

IN NORTH KOREA, NORTH VIETNAM, PEKING CHINA, WE WERE
GREETED AS THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION
AND AS HUMAN BEINGS AS RESPECTED
MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE

Comrade
Kim Il Sung



Democratic Peoples
Republic of
Vietnam

Late Comrade
Ho Chi Minh



Democratic Peoples Republic of China

Comrade
Mao Tse Tung



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INTERVIEW TAKEN FROM KPFA-FM RADIO

AN INTERVIEW WITH ELAINE BROWN, DEPUTY MINISTER OF
INFORMATION BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA



Anti-Imperialist Delegation Pyongyang - DPRK

★ ELSA: I'm in the studio with Elaine Brown who is Deputy Minister of Information for the Southern California Chapter of the Panthers. And Elaine Brown is also a song writer, and sings. Many of you will have heard her recordings and Elaine has completed or al-

United States; for example Ann Froines who's from the New Haven Defense Committee, and also the wife of John Froines one of the Chicago 8, and some from Women's Liberation Movement; and also Robert Scheer, who's a candidate for the United States Senate,

greeted as the anti-imperialist delegation and this was very good because for the first time in even our own lives we were treated as human beings and as respected members of the human race.

ELSA: So that official Northern Korea was aware of your existence and you dealt with them and had conferences with them. Just try and tell us the kind of things you think the people here would be most interested to know about what happened in North Korea.

ELAINE: We were greeted by the government, the Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland. You know Korea is one country, a whole people; and has been divided by the U.S. government, under the banner of the United Nations, into two countries

of people describe Hanoi. Americans seem to automatically, and it is natural, to think in terms of a capitol as something really big and so on. And everyone who goes to Hanoi has expressed wonderment that this is really a sort of small town. Now what's Pyongyang like? ELAINE: Well I think that with our so-called cultural background that people will be happy to know that Pyongyang is a major, large city. It's a very beautiful city. There are many new buildings. As you know the U.S. devastated, completely bombed and levelled Pyongyang back in the 1950's during the so-called Korean war - which was actually a war of aggression by the U.S. government. But since 1953, the Korean peoples under the leadership of

for example. The fact that there are not people begging in the streets. And it's a very fast moving city. Kim Il Sung University is there - it's a major city, not unlike cities that Americans would be familiar with.

ELSA: Is it the size of San Francisco or it's not like millions and millions.

ELAINE: I'm certain that there are several million people in Pyongyang. I don't have the exact figures. But it is a large city and you don't have the feeling that this is some underdeveloped country. This is a highly developed, industrial, agricultural state. And you know that when you arrive in Pyongyang, because it's alive, it's vital, and yet there is not this kind of disassociation of



Eldridge Cleaver in Pyongyang - DPRK

most completed - it won't be completed until she gets back to Los Angeles - a very interesting trip. And there seems to have been a lot of toing and froing in the press about who went where and why. Perhaps, Elaine, it would be better to begin with the facts and say how this came about, and who did go since I don't believe it's a

here in California. So it was a kind of cross-section of the American left. And of course Eldridge and myself, representing the Black Panther Party. We went first to Pyongyang, North Korea. ELSA: You went from North Korea to North Vietnam did you not. We'll backtrack and ask you about your impressions and conclusions.



Anti-Imperialist Delegation Pyongyang - DPRK

called North Korea and South Korea. And in South Korea, of course, the government is a fascist government under American puppet Pak Jung Hi, who most Americans know as Chung Hee Park, because he allows the U.S. to change his name. But, at any rate, we were greeted warmly, and immediately we were impressed with the beauty and the life of the Korean people. There were children who greeted us at the airport, for example, who wore very colorful outfits, and they had flowers. And we were greeted by some of the officials of the Party Central Committee in Korea. From that time on we began to see for ourselves the realities of a human society and socialist country where the people have, as they themselves say, "nothing to envy in the world", and that they are strong and they are happy and that they have nothing to worry about in terms of attacks from other countries, from imperialist powers because they usually say that they have an impregnable fortress.

ELSA: It's a mountainous country is it?

ELAINE: Mountainous and flatland. It's a very beautiful and very rich country. We went to not only Pyongyang, but also down to a Province known as Kaesong, which is where Panmunjom, the DMZ, is; and, also North of Pyongyang to Hamhung which is one of the main industrial cities of Korea. ELSA: What kind of a town is Pyongyang. It might as well be on the moon, you know, as far as anybody here knows about it.

Comrade Kim Il Sung who is the leader of the Korean people, have rebuilt Pyongyang into a beautiful city. You notice that the Korean people put great emphasis on the youth because, of course, the youth are future generations to continue the society. And so there is a large building in Pyongyang known as the Children's Palace which has

people with each other, where people are running out seemingly doing things that don't have any connection with other human beings. Everything seems to function as a unit. Physically the city of Pyongyang is very, very beautiful. And looming over most of the city is a large statue called the Chollima statue. It's a statue



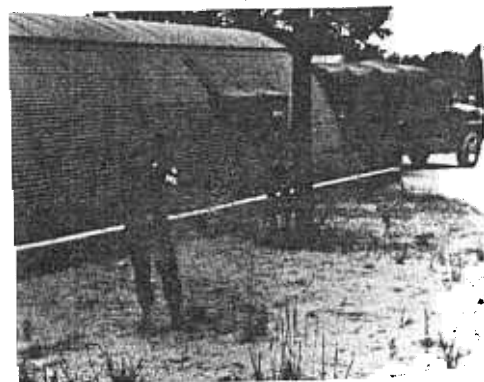
Anti-Imperialist Delegation - demonstration

secret. ELAINE: No, our trip was organized by the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver, who as you know, has been forced into exile by the pigs; and has, however, used this opportunity to organize the International Section of the Black Panther Party. And in conjunction with the work of the International Section a visit was organized to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the early part of July, 10 of us left to meet with Eldridge and go on to Pyongyang, North Korea. The group was mainly composed of

ELAINE: Yes we travelled from Pyongyang on to Hanoi and eventually wound up in Peking, People's Republic of China.

ELSA: Well that sounds like a very fascinating trip, let's go back to North Korea and begin there. What type of program was arranged for you there, what did you do?

ELAINE: Of course Americans do not frequent the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and we were welcomed with open arms. And as a matter of fact we were treated as delegates, as diplomats, representing the people as opposed to the government, the fascist, imperialist government of



U.S. pig MP's - Panmunjom DMZ

several, many hundred rooms, where children go to study dance, piano, they study musical instruments, learn chemistry, all the things that Americans classify as hobbies or avocations. Everyone all the children in Pyongyang are welcome to come to the Children's Palace. And the streets are beautiful, and of course very clean. So you are impressed by the cleanliness. You're impressed by the beauty of the people them-

of the Chollima riders. Chollima was a mythological horse, who would fly - he had wings - fly with great speed. And Chollima is mounted with 2 people, a man and a woman, one is a worker and one

is a peasant. And the idea of Chollima is the people, the proletariat, workers and the peasants will fly with the speed of Chollima to unite their society. And this is one of the major things

ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION

you arrive.

ELSA: Is the agricultural sector of the country - when you go through the countryside and so on - is it still fairly primitive, as far as instruments and that kind of thing is concerned? or has it been mechanized? In North Vietnam the agricultural methods are still fairly simple and it's done in the traditional way as I understand it.

ELAINE: I think that it is impossible to compare, for example Korea, with Viet Nam and certainly not the United States. Because what we're talking about in terms of Viet Nam and Korea, is about socialist, human societies. And in terms of the United States, a fas-

education and so forth. So that the so-called peasant is not living at a low standard at all. And they are living a very comfortable life, a very happy life. There are all kinds of activities that the co-operative itself is involved in and they eat the food that they grow and also they sell the food back to the State and they make a profit for the cooperative farm to continue. And they have tractors, and there are many mechanizations that are used. So that people are not plowing fields with carts and things like this. You're not talking about -

ELSA: The traditional peasant picture.

ELAINE: Right. At one time of



DPRK - Panmunjon (DMZ) U.S. pig MP's

cist, capitalist, imperialist society. So it's difficult to make a direct analogy from one type of thing to another. But in terms of Viet Nam you have to remember that the Vietnamese people are at this time engaged in one of the most vicious wars that has been known to the history of man, so that it's hard to make analogies between there and Korea.

ELSA: It is true that not many years ago the agricultural portion of all these countries was functioning at the same kind of level and with the same kind of tools that had existed for centuries. I was just wondering just how much so-called modernization has been introduced into North Korea, in agricultural terms.

ELAINE: The Korean people have been very creative. And since they were able to defeat the United States in 1953 they have been building their society. So that, for example, the entire countryside has electricity in all houses and so forth - we're not talking about a completely rural society where there is no electricity, no toilet facilities and so forth. So these things exist. For example, we visited several cooperative farms. And the interesting thing is that on a cooperative farm everyone of course, does certain tasks. And they receive benefits according to not only what work they put out but according to their needs, which is fulfilling the aim of socialism, according to their needs, and to their work, to their output, what they do. But there are older people who live for example on the cooperative farms who do not work, live in very nice houses, have televisions, most of the people even in the countryside have televisions in their houses, have radios, they have the things they need, for their own needs and desires. And in comparison to the United States, just taking that one portion of it, the people who live on cooperative farms actually live at a much higher living standard than the average person in the United States who would be involved in particularly in farming work, or even a worker. Because each person, for example, is provided already with health care and medical facilities, with child care, with housing, with some clothing allotment, with a free educational system up through what we would call high school and even college

course they did have that. But at this time the Korean people are living a very beautiful life. ELSA: What did you gather is the political expectation of the people there regarding the future. Just about the only news that one sees is periodically the implication that everybody expects everybody to attack everybody at moment.

ELAINE: Well let me say this. That first of all, the one thing that they're looking forward to in the future if their people are not attacked - and I think this is something that the people of the United States should know about and think about - is to free man from arduous labor. That means that they don't glorify hard work, no glory involved in a 20-hour struggle with a ditch, things like this. They are looking to free man to allow his mind and body to be one unit and that is a very important idea and a very important struggle that they are waging now, so that they want to make the society more of an industrial society and a technological society, but to use those technological gains on behalf of the people so that the people won't have to be involved in hard labor.

ELSA: In other words, they are not trying to go into competition with the great powers in over-production or floating markets and things of that sort.

ELAINE: No, because of course, technology can be - no one should be opposed to technology - technology is wonderful, it's providing all kinds of things for people. It's only that in the hands of dogs and pigs and fools that obviously technology can be used against the people and not in their benefit. And it's very easy to see in Korea, especially what advances they've gained in this area. And they are moving, as I said, to free man from arduous labor. Politically; As I said we were greeted by the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland. We were at Panmunjom. We saw the MP's at the DMZ, the line of demarcation. And you see all of a sudden, having seen the beauty of the people and how they can function together, and how they want to live together in peace and harmony, and you know that they have never aggressed upon any other country, and certainly obviously not against the United

States, you see this country is divided. So their main aim is to reunify their one country. Korea is one country. It is not two. And it's only been through the U.S. invasion that their country has been split. So that their major goal at this time is to peacefully reunify their Fatherland.

ELSA: How do they expect to do that. Do they think it will be as a result of war ultimately, or do they think that it will be as a result of the fact that news travels fast and that if in fact their society is providing for their people more than the South Korean society is providing, that the South Koreans will arrange to do something about their condition? I mean how do they envisage what they want taking place?

ELAINE: Well first of all in South Korea, the people are not fooled by the puppet government there. There are constant moves. There are revolutionary organizations in the South that are fighting right now. The kind of fascism under which they live right now is - the degree the intenseness of it - is almost beyond belief, from the pictures and things we saw, of course we did not go into South Korea. But from the beginning Comrade Kim Il Sung has issued statements that he would like, for example, just communications through letters to be permitted. Right now people that have relatives in the South can't write to them. They can have no communications, they cannot call them or write to them. They cannot on some holiday come and meet at the borders and say hello. So that they have been cut off from each other for years. But it is true that the people themselves are rising up. For example prior to Pak Jung Hi's being installed by the U.S.-C.I.A. as the so-called President of the South, Syghman Rhee was the President of the South. And the people themselves just completely threw him out of office. And what happened was that the U.S. government along with the C.I.A. operation, which at that time was headed by Kim Jong Pil, who is now running for President of the South, installed Pak Jung Hi through an alleged coup d'etat. But the people themselves are rising up. So that the only program that the North Korean people themselves are putting forward for example is a program of exchange of letters. Or exchange of food. People there in the South are starving and those in the North have the food and the ability to give them food. And they would like to just give their people food in the South. And they would also like to allow for free elections, have one election of all of the people there, North and South, free and open elections. But all of these moves have been denied. Right now as a matter of fact this is being discussed in the United Nations. I mean there are basic and very simple requests for in fact peaceful unification of Korea.

ELSA: Do they broadcast from North Korea into South Korea? ELAINE: As far as I know there is hardly any communication. The Pak Jung Hi regime is very tight and it does not allow hardly any propaganda to reach the South, the South Korean people. So that they are basically isolated from each other. That is why they would like to just open up communications. If they could talk to each other, they themselves, of course, could work out their own problems. But the U.S., of course, is interfering with this, and knows that if they would allow for free elections, that the people themselves would unite. And they would immediately



Elaine Brown with women Guerrillas in North Viet Nam

eliminate Pak Jung Hi from being President of the South. Because they never voted for the man. ELSA: What is their attitude toward China?

ELAINE: Well, of course, these are the socialist countries, and it would be foolish to say that they have anything but comradely love for each other. That they certainly have a common enemy, which is the U.S. imperialist. So that they are united in common struggle to, for example in terms of Korea, all of the Chinese and the Korean people are united around the Korean Fatherland. The Korean

has come up. That would be probably an American theory. Because the Korean people are an independent people, in fact that is a major point that they make. There is a phrase known as great power chauvinism, that refers to an imperialist power, China is indeed a large country, but it has no intention of dominating a smaller country and doesn't impose its will on smaller countries as the U.S. and some of its allies do. But China recognizes the sovereignty and independence of other peoples, their right to their determination. So that the Korean people, the people are living in the North are independent, is their country. And that is not even an issue in Korea, to talk about being dominated by a large, major socialist country. The only threat they may have, may not come from China, but more probably from the social-imperialist country, known as Russia. But that isn't their preoccupation. What they are concerned with now is the reunification of their country, and the withdrawal of the over 50,000 U.S. troops which now occupy the Southern half of Korea, under the United Nations banner. So that they are not concerned with aggression by their own friends, by their comrades-in-arms, the Chinese people, or any other comrades, because they have common goals and they are agreed on all these points.

ELSA: Did you go direct from North Korea to Hanoi?

ELAINE: Yes, we spent most of our time in Korea, and we were



Eldridge Cleaver and Anti-Imperialist Delegation with Vo Nguyen Giap - Democratic Republic of Vietnam

people and the Chinese people are united around regaining the province of Taiwan for the Chinese people, because it belongs to the Chinese people, it does not belong to the U.S. government, though it's now occupied by them under Chiang Kai-shek.

ELSA: Well, apart from the influence which sheer size always exercises against a small country next door, did you get the impression that the North Koreans feel that they really had independence, that they're not being dominated or run by China.

ELAINE: That isn't an issue that

invited -

ELSA: That must have been several weeks then?

ELAINE: Over a month. We were invited by the Vietnamese, through their embassy in Pyongyang, to come to Hanoi. And we went from Pyongyang to Hanoi.

ELSA: And what were the immediate contrasts, which I suppose must have been enormous between those two capitals.

ELAINE: Well of course the main thing that you see is the fact the Vietnamese people have been stifled in their growth. They achieved liberation, but yet they



Anti-Imperialist Delegation with South Vietnamese Guerrillas at Gulf of Tonkin

ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION

Anti-Imperialist Delegation Handring Bridge North Vietnam

have not been able to move within, in terms of socialist construction, reconstruction of their country, because of the fact they're of course occupied. After they got the French out of their country, they had to deal with the Japanese as did the Koreans for 15 years. I don't want to sidetrack but I do want to make this point about which we were not as aware, I'm sure that most people in the United States are not as aware of the importance of Japan in terms of its alliance with the United States. But what we've found out is that there is a revival of Japanese militarism. In Japan right now, for example, they are promoting large pictures of Tojo and Hirohito and things like this. And as you know the Japanese Defense Minister - either he's still here in the United States or he's just left - has had conferences with Laird. And what is happening now is that the Japanese and the United States - and they've always been allies - the skirmish that they had in the 40's has never destroyed their alliance because they're both vicious governments. So to go back to Viet Nam, after the Japanese were put out of Viet Nam, they hardly had any breathing space before Kennedy began "special

love for people. They have love for the American people. They have no hatred toward the American people. They understand the distinction between the American people and the American government, and they simply want the troops to get out of Vietnam. When you are there and when you see the people they are very warm and loving and they're such a beautiful people. You feel even more hatred for Nixon and the Nixon clique and the current regime, that is actually running the United States and the people in the United States. And the Vietnamese people, even though their people have been bombed with everything, chemical and biological warfare, their land has been run over, they still have concern and love for the American people. Because they realize the American people are not perpetrating this war. But that it is the government that is doing that. And so you want the war to end immediately, even more so than you did the day before, because you see that they could do so much with their country if they didn't have to be involved with this war.

ELSA: Wasn't there something, I seem to have seen something or heard something on a KPFA bulletin about some letters that your group brought back from American prisoners of war.

ELAINE: Yes, As part of an exchange we made with the Vietnamese people - we did some broadcasts, which I will talk about in a few minutes - they gave us some letters to deliver to the families and relatives of Americans. Prisoners of war in Vietnam. It was something like 374 letters. And when we arrived in customs, those letters were ripped off by

ELAINE: We were fortunate to get the opportunity to broadcast to the GI's who are fighting right now in the South. It's important to know that the Vietnamese themselves are receiving letters from GI's who are fighting right now. Somehow they get letters through from the South either to the PRG, the Provisional Revolutionary Government's office, or to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North. Letters expressing their hatred for the war. They're disgusted with themselves. There are many suicides for example, GI's committing suicide, that the American people don't know about, because the GI's don't want to

those troops he couldn't. He and Agnew are not about to rush over to Vietnam and deal with the Vietnamese themselves, you know. So it's important that this kind of work be done. And we were glad to have that opportunity to say that. And we want the people to know that we did that. And there will be a response. There have been responses in the past, to some of our literature, the literature of the Black Panther Party, from GI's. Because there are Black GI's right now fighting right along with the Vietnamese, the Viet Cong, fighting the U.S. troops. So this is what we would like to see, if nothing else, come out of

the war will open up in the North again. So they are always on the alert. We visited several provinces. For example, we visited Thanh Hoa Province, which is South of Hanoi, where we stayed about a week. And it's a rural area. And there are villages. The people don't have very much, but they give everything that they have in terms of accommodations and food. It's a very beautiful country. There are lots of forests and forest areas and trees. And we visited there and got to know the people. We met many of the guerrilla units in several villages there. And you see that there are young women, for example, sixteen and seventeen years old, who are guerrillas, whose lives are spent watching the sky for U.S. planes to come back. When of course 16 and 17-year old women, girls here don't have to do that. And besides that, what you feel is that this isn't something that is part of their lives. This shouldn't be part of a 16-year old girl's life - to have spent practically all of her life, from the time say since she was 10 years old, involved in watching the skies for planes coming over for possible bombings or opening up of bombings again, this kind of thing. And listening to the songs of the Vietnamese people. They're very involved in songs and cultural performances and things like this. They have a way of reciting poetry that is like singing. At any time you can be just sitting in a room somebody might get up and start singing a song. And yet they know that they're living under the most horrible threats of their country being completely devastated. They have a phrase that says, "let the sound of the song be higher than

DPRV - Women victims of pellet bombs

involve themselves in the war. So that as part of our stay there, we broadcasted over the Voice of Vietnam radio to the American GI's in the South. Particularly Eldridge Cleaver and myself did a broadcast to the Black American GI's, whose own people are dying and suffering under racist, fascist terror right now, here in Babylon, here in the United States. So that we were fortunate enough to broadcast to them. And we hope to provide a vehicle in the future for other people to do the same thing, through the International Section of the Black Panther Party. For example to have someone who has a relative in the South at this time who is fighting send a message through their voice. And this is very good because the people are interested in peace. If they really are, if they're interested in stopping the war, then they can broadcast these messages over the Voice of Viet Nam radio and they will reach the South. The GI's have radios, and this will be a good way of helping the Vietnamese people get rid of the troops. Because the GI's who are there are certainly an important force. They're certainly not the deciding factor, nor are they the most vicious of the different types of warfare that are being perpetrated against the people. The most vicious, of course, would be the pilots and the use of bombs. But nevertheless this kind of work and talking to the GI's is very good. What we said in essence is to put down their guns. We told them to desert. We told them that in fact the best thing they could do, if they wanted to, if they had the guts to, would be to turn their guns against the people who are giving them orders to kill innocent Vietnamese people, who have not done anything to them and who are not invading California or New York or anything like this. And so that it's madness for them to even be thinking about defending Democracy or so-called freedom or what have you, that the only thing they're doing is being used as tools by the U.S. government. Because Nixon himself obviously is not going down there into South Vietnam talking about picking up a gun. So that the only way that he can push forward an aggressive

those radio broadcasts.

ELSA: What else would you like to tell us about your stay in Hanoi?

ELAINE: The Vietnamese people are in fact still under these ridiculous conditions, engaged in trying to rebuild their country. And they're building factories. They have factories there. And they have cooperative farms, and



Anti-Imperialist Delegation - Hanoi, DRV

war" in Vietnam. So that what you feel and see, when you leave a highly developed country like Korea and go into Viet Nam, is that the Vietnamese people are stifled in their growth. Because of the U.S. war that is being waged there the entire country must come to the aid of the people, particularly living in the South where the major struggle is right now. However, people should know that even though the bombings have stopped in the North, there are reconnaissance flights over the North all the time. You can hear the planes. If you're out in the countryside, you can hear firing of anti-aircraft guns at the reconnaissance planes. Most are unmanned. But some are manned reconnaissance flights over the North. So that they're concerned right now with the survival of their people. And they cannot put their full emphasis and full concentration on developing the society in terms of agriculture and industry. But one thing that you do feel very much is the warmth of the people. And you know that the spirit of Ho Chi Minh has been injected

the pigs. So that we no longer have them. Now this is really the only communication that these people are going to have with their husbands, or what have you, over in Vietnam.

ELSA: Didn't they say they were going to return them or something like that?

ELAINE: Well as far as I know, those letters probably have been returned. And we, those of us who have been there, will take the responsibility for seeing to it that the letters are delivered to the people to whom they are addressed. But the thing that was so stupid about it is that this is the only vehicle. That is, that the Vietnamese will more or less give the letters to someone who is there to bring back, because they don't have to allow that kind of communication. And that the U.S. would do this kind of thing all the time, confiscate the letters, the Vietnamese would have no choice. That is, why would they continue to send those letters over here, so that this was just really a stupid thing to do.

ELSA: Now you said you wanted to say something about the broad-



Eldridge Cleaver and Elaine Brown - Peking, China

hospitals. But what you feel is so much hatred for Nixon. And you think about Pat Nixon, you know, sitting off in the White House, when you see Vietnamese women who are subjected to living in conditions that we don't really know about in the United States. And these are the people in the North. But they understand that. They understand that they don't have all of the resources to start building their country; and they also understand that if they did do that,

the sound of the bombs. This is what you get out of Vietnam when you go there.

ELSA: How did you happen to end up in China, because I think that is the most unusual thing in one sense in the whole situation.

ELAINE: China. Just as in Korea we had visited the Vietnamese embassy and had received an invitation to Vietnam; we visited the Chinese embassy in Hanoi, and were invited to come to stay in China. We did not stay as long

ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION

long as the Chinese asked us to. We only stayed about a week or so. And in a week one can hardly see all of Peking - let alone China - because of course it's a very vast country, very large country.

ELSA: And how were you received there, and what kind of impressions were you able to achieve.

ELAINE: You know, there are 700,000,000 Chinese. I don't really know how to say it, because there is life and vitality, and there is strength. And you know that the Chinese people are not going to tolerate any kind of aggressive act by the U.S. imperialists in particular, nor any of their cohorts, friends or partners, you see. And you know that when you arrive in China, it's very lively. Peking is a tremendous city. I believe there's a population of about 6 or 7 million. That's almost the population of New York, and yet it's not like New York, because the people are not squashed into housing. The land space is plenty enough for them to live comfortably. You're not squashed on the streets, you know.

You're not walking around the streets being pushed up against walls. So that whole theory about population is kind of interesting when you see how the Chinese people live. And if people were to be really concerned with each other and if governments were concerned with their people, of course, people wouldn't have to live like that. So when we arrive at the airport, as, of course, all over China there is music. Sometimes you hear music playing, different songs of the people. One of those songs is playing in the satellite, "The East is Red", the satellite the Chinese people have going around the world now. We visited as many places as we could in that short time. The Chinese people are strong and they are determined to work toward world revolution. They are nationalists and internationalists. And they are concerned with the struggles of all people. They aid them as much as they can, in any way that they can, aiding all people in their struggle for self-determination, for liberation, for revolution. Because they are true socialists. And you know that, not only from the political statements



Eldridge Cleaver and Prince Norodom Sihanouk (head of National United Front of Kampuchea)

people looked confused. And when you're in China everything is clear, everything is beautiful. People are lively and vital, they have things to do. They are helping each other, and they know it. And it's beautiful. And they're not worried about anything. They're really not. They're not worried about anybody messing over their people, because they know they can deal with that. And they will deal with it. If the U.S. or Russia attempts any kind of attack on the Chinese people, they can deal with anything. And you know they're very committed, continually building their society, eventually into of course, the ideal communist society, stateless society, and one in which the people will have all the benefits of a highly technological society.

ELSA: After your return from China you were in Algeria. And you were there when an embassy on the part of the Panthers was opened. Can you tell us something about that?

States government cannot even represent the American people to over one-fourth of the world's population, you see. So when we look at it that way, then we realize that the opening of the International Section of the Black Panther Party is significant, not only because it puts us directly into the international arena; but also because it will be a vehicle through which the American people can have relations with this over 1/4 of the world population, in addition to other areas of the world. But I'm talking specifically about Asia. So that it is an embassy, it is a people's embassy. And the people are welcome to come there. We want people to go and visit our embassy there. And we want the people themselves to go and see for themselves what is there. They are not permitted to see other embassies around the world. So we welcome the people from all over the country to come to Algeria, if they can, and see their embassy there. Because it is not only the office of the International Section of the Black Panther Party, but it is a people's embassy, and can represent the people, or at least can provide the people with representation, if they want, to areas which the temporary government of the United States cannot deal with at all.

ELSA: Supposing anyone got there and was able to visit the embassy. What would they find, Elaine, what is it like?

ELAINE: Physically it's a very beautiful building. It's a typically Algerian type building 2 stories and it's very beautifully decorated. But they might see there, which is what you would have seen, had everyone been at our opening, was the people of the world, who are concerned with the future of the world in terms of peace and human societies or a world human society, an international society of human beings gathered there. Because, we are there to do not only work as an information center for people who want news on the United States, or what have you, and also other countries which would like to get information; but also as a center where people can come together and meet. At our opening, for example, we had representatives, an ambassador from the Chinese embassy, an ambassador from the Korean embassy, from the Vietnamese embassy - the Democratic Republic

Provisional Revolutionary Government. As a matter of fact the office space which we now occupy there, the building, was formerly the office of the PRG of South Vietnam. And of course, the Algerian government and people were there, and different liberation organizations in Africa which have offices in Algiers came through. So it's a very active center, an international center of activity, and recognizing the Black Panther Party, of course as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in the United States. And that was very clear when we - to backtrack a bit - were in China, in Vietnam, in Korea. Because they recognize the Black Panther Party as such. And they also have contact with our embassy in Algiers. And through this machinery to all of the American people. They understand the significance of our work. And they have themselves denounced the attacks and the repression against the Party. For example in Vietnam we met with Premier Pham Van Dong also with General Vo Nguyen Giap, and both have said openly that they denounce the repression by the American government, of the fascist, U.S. government, against the Black Panther Party. And particularly Pham Van Dong issued a statement, not only supporting our struggle, but demanding the immediate release of Chairman Bobby Seale from prison, and denouncing the plot to so-called legally murder him in the electric

ELSA: And I imagine after a journey like that to come back to home base is always a strange experience and I expect that you walked back at just about the time when a lot of things have been happening in this country.

ELAINE: Actually it was a cultural shock, you know. To return back to Babylon, after having been in civilization and seeing the civilized world was a cultural shock. Even though we had lived in Babylon all of our lives and known what it was like - returning from civilization into madness was a real cultural shock. We almost weren't able to adjust. We felt very disoriented and strange at seeing New York, when we arrived. If you could really see the difference yourself, you would see that it is absolute total madness here. And it's a shame that the American people are subject and slaves to this madness that has been perpetrated upon them by a few people. And that's the feeling that you get. You really can feel sorry for the people that have never had the experience of being in the civilized world, you know.

ELSA: Did you go to the trial of the New York 21 or go to see any of those people.

ELAINE: No. But I want to say that, when I arrived in New York, we were greeted by many people from different organizations, but also by the Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, David Hilliard. And the Minister of De-



Anti-Imperialist Delegation - Peking, China

chair in Connecticut. And these are very key statements because we realize that the people of the world are really united on these issues. And that it is only the U.S. government which has kept us from this information, which has lied to us. For example, it was never told to us what went down in Korea. They lied to us about the Chinese people. But the International Section, the embassy, will be able to provide the truth to the American people, and counter the lies of the U.S. government you see. So it's very good. We want people to go to Algiers. And they can talk with Eldridge Cleaver, who can't come here and talk with them, because the U.S. government has forced him into exile. We will be pushing, hopefully, a strong program - to get amnesty for Eldridge and bring him back to the United States. Because the man hasn't committed any crime, other than the crime of being human and trying to gain the rights, human rights, for every man, for his own people, for Black people. So that we think that people should go there and talk with Eldridge and start also demanding for his amnesty.

ELSA: Then from there you came back to New York.

ELAINE: Yes, we arrived back in

fense, Huey P. Newton, was at the airport. And what I felt was relief. In the sense that it was all connected and it was very good. Because we had been in the civilized world; and as I said, we had seen the very concreteness of our future, of what we are working towards. And knowing how many Black people have gone down here in Babylon and died fighting or just died because of our slave condition, and knowing that this is what the future holds, and that our Party has been a strong leader and strong organizing body to push this struggle to its complete end, seeing Huey Newton there was like an historic event. Because it tied everything together. We all felt a kind of relief. We know now that the future is ours. That's the kind of feeling that you have when you see Huey Newton. And if you don't have that feeling then it's just something wrong with your brain. Because you have to feel that. The man is out of jail. And I felt we are going to be propelled with the speed of Cholima, as the Koreans say to the conclusion. It started with him and it was very appropriate that we should come back and he should be out of jail at this time. We just felt glad and relieved and very warm. And, as I said, I felt



Anti-Imperialist Delegation - Peking, China

from the government, from Chairman Mao, but also from the people themselves. They have internalized international love for other people. They are very vital, very strong. The women all wear pants and they're not involved with clothing. They wear good clothing, very simple, very plain, and very pretty too. When we arrived back in New York, having left Peking not too long before that, it almost looked like walking into the snake pit. Because of all kinds of madness. Ever-

ELAINE: We left Peking and returned to Algiers specifically for the purpose of opening the International Office of the Black Panther Party, which is in fact an embassy. When you talk about figures, we know there are 700 million Chinese people, 40 million Vietnamese people, 8 million Cambodian people, 3 million Laotian people. That's just part of the Asian people. That's just a quarter of the world's population. And the United States

all kinds of madness. Ever-

ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION

describe. It's very beautiful to come back, and find hers, in the midst of this madness, coming out of civilized societies, this human being.

ELSA: You were in New York for a time and I suppose re-acquainting yourself with what's been going on here. What would you like to tell us about that?

ELAINE: Well, we had gotten some information, while we were in Algiers, of some of the activities that had been going on around the country in the past 2 to 3 months.

And from that view not being oriented to all the things that had been going on, it's very clear that the fascist plot against Bobby by the U.S. government has been completely stepped up to unbelievable heights. We realize that Lonnie McCluscas for example was just convicted. This was not a victory, as many Americans would like to believe, or something like Black militants get a fair trial in the courts of the United States. This is madness to even think this way. Because the man didn't commit a crime. It's stupid to say that he only got a few years in jail, when the man didn't commit a crime in the first place.

That's analogous to saying that Huey spent almost 3 years in jail, when he didn't commit any crime, you see, as opposed to going to the gas chamber. So that was the first thing. The fascists have definitely stepped up their repression. But also they have tried to use a little bit of propaganda, making statements like this. So that the fact that Lonnie McCluscas was not given the maximum penalty is meaningless when the man has not committed any crime. The only thing that leads you to believe and understand is that they intend to use that to justify their plot to murder the Chairman of our Party, Bobby Seale. To say that well, if Lonnie McCluscas could get a fair trial, then you must know that the trial of Bobby Seale will be a fair trial. And they can justify an attempted execution of him in the electric chair in Connecticut or justify what they might do to the other New Haven Panthers, Ericka Huggins and the other New Haven Panthers, who are facing very serious charges which could bring them the death penalty in New Haven right now. So that was one of the things I also found out. That another of our prisoners of war - and that term must be clarified and it must be clear in people's minds that we are engaged in a war, whether the people understand that or whether they accept it or not, the reality is that we are engaged in a war. Because we have not committed any crimes, so that we can't be charged with going into prisons and jails for committing any crimes. So that our people that are in jail are actually prisoners of war. And one of them, Randy Williams, who was incarcerated several months ago for allegedly attempting murder on some pigs, his bail has been reduced - which is also not a favor to our Party. Because it's the same thing. The man was arrested simply because he was a former GI and was familiar with military tactics. So this was just part of a plot, at that particular period, to begin to wipe out those brothers in our Party who have these kinds of skills. They feel that this will deter our movement. But Randy Williams' bail has been reduced. It was reduced to \$75,000, which is a phenomenal figure to talk about something being reduced to. But at any rate we want to try and get the funds to get the man

for him to remain in their clutches, to remain in their hands. So we are trying to get together, right now, the bail for Randy. This was another fact that I wasn't familiar with. Also, nothing has changed in the case of Romaine Fitzgerald. We call him Chip. He was arrested on one charge, of attempted murder on a highway patrol pig

and while he was in jail, they suddenly found this charge of murder of a security pig in Compton, California. We had never even heard of the incident. I let alone understand how they used this against him. The man went to a so-called trial, which was the most unbelievable trial that I've heard of, that has ever existed in United States history. A four day trial for a first-degree murder case. That is to say that the jury was picked, the prosecution rested the defense rested and the jury went out and came back with a verdict all in four days. That was March 2 to March 5. And he was convicted of first-degree murder.

Two days later, sentenced to the gas chamber. So right now he is still in San Quentin. So people should be aware that these prisoners and these people who are struggling to change our society, to bring civilization to our society, to bring this kind of human thing that I have seen and have witnessed myself, to our society, are being just railroaded through courts and into jails. Nothing has really changed. And all that is happening is that the repression has been stepped up. We found that in Philadelphia, for example, just prior to our Constitutional Convention Plenary Session, our Philadelphia offices were attacked by the troops of a madman in Philadelphia, who calls himself the Commissioner of Police, named Rizzo. And Rizzo sent out his dogs to attack our offices. And not only did they attack the office, but once the firing had stopped the brothers from our Party, members of our Party were forced to stand on the street stripped of their clothing. They were standing on the street without any clothing at all. These kinds of things that you haven't even heard of before. And what are they charged with? It's not even clear as to why the raid took place, that is, in legal terms. And here people are forced to stand in the open air without clothing and then arrested - 14 people were arrested and charged with all kinds of beserk charges. And these are the kinds of things that I saw. And it was even more of a shock this time, because you know that they are crazy and that they will continue to step up their program. But this kind of activity shows you not only their viciousness, but their vile, low-lifted ways, to do this kind of thing. They were, of course, unsuccessful, because I learned that at our Plenary Session of the Constitutional Convention which took place in Philadelphia shortly after that, there were approximately 20,000 people who attended the sessions there. So the only thing that the pigs did was to prove in fact that the people are not intimidated, and certainly not by anyone as stupid as Rizzo. Nor are they intimidated to the degree where they will not struggle for their own freedom. For 20,000 people showed up in Philadelphia to talk about rewriting the so-called Constitution of the United States. And this is very good. We were glad to hear this, because it had just been in the planning stage

picking a jury. For example they have prospective jurors who are so old, there was a man who was so old he was an obvious racist; but besides that, so old that the man lost control of his bowels in the courtroom and had to be removed from the courtroom. These are the kind of jurors that they are trying to say can judge young Black people who are simply saying and demanding and they've taken action to gain our freedom, our liberation and to bring about a new order. And this is the kind of order that they now have in the court, where they have people so old they can't control their bowels right there in the courtroom. This literally happened. And it is madness. This shows you their nature, what their plans are, to continue to try and use the courts to try to justify their actions. And then to stick people on juries and or have judges who not only can't control themselves, who can't think, who are so ingrained with fascism and racism that they don't even see anything except for the fact that these are Black people. They introduced this openly in the case of our Chairman in Chicago, to use this to justify all kinds of murders and acts of aggression upon our homes, upon our lives, you see. So that these are just excuses. They are using the courts right now and this is what you see when you come in. It's a very clear pattern. We learned that not only have they been attacking our offices in Philadelphia, but also our National Committee to Combat Fascism office in New Orleans. And just two months before this attack, the governor of New Orleans, who is obviously a Ku Klux Klan member, or something - certainly doesn't matter what organization he belongs to, he belongs to the U.S. government. His name is John McKeithen. This man said two months ago, when our N.C.C.F. office opened in New Orleans, that the Panthers are not going to survive there; that they didn't tolerate this kind of thing in his town, in his state; and, that they would show us. And they did. They attacked the office viciously. Every single person that was working with the N.C.C.F. was arrested, brutalized and not only that - 20 people were arrested in all - 13 of those were workers in our community center but the other 7 were people from the community. The area where our office is in New Orleans is an area where there is a major government housing project (Desire Projects). If people can understand figures, there are 10 thousand families that occupy this project in New Orleans. 10 thousand families, that is approximately 60 thousand people, occupy these projects. So that when they attacked our office in New Orleans they just began shooting at people and arresting people in the community. And out of the 20 they arrested, 7 were people just from the community, that had nothing to do, as such, with the Panther Party, or with the N.C.C.F. there. And then they had the nerve to issue the statement that they're looking for Willie Dawkins. Now I don't know why they claim that they're looking for a brother named Willie Dawkins, because he hasn't been hiding. To say you're looking for somebody tends to imply that they are lost or something. Well, Willie Dawkins hasn't been hiding. In fact he's been doing very key work, he was one of the key organizers of the Convention in Philadelphia. But maybe he passed through New Orleans a year



Peking, China - Elaine Brown with Red Guard

ELSA: I assume they are not actually in jail now. And I'm wondering, I hope to find out what the difference is between their case and the case Earl Caldwell of the N.Y. Times, who also refused to testify and is not in jail. So perhaps something will be worked on that.

ELAINE: They're going to jail on the 1st. And the only thing that's going to be worked out would be that the people themselves would organize, and especially the journalists. You see Eldridge Cleaver said that it is the job of the journalist to tell the truth at all costs. And to prove that the pen is mightier than the sword. So it would seem to me that, especially in this area, in the Bay Area, that the journalists here, the people who are involved in this medium, where our first amendment rights have been clearly violated, Freedom of the Press, that these people would be offended. Because if they can take the Black Panther Party paper out of circulation just because of this, then it seems to me that it would put in jeopardy anyone who wants to talk out, to say the truth. Because that's what the Black Panther Party paper does. And that is why, of course, it is being attacked. Well it seems to me that the journalists all over the country really should start organizing to demand that they do not go to jail. Because if they go to jail, that's going to put a whole lot of journalists in some uptight positions. And put them also in jeopardy. Because that would be the type of program that they could go to jail, because they refuse to talk to the Grand Jury about the workers on our paper. Because they know that, that is just a front, an excuse to talk about our Party, to incarcerate them for all the crimes that they could trump up. So just because they used their 5th amendment rights as human beings in the society - allegedly you have the right to not say anything - they're being arrested for contempt of court. And they're going to have to go to jail. Brenda Presley is going to have her baby any day and she has to go to jail. All of this, of course, is part of their latest

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ANTI-IMPERIALIST DELEGATION

freedom to have conversation. That means that if you tell a journalist that you must tell me what you have said to such and such a person - this is assuming, of course, the kinds of questions they may ask - then the person is forced to reveal private conversations, which they have no right to, you see. Which they may not have wanted to have publicized. And if they did publicize it then that's sufficient. And that there are all kinds of rights that are violated. But it all is an attempt as I said, to close our particular paper down. To get the voice of the people out of circulation. And this is not a local plot, it's just that in this is the area where our paper is produced. So this is where the attack is at this time. But for instance in Buffalo, New York, people have been arrested, members of our Party have been arrested, every single time they have been out on the streets with our paper to distribute them, to sell the papers. And the average pig on the street is saying very openly, although they haven't declared this, they're saying very openly, well, if we see anyone out here with Panther papers we're going to arrest them. So that we can hardly get our papers distributed in Buffalo. Another example, in Dayton, Ohio, it is a misdemeanor at this time to use the word pig. Well now, of course, in our paper this is our language, you know. It hasn't seemed to have affronted the people, who are not pigs. So that the only people who are affronted are the people who are pigs. And so now they are going to declare in Dayton, Ohio that it's a law that you cannot use the word pig. Well this is obviously an attack on the paper too. Because that means if you can't use the word, pig and this paper is riddled with the word pig, so we have to get this paper out of circulation. And this is the kind of thing that is a national plot, coming particularly from Attorney Mitchell's office. Because Warbeide, a pig named Warbeide, who is one of Attorney Mitchell's main boys, was involved in this case with Shellie Bursey and Brenda Presley and he works out of Mitchell's office. He's the



Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver - Maceo Cleaver's Birthday - Pyongyang, DPRK

that we are planning, and will have, in Washington, D.C., on the 4th of November registration will begin, but on the 7th and 8th of November we will hold the Constitutional Convention, to in fact re-write the Constitution of the United States. And if people are interested in working with this, they can contact the National Headquarters here. ELSA: Can you tell me something that has intrigued me very much? And that is why Washington, D.C.? Many people have asked me that and I have not been able to find any answer. ELAINE: Washington, D.C. is of course the seat of the fascist government, so I wouldn't see any other place that would be more logical than Washington, D.C. for the government of the people to begin to be established. ELSA: In other words, not because you like Washington, but because it's purely symbolic. ELAINE: It's not only symbolic, we don't deal in symbolism, it's a real situation, I think that al-

ELSA: What else did you want to talk to us about? ELAINE: I did want to say one more thing. That was, about the death - the murder of brother Jonathan Jackson, and the other two brothers who were killed in the most valiant and courageous revolutionary act that has been committed in our lifetime, here in Babylon. And that I wasn't familiar with this while we were away, didn't know what was happening. And when we finally got the facts together as to the revolutionary courage and heroism that the brother displayed, by demanding a new order in the court, through his own effort, you see, by saying that we will not tolerate the courts to justify their own acts of murder and genocide against our people; by being a young 17-year old man who stood up and did this, I felt very good. Because it was a clear indication that our people have understood very clearly that we have no rights which the oppressor is bound to respect. And so there's no point in our getting caught up in his rhetoric. That is to say, in the pig rhetoric. That we know what's happening. We know that these are just justifications for acts of violence, of reactionary violence against our people, to completely commit genocide on Black people. So that after Jonathan Jackson, and the other brothers who were with him, with an act of manhood and heroism, and the fact that they are now claiming to look for Angela Davis, whom they say was a member of our Party - shows you they may even start raiding our offices, saying they're looking for Angela Davis. Angela Davis wasn't involved in this case. She was a friend of Jonathan Jackson. And they just wanted to get her off the set. So they just kind of connected those two things up and used that. But I'm glad to see that the sister didn't relate to going to jail or going to court on a charge that she had nothing to do with. And they can't find her. But this doesn't mean that they will stop at not raiding our offices, even to look for Angela Davis, or Willie Dawkins, or Geronimo, and all the other people that they claim that they're looking for. So I just wanted to make that one more comment. That I felt extremely warm and knew that we were moving into a new era, when such a re-



Mass Rally in Hanoi supporting Black people struggle inside U.S.



Anti-Imperialist Delegation - Hanoi DRV



Anti-Imperialist Delegation, North Viet Nam War Crimes Information Center



Hanoi, DRV - Eldridge Cleaver and Anti-Imperialist Delegation

same person who set up our Chief of Staff for this insane case of saying that he would kill Richard Nixon. It was taken out of the context of a whole speech. And also for the December 8th raid on our office in L.A., these are the same people, you see. So this is all part of a national network. But it's being stepped up. And certainly, as you know, having come back from this trip, you can see very clearly what their intentions are - to isolate us by wiping out our paper, to use their courts to justify their acts of aggression upon our people, and the total plot of genocide of Black People. So these things

most 95% of the people there are Black people. Washington is a large plantation, you know. You have the White House sitting in the center, and all the slaves around the White House, you know. Washington is built on a circle, so you have the slave quarters all around the plantation master. So that it's a very key city for that. Also Washington, D.C. is the city where the no-knock law was just passed to be tested there, and a preventative detention law, which is a complete violation of constitutional rights. So that it's not only symbolic, but it will probably be that Washington, D.C. will be a very key city in terms



Maceo Cleaver's Birthday party - Pyongyang, DPRK