

**There is no U.S. Ambassador
to the Republic of Algeria
but there is a chargé d'affaires.
Then there is Eldridge Cleaver.**

Our Other Man In Algiers

By SANCHE de GRAMONT

ALGIERS.
THE counselor of the Chinese Embassy, a short, square man named Wei Pao Chang with a thick mop of straight iron-gray hair, said he was sorry to arrive late at the reception. He had been to the airport to see off Algerian President Houari Boumediene, Mauretania-bound for a meeting with other African leaders. The reception was in a handsome villa with a garden in the hill suburb of El Biar. Two shining bronze plaques on the columns of the entrance gate showed a crouching panther and said: Black Panther Party—International Section.

The counselor of the Chinese Embassy briskly waved a fan the same color as his anthracite-gray Mao suit and made diplomatic small talk with the Black Panther ambassador to Algiers, Eldridge Cleaver, who towered above him. Cleaver and the half dozen other Panthers on hand wore a kind of uniform, too, short-sleeved blue shirts with shoulder straps and black slacks.

Wei Pao Chang said something in Chinese to his translator, who repeated it in French to Elaine Klein, an attractive American-born girl who works for the Algerian Ministry of Information, who put it from French into English for Cleaver, who gave his reply in English to Miss Klein, who put it in French for the Chinese translator, who gave Cleaver's reply in Chinese to Wei Pao Chang, who smiled.

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"We are glad you could come," Cleaver said.

Wei Pao Chang asked Cleaver about his recent trip to Asia with 11 members of antiwar groups from the United States. "How much time did you spend in Peking?" he asked.

"We do not wish to say," Cleaver replied, "because it might be written that we did not spend enough time to gain a correct impression, but we feel we did gain an impression."

"What did you see?"

"We saw the Red Guards, the university and a fantastic ballet performed by the women's section of the Red Guards."

"We are enemies to the death with the American government," said Wei Pao Chang, "because of its support of the puppet regime in Formosa, but we have great sympathy for the American people. We hope you will overcome the American monopolies."

"Right on," Cleaver said.

IN the United States, the Black Panthers are viewed in official quarters as a menace to society. They are harassed by police, and shot in battles with them. Many of their leaders are in jail or out on bail. Cleaver himself went into political exile in November, 1968, rather than go back to jail when his parole was lifted after he was involved in an alleged shootout with the Oakland, Calif., police.

But in Algiers, the Panthers are respected as one of approximately a dozen liberation movements accredited by the Algerian Government and provided with assistance and support in their task of overthrowing the governments in power in their respective

countries. "This," as Cleaver pointed out when he announced the opening of his new headquarters in mid-September, "is the first time in the struggle of the black people in America that they have established representation abroad."

The reception, attended by members of African and Asian embassies and high-ranking Algerian officials, marked an abrupt change of status for Cleaver, who in his year and a half of Algerian exile had many occasions to feel neglected. He and his wife, Kathleen, were given a drab, unheated apartment in the tacky suburb of Pointe Pescade. Cleaver was warned not to attract too much attention to himself.

Now, in their new quarters, Cleaver and his friends are the only Americans recognized by the Algerians, who broke off diplomatic relations with the United States several years ago. There is still a skeleton staff under a chargé d'affaires working out of what was once the American Embassy, but they now call themselves the American Affairs section of the Swiss Embassy. Last Thanksgiving, Cleaver attended a reception at the residence that houses the American Ambassador, when there is one, and said of the lovely Moorish villa: "Nice house you've got here. MY house." In a sense he was right.

Now that the Panthers have a house, they plan to maintain close contact with other liberation movements. They will provide a haven for American black exiles. They will organize the recruitment of black G.I.

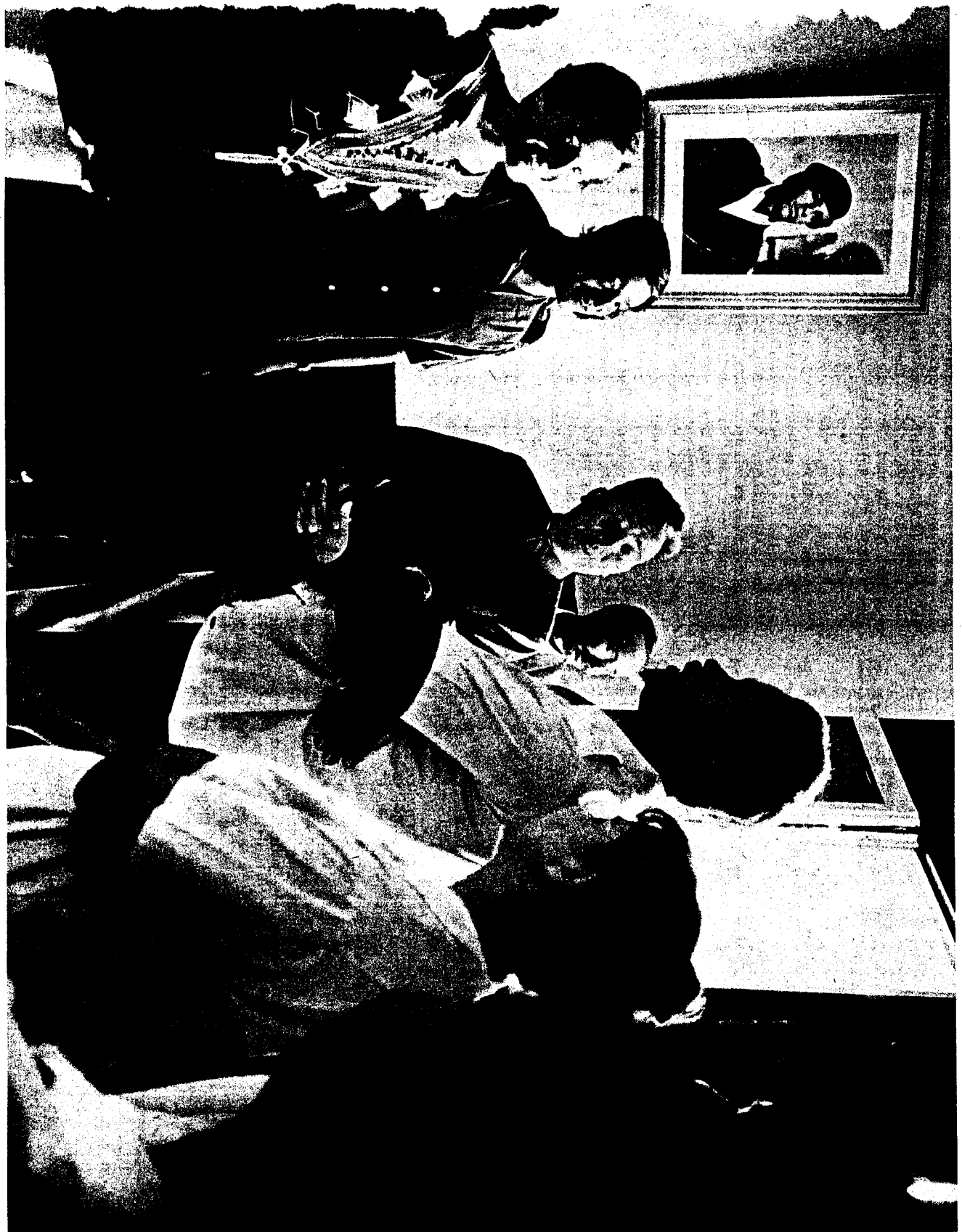
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A plaque in Arabic identifies Black Panther HQ, Algiers.

"Black Panther ambassador to Algiers" is the way Cleaver, who went there after fleeing the U.S. in 1968, thinks of himself, and here he entertains the counselor of the Chinese Embassy, Wei Pao Cheng (in Mao suit), at a reception opening the Panther headquarters. The woman at left is an Algerian Government translator for the occasion. The photograph on wall is of Panther leader Huey Newton.





Our other man in Algiers



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deserters. They will publicize the activities of American revolutionary and antiwar groups. Eventually, they expect to return to the scene of the struggle.

In Algiers the Panthers feel safe. They are protected by the Algerian

Government and surrounded by kindred spirits. There was no sign of weapons at their headquarters. The reception was like any diplomatic reception, with militants from the antiwar groups serving soft drinks and cookies to the Communist Chinese, the Vietcong, the North Ko-

reans and the members of other revolutionary movements. Cleaver was a genial host, greeting each new arrival entering into long discussions full of references to Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon. One of the guests told Cleaver he was impressed by his grasp of revolutionary theory.

"I had nine years to study it," Cleaver said.

"The French say that prisons are the antechambers of cabinet ministries," the guest said.

Cleaver smiled and replied: "We're not there yet."

The Panthers in Cleaver's entourage arrived in Algiers in various ways. Larry Mack, a tall, thin Panther who lost his right eye in a street fight, said he came "by way of Cuba," a euphemistic way of saying he hijacked a plane and diverted it to Cuba, from where he followed Cleaver to Algiers. Another Panther with an Afro hairdo, who wore an African good luck bracelet made from the hair of an elephant's tail, said his name was Sekou Odinga. He said he had spent most of his life in New York City and had been jailed

for three years on charges of being "a youthful offender, whatever that is."

Don Cox, a tawny, leonine man who is listed on the masthead of the Black Panther newspaper as "Field Marshal," joined Cleaver in exile this year. "I was clean," he said, "we arrived at the airport in France and the cops were waiting for us—France and the rest of Western Europe are just an American colony. They held us for a couple of hours, seized our documents and our record collection, and a couple of bulldozers took the sisters and subjected them to humiliating searches. We expect this type of harassment in and out of Babylon."

ON the day before the reception, the 11 who made the Asian trip with Cleaver talked to several members of the press. Robert Scheer of the Peace and Freedom Party, who is currently running for the United States Senate in California, explained the importance of visiting North Korea, "because we were raised during the

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out the colonial powers.99**

Korean war and were brainwashed into beliefs about it, all these lies and hysteria were buried in our subconscious. We were surprised to find them so prosperous. We had images of China on the verge of collapse, images of famine; well, you spend three hours in China and you know that's all wishful thinking."

Alex Hing, a Chinese-American and a member of the San Francisco Red Guards, said: "In China, when the students go on strike against the administration, the army supports the students. In our country the police massacre the students."

A reporter for The New York Times, Clyde Farnsworth, asked for pictures of the trip that he could wirephoto.

"Let's be honest," Scheer said, "we've always been screwed by The New York Times."

"Particularly by The New York

Times," Cleaver said.

"We can't be sure what we can give you until we see your story and we know whether we can trust you," Scheer said.

"Are you making conditions?" Farnsworth asked.

"No, but you might quote something out of context, or the picture would be cropped, or published with a glib caption that would detract from the seriousness of the trip," Scheer said.

"Look, I'm a technician," Farnsworth said, "I can't promise what

will happen to the pictures. They might not even have space to run the story."

"Let's be realistic," said Elaine Brown, who is the Black Panthers' Deputy Minister of Information, "it's not space. If you don't write it the way they want it they won't put it in the paper."

The conversation continued. Several members of the group said the trip had shattered a number of myths, like the myth of the bleakness of life in Socialist countries, and the myth that people in those countries have a lower standard of living.

"They have free medical care, cheap transportation and good housing," said Gina Blumenfeld of the Women's Liberation Movement. "They live a rich, full life. We visited some rice paddies where alongside the parents planting rice their children were planting flowers along the road. We also found that women have a better deal in Socialist countries."

"I visited Poland," Farnsworth said, "and I was struck by the amount of hard manual labor women have to do in Eastern countries."

"We saw women guerrillas shooting down planes with anti-aircraft guns, if that's what you mean," said Ann Froines of the New Haven Panther Defense Committee, who is the wife of Chicago Eight defendant John Froines.

"What about American women who have to do manual labor like scrubbing floors for almost no salary?" Elaine Brown asked. "If you want to be realistic, don't judge by

white middle-class women like your wife, but by black women or Mexican women."

"I wasn't thinking of my wife," Farnsworth said.

THE Algerians, who are only eight years removed from the end of their own war of independence, feel it is natural to support other liberation movements throughout the world. It is their form of reverse Monroe Doctrine. It is also a way of showing the Third World that Algeria is still in the revolutionary vanguard. Algerians feel they have the credentials to teach others how to drive out colonial powers. They expect to play a leadership role in a completely decolonized Africa. They are also willing to recognize any movement outside Africa, such as the Panthers, that is struggling against what they consider an imperialist or fascist state.

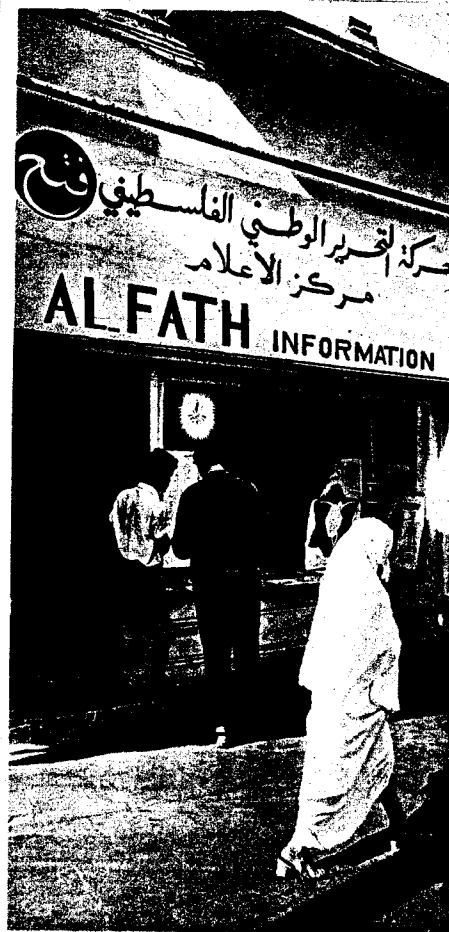
The Algerians are not, like the Panthers and the American antiwar groups, suspicious of the "establishment press"; they are genuinely indifferent to it. The Third World is clannish. A Westerner is by definition an outsider. On top of that, the Algerians operated underground for so many years that they formed a habit of secretiveness. The ruling party, the National Liberation Front (that is to say the army and the Government),

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is reluctant to identify its officials. Houari Boumediene himself is a *nom de guerre*. The Algerian president's real name is not publicly known.

When I visited the Algiers representatives of the various liberation movements, I would ask who in the Algerian Government was responsible for them. One said: "The party." I asked another: "Who in the party?" "Someone by the name of Djelil," he said. "What's his phone number?" "It's not listed." To the next person I talked to I said: "I've got to call Djelil. Can you refresh my memory as to his number?" "I'll call him for you," he said. As he dialed, I made a mental note of the number.

I FINALLY arranged for an appointment with the mysterious Djelil in



Representatives of foreign revolutionary and nationalistic groups abound in Algiers. Shown here is a recruiting office of the Palestinian guerrilla organization, Al Fatah.

the offices of the External Affairs Section of the party, in a building guarded by soldiers at the gate but lacking identification of any kind. When I got there, I was met by two cordial party officials who offered me some orange squash and asked me to take a seat. I asked which one was Djelil. "Ah," one of the two said, "he is extremely sorry he could not come. He does not want his name used. He is an extremely modest man. You

know, there are no prestige considerations in our party. With us, it is not the one with the most money who gets the best job."

The two party spokesmen, who declined to give their names, went on to explain that Algeria, from its own experience, believes that the only way a colonial or oppressed people can win independence is through armed struggle. "We support all liberation movements which conduct an armed struggle," said one. "Of course, we will give asylum to anyone who wants it, even President Nixon."

The Algerians give these movements accommodations which can vary from the Black Panthers' villa to the dingy basement apartment of the liberation movement of South-West Africa (Namibia). They also provide financial help from party funds, weapons and travel documents. What about guerrilla training camps? I asked. Guerrilla fighting cannot be taught, it must be learned in the field, one of the spokesmen said.

However, Jacob Nyambir, the 28-year-old head of the Algiers branch of the movement for the Liberation of Portuguese-held Mozambique (FRELIMO), told me that 200 of his cadres had been trained in southern Algeria. Also, several persons familiar with Algeria confirmed that Al Fatah has training camps in the country.

"We are completely open about our support," the party spokesman said about the various liberation movements. "These groups are generally involved in a clear-cut colonial situation. What right have the Portuguese got to be in Africa? It's as simple as that. We do not accredit any opposition groups from independent African countries, and we do not accredit more than one group from each country."

I finally met Djelil (his last name is Melaika), a slight, gentle-eyed, olive-skinned, balding man in his forties, at the press conference held by the Panthers to announce the opening of their headquarters. He was sitting at the right hand of Eldridge Cleaver. "Many of these movements have derived their organization and tactics from us," Djelil explained after the conference was over. "The need to form one party, for instance. We try to tell the Palestinians that they must unite their

opposition groups. Another point is the combining of the military and political aspects of the struggle. We were never militarists. I myself was not trained as a soldier, but I became a captain in the A.L.N. (Army of National Liberation). We chose our military targets for their political significance. Of course, each movement must adapt the lessons of other revolutions to the specific geographical and historical situation of its country. And it will be hard to end these struggles so long as the colonial powers are supported by the United

States. What is Portugal but a gendarme for NATO?"

There is nothing particularly dramatic about the lives of the revolutionaries in Algiers. They are removed from the scene of their countries' struggles, like Lenin in Switzerland or Castro before he returned to Cuba in a fishing boat. Their activities are largely those of any normally accredited envoy. They constitute a parallel diplomatic corps made up of movements that hold, instead of power, the hope of power. Some of them, like the gaunt, wavy-haired lawyer Antonio Cubillo, who represents the movement to liberate the Canary Islands, or the South African Johnnie Makatini in his brightly colored shirts, seem rather forlorn as they wait in the anterooms of ministries or the lobbies of hotels for the chance to push a petition or a proclamation on some official or member of the press.

Most of these movements are little known in the Western world. American concern with the Vietnam war does not leave much of a margin for interest in the wars that are being fought in the Portuguese colonies; these go largely unreported, except when an occasional newsman is willing to spend several months in the "liberated" jungles of Mozambique or Angola. Those groups that have not yet reached the stage of armed struggle put out propaganda pamphlets in Algiers which talk about armed struggle.

Algiers is useful as a meeting place and a forum and a jumping-off spot. Third World leaders are frequent

visitors there. Revolutionaries in the field can come there for rest and relaxation. If the Mozambique Liberation Front wants to release some Portuguese deserters, it does it in Algiers to get the attention of the world press. If two leaders of different movements want to arrange a secret meeting, they hold it in Algiers, where they can count on the Government's discretion.

Algiers is also close to Europe. When South African Prime Minister Vorster visited Paris last spring, Johnnie Makatini of the South African liberation movement flew to Paris with travel documents provided by the Algerians to hold an anti-Vorster press conference.

The non-African movements like the Panthers and the Brazilians chose Algiers because of its congenial pro-revolutionary climate. When 40 Brazilian political prisoners were exchanged for the kidnapped West German Ambassador last June, they asked to be flown to Algiers. As soon as they landed, the Algerians gave them cigarettes. "That is the reaction of people who have been in prison themselves and who know that what you want most is a cigarette," one of the freed men said.

THE Brazilians were housed in pleasant bungalows in the suburb of Ben Aknoun, and for several months were lionized by the other revolutionary groups. One of them com-

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plained about the intense social life. When I went to see them, I talked to pleasant, courteous young men from middle-class backgrounds—a university student, a lawyer, a journalist—and I discovered that they had held up a bank or kidnapped a diplomat or been in a gunfight with the police, and that the walls of Rio de Janeiro were once papered with their photographs on wanted posters.

Angelo Pezzuti, a 25-year-old medical student and a member of the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, a group that concentrates on dramatic armed actions, told me how he and five others held up a bank in a suburb of Belo Horizonte on Jan. 14, 1969. He is slight, nearsighted and curly-haired, and it is hard to imagine him with a gun in his hand.

It had been too hot to wear gloves, he explained; he had put a Band-Aid over each finger so as not to leave prints. As he stuffed packages of bills

into laundry bags, the Band-Aid on his thumb had come off and he left a thumbprint on the bank vault. Police arrested and tortured him. Pezzuti, like someone reciting a familiar lesson, went down the list of tortures to which he had been subjected: "The parrot's perch, where they hang you up like a roast on a spit with your hands tied around your knees, until your circulation stops; the piano, the application of electric shocks to various parts of the body, the voltage regulated by a console with piano-like keys; the *idraulica*, which consists of pumping water into your nostrils until you choke, and the palmator, a piece of wood with which they strike the palms of hands and the soles of feet."

Another of the 40 Brazilians, Fernando Gabera, a 28-year-old reporter for Rio de Janeiro's biggest daily who wears a black Zapata mustache, was one of the commandos who kidnaped United States Ambassador Burke Elbrick on Sept. 4, 1969, in Rio de Janeiro. He is a member of a small but active Rio group called the Movement of October 8. "Elbrick was a very nice man," Gabera said. "He was a liberal, a personal friend of Eugene McCarthy. He was against the activities of the C.I.A. in Brazil. He gave us the name of the chief C.I.A. agent in Brazil at the time, William Belton. We held Elbrick for 72 hours. He was not frightened, because he thought he would be killed in the first five minutes, and we treated him well. We had long conversations with him on the situation in Brazil. I think he understood what we were trying to do."

"Would you have shot him if the 15 prisoners you asked for had not been released?" I asked.

"Yes," Gabera said. "We would have regretted it because he had become such a good friend."

ONE can imagine a guided tour of revolutionary Algiers: On your right, ladies and gentlemen, the Black Panther headquarters, directed by Eldridge Cleaver, best-selling author of

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"Soul on Ice." On your left, the home of Brazilian political prisoners, some of whom were so badly tortured they had to be let off the plane in wheel chairs. Over there, the Milk Bar, where a pretty girl terrorist placed a bomb in the ladies' room in 1957, killing and wounding dozens. Sitting at the terrace of the Milk Bar now, drinking orange juice, is a group of deserters from the Portuguese Army.

A talk with Portuguese deserters would be a feature of such a tour. The first one I talked to was a 20-year-old commando corporal named Manuel Vizeu, a locksmith in civilian life, who deserted in Portuguese Guinea in September, 1968. "When I got there," he said, "I saw that the land belonged to three big trusts and I realized I was fighting to defend their interests. I saw crimes committed by the army against the population. I saw friends die, I saw the war was hopeless."

Another in the group, a 33-year-old air force lieutenant serving in Mozambique named Jacinto Veloso, said he deserted in 1963 rather than carry out bombing missions against the guerrillas. He flew a T-6 training plane to Dar es Salaam and asked for asylum. He now wants to create an air force for the Mozambique Liberation Movement. "All I need," he says, "are half a dozen men, two or three planes, and a logistical base. Like the Swede in Biafra; of course he was on the wrong side."

It is in the Portuguese colonies—Guinea, Angola and Mozambique—that the revolutionary struggle seems to be making the most headway. The movement for Portuguese Guinea claims it has liberated three-fourths of the country, with the Portuguese holding the capital of Bissau and the coast. Liberationists from all three colonies admit, however, that they cannot defeat Portugal militarily. Their strategy is to make it too costly for Portugal to remain in Africa.

All three colonies are sparsely settled. There is not the problem of a sizable white population, as in South Africa. In Guinea there were never more than 3,000 whites before the troops arrived. The Portuguese used their colonies as trading centers and the natives as cheap labor. They built

almost no roads into the interior, which now handicaps their counter-guerrilla operations. They did less than any other colonial power to educate the natives.

Aquino de Braganza, an Algerian-based Goan writer who has visited the Portuguese colonies often, told me: "Don't forget that Angola is a colony where 40 per cent of the white population is illiterate. It's
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the only place in Africa where they have white bootblacks! War is speeding the development of the blacks. For the first time the jungle is being penetrated, even if it is by soldiers. Peasants who never saw a plane before can now recognize the make of a helicopter by its engine. This too is a form of education."

In Algiers, the Portuguese movements are represented by men who have in their offices large maps with the liberated zones colored red. They read you Portuguese press clippings about ambushes and army casualties and show you elementary reading books they give their people which instead of teaching that "Jane has a cat. The cat drinks milk," teach that the valliant guerrillas are kicking the cowardly Portuguese out of their country.

To train their first troops, the revolutionaries had to overcome not only ignorance but superstition. In Angola, the first fighters would not go into battle unless they had gris-gris, or magic amulets.

The Algiers delegates regularly visit the liberated zones. Nyambir of the Mozambique Liberation Movement says he is able to get from Algiers to the liberated zone in Mozambique in less than a week. He flies to Dar es Salaam, takes another plane from there to the Tanzanian border city of Mtwara, and drives to the Mozambique border where an armed group meets him and takes him on a day's walk to

the base camp.

THE group which quite naturally receives the greatest amount of assistance from the Algerian Government is their fellow Arab organization, Al Fatah, which has a recruitment and propaganda office on Algiers's main street. One poster on the wall shows an American flag with, instead of 50 stars, one large, six-pointed star, and the caption: "The favorite state." Another poster shows the Star of David with ramifications that make it look like a swastika and the caption: "Nazionism." There was considerable commotion in the office as young men arrived to offer their services as guerrilla fighters.

"We have a reservoir of manpower here," said the spokesman, a large, florid man named Madhi Saidam. "We have more than we can use." But at the time, Palestinian manpower was being diverted from its original aim and was fighting the Jordanian Army, a prospect which

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The domino theory also applies to Africa

Algerian volunteers may have found less appealing.

If the Palestinians and the movements from the Portuguese colonies can be said to be in their adolescence, the movements from the three English-speaking colonies of Rhodesia, South Africa, and South-West Africa are still in their infancy. Johnnie Makatini of South Africa's National African Congress summed it up for all three when he said that "so far, we haven't fired a shot in an organized way. We are faced with the largest colonial population of any country, and we are surrounded by colonial powers. We have no friendly

neighbors. We have no trained fighters because the Government always kept indigenous people out of the army, away from the guns. Repression is severe. In other countries the death penalty is being abolished, in South Africa its use is being increased. In Pretoria a man is hanged every three days. We are not educated. Vorster says it is enough for us to know how to read road signs. We must not be shown the green pastures where we will never graze."

THE liberation movement which might be given the award of "least likely to succeed" is the Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Canarian Archipelago. The Canary Islands are a prosperous tourist paradise off the west coast of Africa, where it is balmy all year round. There is no racial problem because there is no black population, although there are still some 7-foot-tall descendants of the Cromagnon man. On perhaps the prettiest of the 12 islands, Gomera, people speak by whistling. One of the principal exports is flowers. Revolution there seems as incongruous as revolution in Camelot or Brigadoon. And yet in Algiers there is a young lawyer named Antonio Cubillo who is dedicated to the overthrow of Spanish rule in the Canary Islands. "We may not be black," he told me, "but we have an African history and an African personality."

To those who object that "you're too small to be independent," Cubillo points out that nine other African countries are less populated than the Canary Islands, and that the Mauritius Islands, although smaller in size, are independent. "We could have the highest standard of living in Africa," Cubillo says. "We have universities and cadres. We have one doctor for eight inhabitants. We have the fifth biggest oil refinery in the world, 150 to 200 ships call each day to be fueled. We are the biggest exporters

of bananas in the world, half a million tons each year."

But according to Cubillo, the wealth is being siphoned off by the Spanish, whose conquest of the islands goes back to the 15th century, and by the more recent plundering of foreign entrepreneurs. "Those damned Swedes," he said, "they own the hotels, the travel agencies, the buses and the night clubs. And all the stores are run by Hindus. They are the first ones we are going to get rid of."

NO matter how bleak the prospects of some of these groups, they can tell themselves that history is on their side in this century of decolonization. The domino theory also applies to Africa. Each newly independent state makes the hold on the remaining colonies more precarious. All the movements share a certain number of assumptions. They all came to recognize the necessity of armed struggle only after a fruitless period of peaceful resistance. Cleaver says: "With us it was the death of Martin Luther King. That exhausted the myth that you could get what you want without fighting, that when the plantation foreman cracks the whip you turn the other cheek." In South Africa, says Johnnie Makatini, "it was the same year Albert Luthuli won the Nobel Peace Prize that we opted for violence. On the day he came back from Stockholm, Dec. 15, 1961, there were explosions all over Portuguese Guinea."

country. In Portuguese Guinea, says Joseph Turpin, it was after the police killed 50 striking longshoremen in Pijiguiti in 1959 that "we decided armed struggle was the only way."

The success of countries like Algeria makes the other movements hopeful. I had not been in Algeria since 1962, the year of independence. When I left on the first of my two visits there this year, in July, from Maison Carrée airport, I remembered the dreadful months that preceded the end of French rule.

I remembered the confused and hasty departure of thousands of *pièdes noirs* who had come to take seriously a slogan giving them a choice between the coffin or the suitcase. Families surrounded by their belongings filled the airport. They huddled together, their faces tense with anxiety, and waited for days for the chance to leave the nightmare that colonialism had become. They looked as though they were waiting to board lifeboats rather than planes. They had left their homes and their cars behind because they had a deadline — independence — which meant the end of privileges and protection.

Now, at the same spot several years later, I saw a group of Algerian children leave for summer camp, cheerful and orderly in brown uniforms, carrying pennants and beach balls, and their faces shining with the promise of summer as their counselors led them to the boarding gate.

CLEAVER SPEAKS

The following is a statement given to the author
by the fugitive Black Panther leader in Algeria

Of course, it's frustrating to live in exile. I'd much prefer to be there [in the United States]. For a while I was at a loss on how to proceed, but with perseverance I have been able to do some meaningful work that helps carry on our struggle. All I do is toward the idea of going back, but not to surrender myself to those pigs. My difficulty there is to maintain the position I had in the past. In the past I said I'd go back if my parole was reinstated and if I could go back in bail. But given subsequent developments, with brothers on trial bound and gagged in the courtroom, I find it impossible to

relate to the judicial system in the U.S. I feel like the young brothers who went in the courtroom and offed the judge. That's how black people should treat the courts in Babylon.

Here in Algiers, we've set up an international section of the Black Panther party. Through this technique, we internationalize our struggle, we show that oppression is an international problem. We have been successful in making alliances with other movements. We are going to bring up the issue of our oppression in the international public forum. We will publicize our struggle,

develop exchanges with other groups and receive assistance from them. Although we realize that the U.N. is only a puppet of the United States, we are going to lay a concrete proposal before the U.N.

We are a liberation movement in every sense of the word. There are complicated elements in our struggle, since on the one hand we are an oppressed class, and on the other we are part of a national revolutionary struggle. We think the revolutionary prospects inside the U.S. are very bright. The repression now going on is a last-ditch effort. We realized
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Photographs by **TED POLUMBIAUM**

Cleaver speaks

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that it was incorrect strategy for us to keep our struggle a black struggle. In 1966 the atmosphere was dominated by the black power rhetoric of Stokely Carmichael and the racist theories that he advanced. The Black Panther party was the first organization to dispel this racism. We made an alliance with the white Peace and Freedom party. We believe racial barriers will be broken down in the fires of struggle, out of a necessity to survive in a war situation. Divisions will become obstacles to survival. Far from being racist, we are in the front line of combating racism.

We have black people who are our deadly enemies. A black pig, a white pig, a yellow pig, a pink pig—a dead pig is the best pig of all. We encourage people to kill them, because the police constitute an army. People who have been downtrodden become warped and twisted people, they can ravage societies; but we believe the American people have the potential of being very beautiful people, under another system which does not require oppression. Reforms are not the solution. Our problems derive from the system itself. We have to completely eliminate the capitalist system and replace it with socialism.

We foresee that in the U.S. the middle class is going to become one of the most revolutionary, because of concern over the quality of their lives. Not that they are starving, not that they are treated like dogs in the street, but that they are being robbed of their very existence by a very foul and polluted social environment. So they too become part of the oppressed. Of course the Panthers did not grow

out of the middle class, we got our brothers and sisters on the block, our recruitment was among the lumpenproletariat. But the function of a revolutionary vanguard is to find an alternative, and more and more people begin checking it out, and when they begin to understand they join because they want the same goals.

We have kept the party small, but our power and influence goes far beyond our numbers. We had discussions when the party was formed, with Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, on whether we should start above or under ground. We decided we had to start aboveground, so our activities would become known to the people. We refused to be driven into hiding. We accepted the principle of revolutionary suicide. That is, we are aware of our losses, and of the probability that we will be murdered by our enemies, but we feel as revolutionaries that we must place our lives on the line. Reactionary suicides are those who don't fight and are killed anyway.

But our party also has underground aspects. There are some Black Panther members no one knows about. The Los Angeles leader Geronimo, a Vietnam veteran, there is a manhunt on for him and he has gone underground. We have more and more fugitives able to survive inside our communities, in the gut of the pig. Not only in China and Vietnam are the revolutionaries like fish in water. And we have allies that are able to swim through the white sea sometimes.

A couple of days ago I talked to Huey on the phone; he told me the party is deluged by people who want to come in. Huey has been able to supply a charismatic leader-

ship and, at the same time, organize the black lumpen-proletariat. Malcolm X could speak to them and had a deep influence on us, but he could not organize them. Now, we can aim to widen our ranks, not just for the sake of numbers, without detracting from the quality, because so many more people have arrived at revolutionary consciousness. You talk to people today, you don't have to push a lie on



them, they push it right back on you.

Repression strengthens our party. We had a terrible year in 1969, over 30 members of our party were killed. We lost some beautiful brothers and sisters, but people who saw black men and women fighting for their freedom rallied to our support. But while we are getting closer to the people, we are getting further away from other black groups, who are nothing but black lackeys carrying out the program of the ruling class. They are minor enemies.

Here in Algiers, we will work on recruiting black G.I.'s who have deserted and are in Europe. During our trip to North Vietnam, we learned there were black deserters fighting in the ranks of the Vietcong. In Hanoi, I made a broadcast specifically aimed at black G.I.'s in South Vietnam. We can include many

more black G.I.'s in our ranks so that we can make proper use of the skills they were taught in the U.S. Army.

In China I found several similarities between their struggle and ours. Theirs, like ours, was a people's war. Like the U.S., China is a large continental land mass. One of the very significant aspects of their struggle was the rapidity with which the central administration broke down. The ability of a large country to function depends on transportation and communication. These are easy targets for the revolution, and the regime must then resort to using military transportation and communications, which exposes its oppressive nature to the people.

Of course, in the U.S., the population is concentrated in large cities, where revolutionary forces are in danger of encirclement, where the streets are well lit and mapped out and forces can be rapidly dispatched, which gives the enemy a tactical advantage. But cities are vulnerable to certain types of sabotage. There are also advantages to political assassination, not that this can eliminate the function, but you know that the man will be replaced, and it has great educational value. It teaches the people to kill the enemy and hate the enemy. It would give me great satisfaction if Richard Nixon should be killed. I would consider that an excellent thing.

My ambition is the destruction of the present system. The racial question will also be solved through that struggle. The answer is not black capitalism, or black athletes, or black actors, or blacks in cigarette ads; that is just a way of incorporating black people in a device. The answer is to do away with the device. It's not a question of improving black studies, it's white studies that have got to be changed.