

THE BLACK PANTHER

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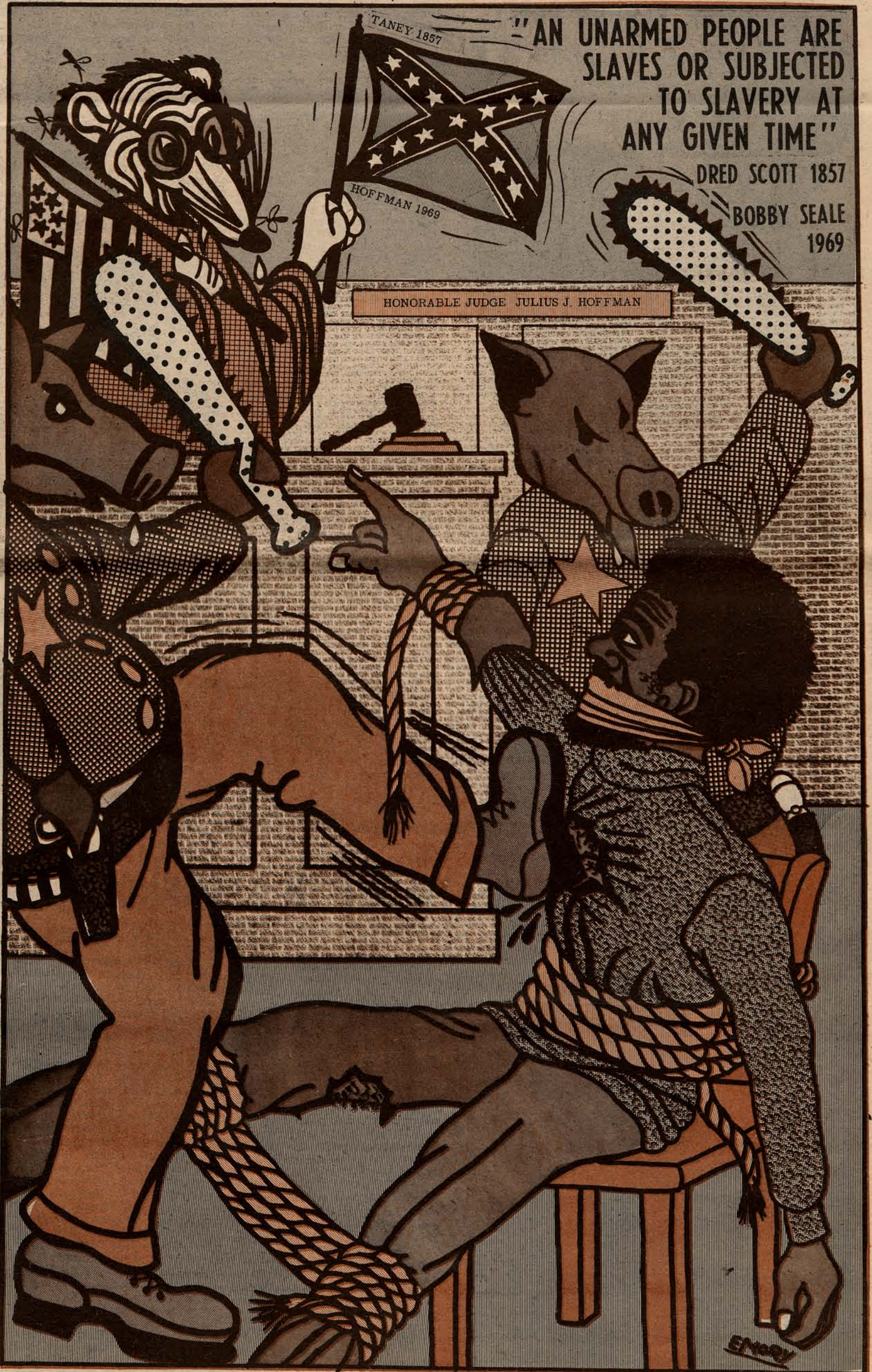
PUBLISHED WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
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"If I am continuously denied this constitutional right of legal defense counsel of my choice who is effective by the Judge of this court, then I can only see Judge Hoffman as a blatant prejudicial error toward all defendants and myself in particular."

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE Black Panther Party





MEETING THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

In attempting to meet the basic needs of the people, the traditional bodies of support, and a not too supportive body, moved to destroy all hopes of establishing Free Breakfast Programs in that area. These bodies are by no means representative of the people. They are entities of profit, and human properties of fascism, making a vain attempt to alter the inevitable direction that the people see the vanguard taking.

Included is a copy of a letter that was sent around by some of our own avaricious hogs of Seventh St. in South Philly, who acted in standard pig manner, by lying to the people. When the BPP responded with a leaflet, the pigs retreated. We believe that the truth

is on our side, for we are revolutionaries, and we have nothing to fear. These sniveling clowns wouldn't dare identify themselves. The reactionaries sent around another letter, signed by some Philly fascist who denounced our program, but wouldn't institute one, because the program was sponsored and conducted by some 'Militant Group' (?).

Meanwhile, in South Philly, 4th & Washington Sts., we were dealing with petitions of the people's support of the Free Breakfast Program, when the place where we intended to host the program reacted with a notice to the people, which was a religious rejection, but by larger content, political. All too many times has the

church given Black people useless metaphysical salvation, with no food, in addition to oppressive politics. The church and this decadent capitalist system go hand in hand, like holy water and hydrogen bombs. In this instance, the Emmanuel Lutheran Church exercised religious and political domination over the needs of the people of 4th and Washington Sts.

John R. Cochran, is the pig pastor who saw fit to say 'no' to the people's needs. He has yet to fulfill them by his religious ranting about fire and brimstone. Not having a good, hot, nourishing diet takes you all too close to that hot place anyway. This pastor says; "The Black Panther Party claims

to be Marxist-Leninist in its teachings, we are not."

Right On, you claim to be Christian, we are not. It was you: same Christ who said, when I was hungry, you fed me, when I was naked you clothed me, when I was without home, you took me in. These cats to whom Christ was talking to said, when did we do this? Christ said, even as you do these among the least, you do this to me. And then Christ made a clear line of demarcation, between the did-ers and the preachers. The cats that put their theory into practice, the did-ers went to the pearly Gates, the bulls----ers, the preachers, the pigs, went to that other place. -you dig?

Panthers feeding kids, who are

you feeding, except the overweight pig power structure with your misinformation and your tax exemptions?

Panthers as of the 20th of October, are clothing people, who are you clothing, except for the hypocritical lying pig power structure in Babylon?

You have defined your position. We have defined ours. We have constructed a clear line of demarcation, not too far different from the one your Christ defined. And we are the DO-ERS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE SEIZE THE TIME

West Cook

LUTHERANS SERVE "AMERICA" PANTHERS SERVE THE PEOPLE

EMANUEL LUTHERAN CHURCH
1001 South Fourth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19147

SERVING OUR NEIGHBORHOOD
WITH THE GOOD NEWS OF
JESUS CHRIST

TO: All Persons who signed Petitions
From: Pastor Cochran

RE: Free Breakfast Program

Sometime in the past month you signed a petition circulated by the Black Panther Party, Philadelphia branch, to have the Free Breakfast Program instituted in our neighborhood. The petitions were presented to the Church Council of Emanuel Church last evening, together with an explanation of the program and a proposal from the Black Panther Party that the program be instituted at Emanuel Church. The petitions bore 171 signatures of residents, though five were from 12th Street or west of Broad Street. Eight residents of the community and three members of the Black Panther Party pre-

sented the proposal to the council (governing board of the church).

Since you signed the petition we feel you should be informed of the council's action and the reasons for it. After lengthy discussions the Church Council voted to explore the need for a Breakfast Program in the neighborhood more carefully, but to reject sponsorship of such a program by the Black Panther Party in our building.

Frankly, you must help us determine the need for such a program. How many children in our neighborhood get no breakfast? Why? Is it a lack of money or lack of responsibility on the part of parents? Should a Breakfast Program be instituted in the elementary schools of our neighborhood? We invite your response in more specific terms than a signature of a petition.

The council decided that Emanuel Church should not be linked to the Black Panther Party either in the Breakfast Program or in the Liberation Schools. We believe we have demonstrated our

concern and action for the legitimate needs of this community many times over. The Black Panther Party claims to be Marxist-Leninist in its teachings, we are not. (Marx was the first modern communist, Lenin the leader of the Russian communist revolution and first premier of the Soviet Union). While we are vitally concerned for the growth of Black power and self-determination we remain also committed to the integration of all elements of American society, Black and White, rich and poor, management and labor. The Black Panthers stand for something else and we cannot stand with them.

We invite your response to our thinking and our action--either verbally to one of the pastors or by telephone to the office (DE6-1444, 9:30 to 12:00 a.m. every weekday).

Sincerely yours,
John R. Cochran, Pastor

Breakfast Vote Wins!

The New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party started the John Huggins Memorial Free Breakfast Program on Oct. 8, 1969. The first day it rained hard and 28 children came. In the 10 days since, attendance has climbed steadily to over 75 children per day. The enthusiastic response of the people to the Free Breakfast Program has also been shown by the many parents and teenagers who attend the Program to help serve the children.

The Breakfast Program is located at the Newhallville Teen Lounge, 176 Shelton Ave. From 7:00 to 8:30 a.m., children walk or are directed to the Program for a hot nourishing breakfast. When the Program first started, it was sup-

posed to be temporary. On Tuesday night, Oct. 14, there was a community meeting to decide whether or not to let the Program remain at the Lounge. Over 100 people from all around the city came to the meeting to speak about their concerns for the Breakfast Program. The vote of the area's residents, 56-22 was an indication of how successful the Breakfast Program was after only one week of operation!

The New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party will be expanding the Breakfast Program to other locations very soon because of the great response of the people to their first one.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Panthers Conduct People's Program

The Philadelphia Branch of the Black Panther Party started its Free Clothing for Children Program on the 19th of October, at Columbia and Crosky Sts., at 2:00 p.m. We served the people.

Pig preachers and pig captains are still saying 'no' to our Free Breakfast Programs. We say later

for these buffoons. The people have neither the time or patience for these clowns.

The Black Panther Party must move to meet all the basic needs and desires of the people, and apply it practically.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!

NEWSMAN CHALLENGES PIG ON LIE DETECTOR

confused my voice. The girl's screams were distinctive and could not have been mistaken for my voice.

Why would he gratuitously throw in testimony like this? There are a couple of possible reasons. One is he charged Rubin with resisting arrest. Rubin is a little man, and he resisted arrest the way a fly resists getting swatted.

It was a phony charge, and Tobin knows it, and he knows I know it.

Secondly, I criticized the arrest in this column with these words: "I have heard Rubin speak, and he was obscene and revolting. In America a man may be arrested for obscenity or revolution. But Rubin was grabbed off the street and rushed to jail because of what he thinks."

This is not the beginning of the police state, it is the police state."

By swearing that I tried to interfere in an arrest situation, Detective Tobin is trying to dirty me. He dares do this because I was alone. They only witnesses were his three fellow policemen.

I have covered police for 30 years in Chicago. I am not stupid enough to interfere with an arrest on a dark street, when four policemen are arresting one revolutionist. I will give \$100 to the Police Officers Defense fund to anyone who has ever heard me raise my voice on the street in any riot or disorder or arrest situation.

I was shaken to my roots when I read this testimony. Not that the policeman is going to hurt me, but that a man in his position could badly tell such a story.

I can fight back, and I will. But how about the poor guy sitting in a courtroom whose freedom depends on the honesty of a Detective Tobin? It's the poor mope's word against the policeman's. If Tobin lied about what I said, how is it possible to believe his testimony about what Rubin and Rennie Davis and the other defendants said?

Tobin doesn't have a patsy this time. I want to take a lie detector test and I challenge him to take one.

I will swear under oath I did not say "Leave that man alone" or anything like it. I ask that the other three policemen swear under oath what I said or did not say, and then we all five go under the lie detector.

NOTE: Jack Mobley is a columnist for, Chicago Today

REPRINTED FROM
CHICAGO TODAY,

The Pen Or The Sword

The Black press has always been a great weapon in the Black Americans' fight for liberty, equality and freedom.

The Black press has been, and remains, one of the main instruments for strengthening the bonds between Black people in their fight against slavery, racism and oppression.

The Black press has analyzed, interpreted problems facing Black Americans and mobilized the Black community to act in its legitimate interest.

Opponents of Black freedom and equality have always sought to blunt the Black liberation struggle by either censoring or destroying the Black press.

Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist, faced great problems in establishing and maintaining his newspaper, "The North Star". Even William Lloyd Garrison, the White abolitionist, did not want Douglass to have his own newspaper.

After the Civil War, when lynchings were rampant in America, the Black press fearlessly exposed these barbarous practices. For her role in exposing lynchings, Ida Wells Barnett was driven from her home in Memphis, Tenn., and her paper was destroyed.

During World War I, the Crisis, then edited by W.E.B. DuBois, was investigated by the American government and its mailing rights restricted because it led the fight for Black liberation.

The Chicago Defender, founded by Robert Abbott, an ex-slave, for years was prohibited from being freely circulated in many Southern cities and states because it fearlessly championed the cause of Black equality.

After World War II, Paul Robeson founded a newspaper, "Freedom", to inform Black Americans about the connection between their struggle in America and Africa. Robeson's newspaper, like Paul himself, was persecuted and eventually driven out of business.

Here in California, the oldest and best known news paper in the West, The California Eagle, was harassed and driven out of business after the editor of the paper, Charlotta A. Bass joined the Progressive Party and ran for Vice President of the U.S. in 1952 with Vincent Hallinan.

The Black Panther Press is being prosecuted as all good Black newspapers have been for leading the liberation struggle.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
AND DEATH BLOWS TO THE PIGS



TRUE SYMBOLS OF FASCISM

The White Hunter

Hello syphilitic baboons, the White hunter is on his way to win himself 3 trophies in Oakland. There is no trace of nigger achievements throughout history, they live in and off white man's culture and enjoy themselves. Niggers hate niggers. White slavery built this nation, nigger slavery

picked cotton and cleaned toilets and increased crime throughout the country 400%. Haiti is a prime example of black power. Brainpower is not inbred in the inferior races, mainly the baboonish race. Baboon your time is short, get smart and drop out of sight, get with the program work and support

yourself. You have 10 days to grab a lunch bucket and find a job. White Hunter is on his way. (And in excellent hunting shape.) Run baby run, make it interesting for me!

Bwana

GREAT WHITE HUNTERS EVERYWHERE, U.S.A.

Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, and all of the Panthers at large:

This is to tell you, that if we catch any Panther on the street they must die. We are going on the defense, and we will kill any Panther on sight. The normal Black people of the community will survive if they keep peace. We believe in them getting their rights,

it's yours we won't give up.

You are the worst group of godd--ed motherf---ing c--k s---ing, son -of- a- b---ing b---rds that ever crawled. You know what you boys are, you're p--ies, each and every one of you except the hags you call women, (they're di--s). You have nothing but homosexuals and lesbians in

your so-called gang. Without them knives and guns, if you weren't so Black you'd be yellow. So, to close this note remember:

White is wonderful-Black (as in Panthers) is b----ey.

Co-Presidents
Great White Hunters

WHITE BROTHER

Dear Brothers,

I'm a white, but want to join the Panthers. I personally know many more like me that believe in what you are doing. I'm not like those others from Boston who can't see what's happening. This fascist system is engulfing both my Black and white brothers, but both are too blind to see it. The Black Panthers have opened their

eyes and know what is happening. They're fighting for what they believe in, not like a lot of fat as-ed Whites, who sit around watching the country die. The pigs control everything and no one can do anything about it but you. Too many of my brothers have been brutally attacked by the pigs. It's time to act.

Please print this statement so all the Whites in the country know that a white wants to join the Panthers. Maybe more will open their eyes.

POWER TO ALL PEOPLE!
White Brother

BOBBY BREAKS HIS SILENCE

Presently now the fascist pig headed Judge Hoffman has taken the shackles off trying to smokescreen the situation. He's taken the shackles off because the fascist hogs, Nixon, the administration, Mitchell, and others have ordered him to do so behind the scene. It's obviously clear that he's trying to lay dead and think that I'm going to call him a fascist and a pig which I am going to do anyway because that's the way I see him and that's exactly what he is.



CHAIRMAN, BOBBY SEALE AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON

This is an attempt on the part of the fascists to stop this. I understand it, they won't cover the revolutionaries of this country, that means they won't cower the people of this country who are fed up and sick and tired and who need to move now to eliminate the rampant incipient fascism that's now in America and that's right before our eyes. So, the smokescreen of me being ungagged and unshackled this morning is pointless. I'm not tricked by it, and I hope that the masses of the people are not tricked by it, and I'm pretty sure they're not, because in the future we will see many more tactics. The very tactic of the trial itself is to railroad people to jail. This is an overt violation of the constitutional rights that they say we the people have.

The overt violation of laws, old reconstruction laws that are 100 years old, such as Section 1981 of the U.S. government code clearly spells out that no Black man is to be discriminated against in any court dealing in any legal defense proceedings.

This outright blatant attack, not only upon me but upon the people of America is not new, it's as old as this country is, where Black people have been attacked, lynched

Last Friday morning there was cruel and unusual punishment inflicted upon me by the eighth amendment of the said Constitution of the United States. After being shackled to a chair by my arms and legs, they held my nose and tried to force large wads of rags into my mouth, and I refused to the extent of using my weight and the chair to struggle against some eight or nine marshals inside the lock-up right outside the courtroom. This in itself and the fact that my lip was burst to the extent that blood seeped from my teeth and the fact that I almost lost my breath and went unconscious is the overt form of pig brutality. They also further went and used the type of bandages that football players use to keep their knees and joints together the same as doctors use to keep bone structure together. They tighten up when one moves, and this was wrapped around my head and wrapped around so tight



and mauled over in the racist courts of America. It's now becoming clearer and clearer that America is going down and the fascist ruling class circles, who are less than ten million with all their running dog pigs, who are trying to run over 190 million people in this country, are going with her.

So from there I guess the best thing to say is that the struggle goes on, and the people must unite. The workers of the world, the exploited laboring masses must unite and stop and oppose fascism in the courts, and this





going with her.

So from there I guess the best thing to say is that the struggle goes on, and the people must unite. The workers of the world, the exploited laboring masses must unite and stop and oppose fascism in the courts, and this exploitative system. To change the system and relate correctly to mankind's proper development and establish a socialistic system (system of power of the people) that is the dictatorship by the masses of the people. So Power to the People and Free all Political Prisoners, all the Black brothers and sisters throughout America. And Free Huey P. Newton Our Minister Of Defense.

that all blood circulation was lost in my head until I almost passed out.

There were other scenes behind the scene where there was a sneak technique to try and give me an overdose of tranquilizers where I would be in a steeper or a daze or in a hypnotic state, and I would not be clear as to what was going on. Naturally my next attempt was to come forth and explain this to the people and I told my wife at visiting hours last Friday so the people could know the cruel and unusual punishment that was being inflicted and their further fascist tactics to deny Black people and other poor oppressed people their constitutional rights in these fascist courts.

This act of racism on the part of the court, on the part of the U.S. government is nothing more than a blatant attack against all the peoples struggle to change this exploitative, oppressive, capitalistic system.

It is the ruling class that is behind the scene, it is Hoffman himself who is a member of the ruling class circle, who owns factories that make war materials to bomb children and people of Vietnam who are heroically fighting to defend their land and their people. It is an attack upon Black people here in America from poor oppressed people who are trying to attempt to fight and demand their rights, to demand the right to be free to build a socialistic system, to build a system and a nation whereby they take part in dictating their right to self determination and in fact making that a reality.



The Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said, "An unarmed people are either in slavery or subject to slavery at any given time"; and my chains are a clear example of what he was talking about.





INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A MESSAGE TO BRAZILIANS

The following manifesto outlines the aims and program of one of the two underground organizations in Brazil which were responsible for the capture of U.S. Ambassador Elbrick. Carlos Marighella is the leader of *Acção Libertadora Nacional* (National Liberating Action). Formerly he was a leading member of the Communist Party of Brazil. —The Editors.

From somewhere in Brazil, I address myself to Brazilian public opinion, especially to workers, poor farmers, students, teachers, journalists and intellectuals, priests and bishops, youth and women.

The military took power by violence in 1964; they themselves opened the way to subversion. Thus, they should not complain nor be surprised that patriots are working to oust them from the positions of authority which they so brazenly usurped. Just what kind of order do these gorillas wish to preserve? Assassinations of students in public squares? Executions by the Death Squadron? Tortures and beatings by the Department of Public and Social Order and the military?

The government has denationalized the country, surrendering it to the United States—the worst enemy of the Brazilian people. North Americans own the best tracts of land in Brazil. They own a large part of Amazonia and of our mineral wealth, including atomic minerals.* They have installed strategically placed rocket-bases in our territory. Agents of North American espionage, of the CIA, have ensconced themselves in our country, guiding the police in manhunts of Brazilian patriots and advising the government on how best to repress the people.

The MEC-USAID Agreement [between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture and the U.S. Agency for International Development] has been put into effect by the dictatorship for the purpose of imposing the North American system of education in our country and transforming our university into a private institution where only the wealthy may study. Meanwhile, students must face the bullets of the military police and defend their right to study with their blood.

For the workers: wage freezes and unemployment; for the peasants: evictions, illegal usurpation of their land, extortionary rents; for those of the Northeast: hunger, misery, disease.

Freedom does not exist in Brazil. Censorship is exercised for the purpose of restricting intellectual activity. Religious persecution is intensified daily: priests are arrested and expelled from the country; bishops are attacked and threatened.

Inflation flourishes uncurbed. There is too much money in the hands of the big capitalists, while less and less goes to the workers. Along with such low wages and such frequent decreases in real wages, rents and the cost of living have reached a new high.

Governmental corruption is rampant. It is shameful that the most corrupt individuals are to be found among cabinet ministers and officers of the armed forces. Members of the government live like potentates, indulging in contraband and robbery; meanwhile, government employees have been granted a mere 20 percent wage increase.

The orgy of inflated money has given rise to a wave of petty crime, a social phenomenon in a country where nabobs squander fortunes and impoverished millions plead for work, food, and shelter. The dictatorship, lacking moral vigor, cannot command respect and its authority is being threatened. It cannot even guarantee money in banks nor its distribution. Furthermore, it invites ridicule when it attempts to present a patriot [Marighella himself] as Superman, attributing to him the gift of ubiquity and the perpetration of all the terrorist assaults and other acts that are being carried out throughout the country.

In the face of the scandalous avalanche of lies and the acutely slanderous accusations made against me, I have no alternative but to answer the government—and its despicable police agencies who are determined to capture me, dead or alive—with bullets. Things have changed since 1964, when I was unarmed: the police fired on me and I was unable to repay them in kind.

Ultra-right organizations organize attacks, throw bombs, kidnap, kill. But we never hear that the government is pursuing any of the terrorists of the CCC [Communist-Pursuit Comandos].

The dictatorship claims that a subversive plot exists, a conspiracy of politicians deprived of their rights, to overthrow the government. And by means of a witch-hunt it seeks des-

perately to track down the leadership. But the leadership is to be found in popular discontent, for nobody can tolerate a government such as this one.

The movement which evokes such terror among the gorillas comes from below; it does not come from the politicians deprived of their rights but from the innards of a disaffected people, now determined to use mass force. This is the source of its unity and organization.

We shall not overthrow the dictatorship by means of military coups, elections, redemocratization, nor with any of the other panaceas of the tolerated bourgeois opposition. We do not believe in a compliant, submissive parliament, maintained with the approval of the dictatorship, and ready to yield on every point so that deputies and senators can survive, with their subsidies intact.

We do not believe in a peaceful solution. The conditions for violence are not in the least artificial. They have existed in Brazil ever since the dictatorship used force to take power.

Violence generates violence. And our only way out is to do what we are now doing: using violence against those who used it first, and who used it to the detriment of the national interest and the people. The violence that we proclaim, defend, and organize is the violence of armed struggle by the people, of guerrilla warfare.

The gorillas think that Che Guevara's death meant the end of guerrilla struggle. On the contrary, we in Brazil, inspired by the example of this selfless, heroic *guerrillero*, carry on his patriotic struggle, working together with our people, with a confident spirit and with history on our side.

A vast movement of resistance to the dictatorship is taking place in our country. And from within it guerrilla operations and tactics have emerged. Accepting the honorable title of Public Enemy Number One, bestowed on me by the gorilla government, I assume responsibility for the eruption of such guerrilla operations and their tactics.

Who will unleash future attacks? Where, how, and when will they erupt? This is the guerrilla movement's secret, which the enemy will try in vain to discover. Revolutionary initiative is in our hands. We are already on the move and we shall wait no longer. The gorillas will remain in their dark labyrinth until they are forced to transform Brazil's political situation into a military one.

In unleashing the people's revolution, in using guerrilla tactics, our aim is to organize a just and necessary war against the United States, a total revolutionary war of the Brazilian people against its enemies.

The Brazilian Revolutionary War is a long war—not a conspiracy. Its history is already being written with the blood of students in the streets, in prisons where patriots are tortured and massacred, in the actions of persecuted and humiliated priests, in workers' strikes, in peasant repression, in struggles defined by violence in rural areas and urban centers.

The fate of the guerrilla forces is in the hands of revolutionary groups and is secured by the acceptance, support, sympathy, direct and indirect participation of all the people. To achieve this, revolutionary groups have united in action, from the rank-and-file up.

Revolutionaries of all tendencies and of all party affiliations, wherever they may be, must further the struggle and create support for the guerrilla movement. Since the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution, we can ask no one's permission to carry out revolutionary acts. Our only obligation is to the revolution.

The recent experience of our people's struggle proves to us that Brazil has entered a phase of guerrilla tactics and armed actions of all types, of surprise attacks and ambushes, seizure of arms, protest actions and sabotage, mass demonstrations, "lightning" demonstrations, student demonstrations, strikes, occupations of buildings, kidnappings of police and gorillas and their exchange for political prisoners.

The principal tactic that we must now follow is to distribute revolutionary forces for the intensification of these forms of struggle. Later, we must concentrate revolutionary forces in order to carry out operational maneuvers.

SEE NEXT PAGE

INTERVIEW WITH CONSPIRACY EIGHT ATTORNEYS

Following is an interview with William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass, attorneys for the eight Conspiracy defendants who are on trial in Chicago for conspiring to incite a riot at the Democratic national convention last summer. Randy Furst represented the Guardian.

Guardian: With the Conspiracy trial entering its fifth week, would you discuss the government's strategy?

Kunstler: While we can't discuss great specifics—because of time and because of a rather unconstitutional rule of the court out here that prohibits defense attorneys from talking to the press about pending cases—I would say in general that the government is presenting a very narrow view of what happened in Chicago during the Democratic national convention. They're presenting only a portion of the story. We can tell from the material we get containing the full statements of all their witnesses that they're picking out only those events which they think are highly derogatory to the defendants. Their witnesses elaborate on those and stay away completely from anything which puts the demonstrators in a good light. Through cross-examination we've been able to develop inconsistencies and outright inaccuracies and fabrications by virtue of having the grand jury testimony of these same witnesses and statements that they gave other government offices before the trial. At this stage the government has not produced a witness who is entirely credible.

Guardian: From statements so far it seems you are trying to show it was a "conspiracy" of police, the city and the federal government against the demonstrators rather than a conspiracy of the demonstrators against the police.

Kunstler: That's exactly correct. Our position has been from the beginning that the wrong defendants are in the dock. And that the real defendants would be the Mayor of Chicago, certain federal officials, certain high-placed people in the Democratic party and certain state officials in Illinois who conspired together to absolutely ensure that there would be no protest demonstrations around that convention. And when all else failed, they resorted to the brutality of just clubbing the demonstrators insensible and frightening off or by force preventing the demonstrators from doing what they came to Chicago to do, namely a peaceful demonstration around the convention to protest the war, racism and poverty in the United States.

Guardian: Black Panther party chairman Bobby Seale maintains he's not represented by an attorney. Could you explain Seale's position?

Kunstler: Bobby originally wanted a trial team which would be headed by Charles R. Garry of San Francisco, who has been his main counsel for a number of years and in whom Bobby has great confidence. He doesn't know Len or myself except to the extent of this trial and he feels strongly he wanted Garry at the head of this team. When Garry became ill and could not be here, Bobby

attempted as did all the defendants to get an adjournment of the trial to provide time for him to recover from his gall-bladder operation and come to Chicago. That was not granted. So from the very beginning of this trial he's taken the step of saying he discharged the other lawyers because he was denied his own chief trial counsel. So he has tried to defend himself. [On Oct. 20, judge Julius Hoffman denied Seale's motion to act as his own attorney, which would have given him the right to cross-examine witnesses.]

Guardian: Are there precedents for defendants waiting to have their own lawyers appear before the trial starts?

Kunstler: Oh yes, there's a great deal of law that if the defendant is not doing this as a device to delay the trial and has a legitimate reason for a delay, courts normally grant them. In this case all the defendants wanted merely six weeks to enable Garry to have his operation and come to the trial.

Guardian: Judge Hoffman handles this case in an incredibly arbitrary manner. Why is he doing it?

Weinglass: I don't think a lawyer could answer that. You'd probably have to go to another discipline. The attorneys who practice locally indicate he's an extremely difficult judge. I can't explain this in full—except I'm just shocked by what I see.

Guardian: Has Hoffman made it difficult for you to present your case?

Kunstler: Yes, it's been a very rough experience for all of us and I think Lenny has put the nail in the wood in this situation. It's not really for us to comment. I think someone else would have to comment.

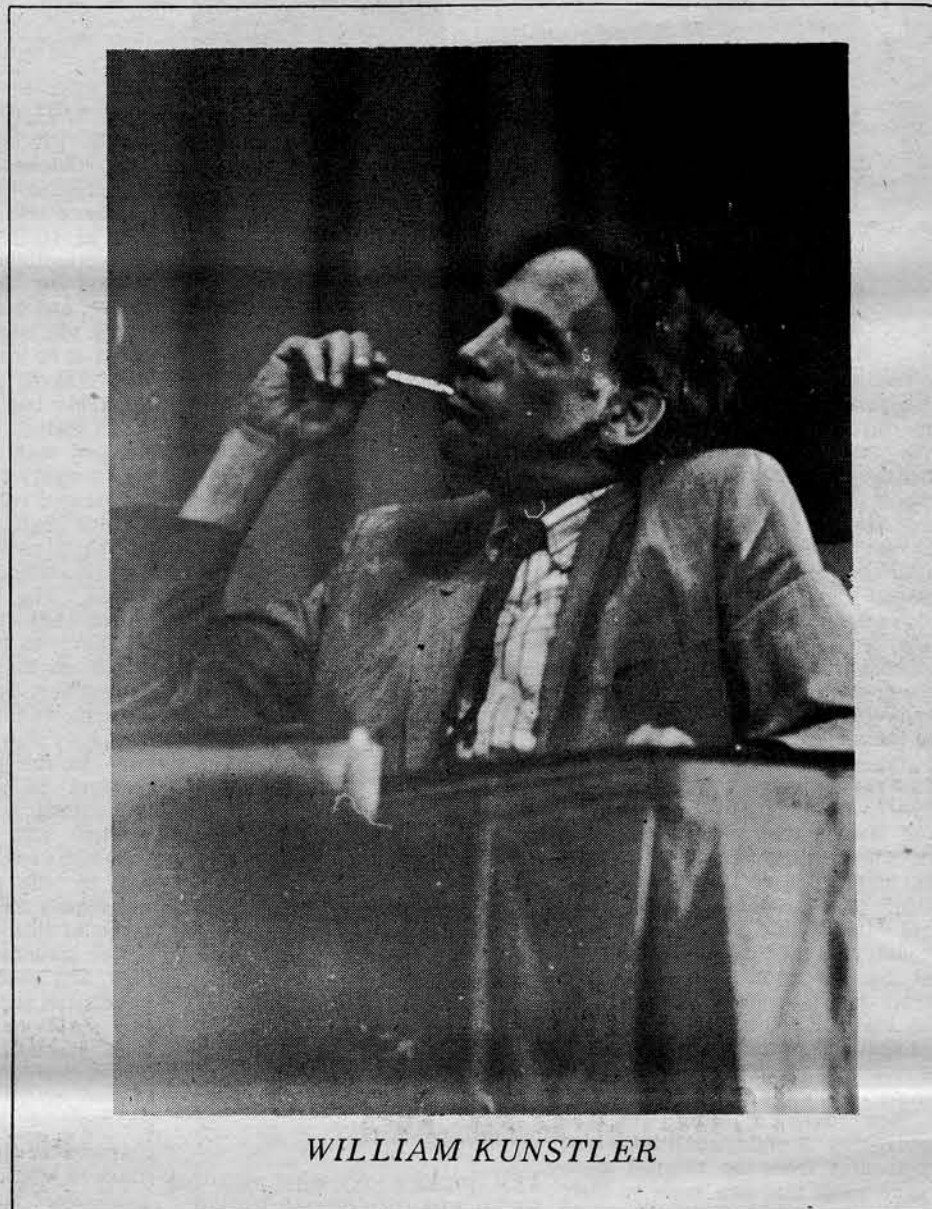
Guardian: One or both of you may face court charges after the trial. Would you discuss that?

Weinglass: We'll be in need of a vacation. There's no way to discuss it. At this point we don't know what the nature of the charges are or whether the threat of a charge is just being made to intimidate us in the course of the trial.

Kunstler: So far, Hoffman's called Lenny's conduct contumacious or he's said in reference to a remark of mine, for instance, "I want that very clearly in the record," leaving the distinct impression that at some future time he may take action. If he does Lenny and I hope the organized bar and lawyers generally will come to our aid. We feel the bar itself is impregnable to the attack of judges like Hoffman when it holds together and organizes around this issue of lawyers being held in contempt or otherwise disciplined for a vigorous defense of clients. One of the reasons why we don't feel intimidated is not our own courage but the feeling that there are a great many lawyers who we are sure will come to our aid if we are adjudicated in contempt, incarcerated or otherwise disciplined.

Guardian: It seems this is one of the most aggressive defenses ever in a movement trial.

Kunstler: I don't know. We have both



WILLIAM KUNSTLER

been in movement situations before. I think this is the most aggressive one I've ever been in. I think it's primarily due to the nature of our clients, who are very aggressive people. They take certain very active steps in their own defense and their spirit, I guess, goes over to the lawyers. We're affected by the fact that our clients will not own up to the legitimacy of the court and the legitimacy of the procedures under which they are being tried, but stand there really as very brave and articulate men who refuse to knuckle under to any courtroom disciplines other than the absolute minimal requirements.

Guardian: What kind of future precedents are being set for repression against the movement?

Weinglass: The law under which we are being charged is a major potential force against the movement. To prohibit people to travel across state line with a certain state of mind is the first time the federal government has engaged in prosecutions for merely having a state of mind. I think this is a substantial threat.

Guardian: What is the real chance of winning the case here or on appeal?

Kunstler: The judge asked me something today about whether my clients would be convicted and I said I

thought they would be convicted. I never got a chance to say, because they were not getting a square deal in the courtroom. Because the trial has been conducted the way it has, the odds are they will be convicted. The appeal would then be on the basic constitutionality of the statute and on many things that happened during the trial itself.

Guardian: What can the movement do to support the Conspiracy?

Kunstler: Send them money. Transcripts cost us about \$300 a day and we're \$1700 in debt on transcripts alone. Secondly, they can join the various protests that are going on around the country with reference to the trial. Lawyers can prepare for what may happen to the lawyers in this case. They can flood the letters column of newspapers with condemnations of the trial and take any other step people ordinarily take to protest, whether its writing to Congressmen, having meetings running fund raising parties for the Conspiracy and so on.

Contributions may be sent to the Conspiracy, 28 E. Jackson St., Room 407, Chicago, Ill.

**"AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SLAVES
OR SUBJECT TO SLAVERY
AT ANY GIVEN TIME"**

Huey P. Newton

OPEN LETTER TO BLACK GIs



Recently there has been an increasing amount of controversy by Afro-Americans regarding the legitimacy of Black military personnel participating in the Viet Nam conflict.



Even the people, the system once categorized as being responsible

citizens, are asking, "should Black Americans be fighting in Viet Nam?" The answer to this question, by revolutionary Black people, is NO!! This answer is totally contrary to the position of the system that is responsible for so many Black GI's participating in the killing of their allies. It is utterly ridiculous to think that we should go into another country and participate in the killing of a nation of people fighting for something all oppressed people, (me and you) are, or should be fighting for.

Consider, if you will, why this impoverished little brother is fighting so desperately. He could easily surrender and live under the lackey government of South Viet Nam but, he continues to fight and die for what he knows is right. He not only fights Americans but, also his own people. There are many reasons he continues his struggles but, they all boil down to one basic reason. He is fighting for his manhood! He wants his people to be the masters of their land. He has seen the land, which is his birth, taken by others and used for their benefit. His people have been denied human rights. Rights which distinguish man superior to animals. This ally, who

is fighting so unyieldingly, has seen imperialistic and capitalistic nations come to his land and extract tremendous amounts of wealth from it. In the process of his people being robbed, they have become slaves in their own land.

His women, who were once honored, have now become objects of recreation. His children have become beggars. His brothers are now puppets, uncle toms and thieves. The Vietnamese knows he is not responsible for the condition of his people. The creator of these problems knows that in order to continue to profit from Viet Nam, he must perpetuate the condition of the people. Our ally knows his liberty will not be willingly granted, so he must fight to free his people from imperialism.

Unlike we have been taught, he has not been brain-washed. He has seen these things happen to his people and the land he loves. You GI's, who are fighting against him, have been brain-washed!!! Thousands of Black soldiers are, at this very moment, under the assumption that they are fighting for freedom in Viet Nam. In reality, they are fighting to further enslave its people.

When America first began its drive to keep the Vietnamese peo-



ple down, our comrades were somewhat reluctant to engage in battle against Blacks. He knew about other movements towards liberation in Africa. He also knew the condition of Black people in the United States. Knowing these were one in the same struggle, he only fought you when there was no other choice. Now he has put you in the same category as his own people, who are fighting to stay under the rule of imperialism, and he must deal with you as we, in America, may someday have to deal with our uncle toms.

In America, people from all backgrounds are showing distrust, hatred and dissatisfaction in regard to the inhumane government of the United States. The Black people of this country are analyzing the political structure of

the United States and are declaring it illegitimate. The system is being made to change by a Revolutionary People's Movement.

The entire world is changing toward real human progress. We hope you return back to the United States to participate in the liberation movement, but if your return home means the death of an ally of the THIRD WORLD MOVEMENT, then we feel your life is no more important than the lives of the people who are responsible for you being there. For, progress of the world is being motivated by his actions.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. Edward W. Alexander

GI Surgeon Tells Brass No

San Antonio, Texas, (LNS)—Capt. Irv Roger, a 26-year-old Army doctor ready to be shipped out to Viet Nam, has told the brass he won't give the OK to send any men back into battle.

Dr. Roger is on orders to leave Fort Sam Houston, where he is now stationed, to go to Viet Nam as a battalion surgeon. It will be his job there to screen injured men, sending some back to active duty, others away from the front for treatment.

In a meeting held Oct. 15 at the headquarters of the American Friends Service Committee in San Antonio, Dr. Roger said he wouldn't send anyone back to battle. He

explained, "How can I justify the death of a single soldier I sent back into action in a war I don't believe in?"

Dr. Roger has been involved in anti-war activity, and is a staff member of "The Military Left," Fort Sam Houston's underground paper.

There was no immediate indication from Army brass about what would happen to Dr. Roger. His case recalls that of Dr. Howard Levy, who was recently released from Federal prison. Dr. Levy was jailed after being found guilty in a court martial for his refusal to give medical training to Green Berets.

STRIKE AGAINST ROTC

Fifty students at the University of Puerto Rico have been on a hunger strike since Oct. 7 in a protest growing out of mass opposition to the draft and ROTC on the campus.

Several students have already been taken to the hospital. The students have vowed to hold out until the campus ROTC is abolished.

Several prior actions have shaken the campus since the beginning of the school year. At a rally Sept. 12, 3000 students passed a resolution calling for an end to the draft and ROTC. On Sept. 26, more than 3000 students, led by a coalition of all pro-independence organizations, marched on the ROTC building and set it afire.

"Since that time," said student leader Antonio Gaztambore in an interview with the Guardian, "the press has been building a climate of repressive hysteria against us.

We responded by organizing a mass, peaceful march of over 400 students to show we would not be intimidated."

The administration reacted by shutting down the school for two days and issuing warrants for the arrest of several leaders.

The students hid out their leaders and took the issue to the workers, winning the support of several trade unions. On Oct. 6, 4000 students and workers marched to the courthouse, where the students subject to arrest held a rally and turned themselves over to the authorities.

The hunger strike began the following day, demanding release of those arrested as well as an end to ROTC. Since then, there have been several student-worker rallies, including one Oct. 9 with 4000 participants. The students have threatened a general strike if ROTC is not abolished by Oct. 30.

Open Letter To

HUEY P. NEWTON

"He who takes a step toward the liberation of his people, takes a giant step toward the liberation of his own." -- Comrade Che

Power to the People, Blood:

The time has come to write a letter to "you" to let you know that the people, and myself in particular, haven't forgotten you. Not too many open letters are written to you so I will try to say everything that is on the minds of the people so you will know.

A lot has happened, since your incarceration, to the Party, the people and the revolutionary struggle as a whole, culminating with the arrest of our Chairman, Bobby Seale. The nation-wide attempt to destroy the Party by the various reactionary forces has failed and now, more than ever, the people realize what's going down. People from all walks of life, whom you would never expect to have the slightest idea of what was happening, have made statements to the effect that the bulls--t that the structure is laying down on the Party has got to stop and that "Babylon" truly is a fascist state with all the trimmings. All across the country the questions are popping up, "Tell me more about Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party", "Tell us what we can do to further the revolution," and "When is it coming because I am ready?" The revolutionary struggle has moved into a new phase whereas the people are still on the defense (the fear of being jailed, murdered, exiled and intimidated for offensive attack, is still great) they are now ready to strike out in the proper revolutionary manner for what is rightfully theirs. The oppressor's vicious attacks now seem so out-right, obvious and stupid until it is the people who are laughing at "him", now, and condemning his every move toward change. In Watts and Detroit and so many

other places the oppressor has had the last laugh because of improper approach to self-defense. But I believe that wherever the revolutionary cry can be heard, let it not be said that those brothers died in vain but they had a cause to which they were devoted, and if any individual feels the slightest sense of doubt let him pick up the gun with the continual cry of revolution and peace.

I recently heard Agnew make a statement to the effect that he thinks it would be more important to get to Mars, Venus and all other planets, before we take care of the domestic problems here on earth. Can you dig that? And Nixon has thought of a quick cure for the inflation problem - increase unemployment. So these were just a little note to let you know who the people were tricked into endorsing.

If they would have elected Humphrey-Muskie the situation wouldn't have been much different because they have both openly supported Nixon-Agnew. Like Malcolm X said "its like choosing between the fox and the wolf."

The counter - revolutionary machinery is falling apart at its seams, because of the people. The revolution is already happening, and the pigs don't even know it yet, because of the people. The Vanguard Party has stretched out into a 32 Branch organization, because of the people, averaging 10 new Branches a year since its inception in 1966. We have National Committees to Combat Fascism, all over the country also.

So, be strong blood, we're reworking hard for the people, both in liberation here (in Babylon) and for world wide liberation.

SEIZE THE TIME!!
Marcus Rebel

NATIONAL B.L.A. OFFICE RANSACKED

The national office of the Black Liberation Alliance, located at 75 East 35th street, was ransacked on Thursday, October 24, at approximately 10:30 pm. The office was entered by smashing the front office window's plate glass. Office desks, chairs, drawers, files, and newspapers were strewn about the floor. Two telephone cords were also severed, however, no items were stolen.

Robert L. Lucas, national chairman of the Black Liberation Alliance, after phoning the office at approximately 10:30 pm, and hearing the phone receiver placed off the hook, was preparing to drive to the office when a neighbor notified him that a section of the office's front plate was broken.

Earlier this week, on Sunday, October 25, a small hole cracked the office plate glass in three areas. The office was entered on Monday, October 27, by shattering the cracked glass. Three electric typewriters, one manual typewriter, a 16 mm movie projector and camera, a large tape recorder, 15 reams of mimeograph paper, and \$50 in miscellaneous office supplies were stolen. Equipment valued at \$2,000 is missing.

The Black Liberation Alliance mistakenly assumed the theft was caused by burglars, but it has now been discovered to be a deliberate pattern of escalated harassment by Establishment agents who are bent on halting the organization's participation in the Coalition for United Community Action's fight against the racist building trades unions and activities as a direct action group.

The Black Liberation Alliance is requesting assistance in replacing its stolen items. Donations of office equipment and other contributions may be sent to: 75 East 35th street, Chicago, Ill. 60616, 842-0198/9321. Copies sent to: United States Justice Dept., U.S. Attorney States' Attorney, Supt. James Conlisk, Lt. Robert Williams, Human Relations Division.

October 1966

**Black Panther Party
Platform and Program**

**What We Want
What We Believe**



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

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

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

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 restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

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

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If 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 want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government 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 want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to 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 want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

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 want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

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, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

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

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

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RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. **CENTRAL COMMITTEE** members, **CENTRAL STAFFS**, and **LOCAL STAFFS**, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY**.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be **DRUNK** while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY**, and meetings of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE**.
5. No party member will **USE, POINT, or FIRE** a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the **BLACK LIBERATION ARMY**.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while **DRUNK** or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or **BLACK** people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested **BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS** will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. **COMMUNICATIONS** — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the **CENTRAL COMMITTEE** of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY**.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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OF
THE BLACK PANTHER**

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BOBBY SEALE
- Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
- Managing Editor
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- Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of **THE BLACK PANTHER** Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

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"REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME"

