

## Bailed out banks dish out bonuses Brown hands over control to City sharks

# Ban bonus payouts to bankers

by SIMON BASKETTER

**"THIS IS an investment in the banking system that will eventually pay off,"** says chancellor Alistair Darling about New Labour's bailout of the banks. And pay off it certainly will—to the enormous benefit of the bankers themselves.

Their obscene bonuses are secure. RBS plans to pay out £1.79 billion in bonuses—despite having been bailed out with £20 billion of public cash.

Lloyds TSB has also said it will pay out bonuses to its executives. These will be in shares for some of the highest paid bosses—but they are shares that the government is guaranteeing with our money.

RBS's new chief executive Stephen Hester has defended these bonuses, adding that he was "mindful" of RBS staff. "Some of them have done an outstanding job for us and need to be incentivised," he said.

Perhaps Andy Hornby, the disgraced chief executive of the collapsed HBOS banking group, is one of those who needs to be "incentivised".

He will scoop up £60,000 a month in "consultancy fees" to oversee 20,000 job cuts at Halifax and the Bank of Scotland.

The government is spending up to £17 billion on HBOS and Lloyds TSB and will own up to 43 percent of the company formed when the two firms merge.

Both banks released trading statements this week that uncovered billions of pounds in



hitherto hidden bad debt.

At every turn, each promise that the government has made over the bailout of the banks has proved to be a lie. It claimed the banks would not pay out bonuses—but they are carrying on regardless.

It claimed the banks would have to change the way they lend money—but now it turns out they won't.

Eric Daniels, chief executive of Lloyds TSB, airily declared that he did not think the government "will have an impact on our lending policies or conduct of business".

Talk of the government appointing directors to the banks has also turned out to be hollow. The government has the power to veto potential directors—but cannot nominate them.

Darling promised a moratorium on banks handing money over to their shareholders. The chancellor insisted he was not going to "put billions into banks only to see it disappear out of the door again" in the form of dividends.

But now it seems the government and Sir Victor Blank, chair of Lloyds TSB, have come to a "private understanding" that will enable the bank to pay dividends to shareholders.

"This arrangement may breach the spirit of accounting conventions but it is positive for Lloyds shareholders," noted the Financial Times newspaper.

And now the government has created a new "arm's length" agency that will oversee the government's stake in RBS and Lloyds TSB, as well as running Northern Rock and Bradford & Bingley, which are wholly owned by the government.

This company is meant to return a profit. It will be run by Philip Hampton, former Lloyds banker and current chair of J Sainsbury, along with John Kingman, a senior treasury official and also a former banker.

Remarkably the government will have NO direct control over this company's decisions.

At the very least, we should ban all executive bonuses for bankers. We have paid for these banks and bailed out their losses—so why aren't we seizing their profits and running them ourselves?



**Crisis in the Congo**  
Page 13

Leo Zellig exposes the West's complicity in the DRC's chaos

**Burning the world to make a quid**  
Page 9

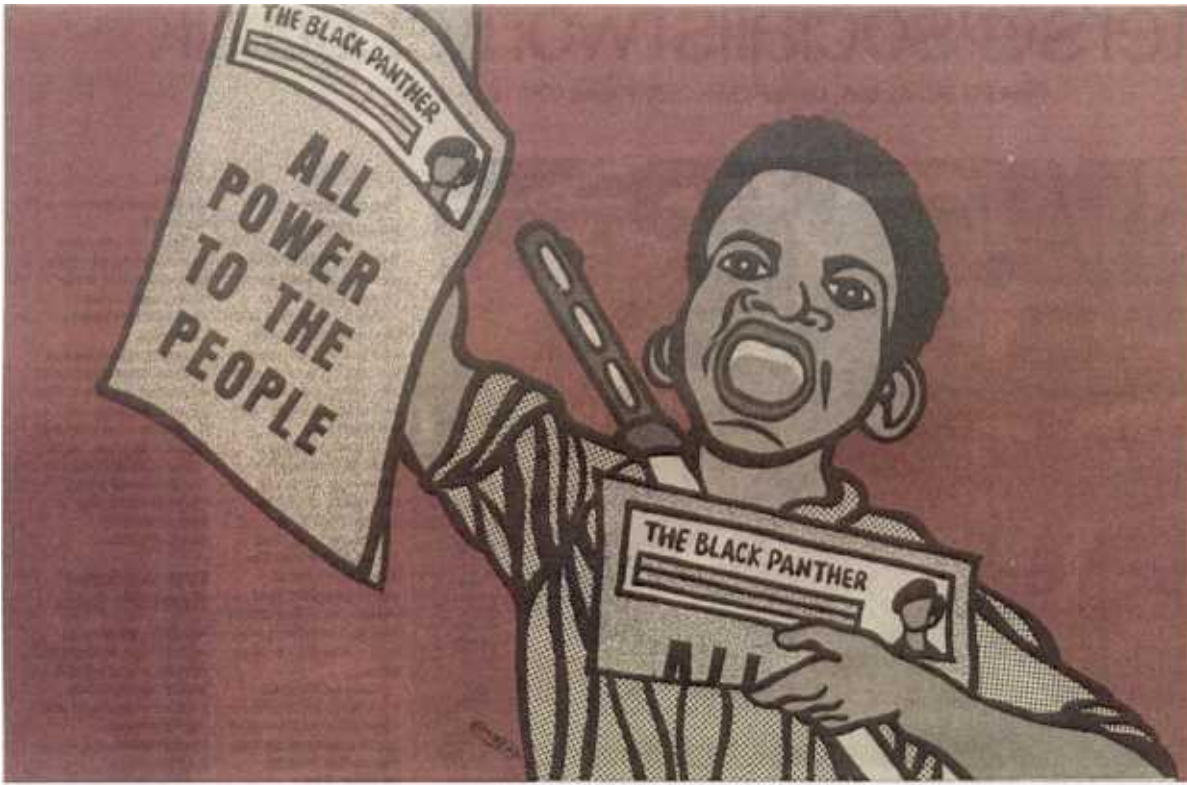
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**THE GLOBAL CRISIS**

Chris Bambery warns of dangers to pensions, while Alex Callinicos considers the dirty history of the IMF

Page 4  
'Champagne shopping' centre is an insult to the poor, writes Esme Choonara  
Page 5





# BLACK PANTHERS' POWER IN PRINT

*Emory Douglas, former Minister of Culture in the Black Panther Party, talks to Ken Olende about the fight for black liberation in the United States and a new exhibition of his art work*

**T**HE BLACK Panther Party shook the US with its revolutionary demands in the late 1960s. Emory Douglas was the party's "Minister of Culture", responsible for the design of their newspaper and producing most of their striking graphic images.

He looks back with pride on his time in the Black Panthers. "We did so many things," he says. "There was confronting the state government in Sacramento.

"Then there was serving the needs of the community with the breakfast programme for poor black kids. Also we gave away 10,000 bags of food. We were concretely articulating what politicians should be doing.

"In the end it was just being able to stand up against oppression."

In 1967 Emory was studying art at San Francisco City College. He explains, "The radical poet Leroy Jones was at San Francisco State University doing plays at that point. I started going up there to do props and stuff.

"Someone in the BSU (Black Student Union) asked me to come to a meeting with Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow. They had invited Huey Newton and Bobby Seale down to do security. After I saw them I knew I wanted to get involved."

The two had recently set up the Black Panthers and Emory was an early recruit.

"I used to get the bus over to Bobby's place early in the morning. I began to go out on patrol and that was my initiation."

Going "on patrol" was no small



**'Going "on patrol" was no little thing—it entailed armed confrontation with the police'**

thing—it often entailed armed confrontation with the police. Emory says, "When I started I had to observe cadres who had been trained in the use of weapons. I just stayed in the car as they approached the police."

He adds, "This was long before any internet, but soon everybody knew what we were doing."

When the state government moved to change the law to make carrying arms illegal, the Panthers marched on the state capital, Sacramento to protest. This made the organisation nationally famous.

The party was already involved in other activities as well. Emory remembers, "They had an advisory committee of folks they knew. One of them was the

well-known dancer Ruth Beckford.

"She suggested the kids breakfast programme. We started running it out of her pastor's church in West Oakland. Father O'Neil was the minister, a revolutionary theologian."

The Panthers initiated a range of social programmes.

## Paper

The party decided it needed a newspaper to put its ideas across. The writer Eldridge Cleaver, famous for his prison book *Soul on Ice*, was made editor.

Emory was brought in because he was an artist. He says, "Huey Newton said most of the community wasn't a reading community that would study long articles, but they would look at a picture and read the caption and get the gist of what was going on.

"So the whole concept was to try to do pictures with a lot of captions. The first couple of papers it was Eldridge writing. Also we'd transcribe things that Huey had said."

As the party became better known more people contributed.

By 1970 the circulation of their weekly newspaper was well over 100,000. "We solicited articles and encouraged chapters and branches to send stuff in. And then there were people in the movement who would give us stuff too."

Selling the paper also started off small. Emory laughs, "At the start I was the only person who used to sell it in San Francisco! Bobby, Huey and Little Bobby Hutton would sell it in Oakland.

"Eventually chapters and branches developed and everybody started to sell

it. We set up our own distribution and used to mail it out all over the country.

"Before long we were selling papers everywhere. We even had subscribers in Europe and Africa."

He reflects on the situation today from his perspective as a leading activist in the 1960s. "Much has changed, much has stayed the same," he says. "Of course there's personal achievement on Barack Obama's part and it does do something for race relations to a degree.

"Yet at the same time you've still got the bigotry and hypocrisy. That was what you saw with Hurricane Katrina. People are very much aware of that.

"Obama is tied into the system. He raises \$40 million a week. That's not coming from common folk. It comes from lobbyists and those people.

"At the same time there is a symbolism for people, particularly elderly black people.

"They look back to a time when they could be murdered for going to vote. They still remember that and that's why they have voted decade after decade. They see this as a new hope.

"But if he does get elected people are going to see that things don't change just because you get a black president. He needs a grassroots movement to hold him to his promises."

Emory thinks it is vital to keep the radical history of the 1960s alive. "I visit art schools and universities," he says.

"The young people want to do political and social commentary. They're trying to find their own way to go about it. When they see work from that period they become inspired."

## EXHIBITION REVIEW

# An image of the struggle

**THE OUTSTANDING** Emory Douglas exhibition at the Urbis in Manchester is much more than an art show. Visitors can feel the atmosphere the Black Panthers developed in and the outrage that made the party grow.

As you enter you are confronted with giant images of racist oppression and resistance. Brutal photos of lynchings accompany images of resistance like the black power salute at the 1968 Olympics.

The exhibition is not static. Screens show film of the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X. Passing through a corridor between rooms you hear the crack of gunshots.

In another room a classroom of school desks is laid out. Each desk has a revolutionary book on it that visitors can read. And all around are Emory's striking images, both as they originally appeared in the Black Panther newspaper and blown up.

His pictures show ordinary people in struggle. Emory says, "That was one of the things that made people gravitate to us. Sometimes we took photos, then I did those pictures of ordinary people looking powerful."

Emory is remarkably modest about his own artistic talents. He said, "Some of the styles I developed at college weren't compatible with commercial art so they were rejected," he says. "But when the opportunity came it just evolved and came out."

"It was also a matter of what could be cheaply duplicated. And of course I had to do that 'woodcut' style, without actually doing woodcuts."

Emory has obtained FBI files on the surveillance of himself and these are on the walls.

A big display shows the radical lyrics to Black Steel In The Hour Of Chaos by Public Enemy. Emory said, "The hip-hop community brought back an interest. They helped keep the spirit alive".

Anyone interested in fighting the system should get to the exhibition and make sure that spirit is passed on

**Black Panther—Emory Douglas and the Art of Revolution** until 19 April 2009. For more details go to [www.urbis.org.uk](http://www.urbis.org.uk)



## HISTORY

# Defiance in the face of repression

**THE BLACK** Panther Party was founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California.

They were enraged by the racism they saw—particularly police brutality—and inspired by Malcolm X and the anti-colonial liberation movements of the time.

At its launch in 1966 the Panthers issued a ten-point revolutionary programme. Members had a striking visual image—with black leather jackets and black berets.

Their first activity was "patrolling the pigs". Members would follow police patrols around Oakland and observe as any black people were stopped. The Panthers were careful to be polite and obey the law—but they carried both law books and shotguns.

The FBI could not tolerate the Panthers' revolutionary challenge, and declared them the "top domestic threat". They were relentlessly persecuted.

Many of their leading members were either arrested or killed in gun battles.

The party never developed stable internal structures or ways of organising democratically.

It relied on the unemployed "brothers on the block" as its base, rejecting the organised working class



Bobby Seale (left) and Huey Newton outside the party's headquarters

as bought off by the system.

Unfortunately this meant they lacked a collective core that would have been more able to withstand repression.

The level of state repression pushed the Panthers into decline, creating internal tensions.

## Persecution

"We had government infiltration, as we know now," Emory explains. "There is documentation from former FBI agents like M Wesley Swearingen, who actually testified on behalf of leading Panther 'Geronimo' Pratt."

The persecution never ended. Some Panthers are imprisoned to this day.

Emory says, "Mumia Abu Jamal is still in prison. Then you've got the

Angola Three. One of them, Albert Woodfox, is out now and another will hopefully be out soon.

"Then there's the San Francisco Eight who were tortured back in the day. Then the case was thrown out because of the torture, but now they are trying to charge them again."

The establishment has never managed to soften the legacy of the Panthers in the way that has been tried with Martin Luther King or even Malcolm X.

Emory laughs, "Well, we had a lot of articulate people. Our social programmes showed up the government's failure to do anything for black people.

"Then of course there were the shoot outs with the police."