

**TALK WITH ASSATA SHAKUR IN CUBA
SOMEWHERE IN CUBA - (1995)**



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For those of you who don't know me my name is Assata Shakur. I live here in Cuba..I've lived here for almost ten years..I'm here in exile. I'm a political refugee and was an activist for most of my adult life in the U.S. I was part of the Black Liberation Movement, part of the student movement..part of the movement against the war in Vietnam..I worked in a lot of grassroots community organizations..worked across the board as an activist..And was lucky enough to have been born in the 1960s which was a very live very active period..a period which enabled me to grow as a human being..to be involved to learn a lot about who I am, about my people..a period of a lot of intellectual activity, political activity and because of all of my activities I did not become very popular with the government. Especially the FBI; J.Edgar Hoover, Inc. and Company and when I joined the Black Panther Party-which was the party most hated in the 1960s-J.Edgar Hoover specifically targeted the Black Panther Party to be the main target of the governments COINTELPRO program. For those of you who do not know what COINTELPRO was, it was a program started by the FBI initially to destroy and neutralize communist, socialist and progressive organizations. In the 60s the Black Liberation Movement became the prime target of COINTELPRO. That meant that the FBI did all it could to a)prevent the rise of what it called the "black messiah," the leadership-the people who would be able to lead the Black Liberation Movement, be able to make coalitions between groups-between different liberation groups in the U.S. they also tried to divide and conquer the movement. Dividing and conquering the movement meant setting the organization of U.S.-United Slaves, against the Black Panther Party --trying to convince gangs to struggle against the Black Panther Party. Sending all kinds of letters supposedly from the members within organizations to say the Black Panther Party was a scheming against them, sending the same kind of letters to people within in the

Black Panther Party. It also meant trying to destroy any organizations from within. Using all kinds of techniques-for example, people would go to meetings and their husbands or wives would get a phone call..."I just saw your husband in a black T-shirt and white pants entering the "No-tell Motel." People's land lords would receive calls saying that your tenant was selling drugs. Your tenant is renting out the place to prostitutes..They used every single tactic-from frustrating the publications of leftist papers to reclassifying what would be bulk mail to high priced mail..Doing Every single to frustrate the movement in general, progressive movement and specifically the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Movement. As a result of COINTELPRO I was one of the people that was targeted by the counterintelligence program because I guess...my name was appearing on too many petitions, too many organizational lists..And I became unlucky enough o be one of the people on the index, a special index which meant that my name was moved up to high priority killer..and what that meant in my specific case was that I along with many people of that time, was charged with a series of crimes, which I did not commit.. My first so called charge was harboring a fugitive..There was never any charge officially filed, but the FBI broke into my house..took my close, petitions files books everything. Then I was faced with the decision of what am I going to do.. Am I going to talk to the FBI who was interested in talking to me, for "questioning," or was I going to disappear? well since the 1960s, the late 1960s, was also a period of extreme repression.. people like Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were just out and out murdered by the government..other people were arrested for conspiracy charges..In fact the NY Black Panther Party offices..There were 5 branches in NY...21 of the most active intelligent leaders were arrested, put on 100,000 bail a piece, were charged with conspiracy to commit crimes..Conspiracy consisted of really insane charges...One to bomb Department stores on Easter..when I assume that no one is really shopping..to bomb to botanical gardens..really weird to figure out why

anyone would want to blow up towers..nonetheless, these charges kept them in prison for 2 years, and even though a jury, after one of the longest trials in NY city history, acquitted them, in a matter of minutes, they still lost two years of their life, were separated from their families, their loved ones, and the leadership was virtually paralyzed because of that kind of charge, so, based on what I saying, which happened to be, Panthers selling papers, being arrested for harassing cops, I was a medical cadre of the Black Panther Party, and one of my responsibilities was to helping to set up free health clinics, which was one of the major programs of the party, there was a breakfast program which gave free breakfasts' for kids, but my specific responsibility was the medical cadre, and my superior was Joan Bird-she was beaten half to death so her own mother didn't even recognize her, hung out of the window, brutalized terribly, and when I thought about everything that I saw, and everything that I was experiencing, I could not see myself subjecting myself to the NY police department or to the FBI and I thought that ethically it was something I did not want to do, so I considered the FBI and the NY city Police department not as preservers of the law, but as breakers of the law, as a foreign army that was occupying our community, and that was Harlem at the time, and I decided that I would not cooperate with them under any circumstances. I went underground, I was later caught, arrested, shot, one time with my hands in the air, one time in the back. I was then charged with a whole long list of crimes, was acquitted of all of them, with the exception of a shoot out which took place on the NJ Turnpike which I was present, and which I was shot, which I was paralyzed..Bruised..they left me to die and kept coming back, and saying "Is she dead yet?" And I was convicted of that shootout by an all white jury. In a county where a study by the national jury project, made it clear that more than 70% of the jurors had already formed an opinion of my case, and had , because of the pre-trial publicity, had come to the conclusion that I was guilty. The judge refused to dismiss jurors that were prejudice in my case, and

his yardstick for fairness was whether the jurors could overcome their prejudices, and based on the instructions of the judge, give a fair and impartial verdict, so obviously I was tried, it was like a legal lynching—besides the judge there was another prosecutor, and I was convicted, sentenced to life in prison, plus 30 years plus 30 days for contempt. The contempt was for not standing before the judge. In prison I spent something like 2 1/2 years in solitary confinement, most of that time in all male prisons. My case went before the United Nations in a petition protesting the treatment of political prisoners, and my case was cited by an international body of lawyers as one of the most cases of human rights violations in the United States. I was later sent to a prison..and I don't know if any of you know about prisons in the United States, what they look like, what they are like, but they look like slavery. My visual impression in every prison I've been in, almost, has been just like a plantation. The vast majority of people in prison, at this time, especially in the big cities, were people of color. Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native American, you have it. Prisons are overpacked with people of color. So after 5 years in prison I was sent to a prison within a prison in Augustine WV..A federal prison for women, and it was the opposite of every prison I've ever been in. because I was the only black woman there. I thought this was really weird. This prison was for the most "dangerous women" in the United States. There were two women from the Manson family. Some miscellaneous hillbillies, and then there were also something like 15..14 members of an organization called the Aryan Sisterhood. The Aryan Sisterhood were the sister organization of the Aryan Brotherhood. They wore swastikas embroidered on their jeans, delighted in taking pictures giving the Hitler salute, and said that they were not racist in any way, all they wanted for their children to go to Aryan schools, to live in Aryan neighborhood, and all the niggers to go back to Africa, etc, etc....or wherever they came from..and I sort of felt that there was a plot going on, and I sort of got afraid that there was a plot going on, especially

since the Aryan brotherhood and sisterhood are famous for what is called torching. Torching in prison terms means that you throw some lighter fluid in a cell, and then you throw a match in afterwards, and the Aryan Sisterhood, all of them were charged with arson within the prison. So, that being the case, I kind of figured out that there was plot out to kill me. Luckily the unit was found so unconstitutional, with such a lack of freedom, education, that it was closed down- There has never been a prison like a sensory deprivation unit, much like the sensory deprivation units that are in actually at this moment, almost every prison in the United States- almost every state is setting up prisons that are these maximum, maximum security units, prisons within prisons, where there are these East German like cells, that are constructed to make people lose their minds. They are all painted white, there are no programs, you can't-nothing to do except just watch your mind fall apart. But luckily that place was closed down, all of the rest of the women were released to the general population or sent to other prisons in the United states-I was thrown in the hole until NJ decided what they were going to do to me, since I had no state charges whatsoever..I was sent there under an agreement which is called the interstate Compact agreement which allows any state penal system to ship any body to any prison system in the United States, and what that means in terms of political prisoners is they can ship you as far away from your family, supporters, etc as possible, and that is what they do. So, I was later sent back to the state of New Jersey, the building-there are two maximum security buildings in the Clinton prison. The one I was sent to was closed down completely, became a prison within a prison. All of the women that had jobs in the prison population that were going to school within the prison population, all of that stopped- they ere just closed down locked down, and the prison guards would just say"she's the reason. It's her fault." The prison authorities also attacked the place with women that are problematic-rats, people that reported everything that I did to the prison administration, and with people

what I call for lack of another word "earth disturbers" people that were like agent provocateur in the movement, and what that meant was that they were constantly stirring up friction within the prison constantly-saying everything that's wrong here is her fault. Get her." And I felt that I had no other choice but to escape. My aunt was working on her appeal and she came and said, "look, #1 half of the transcript has disappeared, #2, in this process of 2 years in her getting the transcript she never got it-up until this day, she's never gotten the entire transcript..Exhibits disappeared, and I felt there was no way on earth that I would get an appeal that air would get a retrial, and all the only thing I could see was the possibility , the probability that I would be killed, so I started to think about escape, which i did, and I'm here-I escaped with a little help from my friends, It was a smooth, non-violent, escape, and the lesson that I think I got out of that was that people will not get any kind of fair treatment, or any kind of freedom anywhere in this world, unless they struggle for it and fight for it, and organize to do that. So, that this doesn't become a permanent run-on sentence, why don't people ask me some questions, I've been here in Cuba for sometime..I know something about what is going on even though I, m not an expert, I am a resident here. I'd like to open up for questions.

"Had you had any contact with Cuba.....(????)Did you come----(?), did you come out-of -the-blue?"

I came basically out of the blue. I couldn't, "Dear Fidel, My name is...Can I come and live in Cuba?.." I couldn't do that so what I basically did was say here I am yall, what are you going to do?

"How did you transport yourself here..?"

By wit...I don't go into the details. I did it by wit, and i basically said I'm here this is what I represent and I leave it in your hands to decide what the hell you are going to do with me., and luckily, they were very supportive, and gave me status of a political exile, recognized my struggle, and I was very surprised that they knew something of my case and had come across all of the documents..the U.N. documents, etc. SO I was very impressed with the kind of the knowledge the Cubans had of the Black Liberation Struggle, specifically, and in general, just about what was going on in the United States and very much impressed with the support that they gave me and give me, and the principled nature of the relationship that we've had..

"Can you describe the ...difference i racial subordination(???)....?"

The history is different-two different histories. Cuba has more of a history where you have black Cubans and white Cubans struggling together against colonialism, this has been since the middle of the 19th century, or further back. Also I think the class differences are different..There were and are many more poor Cuban, poor white Cubans that interrelated with poor black Cubans. And so that there was a big difference between the bourgeois classes and the people. The people kind of interrelated and mingled which is very different than the poor cracker kind of mentality that exists in the United States where the poor whites no matter how poor they are were brainwashed into thinking they were superior to poor blacks."I'm white..".Those kinds of things are not as marked in Cuba as they were in the United States. The basic difference I see is that the revolution has taken a very positive stand against racism. In theory and in practice, both nationally and

internationally. That is not to say I think that all racial problems in Cuba have just disappeared and evaporated into thin air. I don't believe that..I think that the struggle against racism, as the struggle against classism, and the struggle against sexism-these are processes, and they have to be a constant active battle to deal with racism, to deal with sexism, to deal with classism..they are not just going to disappear on their own. I think that the revolution's vision of perception of racism has changed. I don't think its the same as it was in 1959- I think that its grown, I think that in 1959 the basic emphasis was on blacks and whites together and eradicated the institutionalized racism that existed. I think that, and it was thought that at the beginning of the revolution, that by guaranteeing everybody to have decent health care, to have a decent education, by building socialism, racism would just disappear, that sexism would just disappear..well, I think that by the 3rd Congress, people said,"well, wait a minute, that's not enough. There need to be programs that guarantee that the number of people in power reflects the racial composition and the sexual composition of the country." And so that there was a change, a growth I think. At the beginning of the Revolution there was this idea, "Oh, we don't need to keep statistics, we don't need to write down numbers-about who's black, who's white.., but I think that that has since changed. At this particular time I think that the emphasis that was made in the 3rd Congress on dealing with questions of race and gender has been pushed to the back burner just because the revolution is concentrating all of its energy on basic survival, and I think that that is a real unavoidable fact. The revolution at this moment is in a battle for fair? survival. the economic condition that Cubans are facing right now are extraordinarily difficult. It'd like being between a rock and a hard place. It's just like if you can imagine living off 1/10th of your salary and what that would mean in terms of your life and how you live it..that's what Cubans are dealing with at this moment. So that all of the emphasis that might have been made on dealing with the problem of race, of dealing with the problem of

women, all of that ,,by the 4th Congress was --??? And the basic emphasis right now is on the survival of the revolution. I don't know if I answered your question..

"Some people don't have have background on your case...Do you think that your son's current legal problems have something to do with your case?..."

My what?

"We assumed that your son was 2-Pac Shakur."

No. I don't have any son. I have a daughter. No, she's in the states..she's 19 in her second year at Spellman, and has no legal problems(she knocks on the table) as of yet. Two Pac Shakur is the son of one of the Panther 21, the Ex-Panther 21, ---- Shakur-there are a lot of Shakur's. It's not a common name in the states, but its not uncommon among African people who have changed their names, or have Muslim names. I believe that the political nature of some of his songs, for those of you who don't know who Two-Pac Shakur is, he is a Rap artist also a actor who has starred in some films-- with Janice Jackson--Poetic Justice--and some other films..like Juice, some other things he's done. I I I have not seen some of his films, but I have seen some of his rap videos, and some of them are very powerful, and without having insider knowledge I just generally assume that he is targeted by the government because of the political nature of his work. I am one of the people that doesn't believe that COINTELPRO stopped. I believe that it changed forms. Became much more deadly, computers are much more sophisticated, the kind of personality profiles that the government generally puts out on African activists have become much more detailed, linking information from all kinds of sources, the kind of electronic surveillance that was prevalent during the 60s and 70s is much more sophisticated..there ways of putting

microphones in buttons, etc..Like my mothers says..She's accustomed to living in a goldfish bowl..The phone that used to click in the 60s, she says her phone is the clearest phone in town-no clicks, no deep breathing..everything is high tech, almost fascism, so ...i don't know if I strayed or..

"???"

I think that the survival of Cuba and the struggle for the survival of Cuba is one of the most important struggles that has taken place on this planet at this time. It's tough...there's no question it's tough situation. When you sit here and you're waiting for the bus it seems tough..in line waiting for what you're waiting for..it seems tough..when you put it in perspective, and you compare it with what's going on in the rest of the world, it seems less tough. I was asked a statement of solidarity for this activity they?? are having Monday. I sat back and said ,"what do I want to say?." About the revolution, about solidarity with the revolution, and it's hard for me to write sometimes, and I am sitting and I I looking outside of my window, and look at these kids playing outside in front of my house. At first I was annoyed -they were making a whole lot of noise-and i was thinking won't they please shut up to myself-and then I looked out of the window and they are kids, you know, they are little kids running and playing, they are healthy..They don't have any great little sneakers with little beeping lights in them or anything, but they are not dying of hunger, they have schools to go to, they can receive healthcare when they need it, they're not--I'm thinking about kids in the states and I'm trying to contrast that--they're not going to school with guns and shooting each other. They are not selling dope, buying dope, or dying of dope. They're not turning tricks on 42ndstreet, they're not prostituting themselves like all over this world is happening. They're not fighting wars or disappearing, or being tortured to death or watching their parent tortured to death, so when I put the situation of Cuba in a context then the

difficulties, although there are really serious difficulties, are less difficult, are less problematic, and so I wrote it down. I stopped looking at the kids, and I went I jotted down what I had to say, I put on some ???? , because we didn't have light,.. there was a blackout, but it didn't seem that horrible, based on some of the horrors that I see everyday. I think that one thing that Cuba has in favor is that people here are educated; there's a basic education that people have, and I don't care how upset people might be get/annoyed at that...I think that if you've touched the heart of Cuban, you've touched someone who is an anti-imperialist. You're not dealing with somebody who thinks that streets of New York are paved with gold. There are people, and you have stupid people in Cuba, like you do anywhere else, it's not like Cuba is stupid-free, but there is a level of education in general, and I think people in general know what's going on in the world, what is going on in Cuba and can put it into some kind of context. At least that's what I hope, that's what I believe, and so, I feel very hopeful for the revolution in spite of the difficulties and I think that once Cuba gets through the next couple years I don't think that much can stop Cuba in terms of development. I think Cuba has more human resources than any other place in Latin America, and the Caribbean. I think it has more technical resources. I think it has a lot going for it , and I think has shown that just by surviving 36 year old blockade and by constructing things that haven't been in the 36 years of the revolution, that the United States, with its 300and something years of so-called revolution, has not been able to accomplish, so, I think you have to put it all in perspective and struggle. because I think that right now the reality of life on this planet is that no one country can make a revolution by itself..more and more that the international nature of imperialism has to be answered by an international movement. We have Angola, you have Nicaragua-these were countries which fought and waged revolutions and took power. And once they took power, the national bourgeois, or the colonial Portuguese were replaced by a much more dangerous, a much more deadly

...Those revolutions found that after 10 years of building childcare centers, building hospitals or building schools..they found that every time they would build a school, ,one would blown up, or every time they plant crops the crops were destroyed, etc, etc, and found that all the efforts that they were making were being frustrated by international imperialism, and so that I think that it is very difficult for us to think about social change unless we think internationally. I think that the people who live wherever and what to see progressive changes, a new set of priorities that put put people before profits, have to think about how do I organize locally and how do I organize internationally, because unless we coordinate our efforts and coordinate our thinking processes and communicate with each other, and sensitize each other to our respective cultures, too our respective idiosyncrasies, to our respective beauties, to our respective bodies of literature, then we're not able to act in any coordinated form, and I think the level that imperialism is on at this moment is so international. You have factories..there is no such thing as a national bourgeois anymore. You have these huge conglomerates that operate above and beyond governments. Governments become just instruments to the different monolithic corporations that exists and they clock to maintain their interest internationally and unless people who are oppressed internationally come together, then we are going to be a long way from making any change. So I think that whether it's women coming together, whether it's people who are interested in the environment coming together, people who are interested in any aspect of social change coming together, that that's organized on all levels, and it's got to be international, and that people who live in the United States in the so-called belly of the beast, have a very important part to play in that. In terms of not just seeing the struggle against imperialism as a struggle against intervention. Because a lot of times the struggle that has taken place in the United States or in developed capitalist countries that has been called "anti-imperialism" has only dealt with armed

intervention-...when the United States jumps off in Grenada, people say "no, no, no.." When they invade Panama, after the fact...We have to educate people as to what the nature of U.S. and world imperialism is, and to struggle against the instrument of that imperialism, because a lot of people might know about Panama, but a lot of people do not know what the I.M.F is, they don't know the role of the International Bank, they don't know that there is no such thing as democracy in the United Nations. People are dealing with pure fantasie as what is going on in the world and how the mechanisms of world oppression and world exploitation work, and so I think there is a lot of educating which needs to be done. Next question before I run off...

"I'd like to ask a question that ties in with what you were just talking about...interventionism-and I'd like to get your opinion on and your suggestions of how we can get beyond interventionism and talk about solidarity on things like Cuba, Nicaragua, of Salvador, and other places around the world where intervention is taking place....either by governments like the U.S. or by the World Bank, of IMF..What kinds of solidarity efforts do you think would be worthwhile?

When we talk about struggle..In the 60s and the 70s people's ideas about how struggle worked like building these organizations, these huge parties that had the 'right' line, the right position on this and that and everything..I think that has become antiquated. I think that people need to build where they are, need to build grassroots movements that have different flavors, different focuses,etc. but that are directed int he same general direction. We don't have to agree on every single point, we don't have to have position papers that cover every issue, we don't have to have total ideological agreement on everything. I think that that is a mistake and fantasy, because people have different visions of freedom, and that

those different visions can be both valid. I think , for example that African people in the United States may have a very different vision of the kind of society that they want to build than indigenous people. The Navajos or Sioux, but as long as those are not antagonistic contradictions and as long as we are moving toward struggling against imperialism, than we can work together, and as long as we respect each other and respect each other's history, respect each other's point of view , and slowly move toward unity that ..I think it works out better. I think that there was a style in the 60s and 70s that meant that being progressive meant that we were uniform-that there was uniformity and has uniform ideas..i think that -- intervention has changed -we just not only have military intervention, you have ideological intervention, we have cultural intervention. we have people who live in the Virgin Islands, or who live in Haiti or who live in Surinam who are being fed the same programs, the same trash, that yall are being fed- through U.S.boob tubes-idiot boxes. This whole kind of move to getting the minds of people for a.)preventing people from getting any sort of education, just indoctrination, the education in the United States is becoming harder and harder to come, especially when you're dealing with any "higher education." it's more and more for the rich, etc. Newspapers, television, etc, the amount of information is being reduced..You have news that is more entertainment than it is information..these cute stories about three headed camels or dogs with a hump, but you're not receiving any kind of information. Newspapers that are becoming like McPaper-what is Mc Paper-U.S. News. Little articles about one inch long..elongated headline. More and more people can't read. I read that the majority of people in the United States have videos, don't know how to program them. Now that's awful, but it is a reality that the United States so-called education system is turning out a bunch of functional illiterates, or one angle viewed technocrats. So I think that what needs to be done on every level is a struggle around information, a struggle where people realize that I don't have to be subjected to those 80 different types of

police shows. You got grandma police, kid police, helicopter police, singing police, all kinds of police shows in the United States..Perpetuating that kind of violence. I grew up looking at cop shows, but the cops didn't beat up the people, now you get cops that are more and more violent, that kick the people, stomp the people. They set up a kind of scenario where they paint the so-called bad guys as deserving it. If you're not careful you are sucked into it , so after a while you see this cop that stomping somebody into the ground and you say "yeah..stomp them, stomp them.." because that is the kind of scenario that is being set up, and I think people have to fight against ..programs..they have to against that informationally..because it's not a question of...the major struggle on this earth as I see it is not an armed struggle. I think it is is an ideological struggle, it's a cultural struggle, it's a struggle against ideological and cultural imperialism...I think.. People who are activist have to be realistic. I grew up in the left and a lot of the stuff that people wrote, nobody could read. You'd say what in the world is this, who can this stuff? It would be so far working class literature that no one in the working class can read. That was the kind of style that many progressive people took. It was more intellectual brigade than a evolutionary brigade and you could only relate to those in your own little circle, so the left became this shrinking faction?? I think that that has to change. People who are interested in making social change have to talk to people and have to recognize that videos have been invented, computers have been invented and you have got to use that stuff. That's how you talk to people, that's how you reach people. I don't know if I answered your question or not, but...

"When you were saying that you think that the method of leftist approach needs to be taken to different level, a more elementary level .."

More basic..

"when you said that I thought of the whole Rap community..seems to be doing that, but at the same time there seems to be a really negative..there's a lot of artists.. having real positive things to say..but they are being shadowed by the negativeness.."

I think that that's real. Rap has all kinds of tendencies. There's some real serious good political rap, then there's cutie-pie rap, then there's this negative like go out and kill your brother, sister rap or all women are bitches and all African people are niggers and that is a tendency that I think as thinking people people have to struggle with. I think that's negative, but if all of the so-called art forms it's a struggle. Big-business puts out tapes, records, video, etc, and the object of big business is to make as much money and to make the message as frivolous as possible, or as negative as possible, so that whether it's film , whether it's radio, whether it's TV programs we have to recognize that struggles have to be waged around communications to make it as pro-people as possible, and as humanistic s possible, and not this people hating. I don't know if that answered your question....

How comfortable do you feel commenting on Cuba..especially since you are a guest here...In rest of Latin America..as compared to artistic freedom...Prisons in Cuba..."

Well I can only give you my opinion. I have been invited a few times to visit Cuban prisons and I've declined. Because I don't want to see no prison anymore... Cuba as opposed to the United States says that there are Cubans who are political prisoners, but those political prisoners have broken Cuban law

and committed acts specifically against the revolution that is the position that the Cuban government takes and I believe it. I don't think that their lying. I don't see the kinds of manifestations of repressions that I saw all my life, for example, in the United States. I don't think the Cuban system is perfect. I think that there are a lot of things that need to be improved. I think that the government is genuinely moving toward struggling to make Cuba more democratic, to make people feel more comfortable saying anything and everything that they feel like saying, but I think that that is a process. I think that it is true that every single revolutionary process in the world...and every single revolutionary organization in the world was effected to one extent or another by Stalinism. I think that's real. I think that there's no Socialist country on the face of this planet or any organization that has not been effected by the thinking that was prevalent in the Soviet Union, the ex-Soviet Union, or the Eastern Europe Socialist camp??. And I think that Cubans are are of that and are analyzing to what extent some of the ideas were mistaken, some of the ideas were correct, etc, but I cannot imagine that any revolutionary process can exist , or can mature or can grow without reflecting on what happened during the 50 something years that the Soviet Union was the most powerful Socialist country and what effect that has had in the respective governments, the respective movements, etc. This is a time more than any other time in history I think that people need to examine, and I think a=are examining, mistakes, strong points, mistaken ideas, correct ideas, because I don't think it's a question either that you can throw the baby out with the bath water. That because this country or that country constructed a deformed or distorted model of socialism that means that socialism has no validity. I think that's as far ...I don't want to carry this on all night and I realize that we're dealing with a party here..and I'm ready. I hope that answered your question.

**BLACK LIBERATION ARMY
(BLA)**

