WHY BOYCOTT SAFEWAY?

No single group of laborers in America are as fiercely exploited as farm workers. The exploitation arises out of the rapid and widescale growth of giant, mechanized agro-business, absentee land ownership by huge corporations, the seasonal nature of agriculture, and massive racism.

In California and throughout the Southwest, farm workers are predominantly Mexican-American. But in many parts of the country they are Black and poor White. This is no accident. It is part of the pattern of exploitation.

Depending on the high level of unemployment and under-employment of Mexican-Americans and Blacks in areas of their high concentration, owners and managers of agro-businesses offer starvation wages and 19th Century working conditions to those who harvest much of the produce that the American people eat.

Throughout the rural South Black men, women and children have been exploited for decades as tenant farmers as well as farm laborers. Today, as the individual small farm of America is rapidly being replaced by the new, modern, giant farm "plantation", the Black and small farmer is either being pushed off the land or forced into a new slavery little better than that of the Civil War was supposed to have ended.

The federal government and state governments bordering on Mexico make a pretense of maintaining border controls to prevent hard-pressed Mexicans traveling north in search of a better life than they have known in their homeland. In fact, however, the evidence is overwhelming proof of the complicity of government with agro-business to import cheap Mexican labor to work in the fields.

All this helps to explain why the Black Panther Party has launched a full-scale boycott of Safeway supermarkets in Oakland, and has aligned itself wholeheartedly with the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union (UFWU), led by the Indomitable Cesar Chavez.

The UFWU's dedication to ending the oppression of America's farm workers has resulted in vicious repression. Corrupt elements in the union leadership and from the ranks of the already disgraced Teamsters Union have joined hands with the corporate powers to stop and break the UFWU in its efforts.

In the interests of farm workers and all oppressed and exploited of this world, we urge all Americans: DON'T SHOP AT SAFEWAY! DON'T PURCHASE NON-UFWU PICKED FRUIT OR GRAPEFRUIT ANYWHERE! SUPPORT THE UFWU.

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Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

This is just a short note to let you know how much I enjoy reading your weekly paper, THE BLACK PANTHER.

I find it very direct and informative in dealing with community, national and international news that we all Black, poor and oppressed people in this nation should be aware of.

It has always been of utmost importance, in my opinion, that Black and other poor and oppressed people here in this country have a viable, effective newspaper service whose impulse and direction serve as the voice of the common people. This is of no concern to the establishment media, who is supposedly doing this.

What the Black Panther Party is doing in Oakland is particularly beautiful simply because the people's needs are being met. This is always important because if Black and poor people don't have a motivating force to revolve around, which the Panther Party serves as, their exploitation by this subservient social order will continue indefinitely.

Once again, in closing, I really enjoy THE BLACK PANTHER and hope that the Black Panther Party will continue to be a servant of the peoples needs/always.

Sincerely,

Frederick Clark
St. Louis, Mo.

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Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I would like to comment briefly on an article you wrote pertaining to the fourteen-year-old Sister shot by an Atlanta, Georgia, cop. It shows once again how dehumanization and ruthlessness the animals are. First, the barbaric murder of young brother Clifford Glover last month by the same cop in New York. Now the incident with the Sister.

Many more of us will feel some of the tacit wrath before the inevitable destruction of the Western Hemisphere. To my Black Brothers and Sisters everywhere, I plead with you, get yourselves together, because we don't have much time.

With undying love for my people!
All power to the oppressed!
Thomas Matthews, Jr.
New Orleans, LA.

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THE BLACK PANTHER


YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $8.75. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATE PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

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GRATITUDE TO B.P.P.

The following expression of gratitude was written by Ms. Shirley Mitchell, a White medical technician in Houston, Texas, and appeared originally in the Texas State Society American Medical Technologists Journal, June, 1973.

I do not believe most people are aware of the constant struggle that Blacks face in America. One need for survival in the Black community is to be aware of and to fight Sickle Cell Anemia.

Through my employers, The Fourth Ward Clinic, and by assisting the Houston Branch of the Black Panther Party in their free Sickle Cell Anemia testing program, I have had the honor of addressing, on numerous occasions, the student body of the Texas Southern University. The students asked to help the Panthers in two neighborhood screening programs this spring. In the process, we taught about thirty students to administer the screening tests. Thereafter, the students asked the Panthers and me to help them organize a campus-wide Sickle Cell screening program for the 5,000 students at Texas Southern University.

Our program consisted of the following: (1) making people aware of what Sickle Cell Anemia is; (2) administering the solubility screening test; (3) drawing a Hgb. Electrophoresis on the spot for all positive screening tests; (4) giving follow-up genetic counselling in the patient's home through a team of students and Panthers. We have tested over 7,000 people to date following the above program.

We have benefitted from the cooperation of many people, Mr. Neil Rawlinson, Nivalo Institute of Medical Technology, does our Hgb. Electrophoreses at no charge and Dr. Jim Guilford, T.S.U. School of Pharmacy, makes our reagent, which costs only $40 for 5,000 tests instead of the $2,500 we would have to pay for a commercially prepared product. They, along with others who saved disposable blood bank tubes, have helped cut the cost of screening 5,000 people from $7,200 to $140.

My part in a screening program is to organize the necessary equipment and personnel, to teach people to ad-
COMMUNITY GROUPS MEET PRISON OFFICIALS

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Community Involvement Committee of Pontiac Prison met with top ranking prison officials at the facility on July 1st to discuss the implementation of a number of positive programs to aid the prison population here.

The 13-member committee, which includes Black musician Phil Cohran, PUSH community organizer Ma Houston, and such organizations as Chicago Connections, Search for Truth, Inc. and the Black Panther Party, met for over three hours with Dave Brierton, assistant director of the Illinois Department of Corrections, Pontiac Warden John J. Petrelli, and Assistant Warden Donald Harvey. The three officials made many promises to the group, but failed to respond adequately to the group's questions about the penal institution's latest violations of prison inmate rights, an illegal lock-up and unjust transfers.

The meeting followed the committee's successful June 4th Community Prisoners Conference. At that conference, for the first time, prison inmates and community supporters met in workshops to outline programs to remedy prison ills.

The committee demanded that the officials explain why prison inmates were being transferred to other prisons without the notification of their families? Why prisoners were not being afforded an opportunity for religious services? Why prisoners were put on lock-up following the committee's June 4th conference? Why the ratio of Black guards doesn't nearly approach the percentage of Black inmates?

Warden Petrelli only gave piece-meal answers to these questions, demagogically stating that "there was a lot of hostility between the prisoners" after the conference, and that was the reason for the lock-up. Petrelli added that some prisoners were transferred because of threats on their lives.

Dave Brierton, who has held the position of assistant director of the Illinois Department of Corrections for only three and one-half weeks, outlined a number of plans which he promises will be implemented by September 15th. Two key programs he said would begin before that date are a Prisoners' Rights committee and a Legal Rights committee. The Prisoners' Rights committee is to be a grievance committee to which prison inmates can go for redress of problems they have.

According to Brierton, the Legal Rights committee would provide for a legal consultant on the staff of every state prison. Brierton says that a major change will be making prisons operate under a "unit management system, which breaks down the total prison system into separate departments...Most of the money from now on will go into training mid-management people so that we can begin to deliver and support services for the prisoner".

Brierton's promises sound good, but only the actual implementation of these programs and by fulfilling his promise to work closely with the committee, can he prove his sincerity. It is doubtful that any of these programs would be implemented, or even discussed at a meeting like this, if there was no strong community support for our incarcerated brothers and sisters in Illinois by progressive groups like the Community Involvement Committee. Their worthy example will undoubtedly be followed in other communities all over this country.

PHILLY WELFARE CHECK DELAY PROTESTED

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Several hundred welfare recipients held a protest demonstration here last week because their welfare checks were two weeks late. The checks were held up by state capital bureaucracy and could not be released until the legislature passed a new budget. Meanwhile, many welfare recipients were hard pressed to find money for food and other essentials, such as medical care.

Welfare recipients gathered at the welfare office in downtown Philadelphia as early as 7:30 a.m. on July 11th to receive authorizations for interest-free bank loans and emergency food stamps. The office was closed, and the waiting line overflowed into the large intersection of two busy streets.

Soon the welfare recipients had all traffic through the intersection blocked. Police arrived in buses and riot wagons, brutalizing and arresting men, women and children. However, this repression only increased the determination of the demonstrators, caused the demonstration to grow, and ultimately resulted in welfare case-workers joining in.

By mid-day some of Philadelphia's poverty programs tried to quell the anger of the demonstration by providing food. But, when the demonstrators saw the bent, unlabeled, rusty cans donated by the Campbell Soup Company, they were outraged. The Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party added sandwiches, hot dogs and sodas to the food and blankets provided the demonstrators. As darkness fell over the crowded intersection, support shown the demonstrators had increased even more.

Just after midnight, a policeman allowed a friend to drive through the blocked intersection. As the demonstrators moved to stop the car and ask the driver his reason for running the blockade, the car sped up and just mowed through the crowd, crushing the legs of an elderly man lying on a blanket.

The demonstration ended when police waded into the demonstrators and arrested 18 persons. Three
NO NEW TRIAL FOR GIBSON AND JUSTICE

(Marin, Ca.) - Superior Court Judge Joseph Wilson has denied all motions for a new trial in the case of Earl Gibson and Larry Justice, two Black prisoners unjustly convicted of murdering a prison guard and assaulting an inmate in San Quentin Prison. Wilson made this ruling despite much evidence and testimony clearly indicating their innocence and the proven and admitted evidence of jury misconduct.

Two jurors have admitted researching the case illegally after the jury was excused for the day. Another juror deliberately lied during the jury selection process. Judge Wilson maintained that this "may not have affected" the trial results.

There was no factual evidence at all linking the defendants to the crime. Fingerprint found on the murder weapon were proven not to belong to either defendant. Three civilian prison employees, reliable witnesses, confirmed that the two men running from the scene of the stabbings were not Justice or Gibson. Both defendants had several witnesses to the fact that they were somewhere else at the time.

The only prosecution testimony was the word of ex-Inmate Herman Johnson, who Judge Wilson acknowledged was an unreliable, non-credible witness, and who is considered a "snitch" by other prisoners at San Quentin. Nevertheless, Judge Wilson callously denied Brothers Justice and Gibson a new trial.

The defense is raising $5,000 for an appeal. Send all contributions to: The Gibson-Justice Defense Fund, c/o Joe Scharlin, 2963 Magnolia Street, Berkeley, California 94705.

GRATITUDE TO B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

minister the tests, to supervise and draw blood at the testing location and to teach genetic counseling.

I thank the Panthers for showing me the "struggle" and involving me in it, the clinic for giving me encouragement and time off to work in these programs, and the T.S.U. Pharmacy School for all their help and interest. Most of all I thank all the people who have helped and been involved with the program; it has been a tremendous opportunity for all of us to serve the people.

President Polls REVEAL KENNEDY/WALLACE FRONTRUNNERS

(Princeton, N.J.) - Edward M. Kennedy and George C. Wallace of Alabama are the two frontrunners for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1976, according to a Gallup poll reported last week. However, a question designed to test the public's identity awareness, showed George Wallace edging Kennedy with 94 percent, to Kennedy's 93 percent, both leading the list.

The Massachusetts Senator is the first choice of 40 percent of those polled, Wallace is second with 16 percent. Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine is next choice with 9 percent, followed by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and George McGovern of South Dakota with 8 percent each.

The poll was based on a nationwide sample of 1,566 adults, but only the views of the 659 persons labeling themselves as Democrats were used for the nomination choices.

Although the question of whether or not Kennedy will be a presidential candidate in 1976 is reportedly still up in the air, his recent sojourn into Wallace's racist territory to test the lay of the Southland indicates he is rapidly making up his mind to run. He recently announced he will reveal his plans shortly after the 1974 congressional elections.

WALLACE AND BLACKS

Meanwhile, the Associated Press reported last week that Georgia State Representative Julian Bond and Governor Wallace will be among the speakers this weekend at a Democratic party delegate selection conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

The stage is being set. This Gallup Poll result, coming hard on the heels of Kennedy's appearance in Decatur, Alabama, as guest of Governor George Wallace, the symbol of American racism, is part of the pattern.

The appearance of Wallace on the same platform as Black Georgia State Representative Julian Bond and Governor Wallace will be among the speakers this weekend at a Democratic party delegate selection conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

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The jury of one Puerto Rican, ten of assault with intent to murder two connection with cases associated with the jury foreman Stanley Leon announced Blacks and one Japanese-American Wayne State University policemen. Stanley Leon said.

Haywood Brown acted in self-defense because he was afraid for his life, One month after his capture two of his companions, John Boyd and Mark Bethune were gunned down by pursuing police, proving the validity of his fears. We are not surprised with Attorney Cockrell's statement, "There has never been a conviction in Detroit of a white officer for a homicide against a Black man"—we know the reasons why.

Haywood Brown's jury foreman STANLEY LEON.

"Cahalen is trying to show we were biased, He shouldn't try to find bias in our minds just because he feels we should return a guilty verdict. What did he want us to do, railroad somebody?"

In contrast, Brother Leon found defense attorney Kenneth V. Cockrell's case intelligent and convincing. Brown had twice before been attacked without provocation by police. Police Commissioner John F. Nichols had sent his men on the most intensive manhunt in Detroit's history to get the "mad dog killers", Said Brother Leon, "Here was a young man who'd ventured into danger. He was being hunted like a slave with a price on his head...When you're hunted you're afraid. He (Brown) had several opportunities to shoot the policemen—one said Brown even pointed his gun straight at him but didn't shoot, he didn't kill anyone."

The commission report also recommends reforms. They include a greater student voice in campus affairs, a better student relationship with administrators, and a student bill of rights. However, the report contradicted itself again by proposing police state policies such as use of outside police on campus and more riot control training by state police.

Once again, despite overwhelming evidence establishing police responsibility in the deaths of the two brothers, those responsible remain free.
N.Y. PRISONERS BOYCOTT COURT

(Atlanta, Georgia) - As part of an organized effort to harass and/or destroy the Atlanta Chapter of the Black Panther Party, police here have arrested Party member Ron Carter twice in one week.

Brother Ron was arrested on June 23rd while he was peacefully circulating THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper on an Atlanta street.

When police entered Brother Ron's apartment in the first arrest, they had no warrants or extradition papers. The police went so far as to say that he may have been involved in the New Orleans shootout of January in which Mark Essex was killed. The columns of Atlanta's establishment press took up this far-fetched cry and tried to implicate Brother Ron in the shootout.

At a June 20th hearing, Brother Ron's case was postponed for two weeks while New Jersey prepared extradition papers. He was released on $1,000 bond. Brother Ron's attorney, Al Horn, said that the case was "a total political arrest, total political harassment." He said that if the police wanted Carter so bad, they didn't have to come to his house late at night and surround it.

Six days after this arrest Brother Ron was arrested again, this time on a downtown street as a result of the city power structure's policy of attacking distributors of newspapers they consider controversial. In one recent incident, in June, police murdered a young Black Muslim while he was selling papers. A police officer was killed in the incident and seven Muslims were arrested.

Two eyewitnesses to Brother Ron's arrest (who were later arrested themselves) said that he was standing peacefully on the street circulating newspapers and not bothering anyone when police arrested him. When he was effectively under police control, two men in dungarees, who were apparently undercover police, came running across the street and beat him up. Brother Ron received lacerations on one arm, a swollen lip and a bruise on the side of his head. He was charged with creating a tumult, violation of the Safe Streets and Sidewalk Act, and inciting a riot. However, Atlanta police were the only ones who were guilty of these charges.

Brother Ron spent the weekend in jail after his friends were told his bail was set at $10,000, when it was actually $1,700. He was released the following Monday, after a hearing which "reduced" his bail to $1,600.

ATLANTA PARTY MEMBER ARRESTED TWICE IN ONE WEEK

(Brooklyn, New York) - Prison inmates in New York City's Brooklyn House of Detention, a pre-trial detention center for men, are staging a month-long court boycott. They are protesting the denial of their constitutional and human rights by the city and state of New York. Scheduled to end on July 31st, the boycott involves about 65% to 80% of the facility's 1,200 detainees.

The prison inmates seek an end to the practice by King's County District Attorney Eugene Gold of deliberately charging a defendant with more crimes or more serious crimes than the D.A. has any evidence that the defendant has actually committed. This practice is used to give the D.A. a stronger negotiating position in the treacherous game of plea bargaining. The D.A. can pretend that he may have been involved in the New Orleans shootout of January, or that he has been involved in the Atlanta shootout of July 29th.

Several days later, on June 29th, Brother Ron was arrested while he was peacefully circulating THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper on an Atlanta street.

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COURT BOYCOTT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

mise to drop this or that charge, or reduce a charge to a less serious count, if the defendant will agree to plead guilty to the remaining charges. It is a vicious "game" and failure to play, or play well, has resulted in lengthy sentences for unfortunate victims.

Poor defendants must accept legal counsel from the court because they cannot pay for private attorney. The court-appointed attorney can only provide inadequate and ineffective defense for the victim. The average "Legal Aid Society" lawyer is handling about 100 cases at a time. These attorneys rarely see their clients for more than five minutes before going to trial. This inadequacy and the slow pace of the court process, with some defendants waiting up to two years before going to trial, comprise violations of the prisoner's Sixth Amendment rights to "a speedy and public trial" and "assistance of counsel for his defense".

The ridiculously high bails that are set keep many defendants, particularly the poor, in jail for up to two years before going to trial. This practice flagrantly ignores the Eighth Amendment provision that "excessive bail shall not be required..." There is no question that the conditions at the Brooklyn House of Detention also violate the Eighth Amendment clause prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishments".

The removal of six judges, the Chief Clerk and D.A. Gold, all particularly unfair and repressive officials, is another prison inmate demand. The prison inmates also demand a federal investigation of their grievances, including irregularities in the Grand Jury proceedings, arbitrary denial of defense motions, and unnecessary transportation of inmates back and forth to court.

At least two national organizations have announced their support for the prisoners' boycott. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) recently held a mass rally in front of the jail, The Black Panther Party fully supports the prisoners' just demands.

ATTICA PRE-TRIAL HEARINGS BEGIN

BUFFALO, N.Y. - Last month saw the opening of pre-trial hearings in the case of 60 prisoners and former prisoners who were indicted by the state of New York in the aftermath of the Attica Prison rebellion and the subsequent massacre.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., the House Select Committee on Crime released a report condemning the needlessness of the use of shotguns in retaking the prison. The senseless slaughter of 39 men including hostage prison guards, and the mailling of literally hundreds more resulted from the use of shotguns on that day.

Despite this "lip service" by the government, not one of the government's agents, troopers or state officials, have been indicted. All 60 defendants at the Buffalo trial are survivors of the unarmed prison population, who were attacked because of their demand for human rights, causing their oppressors to lose their prestige of power; senseless, inhumane retaliation killing innocent men who sought only their dignity.

Amid rigid security arrangements, Judge Carmen Ball's court was the scene of striking revelations as proceedings began on June 18. Defense attorney Don Jellirek, legal coordinator of the Attica cases, charged that "Watergate-type surveillance" of 278 members of the legal defense team is occurring. Attorney Arthur Kiney's phone has been tapped 26 times by the U.S. Justice Department's own admission. Attorney Jellirek's office was mysteriously broken into several times in the weeks before the hearings began.

Although the government has already squandered over $3 million researching and gathering evidence to be used in the trial, defense lawyers have not even been allowed to view the man-sacre site or read the ballistics and autopsy reports.

One defendant was beaten on the second day of the hearings by the guards and Erie County sheriff's de-CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

N.C. ACTIVIST RECEIVES SUSPENDED SENTENCE

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Features

REMOVE THE CHAINS

JOHNNY SPAIN DESCRIBES COURTROOM

TORTURE OF SAN QUENTIN SIX

PART I

The following, written by San Quentin Six defendant Johnny Spain, has been excerpted from a lawsuit filed by Brother Spain in Marin County Superior Court. The suit “seeks to halt all proceedings and matters related to this case until such matters as will be described below are heard and given disposition.” Charging that their human rights have been neglected and denied, Johnny Spain vividly depicts the cruel and vicious beatings that the San Quentin Six are subjected to; recounting the chaining and torture of the defendants as only he can—from the point of view of the San Quentin Six themselves.

Drastically restricted in their legal moves, and denied counsel of their choice, the San Quentin Six are also planning to file a $1,000,013,000 civil rights suit on these grounds.

In view of the fact that the Nixon-controlled media continues to hide the case of the San Quentin Six, whitewashing the State’s ruthless assassination of Comrade George Jackson on August 24, 1971, THE BLACK PANTHER is proud to reprint Brother Johnny Spain’s account of the events at the Marin County Courthouse at the June 29th pre-trial hearing. In speaking out in his own defense, and in the defense of the San Quentin Six, Johnny Spain speaks for us all.

“On Friday, June 29th, 1973, there had an appearance, in San Rafael’s infamous Courthouse, for what was called a “pre-trial hearing”. When we left the prison that morning everything seemed more tense than usual. Note: We are not the ones who made things tense because we are very thoroughly search and even more thoroughly chain up. It is only obvious that the San Quentin guards create the atmosphere of extra tension. Add: we are unarmed, they are armed, excessively and unnecessarily.

‘The shackling and chains should be explained. After being stripped and skin-searched, we are “chained-y”, which means literally that. There is a waist chain, padlocked around us; there are two single handcuffs on each side of the waist chain, once the chain is in place; our hands are cuffed to our sides; there are the leg shackles, and finally there is a chain looped around our necks and padlocked to the waist chain in back of us. The most movement we have with our hands is holding our legal material—very little else. We even have to strain in leaning over to smoke a cigarette. It is virtually impossible to comb our hair while in chains and, in fact, one could not even blow his nose if he wanted to.

‘Opoosed to what the Right media has been saying, I have not been in the courtroom during any of the proceedings since they started earlier this year. Some reasons for this are: (1) I have wrist injuries of the motor and sensory nerves as a result of the handcuffs tightening and damaging them when the prison guards attacked me September 7th, 1972, and despite medical record of this as well as doctor’s orders for protective bandages to go between my wrists and the handcuffs, the court refuses to enforce the doctor’s orders and allows San Quentin guards to prevent me from wearing these bandages. (I refuse to sit in the courtroom pretending that the cuffs are not damaging my wrists further when the fact is, they are!) (2) When we go in the courtroom we are put in more chains! There is a chain placed around our waist (a second chain) that is padlocked to the seat, and another chain is looped through our leg shackles and padlocked to the floor. To sit six hours in that position is ridiculous, to use no lesser term. When we get back from court our elbows and shoulder joints are extremely sore because they have been out of use and badly situated for 8 or 9 hours. I refuse to sit there and accept that. When in the holding cell, though still chained up, I can at least lay down on the wooden bench.

‘(3) San Quentin guards jump us when they please, I’m not going to sit in the courtroom all chained up as if ‘peace is normal’, because it’s not when the people are not able to see. The guards take the liberty to administer severe beatings while we’re chained up, (we haven’t left their “Adjustment Center” since August 21, 1971, without being chained up), so the court scene is a show, a circus. When the chains come off I’m sure you won’t see any of those guards in the courtroom. In order for the situation to be “orderly”, as they say, those chains will have CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

JOHNNY SPAIN, one of the San Quentin 6.

FREE

DAVID HILLIARD

David Hilliard, leading member of the Black Panther Party and victim of the Watergates, continues to be held at Vacaville (Medical Facility) Prison. We demand his immediate release.

Unjustly convicted of a crime he did not commit, repeatedly refused parole despite an unblemished prison record; suffering from a chronic ulcer condition that grows worse under the stress of horrifying prison conditions, every day David Hilliard completes in Vacaville adds one more day of infamy to the records of those who put him there and those who refuse to release him.
BY HUEY P. NEWTON

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"CHINA"

PART 1

On October 8, 1971, in a press conference held at San Francisco International Airport, Huey P. Newton announced that he had just returned from a 10-day visit to the People's Republic of China. Accompanying Brother Huey on the trip were fellow Black Panther Party members Elaine Brown and Robert Bay. Below, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints excerpts from the chapter entitled "China" from Huey P. Newton's brilliant new book, Revolutionary Suicide. Find out why Huey says: "We felt that we were free for the first time in our lives."

Today, when I think of my experiences in the People's Republic of China - a country that overwhelmed me while I was there - they seem somewhat distant and remote. Time erodes the immediacy of the trip; the memory begins to recede. But that is a common aftermath of travel, and not too alarming. What is important is the effect that China and its society had on me, and that impression is unforgettable.

"FELT AT HOME"

While there, I achieved a psychological liberation I had never experienced before. It was not simply that I felt at home in China; the reaction was deeper than that. What I experienced was the sensation of freedom - as if a great weight had been lifted from my soul and I was able to be myself, without defense or pretense or the need for explanation. I felt absolutely free for the first time in my life - completely free among my fellow men.

This experience of freedom had a profound effect on me, because it confirmed my belief that an oppressed people can be liberated if their leaders persevere in raising their consciousness and struggling relentlessly against the oppressor.

Because my trip was so brief and made under great pressure, there were many places I was unable to visit and many experiences I had to forgo. Yet there were lessons to be learned from even the most ordinary and commonplace encounters: a question asked by a worker, the response of a schoolchild, the attitude of a government official. These slight and seemingly unimportant moments were enlightening, and they taught me much.

For instance, the behavior of the police in China was a revelation to me. They are there to protect and help the people, not to oppress them. Their courtesy was genuine; no division or suspicion exists between them and the citizens.

This impressed me so much that when I returned to the United States and was met by the Tactical Squad at the San Francisco airport (they had been called out because nearly a thousand people came to the airport to welcome us back), it was brought home to me all over again that the police in our country are an occupying, repressive force. I pointed this out to a customs officer in San Francisco, a Black man, who was armed, explaining to him that I felt intimidated seeing all the guns around. I had just left a country, I told him, where the army and the police are not in opposition to the people but are their servants.

RECEIVED INVITATION

I received the invitation to visit China shortly after my release from the Penal Colony, in August, 1970. The Chinese were interested in the Party's Marxist analysis and wanted to discuss it with us as well as show us the concrete application of theory in their society. I was eager to go and applied for a passport in late 1970, which was finally approved a few months later. However, I did not make the trip at that time because of Bobby's and Ericka's trial in New Haven. Nonetheless, I wanted to see China very much, and when I learned that President Nixon was going to visit the People's Republic in February, 1972, I decided to beat him to it. My wish was to deliver a message to the government of the People's Republic and the Communist Party, which would be delivered to Nixon when he made his visit.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK
OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION! PART 53

As the high-spirited demonstrators, representing the Black Panther Party, the New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee and the United Farm Workers Union marched in cadence, the empty parking lot testified that, indeed, a boycott of Safeway was truly underway.

"It's a natural alliance of poor people and people that understand that everyone has a right to live."

With these words, Ms. Elaine Brown announced, on Friday July 20th, an all-out boycott of Safeway supermarkets in the city of Oakland. In the background, three separate groups of high-spirited demonstrators representing the Black Panther Party, the New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee and the United Farm Workers Union, marched in a cadence common to all poor oppressed people throughout this country: "Hey! Hey! I feel all right, Boycott!"

Standing on the corner of 27th and West Streets, in the heart of West Oakland's Black community, Ms. Brown talked with the press, clarifying the issues as she went along. "This is the first store that we are boycotting in support of the United Farmworkers (UFW) struggle for their rights to organize a union and to receive decent and fair wages. Members of the UFW have been put upon by members of the Teamsters Union. Various thugs and gangsters have been beating people, beating families... and trying to deny them their legitimate rights.

"This is a very serious struggle and we intend to stay here at this Safeway store so Safeway can receive the same kind of economic strain they have put upon the farmworkers by accepting grapes from other unions and from non-union people." The nearly empty parking lot behind her testified to the fact that, indeed, a boycott of Safeway stores was truly underway. The initiation of the boycott and picketing came as no surprise to those who had been following this swiftly-moving chain of events. Two weeks prior, on July 6th, Elaine and Brother Bobby Seale announced that they had just complete hand-delivering letters to the managers of six Safeway stores in Oakland, demanding that they end their sale of non-UFW picked table grapes. The letters stated in part: "Your failure to accede to this demand will leave us no choice but to mobilize... the entire Black, Mexican-American and justice-seeking community of this city in a boycott of Safeway stores in Oakland on a scale unprecedented in California!"

This past Wednesday, July 18th, Safeway received a final ultimatum, this one with a 24-hour deadline. Again, Safeway refused to accede to the demand; one official stated they would, "... accept whatever grapes they could get their hands on!"

Concerning the possible duration of the boycott as well as its outcome, Elaine said, referring to the highly successful six and one-half month boycott of Bill Boyette's Liquor Stores: "We have been known to be very lasting in terms of our ability to walk picket lines and to have the strength to support what we say and support our convictions. So, if we have to be out here for the next year, we'll be out here." Mentioning that they intended to extend this boycott to at least five other Safeway locations, Ms. Brown frankly states: "That will be accomplished as we build up momentum. We have a strategy in mind. People have to have a strategy when we're put upon by the strategy of guns and terror."

The "strategy of guns and terror" to which Elaine refers...
In fact, implemented daily by the Teamster-grower-Safeway alliance. Two weeks ago, if an effort to legally combat the vicious repression they are facing in the fields, the UFW filed suits against the Teamsters Union and 27 grape growers, seeking more than $50 million in damages arising from Coachella Valley violence. It was in Coachella Valley this past April that the corrupt Teamsters Union signed their now infamous "sweetheart contracts" (Cesar Chavez, Executive Director of UFW, wryly calls them "marriage certificates") with the table grape growers in this fertile region. This illegal action not only denies the migrant farmworkers true representation by the union of their choice, but it also sets the stage for the Teamster-instigated violence which has rocked the grape fields ever since. Armed with pipes, sticks, brass knuckles, chains, as well as shotguns and other assorted weaponry, racist Teamster goons -- paid $50 per day -- have been witnessed attacking innocent farmworkers whom they suspect sympathize with the UFW, as well as brutally beating UFW members and picketers.

The UFW's struggle has not stopped there. In the Fresno/Kern County regions, a seemingly unconstitutional court restriction has severely limited UFW picketing and strike-organizing tactics. Several months ago, Superior Court Judge John M. Nativ ordered that no UFW-picketers could stand or walk closer than 100 feet from each other and that the picketers could come no closer than 60 feet from the entrance to the fields. The use of bullhorns, especially in communications in the fields, was also prohibited. (Seemingly, this last restriction applied to the UFW only, for the Teamsters, as Elaine mentioned, have taken great joy in singing "Bye Bye, Blackbird" through bullhorns to the striking UFW members.)

Recently, to combat this illegal and repressive court injunction, the UFW has adopted the policy of massive civil disobedience. Maintaining their self-affirmed non-violent posture, more than 1,500 farmworkers have chosen to be arrested in order to challenge the courts. This same tactic proved successful in Coachella Valley earlier this year and just last week, a Superior Court Judge in Bakersfield indicated that he is inclined to agree with the case presented by UFW lawyers.

The picketing demonstrators marched to a cadence common to all oppressed people: "BOYCOTT!"

Meanwhile, in a closely associated but definitely distinct issue, both Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown spoke at a University of California at Berkeley campus rally and announced their support of a boycott of Gallo wines. On June 27th, Robert Gallo, owner of the world's biggest winery and reportedly making between $35 to $40 million annually, ended six years of UFW contracts and signed new, longterm "sweetheart contracts" with the Teamsters. At that rally Bobby Seale drew a thunderous ovation when he remarked:

"We have to relate humanistically to the fact that we're tired of exploitation in this society. We have to relate humanistically when people decide to get themselves together in order to stop being exploited; in order to stop the slave labor, the cheap labor. When people say they want decent wages, when they say the want certain fringe benefits, certain health benefits, it is their constitutional right to protest exploitation... I ask you to unite with us and strike against these capitalists and support the UFW. Boycott Gallo wines! Boycott grapes! Boycott Safeway!"

It was perhaps a comment made by Ms. Brown which best sums up the current situation and puts the entire issue in proper perspective. Speaking again to the press, that Friday morning when the boycott was initiated, Elaine said, "... we're boycotting Safeway, not just grapes alone. Safeway says that they don't care who picks their grapes or where they get their grapes from. In other words, they don't care that eight people in a family are living on $35 a week, they don't care about people being shot in the fields. As a matter of fact, we believe that Safeway is part of the violent activities because they haven't shown in any way that they want to stop those activities... In the final analysis, people are powerful and there are more people in support of the farmworkers than are in support of exploitation..." And, as Elaine continued the backbone of the boycott, the picketing demonstrators suddenly began to chant as they marched, "I don't know, but I've been told, Safeway stores have got to be closed. Am I right or wrong? Right on. Am I right or wrong? Right on."

BOYCOTT SAFEWAY.