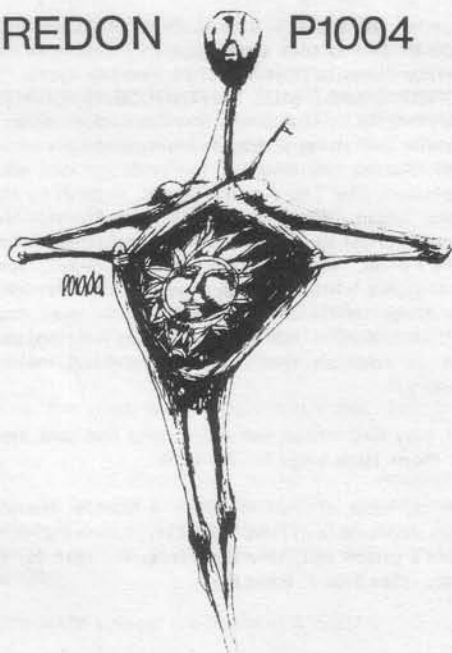


HUEY NEWTON SPEAKS



Interviewed July 4th, 1970

by Mark Lane in the California State Prison
at San Luis Obispo

Excerpted from the Los Angeles Free Press of July 24, 1970:

by Mark Lane

I celebrated the American Revolution by spending the first part of the July 4th weekend in jail with America's authentic revolutionary. In three days I spent more than twelve hours with Huey P. Newton.

Charles Garry, counsel for Huey and the Black Panther Party, met me at the San Francisco airport. I had just arrived after appearing on the Dick Cavett show with Jane Fonda. Cavett's continual denial of the national malignancy projected him in the role of the scoundrel, yet during the early commercial breaks he was both frank and charming. On the air the closest he came to an intellectual assessment of our recitation of the facts was to throw his hands up in the air and say, "Ah, c'mon now, Lane. I mean really."

The function of a prison is to prohibit the inmates from communicating freely; from being free. Dick Cavett speaks to millions of Americans every night. Yet he is not free.

Charles and I flew to San Luis Obispo and then drove to the prison just outside of town. Huey Newton came to us from his little cell where he is confined 21 hours each day. I have never met a man here at peace with himself; more free.

He is less a prisoner than any man I have ever met.

After Charles and I passed through several gates, some topped with barbed wire, we saw Huey. He and Charles embraced; we all shook hands and then entered a small attorney's conference room.

Charles gave Huey the latest is-

sue of the Black Panther Party newspaper. Huey began to read the paper and said, "We must get bigger type. People often have to read the paper where the light is not too bright." You knew he was thinking of other prisoners. I asked if there was much control of the literature that entered the minimum security prison that we were in. He replied in the affirmative and, smiling, added, "The inmates and I are really in a maximum security prison. You're in a minimum security prison—it's called America." As he browsed through the paper Charles said that he had several taped messages from members of the party in response to a position that Huey had recently taken. Huey asked that they be played then. As the voices of the party members rose from the little cassette recorded Huey read the paper and talked with both of us. The recorded voices expressed near unanimous agreement with the position that Huey had developed regarding an inner-party organizational matter. It was clear that Huey, eager for contact with the party through its press and members, and others through his discussions with us, wanted to utilize the entire visit to its fullest. I did wonder if he was really able to concentrate on all aspects of the mixed media experience until he interrupted the discussion at one point to ask Charles to play the last portion of the tape again. Together we listened. One sister had disagreed with Huey's evaluation and judgment. Huey was obviously pleased. He nodded his head and smiled as

he said, "Now, the debate has begun. Now, through an exchange of ideas, we can get somewhere."

Another woman spoke to Huey as the tape played on.

"Brother Huey, this is sister _____. I just hope that I can have my baby. I'm in my sixth month—while his father is still out on the street. I hope that I will be out also so the baby can be born on the outside, not in a jail ward. I suspect that we might all be arrested. All power to the people, Huey."

I asked if this was typical of the thinking in the party, this awareness of imminent peril. Huey said that the party was founded in 1966 and that he has been in jail since 1967. "I really haven't been with the party for three-quarters of its life. This was not the thinking when I was arrested. Obviously, to be realistic, we must be aware of the probabilities."

I asked if Huey expected to be killed when he was released. I was soon to learn that Huey almost always de-personalizes any question that is directed at him. "I think that there may be genocide practiced against the black people as we become more aware that this system does not work. Not for us, not for the poor whites in Appalachia, not for the Chicanos and not for the Indians. As we get closer to the answer when those who are oppressed understand that only by changing the system, that only through socialism can we secure democratic rights, we constitute a more serious threat. We are getting closer."

HUEY NEWTON MEETS THE PRESS

by Mark Lane

Not long after Huey was released from jail he flew to New York, en route to New Haven, to meet with Bobby Seale. We agreed to meet at an apartment that Jane Fonda had rented while she was filming in New York, for the three of us were then involved in exploring a film project. Hours before the scheduled meeting, a representative of the Black Panther Party called Jane to ask if Huey might hold a press conference at her apartment. Jane wondered if the press might utilize the apartment as an attack upon the Black Panther Party much as it had recently done regarding a fund-raising affair hosted by Leonard Bernstein. The Party's spokesman said that since Huey was required to fly back to the coast almost immediately following the conference, there was insufficient time to arrange a conference elsewhere.

The press began arriving early, and by 2:00 p.m. several camera crews, a dozen radio reporters and more than a score of newspaper, wire service and magazine reporters were present. That press hostility was present was apparent at once as a cameraman, under the supervision of his director, began to film a peep-hole in the apartment door. I asked him why he was filming a peep-hole and he responded, "what's wrong with it?" I explained that there was nothing "wrong" with it, just as there would be nothing wrong with filming an ashtray or my right shoelace, but that since he had made the choice of filming something that was unrelated to the news conference I wondered if he could tell me what was "right" with his choice. He mumbled that he would decide what was relevant. "Fair enough," I replied, "but let me fill you in on some facts. Huey Newton is holding the conference. Since we were going to meet here anyway it was thought that it would be convenient to hold the conference here also. This is not really Miss Fonda's apartment. It was rented for her by an agency for a four-month period while she is filming in New York. The furniture does not belong to her, the decor is not hers, and the peep-hole was here when she arrived." The filming of the peep-hole continued.

Huey arrived. It was hot in New York and stifling in the apartment. Huey had come from a day in New Haven, several meetings in New York, and a thousand embraces as he left a Harlem apartment for the press conference. Elderly men and women had rushed up to him on the streets of the Manhattan ghetto. Many cried as they told him that they had never expected to see him again. "Didn't you know that the people would free me?" he asked. And they replied that they knew, they did know that Huey would be freed. And they added, but we thought we'd see you on television. We're too old to go to rallies. We never thought we'd see you here in our street. And Huey answered, "You see me now. And I'll be back. Together we've got to do for McLucas, and Bobby and all the other political prisoners, just what the people did for me." And the people answered in their own way: the young ones, "Right on, Huey," and the older ones, "God bless you, Huey."

And then from the warmth of Harlem to the sweating, icy cold representatives of the media. Huey took one look and said, "Mark, I've just had too many meetings today. I'm all talked out. I think David Hilliard better hold this conference." But it was clear that that was impossible. Huey took a deep breath, and then went in to face the press.

I've been to a thousand press conferences but never one like that one. He spoke, he answered their questions, he educated those with the capacity to learn, he con-

founded the fools, and through it all his integrity and warmth and candor were apparent. The next day the Sunday News in New York headlined its story, "JANE FONDA'S EAST SIDE PENTHOUSE IS A LAIR FOR PANTHERS." The News provided not only Jane's number and street address but her apartment number as well. Across the country the coverage was about as profound. The Los Angeles Times, publishing the UPI story, began, "Black Panther Defense Minister Huey P. Newton chose the gilded penthouse apartment of actress Jane Fonda," etc. The next paragraph began, "Newton, sitting on a white, green and gold antique French chair, his image reflected in gold-framed mirrors," etc. The UPI described in full what Jane was wearing, pointing out in addition that "she was without makeup or jewelry."

All they had missed was what Huey had said. How sad for them. How tragic for America.

Yet portions of that moment in history, Huey's first press conference in New York City, following his release from a prison cell, have been preserved here for you to hear. (See Side 1, Band 6.)

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

Editing a recorded interview for purposes of providing a permanent record of a man's ideas and personality at a given moment in history is, under the best of circumstances, a difficult undertaking. Not the least of the problems is how to preserve the integrity of the original, spontaneous dialogue while doing justice to the quality of the ideas being presented. In order to provide as full and authentic a feeling of the original interview and press conference on which this recording is based, it has been necessary, at times, to sacrifice a degree of quality.

The prison interview was conducted primarily by Mark Lane, who, together with Charles Garry, visited Newton in jail over the July 4, 1970 weekend. The recording was made on a battery-operated cassette. The press conference in New York City (Side 1, Band 6) was made on the same machine under equally demanding circumstances. The result, I think, is a fair representation of the views of the foremost American revolutionary spokesman of our time.

This recording is the first in a series to be issued by Paredon in which leading revolutionary thinkers and activists of our time will speak to the world in their own voices.

Irwin Silber
Sept. 1, 1970

Side 1, Band 1: HUEY NEWTON IN PRISON

HN This is Huey Newton at San Luis Obispo California prison. I'll tell you a little about my experience here with the prison officials. I've been locked in my cell now for a year and 9 months, approximately 21 hours a day. And the reason I'm locked up and treated differently than most prisoners who are out from 7

o'clock in the morning till 10 o'clock at night is because I refuse to program, as the Prison Administration calls it, and I call it for reasons of refusing to work without just compensation. A few of the jobs you receive from 2 to 10 cents an hour. That's the top pay. 10 cents an hour. After you've worked maybe 5 years. So I refused to go along with this, and this is what the program was all about.

ML But you made a specific demand?

HN Yes. I made a demand that either I be paid a minimum wage of at least about \$1.65 an hour, and not only me but all the prisoners, or else I refused to work. In other words, I boycotted the plan.

ML You also made some suggestions about room and board.

HN Yes, I made a proposal to the Adult Authority that I would be willing to pay about 1500 dollars a year or whatever it is, if we were given a minimum wage. This proposal was rejected on the face as being ridiculous and unreasonable.

ML Where did you get the figure of \$1500?

HN Oh, it's just an arbitrary figure. I figure that \$1500 is more than enough to pay for what we get here.

ML For your accommodations.

HN Right! So, we're at a stalemate now.

ML Who did you make the proposal to?

HN I made the proposal to the Adult Authority by way of letter and I also made the proposal to the Disciplinary Committee where I have to attend every month, as they are reviewing my case. I go every month. I guess I've been 15, 16, 19 times or so. And I've asked them not to call me unless the other side could add something new to the talks. And they informed me that it was procedure and necessary for them to call me for a review even though they realized that we weren't getting anywhere.

ML How did the talks originally go?

HN The first few months we at least communicated, and they would propose and I would make a counter-proposal, and they would reject my proposals and I would reject theirs. And it would go like well I would reject the other side's. Very similar to the Paris peace talks. Because that's the way I wanted it. And they saw the similarities; I guess that made them very angry. After about 6 or 7 months we stopped communicating. I would go in and they would read the charges and I would get up and leave, and sometimes I'd come and I would say that I refused their proposal, and other times we'd just exchange noes, you know? No, they won't accept mine and no, I won't accept theirs. So we've gone through various interchanges on rejecting each other's proposals.

ML They used to ask you if you'd change your mind?

HN And I would ask them if they'd changed their mind. Yes, this happened for a number of months. Here lately, as I said, nothing goes on. Because we don't talk to each other very much. There's no communication.

Side 1, Band 2: AFTER PRISON—WHAT?

ML What are you gonna do when you get out, have you got some specific plan?

HN I'm gonna operate differently than has been prepared for me, though . . . Because the way the whole Party was run before, you realize before that when the Party was organized that I've never made I made two speeches. It was like Fidel in the Sierra Maestra, who made no speeches all the while the revolution was going on. I was thinking about that today. There's a part for speeches and stuff. Someone else can do that. Some real planning has to be done. I feel that with the Movement in general, there's not enough planning. It's too much of an entertaining thing . . . I plan to first get this paper up to par . . . although they're doing a very fine job, I think it has to be made more of a community paper. We have to really get it going. And then I want to do some things as far as organizing a bussing program for the parents of prisoners, and relatives, because one of the big problems is prison is very lonely, and most of the prisons are out of the way, and the parents don't have the money to come down here, to the various prisons. Some of the guys live in LA and they're in prison in San Quentin. So I would like to organize a bus program. It would be a free bus program, and so that we could tell them where the bus is leaving from and each week bus them to the various prisons. This way we can organize them too, because we get them all together, and they'll start talking about having meetings, so they can know what's going on in the prisons and put pressure when it's necessary. So, those are the immediate things. Of course I'm going to be very involved with Bobby Seale's case, the New York 21, and Eldridge, getting Eldridge back . . .

Side 1, Band 3: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

HN I kept hearing about this guy Eldridge Cleaver, he was at the Black House, and we had formed the Party then, and guys kept telling me well, you should talk to Eldridge Cleaver . . . Well, where is he? Oh, at the Black House, well, I know that's cultural nationalist there . . . so I didn't make any move, any effort. Then someone in the conversation said, well, he just got out of prison. So then I got interested. He can't be all bad, he just got out of prison . . . you see? So then maybe I would talk to him. But when they told me the Black House thing, I hadn't been there yet, but I knew about the parties there, the workshops, it was a cultural nationalist bit, and I had outgrown that. So, then I thought that maybe I'd try to get in contact with him, because he'd just gotten out of prison, but I didn't make any effort really. Then this guy named Jackman came by, with Bobby. And he said, "I'm gonna take you all to the radio station now, Eldridge Cleaver's down there," and he was with another guy who had just got out of prison, and on a talk show. I was listening, he was giving some history is what he was doing, giving black history and showing the treachery of the European and the American against the blacks, historically and currently, and I started listening. It was pretty interesting, but still, he was just giving history, so I still didn't know what did history mean, you see. I went down there, but the real reason I'm interested 'cause they said he was out of prison. I said I'm gonna recruit this guy, because he's very articulate, we need him, you know, and he seems to like to talk to crowds. I don't, so we need more guys who can do that. So I started blowing it to him after he came out of the radio station. I told him about the 10 point program, how we are a Socialist group, and Revolutionary Socialist, run that whole thing down, and then he's going like this, "yeah, yeah," then he says, after I had finished blowing, he says, "Well, I have an obligation to Betty Shabazz and the OAU that Malcolm was starting before he was cut off," you see. He never criticized or said "well, I don't agree with this part of

your program," or disagree with anything I said. So I was for sure that he didn't understand where I was coming from, because he didn't disagree with anything. And usually people can find some disagreement, you see. And then that would give me the occasion to go deeper, and to justify our move. But he wouldn't do that. He just said "yeah, yeah." So I left him and I told Bobby I wish we could get him, but we'd have to educate him because he doesn't understand or else he wouldn't have just said "yeah, yeah." I was over his pad. I'm still rapping to him, still trying to convert him because I was trying to give him the ideology, you see, because I was tired of the cultural nationalists, and I knew he had potentials to be out of sight because he was a strong character, seemingly, and he had been in prison . . . all the qualifications . . . been to "graduate school" . . . so finally, he still wouldn't talk. See, Eldridge, we've never had a real conversation, because he doesn't talk, you see, unless he has to speak or something. Never. He's just like that. Maybe because of nine years in prison, you get very withdrawn. Finally, he gave me this manuscript. I started looking through it and I read this chapter on local, domestic and international security. Cause the local security was the police, the domestic security was the National Guard, and the international security was the regular army. And then he talks about the little grey men who are in the smoke-filled room whom he calls "the deciders." After the deciders decide, they tell their soldiers what to do, the local police, the national police, and the international police. Then he goes into telling how the local police cordon off neighborhoods, blocks, communities, and then they come in and they search for that which is hidden. And then he goes off with the National Guard, and talks about how the national military cordons off whole countries, and goes into caves and searches to find that which is hidden. And he talks about how they won't stop until they drive you to your knees, and how they can bring about painful deaths; they have all sorts of mechanisms, like gas chambers, the gallows, guns, and ——— but still he talks about the deciders. But he says in order to deal with the deciders, you have to first deal with their strong-arm men. Well, this was the reason for the existence of the Party, because that's what the Party had concluded, that in order for any change to come about, you're going to have to deal with the strong-arm men . . . you see, you can't . . . on a local level, or a national level . . . Then after that I suddenly discovered the reason that all he said was "yeah, yeah," was not because he didn't understand but because he understood so much, we didn't have to discuss it. So from then on, I didn't attempt to discuss anything, we just worked together. We worked on this paper, for three days, in the same little room, and I doubt if we would say two sentences to each other, you know? And, but the paper would come out all right. And that's the way it went.

Side 1, Band 4: HUEY IN THE HOLE

HN I had been sentenced to 18 days in the hole for a little altercation with a police officer. The police officer called me a sonofabitch, and I called him a motherfucker, and I went to the hole for it. So they asked me did I feel good about calling the police officer a motherfucker and I told them I did, that I felt better about it, after he called me a sonofabitch. And I explained to them that I liked the hole better than the inside of the yard. Because inside of the yard you're under constant surveillance, you're stopped going from one point, say from the dining room to clothing exchange, and you're stripped, you're searched some of the time. Your cell is constantly being searched when you're out, or sometimes when you're in, you're invited outside, so they can go through your cell. This doesn't

happen in the hole. Because in the hole, you're locked up all day. You eat inside of your cell. And they sort of forget you. So you don't have that feeling of being constantly intimidated, constantly harassed. And you're even treated with more respect, most of the time. At least I was, in the hole, than outside. So I told them, yeah, I liked it much better, and they said, well are you normal? That's not normal. And I told them that I didn't think that I was if they were speaking from a statistical average and that—because I didn't think anyone was, that was an abstraction and, what does a normal man mean? I admitted that the altercation with the police, what brought it on and so forth was a matter of immaturity in that particular instance on both our parts. And they liked that and they said, yeah, yeah, that's good, that's what we're talking about. You were immature, and they just dismissed him. They said, well, you won't do that again and so forth—because that was immature, so you can't do those things. And I explained to them that I didn't know whether it might happen again or something similar to that, because in that particular instance I didn't think I was wrong. I did call him a habitual liar, so he called me a sonofabitch and I called him a motherfucker. And then they added their little things, of course, they added on to the report, that I said I would kill him, that I'd break his head in, which is totally a fabrication. I never said that. Even if I had wanted to do that.

ML But it is your position that he is an habitual liar?

HN Oh, yeah.

ML That was a proper assessment of the situation?

HN Right. Right. I just told the truth. So he had no right to call me a sonofabitch just because he's an habitual liar.

Side 1, Band 5: CYRANO DE BERGERAC

HN When you're dead, you're dead. If the brothers can't straighten it, then it's all right. But the dying thing is not an important thing, I guess. I was reading *Cyrano de Bergerac*, the play when he was offed, and of course he was a very courageous swordsman, and when he got killed he said that he had a very hard life because, well, his nose was long, and he didn't get the things that he thought he deserved, love affairs and so forth, and when he got killed, when he's dying, he said that "Well, this makes a perfect end. My whole life, I've never had anything I wanted, not even a decent death." Because he would much rather have died on the battlefield, so, "But here I am killed by a lackey with a log." You know, a guy dropped a log on his head when he was standing under a balcony. So, he wasn't unhappy because he got killed, but a lackey killed him. (laughter)

Side 1, Band 6: HUEY NEWTON PRESS CONFERENCE

REPORTER What has this trial done to your Party? What effect does it have on the Party itself?

HN It's motivated the Party. We're highly motivated against the legal lynching that's about to take place. As far as crushing the Party, it's impossible to crush the Party because the Party is one with the people and in order to crush the Party, genocide will have to be inflicted not only upon the people of this country but the people of the world. Because we struggle with all oppressed people. We struggle against the international bourgeoisie with its home here in North America. We realize that no oppressive government, no fascist government can exist unless the United States imperialistic government supports it. So we know that the final

battle will occur here and this will be the battle of liberation for the whole world.

REPORTER How do you characterize your organization? As a military group or as a political party?

HN We categorize the Black Panther Party as a vanguard here in North America representing the oppressed people of America and of the world.

REPORTER Is it a military group, though, as opposed to being a political party?

HN Is America a military state? We're whatever we need to be at a particular time. In other words, we guarantee you that we will act in an appropriate fashion, whether it's political or military. The society itself will decide and dictate really our actions cause we'll respond to it.

REPORTER Don't you invite further repression, though, with statements of that kind?

HN We say in the first place that we're a colonized people and even though we're not colonized, not in a classical sense, because we're a colony brought home to the mother country but we're colonized nevertheless. So we would say that at first we were a slave and we are not willing to bargain for one slave master against the other. And we are not begging the slave master to be a little more kind. The only thing he can do is stop being a slave master. Everything else is only a sort of absurd action. In other words, his kindness is not appreciated. If he ever displays any—which he doesn't.

REPORTER Would this military action be confined to the state of Connecticut, or will it be nation-wide?

HN When the people start to move, I guarantee you it'll be international. The Black Panther Party is an international party. We have a coalition with all struggling people of the world. And we feel that we must be internationalist because we're fighting an international enemy.

REPORTER How soon do you think the people are going to want to move?

HN The people are already moving. The people are moving in Vietnam. The people are moving in Laos. The people are moving in Cambodia. The people are moving in Latin America, Brazil. The people are moving everywhere. We're just joining in. Matter of fact, we're late-comers.

REPORTER International communism has as one of its tenets the fact that it will try to win over people in other countries. Are you allying the Black Panther Party with that type of movement? In fact, perhaps, that movement?

HN We support all people who struggle for national independence and self-determination. Some of these countries are revolutionary nationalists and others choose to be socialists. That's their business. We say that they must be free, because we realize that as the countryside of the world becomes free, and the Black Panther Party calls the developing countries of the world the countryside of the world, while the United States is the city of the world. And we realize that the United States thrives upon the raw materials of the countryside. As each country becomes free that it chokes the city because the city needs the raw materials, you see. So as the city is choked, then this increases our chances here as a colonized people to become free. So

while we're not nationalists, we support national wars of independence. We know that once the imperialists is crushed, nationalism will not be necessary any longer.

REPORTER Do you support the Viet Cong?

HN Pardon me?

REPORTER Do you support the Viet Cong?

HN Of course we support the Vietnamese people. Matter of fact—

REPORTER The Viet Cong.

HN Pardon me?

REPORTER The Viet Cong.

HN The Vietnamese people don't know what the word means and they never use the word, so I don't know what it means.

REPORTER In what country would you say the people are free? What is an example?

HN We are offering troops to the people who are engaged in armed struggle against the racist, reactionary American troops in Vietnam. We're now awaiting an answer. We've sent a formal declaration to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the South, we've sent a declaration to the Paris peace talks, one to the National Liberation Front. And we're now awaiting for a reply. We also sent a copy to our embassy in Algiers. Celebrate with us because we've been recognized now as the official liberation revolutionary group in North America. We have an embassy in Algiers and now we're ready to launch a new International which will be called the New World Liberation Front.

REPORTER Why do you hold press conferences in penthouses? Aren't they diametrically opposed to what you're talking about?

HN No, because we thought we would come where you fellows live.

REPORTER Huey, are you blaming the Nixon administration or Mr. Hoover's office for the situation that the Panthers are in now?

HN I'm blaming first and foremost the 76 companies who control Nixon. These are the monopolies or oligarchies that controls not only the people in this country but also who runs the empire. Because remember, this is not a nation. It has no right to claim nationalism. It's an international country. Only the international bourgeoisie is in control. We want to transform this into an international socialistic government where the people will be in control—and then, when America plans its economy it will have to plan for the people of the world also, because America are a part of that international confederation of thieves. It has ripped off the world, and now it wants to claim nationalism or isolation. America can never claim isolation again. All it can do is when it plans its new economy, its socialist economy, it will have to take into consideration Africa, Asia, Latin America, because these are the people it robbed in order to develop this technological empire that now exists.

Side 2, Band 1: WHY ARE THE PANTHERS SO PROVOCATIVE?

HN The question comes up again and again. First why are the Panthers so provocative in their rhetoric? Why

would they even talk about opposing the greatest military power in the world? Don't they know that it's impossible for them to change anything unless they make themselves acceptable to the social order? These are the questions that people ask and there are reports—I've read a report that came out of the University of California on suicide again and they said that the suicide rates among the blacks are skyrocketing and the Panther is symbolic of this suicide. But they don't know the difference between reactionary and revolutionary suicide, because we're trying to change, and we're saying that if we cannot change, then we'll die in the process. It's the same thing of Che when he talks about victory. Death is a reality and victory is a dream. So, it's the same principle that all revolutionaries operate on; we know that we're candidates for death. But we also know that we're the existential man and we're the free man, because we can choose between escaping to freedom or to death rather than to wallowing in the misery. See? So we've got to do something, and I'm saying that we have few alternatives.

Side 2, Band 2: REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

HN I was with the Party for one year. The Party was founded October '66 and I was incarcerated in October '67. During that time there's been a transformation in the Party as far as the psychology of the Party. A new reality has been created. And created through struggle, and that's what we call revolutionary culture. A new culture is created through the struggle against oppression, and this culture is a process of change at any given moment. And that's the only culture we say is worth holding onto. Because it exemplifies life's dynamic. Most people mistake culture for custom. A thing that's more stagnant, a thing that's less involved with life; more like a fad or habit or fashion or fad that's hung around for some time. That's what they would call culture. But when the revolutionary speaks of culture, we speak of the process of change where we adapt our behavior to the necessary situation in which to survive. Not only to survive, but to survive with freedom. And this has taken place in the Party. I see the new man is being created and the vanguard party is creating this man. We hope to transform the whole world. And we're sure we'll be successful because our fight is not just a national struggle. This must be pointed out that our fight is not a national struggle because we're not nationalists. And many people misunderstand why we would take up arms and call for solidarity with the people of the world such as the North Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front, the North Vietnamese and China. Why would we ask for solidarity? Simply because American capital is now American Imperialism. This country not only controls us here at home but it controls the world. It literally controls the world. And as each country becomes decolonized, shakes off the chains of colonialism, they arise and they seem to be adapting or embracing socialism. But because of technology the world is a very small place now. And we noticed the example of Cuba seems to be somewhat of a classical example now, same thing happened in China, where the countryside was taken first by the people, the Sierra Maestra, and it's choked the city. Havana was the last territory to be conquered, with the massive strikes. But first the city was choked by cutting off the resources. We know that capitalism relies upon the resources of the developing countries of the world. As each one becomes free it puts the chokehold on capitalism. And this is why capitalism and U.S. imperialism is making a last ditch effort to break the people, but they won't be successful. So our fight is internal, but we realize world revolution is necessary for our freedom. Because as each country becomes free, it's like the Sierra Maestra becoming free and then Havana becoming free. And the people of the

world becoming free will put a choke hold on America, which is the urban area of the world. The developing countries are the rural areas of the world and America is the urban area. And it will be the last milestone even though we will harass and make impossible for America to have business as usual and have immunity in their oppression of the people of the world and we'll attempt to divert their troops here at home because we're for sure they can't fight every developing country in the world and also fight a revolutionary movement here at home, because their resources are not that great, even though they're very, very wealthy and very strong. So ours is a world revolution and we talk in international terms. And we realize that solidarity is so important that we will not become free until the people of the world are free. And that's why we call ourselves revolutionary socialists and internationalists instead of nationalists.

That doesn't mean that we want to have a Chinese type of socialism or a Russian type of socialism, but we want to live with the people of the world and share with the people of the world. But we realize we have to adapt Marx-Leninism to our particular situation here in America. I think that Kim Il Sung of North Korea expresses this philosophy probably better than anyone else. That is, freedom for each nation to interpret Marx-Leninism according to its own needs, as he puts it, the chief thing is to fight against U.S. imperialism, World Enemy No. 1. And later on, after we win, we can argue the academic things about who is interpreting Marx-Leninism in the truest form. We think that's rather an academic conversation. Later on, it will be relevant. But first we have to get the boot off our neck and we can only do that through solidarity, with all the various interpretations, that's the Russian interpretation, the Chinese interpretation, the Korean interpretation and the Cuban interpretation. We struggle and support all of those countries and we want solidarity with them.

Side 2, Band 3: BILLY THE DOGGONE BANK TREE

HN I'll tell you a corny story. I don't like to tell this story. I wish I had another story, but I saw it as a kid, and it left an impression on me for some reason. It was a cowboy picture, and it was called "Billy the Doggone Bank Tree." Billy the Doggone Bank Tree was a gunfighter, a youngster, and he got shot up in a saloon in a gun fight, and then from that point on his girlfriend was trying to pursue, to find Death, so she could ask him to spare Billy the Doggone Bank Tree. And so she went riding out looking for Death. And then there's a flash to Death, and he's all dressed in black and everything, and he hears about Billy the Doggone Bank Tree is about ready, you know, so he starts writing down. So then from that point on the film picks up on Death, and what Death is about, what he do with his time, and it shows him making his rounds and so forth, and Billy the Doggone Bank Tree's girlfriend finally sees Death and talks to him, and begs him to spare Billy the Doggone Bank Tree. And he says, well, maybe, he doesn't know. I don't know who put the question to him, either his (death's) mother or his girl. He lives with his mother. But they ask him what did he do when he wasn't picking people up. And Death told her that he went around and looked in people's windows, and watched them around the fireplace with their families, and children, and that's how he spent all his time. Because this was life, and Death felt he got some sort of experience of closeness and warmth, by just watching this family relationship. A vicarious experience. I think Eldridge's is the same thing, out of wanting these people around, a vicarious experience of being intimate, of a common sharing of things. That's a corny story. I don't know why that story's always stuck in my mind.

Side 2, Band 4: ON BEING A REVOLUTIONARY

Every man desires and deserves some basic things like family and children and so forth. After you become conscious, you know that you can only have a family, you know that you can only have a house under certain conditions, and these conditions are stipulated by the reactionary ruling class again. If I have a house, I must pay about triple for it. If the house is worth 12,000 dollars, I have to pay 50,000 for it. So that someone can make a profit off of it. See? If I have children, I know that when they're first born, when they first become conscious, they will be affected in some way by the very racist society. They'll probably suffer in a material way. They won't be fed the proper foods and so forth. The only way they'll be fed and cared for properly if I'm a traitor to the people, and I say a traitor to the people, because then they will get what they need if I take a seat with the established order, which they offer. But then I'm corrupted, because if I take a seat in some of the professions I can only operate in that profession if I follow the stipulations by the ruling class again. I can't have a family, I can't have a wife, I can't have a house. I can't have what people, what every man deserves. So then this is the professional revolutionary, because then he's alone. Because even though he strives to gain all those basic things for the people, he cannot have them until the new world is created. So, what motivates him—his goal—is to destroy those conditions that stripped him and stripped the people. What sustains him is love, again, of his comrades and the people. Because without this, then, you'd probably commit reactionary suicide. So, his goal is total destruction so that he can live in the new world with these things that every man deserves. But as far as those basic things, I cannot have them. I reject them. Because they still are tainted with what the established order has ordered, you see? And I can't accept that. So it leaves me without an identity. In many ways. And that's why many reporters find it hard to get through to me, because they keep asking, well what about You? For a long time I couldn't answer why I couldn't talk about my individual self, but really it's all tied up now in the struggle, you see?

In Bolivia, there are Indians there who, generation after generation have spent their lives carrying lime for a living, lime sacks of about 100 pounds for about 20 miles. So a few years ago, a priest went in there and tried to help them raise some money so they could get some trucks to do it. The companies started to drive the trucks off the road, 'cause they don't want the Indians—first they get a truck, and then they organize, and maybe they'll get a union, you see. And so the Indians were very upset. Most of them are devout Catholics. And they asked the priest would they go to hell if they defended themselves, by, if necessary killing the guys who were trying to drive the trucks off the road, 'cause they were wrecking the trucks. And the priest told them no, they wouldn't go to hell for this, because they have a right to defend themselves. When I read this not too long ago, but suddenly I felt very alone. It was a feeling that I wished that I could want a truck, you see. Because that truck meant something to the Indian and his comrades. It meant that he could get more food for his family. Now even though he gets the truck, he's still going to be exploited, you see, he's still manipulated by that company, but he could want a truck. He could want a truck, because it means food for his family, so it's a possession that is part of his soul, and he deserves that. But for myself, now, I can't want the truck, not only the truck, I can't want—like in the South there's shrimp boats that some blacks are organizing, a collective. But they could want that as a group. So they become a bigger person, you see. The onion-skin thing again. Now that's a part of them, because of the consciousness it puts the professional

revolutionary in a sort of a twilight zone. That even though he would die trying to get the truck for the Indian in Bolivia, or the shrimp boat for the black in the South that the people around, that are racists, don't want him to have, he can't want it himself. Because that's still accepting the stipulation that he's going to be exploited there. But then, that makes you outside of the comradeship of the ordinary people, of the people. So you can't be a comrade to the bourgeoisie, and neither can you be a part of the people. You can sympathize, but you can't really share like they share. And that's why we say that the people are the only ones who can really know joy, that can really possess things. The younger Panthers haven't, most of them, haven't stopped wanting things; then, they hadn't. Now, perhaps so. But then, they hadn't stopped wanting things. You could question them, they would tell you things they would like to do, and they would be quite unrelated to destroying the oppressor. Just things, just ambitions, you see. But once you strip all of this ambition from the man, the man becomes dangerous. I read in the paper some years ago, they asked this black, he wasn't a revolutionary, he was a gang member. They were just getting the poverty program together, and they said, well, we'll give you a job. Pay you a dollar sixty five an hour, about. And he said, no, I don't want a job, I want to try the white man's jaw. Well, it was the same thing. To him it was too late, you see. You couldn't offer him anything any longer. But those younger Panthers hadn't reached that point yet. How I arrived at this, when I realized that there is nothing that I really wanted. That I don't want anything. And I reflected on those experiences with those younger brothers who still were ambitious, and not a way, not a greedy way, but a way where they expect to marry, to have kids, and a house sometime, just the feeling that they could possess these things, brought a certain amount of happiness. They could laugh together, dance together, and really enjoy things. But once you reach a certain point, where your identity is crushed, that you don't even have this fraternity any longer, not in a real way. You only have it in an abstract way.

Side 2, Band 5: REACTIONARIES AND GUERRILLAS

HN I have to talk about the reactionary regime and their soldiers in relationship to the guerrilla. To make you understand the difference. In the reactionary regime, the soldiers are mercenaries, really, and they sort of measure their chances between getting maimed or killed in relationship to their chances of getting back to the office to pick up their paycheck, and, because they're primarily to get the money to feed their kids and so forth. Where the guerrilla is certainly not there for the money because he is not paid and his life is only important in the relationship to changing the conditions that he's suffering under. And therefore he's prepared to change the conditions not only for himself but for the coming generation of his children. And leaving the correct image. So, he's prepared to hurl his life at the Gestapo, with contempt. And hurling his body at the Gestapo with contempt which would be his life, which would be death for the Gestapo, and certainly, most of the time his death also. But he's willing to do this and the only thing that comes into mind is how effective he can be, either in his strategy or in ending his life. Is ending his life necessary for the goal that he would do this, just this? And he finds that if he has a written guarantee that he can't win he would still do the same thing. In other words if he can't make the change then he doesn't want to live anyway. And this makes him stronger than oppressors' technology. His will, his spirit is stronger. And if he can't win, his children will win or his children's children will win because we will have laid down the pattern. So we're very optimistic, really, that we will win. Because we have sort of an extended life

experience. Our soul field or psychological field goes further than just our existence. It goes to the promise of a free generation and a free world.

Side 2, Band 6: REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

HN Dr. Hinton, psychiatrist of New York, he found out that just in the last 15 years, black suicide has superseded white suicide. Matter of fact between the ages of 20 and 35, it's double the white suicide rate, and I claim that this is because of a reactionary set of conditions again. And, of course, this is a reactionary suicide because the person is not free, he is driven to take his own life. And even the black crime, black against black, is suicide as far as I'm concerned, because each sees a looking-glass and the black destroys himself by destroying his brother. So, this is a category of reactionary suicide. But we do have a choice, you see. The social forces are so overwhelmingly against us until it's like a squadron of B-52's or tanks bearing down on you, and if you just stand there, even though there's no place to go, if you just stand there, and you're run down, then this is suicide because you didn't try to do anything about it. But I say that it's incumbent upon you to maintain your dignity, to at least spit at the tanks, as they come, you see?

There's a possibility that maybe we could do something to avoid this. If not we're still making our freedom, because just the act itself is the freedom to try to destroy that thing which provokes you. Which is the simplest realist act. Another interesting thing about Hinton, he pointed out that most white suicide, the highest percentage, is caused by the loss of some material things, social status, or loss of money, some

social position, failure to achieve a certain job or a better job. And for black suicide, it seems that an overwhelming percentage of causes, almost 90% or 80% of the causes, he says, is the loss of a lover. But I generalize this for my purposes and I think it's a fair generalization, to say that black suicide is because of lack of love. And I say that because what has happened, the blacks have no profession, they have no hope to achieve a social position, material things, and as you deprive a person of, say, social position, some material things—the personality is made up of things that you hope to be, or, your aspirations, your goals and so forth, and your profession, all these things. It's like the layer of the skin on the onion. And as you strip these things away, you strip the person away, you see? Till after a while, there's nothing left. So this is how the established order, the regime, has crushed blacks as a people of the world in general, and to a lesser degree, poor white Americans. So what's left then is just the man has almost lost completely his identity, see? So when you take the lover away, you take the love away, then he's no more. But I'm saying that when he's crushed, he's almost crushed, this is not only the killing, but it's also the redemption. Because in the new world that the Party, that we hope to see, the most important thing or the only important thing will be the love that we have for each other. Or that Man has for each other. So, it's sort of ironical that the way that we've been stripped until the most important thing we have is each other—communal living and so forth—and how that we relate to each other—if we lose that, then we lose everything. But after all, in the new world the most important thing will not be a social status or a material possession, it will be the love and harmony between men, you see?

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