BELIEVE

5. WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.
  6. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.
  7. WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK PEOPLE INTO GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.
  8. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL.
  9. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14TH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, OR ORIENTATIONAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY. FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDERS WILL BE SELECTED AND BEING TRIED BY ALL WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE "AVERAGE REASONING MAN" OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.
  10. WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR THE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BODIES WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSURE AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLES THEM. A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF HUMANITY REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOUED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AS ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH MANNER AS SHALL BECOME MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.
- PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES; BUT WHEREVER LONG EXPERIENCE HAS MADE MEN WISE, AND WHERE THEY MORE DISPOSE TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUPPORTABLE, THAN TO TRUST THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED, BUT WHERE THEY ARE LONGER TO SUFFER, AND WHERE, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVILS ARE DESIGN TO BE REMOVED FROM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESTRUCTION, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PLACE NEW GUARDES FOR THEIR FUTURE SAFETY.

Daniel D. Teell Jr. Archival Collection

THE FOUR

**THE FOUR**  
(continued from page 1)

continues never available to the lower socio-economic BLACK person due to the unique position assigned him in life.

It is a two headed monster that haunts this man. The attitude is that he lacks innate ability to cope with the socio-economic problems confronting him, and secondly, he tells himself that he has the ability that he really has not felt strongly enough to try to acquire the skills needed to manipulate his environment. In a desperate effort to assume a middle class status, he rationalizes that he is lethargic. In this way he denies a possible lack of ability. If he openly attempts to display his ability he is ridiculed by others may see him for what he is or is not, and this is the real fear. He then hides into the world of the invisible, but not without a struggle. He may attempt to make himself visible by processing his hair, acquiring a "boss man", or displaying a long car, even though he can't afford it. He may surround himself with several illegitimate children by several different women in order to display masculinity. But in the end, he realizes that Society responds to his efforts, a beast, a non-entity, something to be stepped on. He is asked to respect laws that do not respect him. He is asked to live by a code of ethics that act upon him but not for his benefit, and in a constant state of rape, of shame and doubt. This psychological set permeates his interpersonal relationships. It determines his role in the social system. His psychosocial system has been prematurely arrested. This doubt permeates his early age and continues through life. The parents pass it on to the child and the child's peers reinforce the fear, the shame, and the doubt.

By the fourth grade, he may find that he shares the classroom with white students. In this classroom is engaged in reading exercises, all the white students find themselves in a group at the table reserved for slow readers. He may be quite an innocent effort on the part of the school system the teacher may not realize that the BLACK students feared in fact feel that the BLACK men dumb and white men smart. The children do not realize that the beast start the white children got at home is what accounts for the situation. It is generally accepted that the child is the father of the man. It is true for the lower socio-economic BLACK people.

With whom, then what can be as a man identify? As a child he had no one to identify with whom to identify; as a man he sees nothing in society with whom to identify as an extension of himself. His life is built on inferiority, shame, doubt, guilt, inferiority, role confusion, isolation and despair. He realizes that he is something less than a man as is evident in his conversation. The white man is "THE MAN", he got everything, and he knows everything, while a nigger ain't nothing." In a society where a man is valued according to occupation, material possession, he is without possessions, unskilled and more often than not either marginally employed or unemployed. Often the man who is able to secure a job as a maid cleaning for white people is the breadwinner. He is, therefore, viewed as quite worthless by his white children. He is ineffectual both in and outside the home. He cannot provide for or protect his family. He is invisible, a non-entity. Society will not acknowledge him as a man. He is a consumer and not a producer. He is dependent on a white man ("THE MAN") to feed his family, to get a job, to educate his children, to serve as the model that he tries to emulate and is dependent and he hates "THE MAN",

**THE ECONOMIC DESTINY OF AFRICAN (cont'd from page 1)**

power as is symbolic of a powerful force. There are approximately three areas of power in the political arena, economic power, land power (feudal power) and military power. If black people are to have a political voice, we would have developed a powerful force. Then we would have chosen a representative to represent us in this political arena. Because black people did not receive the right to have a representative in the political arena.

White people send a representative into the political arena. They have a power unit or power base that they represent. When white people, through their representatives, do not get what they want, there is always a political consequence. This is evident in the fact that when the farmers are not given an adequate price for their crops the government will receive a political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field; they will let their people starve in the sectors of the economy. To be political, you must have a political consequence. You do not receive your desires - otherwise you are non-political.

When black people send a representative, he is somewhat abject because he represents no political power. He does not represent land power because he does not own any land. He does not represent economic power because he does not own black people do not own the means of production. The only way black people can be political is to represent what is common to all military power, which is the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE call Self-Defense Force - Black People can develop Self-Defense Force by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the world. They will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the black masses. If the desires are not met, they will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to oppress us on it.

Its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economically destructive.

The white racist oppresses black people not only for racial reasons but because it is also economically profitable to do so. Black people must develop a power that is non-profitable for the white racist to oppress us. If the white racist imperious to go on oppressing us, we will wage war against all people of color throughout the world and against a civil war against blacks here in America. He will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will wage war against the non-profitable. This racist United States operates with the motive of profit. He lifts the gun and escalates the war for racial reasons. We must make him lower the guns because they will no longer serve his profit motive.

Every man is born, therefore, has the right to a right to share in the wealth. He is denied the right to work, to live, if he can't afford to live. The standard of living, regardless of his education or skill, it should be the same as the administrators of the economic system. We must develop a program for providing work or livelihood for his people. To deny a man the right to work, to live, to control the controllers of the economic system are obligated to furnish each man with a livelihood, and he hates himself. Who is he? He is a very old idleness. He is the slave he used to be? What did he do to be so poor?

(continued from column two)

If they cannot do this or if they will not do this, they do not deserve the position of administrators. The means of production should be taken away from them and placed in the people's hands so that the people can organize them in such a way as to provide themselves with a livelihood. The people will choose capable administrators motivated by the sincere interest in the people's welfare and not the interest of private property. The people will choose managers to control the means of production and the land that is rightfully theirs.

Until the people control the land and the means of production, there will be no peace. Black people must control the destiny of their community.

Because black people desire to determine their own destiny, they are constantly inflicted with brutality from the occupying army, embodied in the police department. There is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the police in our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interests of the selfish imperial power.

The police should be the people of the community in uniform. There should be no division or conflict of interest between the people and the police. Once there is a division, then the police become the enemy of the people. The police should serve the interest of the people, and be one unit with the people. When the people breaks down, then the principle is that the police should be an occupying army. When historically one race has oppressed another and policemen are recruited from the oppressed race to control the communities of the oppressed people, an inevitable contradiction exists.

The racist dog policemen must withdraw themselves from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people.

**TO RACIST DOGS**  
(continued from page 1)

but we will see to it that you are brought up to the level of men.

Justice is on our side. You have abandoned the law. You have transformed the law into a means by which the people are unstable. You are a secessionist, a traitor. You have become Public Enemy Number one and it is a policy of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE to deal with first things first. BY **WALTER BUNNIA**

**WARREN TUCKER**  
(continued from page 2)

men or women that could say that.

O. What kind of things have you been doing since you joined the Party?

A. I have been raising money for the Panther Defense Fund, telling people why we need the \$5000.00 fund because we were not gullible of breaking any law. I go to the churches and tell them that the Panthers are the answer to their prayers. If you want a tree cut down you may ask God to help you but you have to cut it yourself. I also tell the people that you can't break the law and we're going into every city to make sure the cops don't either. We would never break the laws of the Panther Party but to be honest with you I hate the God that killed my brother because he wanted to kill a man who know one thing, he better not do anything black brother.

**WARREN TUCKER**  
My name is Warren Tucker. I am a Captain in the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. I know you've heard everybody talk about unity; talking about "we got to get together". Well, as for myself, I got sick and tired of hearing people talking about that word. I guess I never knew what the word really meant, nor cared less, because I was too busy trying to make it in this white world. Dad, Sisters and Brothers, I know what it means now. What the B.P.P. did and accomplish at the State Capitol showed me what the word meant. Brothers and Sisters, I don't know of any way to express how proud I was and still am and things will be. I'll try to give you a run-down.

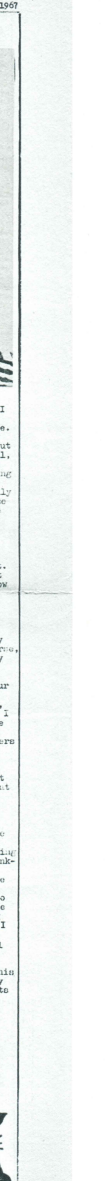
As we walked up the steps of the Capitol Building, I got pissed at each brother that were all prepared for the worst, but they stuck together. They both shook beautiful unity.

As we left the building, Bobby Martin, Treasurer of our organization, and myself escorted Bobby Seale, Chairman, to the car. I felt Unity and I must say I felt good. When we got to the gas station and the cops came all the Brothers spread out and got a good position. I placed myself on the corner, so when the cops came across to us I would be the first to get hit. I had a shot at all of them. All of us were in a common goal, our Self-Defense.

After we were arrested, booked and fingerprinted, we were all put into the drunk tank. We were all in the same cell in it but US. No bed, no blankets, nothing. This kind of thing happens every time you're arrested. Then the beast comes in and says to me to make a statement, but all the brothers told the racist dog to go to the B.P.P. This is what I call BLACK UNITY.

When we were released, all of them were taken off of the jail with our heads held high and proud. I was taken off of the jail. I call Black P.O.W. Unity, my Brother in a common goal, our Self-Defense.

Sincerely yours,  
Warren Tucker





# TRUTH ON THE MARCH WITH THE BAND

If no bullets were fired in self defense?

The Black Panther Party was called into Richmond by the family, there by the name of the Howell family had gathered 4200 signatures on a petition which called for a Grand Jury investigation.

Tuesday, April 19, the Black Panthers went against Sheriff Young, Richmond J.A., Hejely. He voiced our grievances and said he would do what he could to set up an investigation. He also said he would do what he could to get the Young of Martinez that he remove the killer-cop from force until the situation was over.

On April 19, the Black Panthers had concerned citizens went to have a meeting with Sheriff Young and District Attorney Jussey. The Sheriff had agreed to this meeting, but refused to have the Black Panthers with him. District Attorney Jussey, Minister of Defense, agreed to talk with the Sheriff without guns present, because it was more important to get the truth to this racist Sheriff that the Panthers are willing to accept all available legal channels in an attempt to give the Howell family viable money.

This meeting ended in frustration, as Sheriff Young refused to remove the killer-cop pending investigation. He also refused to give a Grand Jury whatever to the black community that he would exercise his executive authority to change the policy that members of the police force be instructed to refrain from killing suspects when only property is involved and a suspect who is not a citizen and the Black Panther Party for self-defense.

It is our total lack of concern for Black people expressing a desire to get our needs more unrepresented sentir.

Undiscriminate police made two ridiculous statements. He said, "I don't know why you're so upset, because in the first death we've had in the country." Secondly, Ramsey said, "If you people change the policy change you should go through the legal channels and if it is illegal, this is exactly what the Black Panthers did. Yet, in the same breath, Sheriff Jussey spoke in favor of the California gun bill. This bill is called the "gun bill" legislation will be necessary because first they were in contact with guns, causing a disturbance; today they're here and who knows where they will show up next. He had forgotten his own advice.

Contrary to what the newspapers have reported, the Black Panthers were escorted to the Assembly hall by a horde of police with clubs in the Capitol police. There is an observer box in the Assembly hall and it was there that the members of the Howell family, and the concerned citizens gathered. The first words that came from the Assembly were the microphone were, "All the courts please remove those 200 men from this city. If this is the man with guns who assaulted the Assembly, the first words coming from the speaker should have been, "All the courts please remove these 200 men from this city."

**THREATS WITH GUNS** That was the only issue at the Capitol. The antique police force and the power structure were disturbed because of my overt and threatening activities. The Black Panthers; they were disturbed by their own police and the racist policies in which they suffer millions of the freed slaves money machine. In upon them while they are in the set for getting the truth on the Panther's under the left, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the people. In the city of Richmond, they know that they fully deserve the full wrath of the people.

To these "distorted" politicians, Brown the man just came

go together. This reaction was similar to that of white America generally to the slogan of BLACK PANTHER. That's why the racist didn't do it. These two words together. "More violence to raise the slogan of Black Panthers," it would appear very logical and acceptable to maintain. So the word "violence" was used. THE POINT IS THAT IN asserting the color of power is white and black is the color of weakness. What was clear from the appearance of armed black men ready to die but now they are no longer ruled by fear, that not only are blacks still ready to die but now they are ready to kill.

At this point of view the hysterical reaction of the legislators was ludicrous, because if the Black Panthers had come to the capital with evil intentions, there would have been a lot of dead cops and legislators. The Panthers are an organization dedicated to defending Black people from the wanton aggression of the courts, the media and white racist society in general.

Ramsey J. Newton, our Minister of Defense, sent a delegation to Jim's place to deliver a message to black people, to turn down the gun and the automatic trust of this sick white society we live in. Black people revealed the message and history had been altered. A new standard has been raised, a new challenge has been thrown out to black people. The trumpet of a new day has been sounded against the members of the delegation to a job when occupied that the lesson black people have drawn from that beautiful day is that they are not like the first rays of the sun.

## THE POCKET LAWYER OF RICHMOND

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always ready to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend and extend the law to all people. Out this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we are ourselves to righteousness of our own, the Pocket Lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions until you are read your constitutional rights. You should only answer if requested (although it is not absolutely necessary for you to do so). But then do so, and at all times remember the fifth amendment.
2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself.
3. Police officers should not ask you to get into a car unless they have a search warrant, probable cause, or reasonable suspicion. They do not have an exploratory search power. If you are stopped for a crime, generally or for want of defense of a crime unconnected with the stop, you should be questioned about it. If you are in a set for getting the truth on the Panther's under the left, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the people, in the city of Richmond, they know that they fully deserve the full wrath of the people.
4. To these "distorted" politicians, Brown the man just came

(OAKLAND, CALIF. - Mark Comfort, militant black organizer in host Oakland, was his second court victory last month. Testimony at the trial, revealed that the police informer had led him into a trap resulting in his arrest. Comfort's first arrest was on charges of interfering with an Officer and Assistant Officer. He had run out of his house at night to defend a neighboring home which was being assaulted by the Oakland police. Ajury found him innocent.

Comfort, very aware of gun regulations, brought a small derringer pistol, which he stuck in his belt, visibly. Williams drove home, stayed inside for several minutes and responded with a shotgun. He then suggested that they go to Jim's Place, an Oakland bar, before going to San Francisco. Within 15 minutes after they entered the bar, police had pulled up, and arrested Comfort for having a "concealed weapon."

One of the arresting officers testified at the trial that the head of the Criminal Investigation department gave him a warrant and told him that Comfort would be at Jim's Place within an hour. "I had never been to Jim's Place before," Comfort told THE MOVEMENT. "It turns out that the bar is owned by a white Oakland cop. When my attorneys asked the cop on the stand if he knew Gil Williams, he didn't say a word for a long time, and then he said 'uh, no.' I don't believe I know the name," he said. "I'm pretty sure he's working

## Black Comfort

with the cops. He's gone into hiding now so we can't find him." Williams was ended the trial. He was released on \$10,000 BOND TO GO.

On May 9 or 10, Comfort must go back to prison. He has given him last year, for his activity at the Oakland Tribune demonstrations. Comfort's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was not considered. He has over 4 months to serve. "We haven't stopped fighting," Mark Comfort said. "I'm going to stay in jail, so I may be in and back out and in and back out. It is a beautiful act. He's handled all three of these cases and he's still here." (reprinted from THE MOVEMENT May, 1967)

Mark Comfort was one of the 33 armed Black Panthers who were arrested in Sacramento on May 2nd, and are now charged with conspiracy. This is the latest example of Mark Comfort's continual participation in very significant and vital action for the freedom of black people. He is now in the Alameda County Jail at Santa Rita. The Sacramento attorney has filed an appeal on a case two or three years old, growing out of the Sacramento struggle against the racist Oakland Tribune. He is being held in jail by the racist Power Structure. Faced with a four and one-half month sentence, Mark was offered two years of probation if he would agree not to associate with Jim Williams, to give a warrant or carry a gun. Mark refused to give a warrant and chose instead to suffer imprisonment. Black people must continue to struggle to prevent the racist Power Structure from exacting unjust punishment on black people. Mark Comfort is one of the great heroes of the struggle for Black Liberation. When his name is spoken, we should feel proud to be his brothers and sisters.

## THE RIGHTS OF A PERSON ARRESTED

1. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause.
2. You may not resist arrest if you are being injured or if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances. A false arrest may be corrected.
3. If you are stopped, you should try to get independent witnesses to observe the proceedings, and get their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Try to do this, if possible, before you are taken to a police place.
4. You may not resist arrest if you are being injured or if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances. A false arrest may be corrected.
5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you or weapons by patting the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your friends or friends.
6. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood of anything you say will get you released.
7. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to call a lawyer. If you cannot call one, you should call a relative, friend or attorney; the other to a bail bondsman. If you cannot call any of these people, call the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. After the arrest the Party will post bail if possible.
8. You must be allowed to hire and ask an attorney immediately.
9. You do not have to give

- any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the fifth and the fourteenth amendments, but you should not be forced to testify against yourself.
11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsman's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.
12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a weekend, in which case they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session).
13. If you do not have money to hire a private attorney, you may ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.
14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, you do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (of your county) if they will furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

## MARKER SPEAKS A SISTER

### A LETTER SISTER BALDWIN

I am very concerned about your mind, so I have sent you some literature about Black and black people hoping that you will read it and it will help you to get your mind together so you can understand what the struggle is all about. I don't want you to go out in the world and be a tool for the white folks, or go and teach other children to deny their blackness, deny their people and become whitewashed. Sister Baldwin, there are not very many good minds like yours in this North American wilderness, therefore I urge you to read with you, lose your white mind and get your black mind together. Therefore I urge you not to read just the material I am sending you, but read these five black books: Autobiography of Malcolm X, Malcolm X speaks, The Wretched of the Earth, by Franz Fanon, Black bourgeoisie, by E. Franklin Frazier, and Souls of Black Folk, by W.E.B. DuBois.

You have been put in the same truckbag by the white man that thousands of other black people have been put in; try and get out of there. There are very few sisters on AAU's campus. Thank God you are one of them. Therefore I urge you to remove the catarrax from your eyes so that you can see, why question Black Power and not question why so many blackmen are in the prison country? Why question Black Power and not question why eleven black people were murdered in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1965? Or find out that 30% of the men getting killed in Vietnam are black? Or why is it that 500 black babies die each year in Birmingham for lack of proper medical attention? Why is it that the unemployment rate for black men is rising while the income of white men is increasing? Why is it that the University of Tennessee is better than Tennessee State? Why did the government give Tennessee State only 15 million dollars? Is that all that 6000 black minds are worth? In the same year they gave the University of Tennessee 14 million dollars. Stop questioning Black Power and look around you and see who is brainwashing you, and who is going to pay for your four years of college? Are you willing to do the same thing the white man has done for 400 years, sit next to white folks and look down at your black brothers and sisters and say, "I am better than they are because they are not getting an education benefit? What are you going to do with your life, your brother use it or give it to your people? What your role in the struggle? What is your role in your church to stand by and let white folks beat the neck of thousands of dollars and not say anything? What is your role in relation to the thousands of your brothers who are being drafted every day to die in the mud of Vietnam for a white man's war? What are the needs of black children go hungry, ragged and cold, are you one of those who is calling themselves an AKA and running around in the streets like white folks who are responsible for the plight of your people?

Therefore I urge you to come on home, Sister Baldwin. Millions of black people are depending on you and sisters like you to change their destiny. Will you let them down? Will you go somewhere and

## WHITE BOY ARRESTED FOR LYING ON PANTHERS?

The papers have been full of wild stories about one of the witnesses who appeared before the assembly justice Committee that launched an investigation into conspiracy at the capital in an atmosphere of white hysteria which greeted the visit to the capital by armed members of the Black Panther Party for self-defense. This white man once was a sergeant-at-arms, a cop, in the assembly, according to the stories put out by the police. One fellow, who told that he was taking a legislator's car to a machine station for servicing, saw this man "this white fellow grabbed hold of my neck and says, 'You're going to get you white boy.' I said to him, 'I'm just a finkny, I just work here.'"

"We are not surprised to learn that a white cop had told lies, while under oath, designed to get black people into 'trouble'. What surprises us and what we can't figure out is why did the cops arrest this white man for lying on a 'march of negroes'?" One paper quoted the arrested man as saying that "the Panther voice" is thrust against a certain legislator, who was not identified at the request of Assemblyman Jon Halford, R-Madison.

"Now this is very interesting. Here we see a known liar engaged in keeping something secret behind himself, the cops, and Assemblyman Halford. How many more secrets do they have which they are keeping from the people?"

Another thing about this entire affair is why did the cops arrange to have this teach black children the white man's lies? Stop and look at yourself; stop and reconsider.

Yours for BLACK POWER,

Brother Hicks

The illustration below is taken from the cover of **HEBARD'S SPEAKS** newspaper (April 14, 1967). **THE BLACK PANTHER** feels that this work of art should be wide spread amongst black people, as it contains a message that must be understood.

## SISTERS' SECTION

### SISTERS UNITE

by Barbara Aunton

**WILLIAM WILLIAMS.** The Black Panther Party is where the Black men are. I know every Black woman has to feel proud of black men who finally decided to announce to the world that they were putting an end to police brutality and black genocide. Then they were arrested even though they had not broken a law. The reason they were arrested, sisters, is the white power structure does not want any brave men with guts enough to say, "Hell No." The police force in self-defense of their women, themselves and all our children. That's really telling the power structure "like it is".

Some members of the Black Panther Party for self-defense, Sisters, "we got a good thing going."

white man, who has already been exposed as lying on the Black Panthers, scheduled to appear in court on May 17, the same day the Black Panthers are scheduled to appear? Because this is an obscure operation that has not all been made public, we wish to alert the public to the fact that we think that recent Assemblyman Jon Halford, in conjunction with the racist police and a lying white man, are involved in an arranging a series of schemes designed to enable the white power structure to deal with the Black Panthers.

But no matter what lying scheme those racists come up with, the Black Panther Party for self-defense is going to grow in numbers, influence and power and there is nothing that a gang of racist dogs can do about it.



A REVOLUTIONARY SISTER

## SISTER WILLIAMS SAYS

Respect and dignity have long been abstractions to the majority of Black Men. This is no longer the case. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense are Black Men with pride, self-respect and most of all love for their brother. These Black Men who express fervor, spirit and boldness of heart kindly in us, a Black Woman, the feeling of wanting to help past, work, experience, and most of all share not only these feelings with us but the toughness of wanting and now going about getting our freedom together.







UNARMED RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS OF SACRAMENTO POLICE PERSECUTION

(The following article was written by a black man who felt that for the time being it would be best for him to remain unnamed.)

There are different kinds of law. Some laws are on the books but never enforced while others that are enforced have never been written. Policemen have a habit of charging people with crimes of their own invention. Sometimes a police department gets so far out that one of its unwritten laws is declared unconstitutional by a court. Most of the time, police don't get hung up with the Constitution.

They know that modern police work demands that they be good at bending existing laws to meet their purposes. And, when the bending gets tiresome, they lobby to get their law passed.

When a delegation of black Panthers showed up at the San Francisco International Airport in February to protect Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, policemen went running to their law books. They knew there damn well ought to be a law preventing black men who didn't even wear uniforms from going around armed. They were so shocked to find that there wasn't a law to cover that situation that they allowed the Panthers and Betty Shabazz to leave unmolested.

Even the richmond police couldn't find the proper law, and they have effectively used law to control the actions of Negroes for a number of years. Richmond police set a 30-man armed Panther group in April.

They had gone to Richmond to discuss with police the problems that develop when white cops shoot unarmed black boys. Richmond police, like the San Mateo police, like the San Mateo Sheriff before them, discovered that the law covers concealed weapons. The Panthers' fireproof was full in evidence, something that was frightening to the police, but not yet illegal.

Assemblyman Mulford, who usually acts as though his ambition is to become Fulbright of Berkeley, decided to do something about this. He proposed a law that he felt was a crime to display guns as the Panthers had been doing, therefore inspiring a Panther visit to Sacramento. They felt, and announced, that they were another item helping to prove that white power wilders prepared for their Blacks totally unarmed and completely available for whatever terror might be directed toward them by policemen. National Rifle Association boosters, Minutemen and other racists who want to fill an idle hour. Well, Assemblyman

Mulford almost swallowed his napkin chewing gum when he looked up to find that the Panthers had revived an early American pretext. You might call it a gun-law.

The state police were completely unprepared. Those the capital are supposed to protect the assemblymen from harm. Apparently there aren't enough people in the state who really know about their assemblymen are doing in Sacramento to constitute a threat. Guarding the assembly became the nearest thing to retirement. Suddenly they were joined to see 23 men, very Black and very armed, moving into the assembly chambers. To add to it, the Panthers didn't even remove their hats.

The police rallied, maneuvered the Panthers into one room and for a short time separated some of them from their guns. This last step was easy, as the Panthers didn't resist. The Panthers were demonstrating that whites react with fear to prevent even token demonstrations of power on the part of blacks. The State Police didn't find a law to cover the situation, so the Panthers had their guns and the group left. But then, a law was found.

Minutes after leaving the Capitol building, Sacramento City Police arrested 23 Panthers on a variety of charges. Later, these were dropped, and they were charged with conspiracy to disturb the assembly. Conspiracy is a felony, and what places like Soland and San Quentin are all about.

It has already been demonstrated that a law is in the law when it protects Negroes. That's why equal hiring laws, public accommodation statutes and equal educational codes are not enforced. Blacks are expected to be happy just seeing that there are laws for them. The Panthers went out of their way to prove that when there is no law that somebody will create one. This demonstration means that they now face trapped up felony charges.

Separate be equal used to be the law of the land. It didn't work out that way, as Negroes became convinced that equality and an equalizer have something in

common. They are suspicious of a set of laws which ends up with only certain classes of people carrying guns. When some of these are Black, they have white officers. The Black experience with the law is that it is often used to the disadvantage of the race. The lessons of history, the possible threat of racial annihilation and the very real concentration camps that have been prepared to make Negroes even more aware of the way the law works. There's a logical answer, if Blacks want laws to work for them. We've got to start writing a few of our own. That's the position of the Black Panthers—it's also today's law lesson.

the action taken or contemplated. These consciences of black cools did not care about the suffering of the black masses. All they were concerned with was their own standard of living - which was very high compared to that of other blacks. While the black masses wasted away in the slums and shantytowns, dying from lack of adequate clothing, shelter, and proper medical attention, living worthless lives because of the lack of proper educational facilities, black politicians ate good food, wore the best of clothing, lived in the homes and sent their children to the best schools.

It is true that not all black politicians were always this way, but it has been true often enough to make the exceptions in history stand out like blonde hair on a black woman. But times have changed. The black masses are on the march for Black Power. We hope that black politicians do not think that they can cry for Black Power offers them another ticket to a higher standard of living while the black masses remain stuck in the mud of white America. Neither should black politicians think that they can get away with paying lip-service to the rhetoric of Black Power while actually continuing to play dirty white politics with the welfare and destiny of the black masses. Such corrupt games are no longer possible. Politicians who are stupid enough to think that they can still get away with tricks and the black masses will not weaken - to say the least.

The best advice we can give to black politicians is for them to get out of home and stay home. Those who do not heed the call are going to suffer ruthless exposure and merciless opposition. The time of buck-dancing for the white man is over. Those who do not heed this call are going to find themselves in the position of Brook Benton's ball weevil - "looking for a hole to dig".

Can you dig it?

In the past, black politicians have, so often than not, been nothing but sleek, groveling jumping jacks for the white man. They were placed in office by white political machinery and have served no other function than that of vote-getters for white politicians at election time.

When the white man wanted to pull a fast one on black people, he called out his bootlicking black politicians to voice an opinion supporting

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