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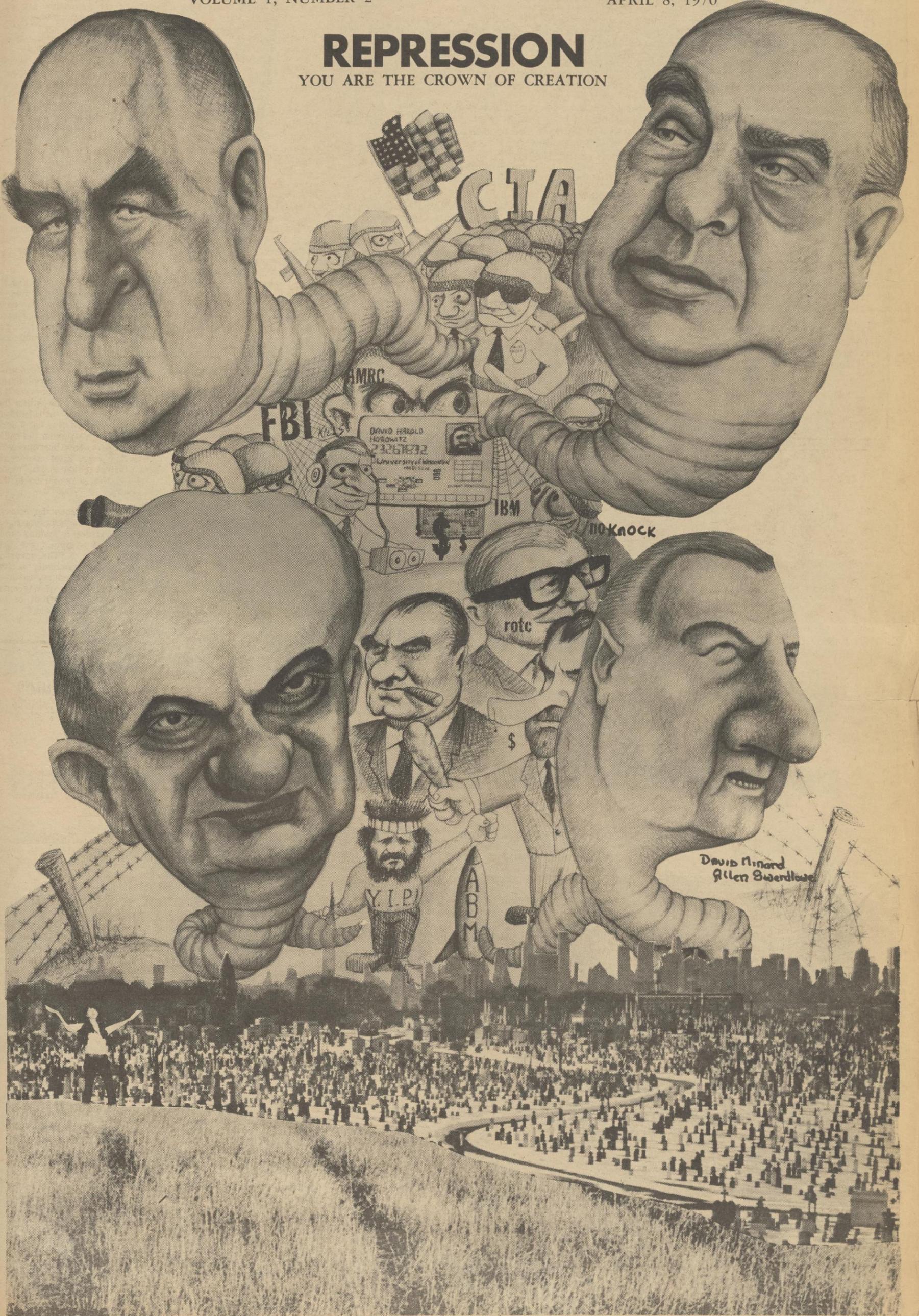
Guerrilla

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 2

APRIL 8, 1970

REPRESSION

YOU ARE THE CROWN OF CREATION



Guerrilla

Allen Swerdlow Editor
David Minard Graphics

Almost a year ago, the Black Panther Party began to talk about fascism as if it were something that was already happening in this country. Few white people in the movement and even fewer outside it understood what all that talk was about. We knew that we faced a powerful enemy; but what we didn't know—or more precisely, didn't feel—was that the enemy had already created a repressive apparatus and a political climate which made it possible for it to direct a systematic, coordinated, nationwide campaign of terror against people who had not committed any crime as crime is legally defined by the system. What we know now—what the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, more than any other single incident, has taught us—is that imperialism is no longer going to play the game according to its own bourgeois democratic rules.

As the liberal Capital Times pointed out recently the Nixon administration has initiated a programmed police state sooner and more quietly than most people have realized. It's not just that repression has become more severe: it's that it has become more systematic and more legal. The face of the enemy is everywhere the same face: and that face is now openly—although selectively—displayed. On this campus it has appeared:

•In the firings of assistant professor David Siff and instructor Rolf Panny. Both were politically motivated;

•In the mass infiltration of student and nonstudent spies into classrooms and dormitories. Madison Kaleidoscope has recently run articles dealing with attempts by Madison police to pay people to inform.

•In the three day police riot that ensued after the peaceful attempt by Mifflin residents to stage a party on their own block. The facts were then whitewashed by a commission appointed by the Mayor during the summer of 1969;

•In the increasing number of anti-student bills being written and passed by the State Legislature;

•By the increase in out-of-state tuition by the regents and similar measures taken by that board; and

•In the crackdown by Madison police on the sale of Marijuana and LSD, while the flow of Heroin is allowed to continue in the community.

The argument should continue to include the nationwide news blackouts on universities and the increasing number of attacks on Selective Service Centers; but the point is clear. Organized, systematic, extra-legal state repression is something that people are going to have to face from here on in. You can call it fascism, imperialism or whatever you like: the point is that it has taken hold of our community. This issue of **Guerrilla** is designed to deal with that problem.

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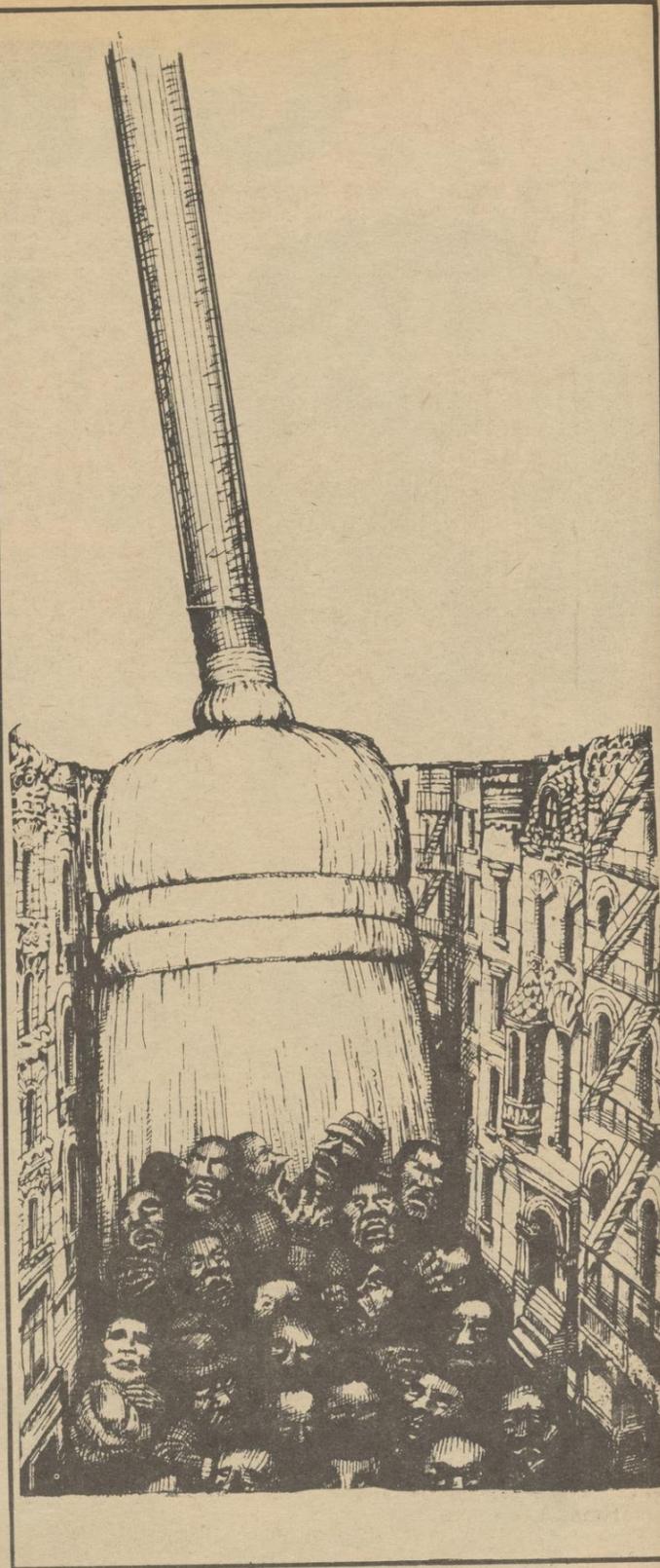
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repression and revolution by david siff

For years it has been fashionable in Amerika to regard repression as an essentially aberrant manifestation of the system—the KKK, LBJ, Spiro Agnew, etc.—eruptions of madness we somehow manage to survive. In the last year or two, though, it has become increasingly clear that repression is the system. There is a certain amount of ingenuousness in the recognition. Why shouldn't we have known it all along? Or if we did, why couldn't we deal with it? The answers to those questions should put us on special alert to whatever conclusions we have come to now. For it is only the old impulse of privilege and stricken conscience that leads people, who otherwise feel anger, to passively submit to the latest pig murder of a Panther, the latest report of massacre in Vietnam. For those who know first hand that repression is no madman's passing fancy, submission is a suicidal luxury. The Vietcong, the peoples of Africa, Latin America, the inner cities of the U.S.—all those who face repression at its bayonet point—have no choice but to fight. I am not making a moral distinction but one of class. It is only as the option of privilege, escape, is removed that the necessity of resistance becomes clearer. It is only when the necessity for resistance becomes clear that the real meaning of repression becomes manifest: repression is whatever the system must do in order to preserve itself.

While this more readily comprehends repression in its most extreme forms—it is equally important to understand it in its more benign aspects. Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela equals secret police, medieval torture chambers, all the vicious paraphernalia of fascist dictatorship while in Amerika he presents himself as a liberal governor of a large "progressive" state,

a tory, but an enlightened one, a builder of tall buildings in depressed neighborhoods. Both Rockefellers are the same.

What is new in Amerika is that the old Rockefeller option of fast disappearing because it never was an option in the first place. The reason Rockefeller could eat blintzes and kiss babies in New York while simultaneously setting loose his goon squads in Venezuela was because the one created the possibility of the other. So long as enough people in the mother country were fattened up by what was taken at gunpoint from the colonial peoples, the possibility of maintaining order at home through liberal democracy was real. The moment the colonies began turning the guns around and using them to win their freedom, the ability of the mother country to maintain domestic privileges at a level sufficient to keep order began to wither.

It is important to see that privilege itself—i.e. relative privilege—is actually a form, albeit a low-level one—of repression. The everyday privileges that whites—even the poorest—enjoy in relation to blacks work principally as repressive agents to restrain people from identifying and fighting the common enemy—U.S. corporate capitalism. Constitutional guarantees of free speech, freedom of assembly, and other democratic "rights" can similarly serve to restrain rather than liberate people. As those rights are taken seriously—i.e. as they are used to attack the legitimacy of the system—they are abridged.

In a time of revolution, Lenin said, 10 years can occur in a single day. We have not yet reached that point, but we are on the way. Changes of enormous magnitude are occurring in short stretches of time. Not the least of these changes has been the almost total disintegration of

liberalism as Amerika's driving political force. The Humphreys, the Muskies, the Lindsays, the McCarthys stand before us all as empty shells promising everything but able to offer no more than newer strains of perfume. The disintegration of liberalism, however, involves far more than the failure of a few phony politicians—it also involves the failure of a mythology: a mythology that somehow equates the traditional attitudes, values, assumptions of our culture with real moral and material progress. In Stanley Aronowitz's words, it has involved the collapse of the superstructure of American life.

What has happened to American liberalism is perfectly illustrated in the University—which is, after all, a paradigm of liberal culture. The wave of protests, demonstrations, strikes, riots which have beset campuses all over the country in the past couple of years can be interpreted only at the expense of sanity as the "mindful work of a small minority of anarchists, misfits, etc." Although that argument breaks down on the numbers game alone, the important point is not the percentages of people involved but why so many people everywhere have at this particular time undertaken the kinds of actions they have. On one level, the answer lies with the gradual emergence, on a mass level, of an understanding that much of what passes for culture in a classroom is not much more than acculturation: an authoritarian laying on of values and traditions that professors say are above history but which, in the reality serve only to keep people passive and obedient before the very forces that threaten to ruin their lives. On another level, the answer lies with the gradual recognition that the University's "neutrality" really means the maintenance

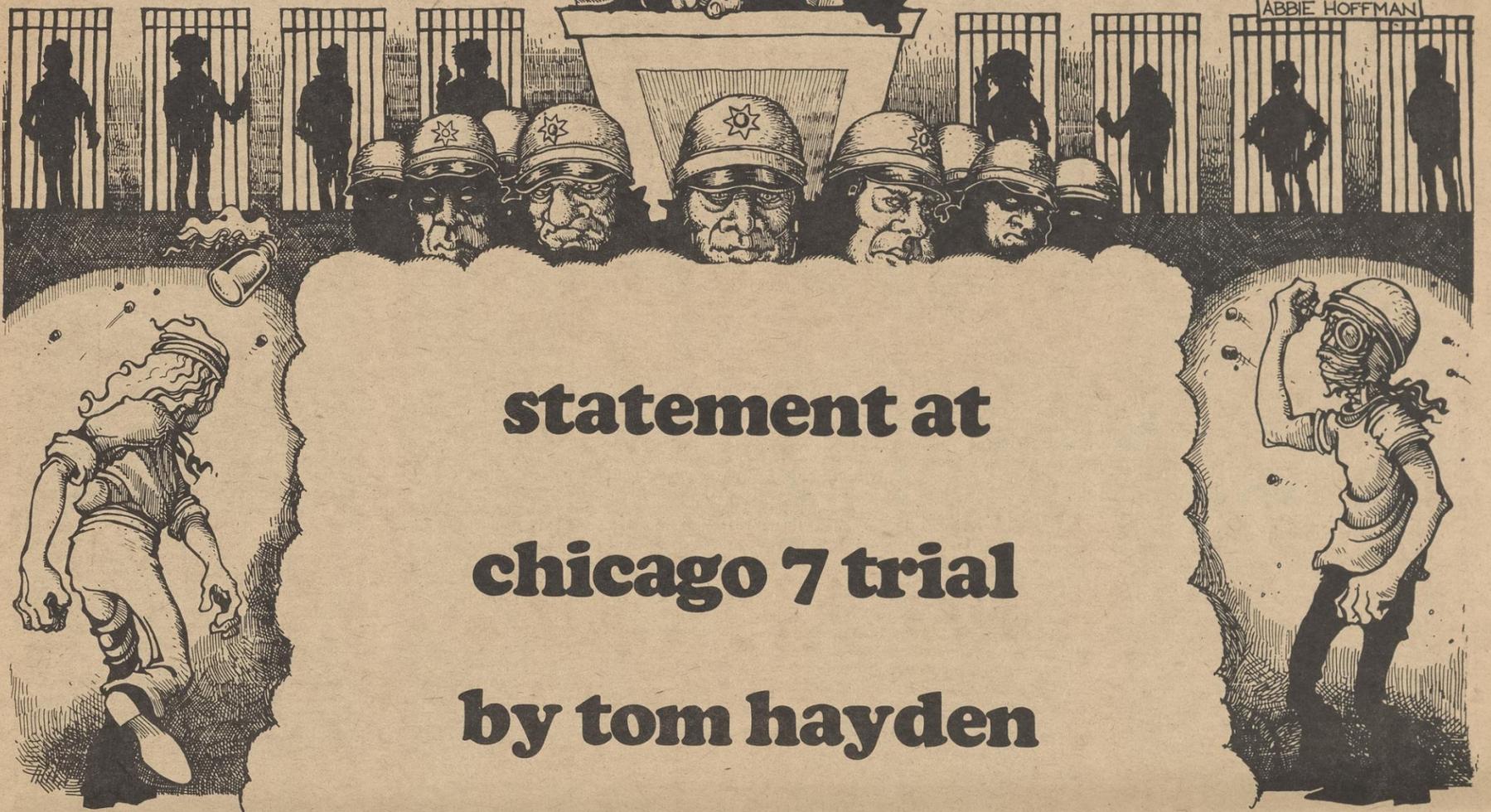
of power by the billy club, the bayonet, the gas bomb and the gun. On both levels, people have begun to see that the principal factor operating in their lives is not liberalism but repression. When a Chancellor Young says that those who raise demands against ROTC or Army Math try to win by force what they cannot win by reason, what he really means is that no amount of reason can ever persuade the University to abandon its commitment to help the U.S. make war on whomever it chooses. From the Black Studies strike to the TAA strike, people on this campus have been treated to a series of administrative ukases backed up by cops that have sought to make clear that force and only force could ever make the University administration yield to anything it did not want to yield to—including, in the case of the hastily fabricated double-jeopardy regulations on student discipline—its own honky procedures.

But what people on this and other campuses face is still nothing to what black people face every day in this country, to what people in Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Thailand, Africa, Latin America face merely because their independence happens to conflict with the needs of U.S. corporate capitalism. All the demagogic prattle about violence cannot obscure the fact that this system maintains itself by committing wholesale violence on the world. To challenge injustice in an unjust society means ultimately to face its violence because the nature of injustice demands that it maintain itself by repression—rather than reason—on every level. "The people never make revolution," Huey Newton said. "The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people." All power to the people!

“THE LAW
HAS BECOME
TYRANNY”

REVOLUTION
THEREFORE IS
THE ONLY ORDER

1968-70



statement at chicago 7 trial by tom hayden

(Editor's note: The following piece was given by Tom Hayden at the Chicago 7 Conspiracy Trial before he was sentenced by Judge Julius Hoffman.)

I think that the nature of this gathering is a reflection on how weak freedom of speech is in the United States. It is allowed when it has no effect.

On the other hand, when freedom of speech is effective it is prevented, when people are put away so here we are today with freedom of speech; freedom to speak to the prosecutor, freedom to speak to the judge, apparently freedom to speak to a press which will package what we say into perhaps two inches. What we say at this table will come out over the wires tonight and will be in tomorrow's papers and that will be the end of it. Our last words in public.

And so, I have very little that I want to say because I don't have very much respect for this kind of freedom of speech and this is the kind of freedom of speech that I think the Government now wants to restrict us to, freedom to speak in empty rooms, in front of prosecutors a few feet from your jail cell.

But there are two or three things that I do want to say something about for the record, for the press, and they are hopeful things, I guess, some of them, and also some of them have to do with warnings.

Our intention in coming to Chicago was not to incite a riot. Our intention in coming to Chicago was to see to it that certain things, that is, the right of every human being, the right to assemble, the right to protest, can be carried out even where the Government chooses to suspend those rights. It was because we chose to exercise those rights in Chicago in the jaws of a police state that we are here today.

If they were exercised on a college campus or in some place where the police are in the wings, we would not be here. We chose to exercise certain rights that the Government wanted to suspend and I think that we even knew it at the time. We knew that 1968 was going to be a bad year. We knew with the assassination of King and the assassination of Kennedy it was going to be a bad year. We knew from the rumblings coming out of Chicago long before the convention that it was going to be a bad year. We knew from trying to get Rennie to negotiate for permits and his lack of success that it was going to be a bad year.

And I was even told by my tails when I was arrested on August 26, that is the

day the convention opened, that I was going to be indicted under this law, that the FBI had informed the tails that they were there to gather information for the indictment on crossing interstate lines with intention to incite a riot.

So we knew that there was a conspiracy all right and there was a conspiracy before the convention, before we took to the streets, before we made the speeches that we have been convicted for. It had already been decided by the Government and authorized by the FBI that the investigation begin and plans be made to put us away.

We have known all along what the intent of the Government has been. We knew that before we set foot on the streets of Chicago. We knew that before the famous events of August 28, 1968. If those events didn't happen, the Government would have had to invent them, as I think it did for much of its evidence in this case, because they were bound to put us away. They had to put us away in some way that would preserve the image of the system.

They have told the people that it was a fair trial. The press has congratulated the jury, but they have us. That is the way it is. That is the way it is. That is the way it is going to be.

The biggest test of this, if you want to test it in practice, and not just compare your theory to mine, will be the question of bail. The Judge has said that we are too dangerous to let at large. The prosecutor has said several times in open court before a jury that we are evil men, that we incite violence, that we want to create a national liberation front to overthrow the Government by violence. So, I expect that Mr. Foran's office will suggest that we not be given bail, or maybe he will be mild on that and leave it to the Appeals Court to do it? but, I think we will not be given bail, or maybe he will not be given bail which is the ultimate example, the ultimate example of the suspension of constitutional rights, the ultimate example of refusing to extend constitutional rights to people who might use them effectively.

It is all right to let mafia people out on bail. It is all right to let murderers out on bail. It is all right to let DeSapio out on bail. They walked right out of the courtroom; it is not going to be all right to let us out on bail because as they will say, there is an incendiary situation.

Look, these people have created a riot across state lines just during the time of the verdict, inciting in the courtroom. What do you think it would be like if they

went out there and spoke to those millions of people who are holding rallies and demonstrating, and crying, causing violence. They can't be let out on the street They can't have bail.

Or, we will get bail with restrictions that amount to muzzling so that if we make one mistake, one speech in the wrong place, make one trip to another area, then they will pick us up with less publicity. This is proof of a system working?

Take the jury. I have sat there in the Cook County Jail with people who can't make bond, with people who have bum raps, with people who are nowhere, people who are the nothings of society, people who say to me, "You guys burned your draft cards. I would like to burn my birth certificate so they can never find me again."

I sit there and I watch television, and I hear, sitting in the hall, I hear Mr. Foran say the system works. This trial proves the system works.

Mr. Foran, I would love to see a television cameraman come into Cook County Jail and show the people how the system is working. Maybe you could televise us sitting around the table with the roaches running over our wrists while we watch somebody on television, a constitutional expert explaining how the jury verdict demonstrates once again the vitality of the American system of justice...

They claimed in 1968 that we were tearing up the streets, building barricades, throwing things at the police, and they invented this because in their peculiar way of looking at things, they invented this out of the smallest shred of evidence. One year later, as I read the newspapers and listen to the radio in my cell, seems now to be happening. The very thing they are afraid,

that they are most afraid of, the very thing they thought by prosecuting us they could prevent now seems to be happening throughout the streets of the country. An interstate riot inspired by us? Inspired by us?

Inspired by our existence, inspired by what you have done to us. Organized by us? Manipulated by us? Try to prove it. Try to show it. Try to illustrate it.

No, it has a way of its own, has a way of happening, a way of developing. This is inevitable, an inevitable cause and effect relationship between repression and rebellion.

It is a law, like a law of nature. There is nothing that we have to manipulate to make it unfold. All you have to do is continue doing what you have done. Give us our five years now. The story will go out. Again you brought us into court with-

out our families, without foreknowledge. You justified the wiretapping. You gave us the five years. Next week deny us the bail and you will have on your hands the very situation that you wanted to prevent, which leads me to ask whether or not you want to prevent it.

Some people do want to prevent it. I have had the feeling that the prosecutors would like to prevent the unfolding of this nightmare in the streets of America. I am not so sure of the FBI and the police. I am not so sure about all of the people who want to have it out. I am not so sure about all the people who want to hang Hippies. I am not so sure about the people who are 50 years old and watching color TV and dreaming of vengeance. I am not so sure of the old and ancient people who know their society is finished, and since they have no authority no matter what their appearance, or what their title, since they have no authority are using their official power to strike out in acts of vengeance.

There are people in the society who would like to bring it on. There are other people misled but sincere people, who think that by a little slap at us they will stave it off. They eliminate the bad guys and they will win back the kids to the spirit of Camelot, as Tom Foran spoke. But, if you are sincere, Mr. Foran, you are mistaken, in my opinion. You won't win them back by this. You won't win them back by this. There is no way. It looks too evil. It looks too ugly. It looks too stacked...

On the matter of punishment, I am just saying again punishment does not work. Do I look any different? I am being punished. I said to you the other day the only thing I feel deprived of is something very personal, but that in no way prevents people from doing what they have to do. Every person who is born now and every person under thirty now feels an imperative to do the kind of things that we are doing. They may not act on them, they may not act on them immediately, but they feel the same imperatives because they are part of the same generation. They are part of the same body of people that came to life in the 1950's and 1960's and saw things differently from the older people. So they feel an imperative. They are proclaiming that imperative from the streets. Someday they are going to proclaim the imperative from the bench and from the courthouse. It's only a matter of time. It's only a matter of time. You can give us time. You are going to give us time. But it is only a matter of time.

howls of a coyote by rolf panny

This invective is a howl of anger coming from a sense of frustration over the way in which our campus community conducts itself. Formerly, it may have been possible to be proud merely at the mention of this University's name. It had the awesome reputation as bastion of freedom. Presently, in these zones of gray, I am glad that I am merely a coyote in an academic wasteland. Coyotes never run in packs.

It is an historical fact as much as a present reality that the Madison campus is a socio-political paradox: a community of individuals. There must have always been a tension here between being oneself and being a citizen of the republic of letters and learning. The one is his own maker, keeper, and spokesman; the other is a committed and responsible participant in the intellectual community.

The Wisconsin Tradition, a legacy of previous generations at Madison, tells us that maintaining this balance has never lasted, and that the city of Madison, as well as the onerous vicinity of the State House, have done precious little to uphold anyone's faith in an autonomous community of scholars.

Today many of our distinguished faculty are leaving the University of Wisconsin. They seem convinced that it is a dying institution. They are leaving precisely because that tension between an individual and being a responsible member of our community has collapsed. The investment in a \$50,000 home (or at least the dream of it) has long put to sleep a public conscience in many of us. "Where is our faculty?" cry the students too often and too loudly.

When the institution is threatened by collapse either from the weight of sheer number or from the millstone of faculty silence, it will certainly not be the University of Wisconsin that is dying, but the spirit of individuality among its members. I invite you to most any faculty meeting. Concrete, however, has a long life expectancy.

Nowadays, membership in this community has been recast in terms of one's factional academic or political associations. Our long lost individual identities have been replaced by manifestly inferior group substitutes. Who is to say where this sick "collectivism" began that is founded on a pervasive sense of joyless frustration? It matters little where; just behold its symptoms:

—men in lab coats or academic neckties building high walls around their grants, expensive equipment, and tenure privileges,

little recognizing that they are not building a fortress, but prisons;

—other men, junior faculty, smiling friendly in the halls while feeling the pain in their fingertips from sucking all that publishable (and perishable) knowledge;

—impatient and petulant men and women, our teaching assistants, who should rightfully own and run the institution today, for it will be theirs tomorrow anyway, but who have trouble realizing the political and revolutionary potential in the struggle with the old monster for all their self-interest;

—intellectual "realists" who reaffirm obscurely and dope-smoking, their own sense of futility by slipping into the garb of the movement: for they shall inherit the Great American Empire, Inc., anyway;

—tough if harmless revolutionaries without leadership, spreading their revolutionary politics among co-eds and refining it by a constant process of fragmentation, often petrified by the dilemma between ideological serenity and practical impurities;

—rats in a maze gnawing at grains of pre-digested knowledge they carry in shiny notebooks from classroom to classroom, living in constant fear that they, too, may find out some day . . . if they grow up to be men.

It boggles the imagination to realize how easily all this petty collectivism can be brought under control when viewed from an eagle's eye (means: the top of Van Hise). Everywhere one looks one sees the clenched, infantile fist. To speak about political repression on this campus seems clearly premature. It hasn't really come down on us. Raise your fists all you like and cry out collectively for what you are, individually, free to take. Since you are not taking it, you are deemed not dangerous. Why do you demand power when you demonstrated repeatedly that you are either too selfish or too indifferent to realize, as each circumstance arises, what considerable power you actually have? Students and faculty, what was rightly yours you have abandoned to the sorcerer's apprentices who are merely economizing skillfully the wealth of power you handed them.

Will you let these administrators and these regents find solace and comfort in your apathy over student representation on their committees and boards, that it to be more than tokenism? Are these creatures to find comfort in the unchecked rise of faculty and student rip-offs? In the hard-narcotics use? Perhaps in your short memory for those who have been put away for their a-social behavior to make

you feel protected? Little wonder these tycoons of power question your sincerity. They feel only too comfortable in their seats, thanks to you.

As far as the young academics among you, how dare you demand that the faculty feel your pain when you lack the strength and the determination yourselves to make your own relevance? You want relevance to be taught? Perhaps as an intellectual exercise to improve your grade point average?

And what, may I ask, is any faculty member doing here at Madison, if he is unsympathetic to the struggle his students face in making sense out of this nightmare world? The young are craving to transform this nightmare into a livable future for themselves. If you are incapable of understanding and respecting the difficulties these students face in inheriting the political, racial, and environmental shambles our generation so shamefully passes on to them, then—maybe—you should be elsewhere. If contact with students is not your primary responsibility, more important—say—than contact with your peers, then you had better not be a teacher, for students no longer respect your self-serving elitism. Nor do they respect the structures of control you have over them by dint of your "academic freedom" as part and parcel of your privilege. Surely you know that students are rediscovering that forgotten other half of academic freedom that matches your freedom to teach and to control the educational process: it is their freedom to learn. Once that freedom is fully realized, many of you may have to go home, and stay there in an age when some of you in the good Madison faculty use your intellectual authority for purposes of political repression, e.g. giving tests on October 15 and November 15, or enforcing attendance during the TAA strike by roll call, you must not be surprised when your authority is quickly dying a natural death.

Yet, when such false faculty authority and administrative power-elite will be broken, a student power-elite must not take its place. How can any community exist in an armed camp? To build that community we must knock down the walls that divide us and that are here to preserve our permanent state of paranoia. We must discover the people behind them. Let's encourage faculty, if their force is to be restored, to participate in conflict and campus politics, for it is clear that present faculty power anemia stems from lack of real food and exercise. Too much power rests with the senior faculty,

present procedures for educational planning and for dealing with personnel questions are inadequate and inequitable. The TAA has shown us that. More importantly, viable student involvement at every level of decision making—educational, social, judicial, administrative—is long overdue.

Only the quality of student leadership not some divine claim to student power, will eventually help us remove from our midst those imperialist institutions that pollute any ethical conception, as well as the landscape, of a free and learned academy that is serving the needs of people. Those ROTC's, those Army Research Centers, those Land Tenure Centers, and the host of research grants in the service of death, rather than life, MUST GO, because we, the community reject them and only we can remove them.

Furthermore, we must prove to ourselves with scientific evidence that our educational needs are not fulfilled by reinforcing in young minds the perverted values of a comfortable society, but by looking for ways that will end the exploitation of entire continents for the good of an outmoded social corporation called America, the world's first.

We must begin with the simple axiom that no man has authority over his fellow man, as no nation has authority over its fellow nation. Hence, we must learn from scratch to stand up to authority in whatever form it presents itself, as individuals or as a community, before authority suppresses us all. Only if we let it, will authority implant itself upon us as outright political repression. That time may be coming. It is not here yet.

Most of all, we need to reaffirm our trust that each individual will learn to define his individuality before he commits himself to our community of moral and social men. One of the tests of his individuality will be the extent to which he can learn defiance of authority. That, and his will to dismantle the walls of division between us may end the factional strife so detrimental to this environment. Institutionalizing that strife will stamp out the free spirit of inquiry which only a true community can sustain and which, also, will guard its members, faculty and students, against political repression.

A coyote is not a political animal. He lets no one speak for him, nor does he howl with the pack. His dry throat sounds hoarse at night. He can be heard often from a great distance

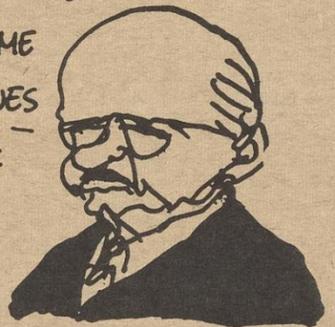
THE FIRST DEFENDANT CALLED ME A FASCIST. HE SHALL BE HUNG BY THE NECK UNTIL DEAD.



THE SECOND DEFENDANT CALLED ME A LIAR. HE SHALL BE THROWN TO THE LIONS.



THE THIRD AND FOURTH DEFENDANTS COMPARED ME TO A BABY. THEIR TONGUES SHALL BE RIPPED OUT.



THE FIFTH DEFENDANT ASSERTED I WAS BIGOTED. HE SHALL BE DRAWN AND QUARTERED.



THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH DEFENDANTS ACCUSED THIS COURT OF ACTING ILLEGALLY. THEY SHALL BE SHOT AT SUN RISE.



THE EXECUTION OF THESE SENTENCES WILL BE DELAYED UNTIL THE JURY RETURNS WITH ITS VERDICT.



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feiffer

letter to the warden by larry rosebaugh

(Editor's note: The following article was written by Larry Rosebaugh, a member of the imprisoned Milwaukee 14, to John Gagnon, Warden of the Wisconsin Correctional Institution at Fox Lake.)

Mr. John Gagnon,

I want to write a few thoughts of mine to you at this time. I am afraid that the task is a hard one.

Trying to be objective in viewing the Wisconsin's Program of Rehabilitation at the Correctional Institution here at Fox Lake, the notion of respect and a program designed to create respect amongst inmates and amongst inmates and staff is not present as a goal to be achieved.

How can a black man for example respect a program of rehabilitation if there is not one member of his race on this staff, (especially with the tension of repressiveness in the air everywhere) How can the black man, knowing mostly injustice in schooling, in lining, in working conditions be made to respect himself, his own people and others if in this program of rehabilitation there is not an efficient Black History course offered to both blacks and whites with the purpose of achieving understanding and respect for each other?

In the program here, it is obvious that not in one wing does the number of blacks equal or come close to equaling the number of whites. Why should it have to be this way in every case? Even if not intended, the psychological effect is one that says: "We want to be sure that the Black element stays in it's place." The result of this is an immediate tension created between blacks and whites; the blacks uniting and showing their unity in such areas as control of the TV programs, their location in one place in the cafeteria. Yet unity for the purpose of bringing in black social workers, teachers, ministers and other black employees is not fought for. The system then can take pride in keeping the inmate quiet by a program that fosters inmate opposition to each other rather than attacking the roots of suppression, the bed of many injustices.

When one hears amongst the staff and other white inmates talk against the black man—such as strong sexual tendencies, his laziness and indifference toward work—one sees as a person the great need to confront the problems now. They cannot be ignored as they are presently.

When a group of men, all but one black, show up, practice hard under talented leadership, for the purpose of singing at Christmas time and other Church gatherings (listening to them, it is evident of their professionalism) one day breaks up for reasons of pressure, it only evidences what has been said already. Racist tendencies throughout the administration and pressured too by the general feelings of the surrounding locale.

When a black man is told he cannot wear a medallion representing his personal religious affiliation, that Christian and Jewish symbols alone are tolerated, again: a wall and barrier to any real respect for the individual.

The Black-White enforced living code here is enough to prevent good communication. But other factors are apparent, I know my own case best. When a man can be put on a work schedule that sees him arising at 5:00 a.m. and his work finishing at 5:00 p.m. with approximately one hour and a half for rest and dinner on a seven day a week schedule doing farm work; where is the chance to come to grips with the problem one is supposedly in here for? Three men at least serving sentences of life or of so many years it is hard to imagine. How can their dignity be respected? And their problem worked with? How are these men being worked with to rehabilitate them? To what, with so many years facing them? So all the paper work praising Fox Lake is really a joke. A mere endurance test. Not one day a week given to work personally with these men. They are carrying out a function for the efficient running of WCI, while their own self-image, respect and coming to grips with themselves through and in relationships with other inmates is completely disregarded. For men on certain farm jobs, as well as kitchen help, have to carry out this work seven days a week. And most men are afraid or see it as useless to question what is being done to themselves as human beings.

We have had and now have men with out high school and some without grade school diplomas working on the farm at seven days a week for over a year's time or more. Youths whose emotions need such great attention. I've seen the results of these emotions in the animals killed, at several fights (where in my judgment the people concerned needed total doctor's care) and—because they can eat their three meals a day, watch and be pacified by the TV set and their weekly pint of ice cream—are released to the streets in worse shape than before entrance.

Church groups, AA, Jaycees, for those attending these functions take up an hour or so each week, the overall setting here being one of scheduled work performance to keep the 'plant' running. The various group meetings then are mere tokenisms and the result is shoddy.

When Fox Lake was first an idea in the minds of a few, I'm sure one of the first considerations was the individual who would be participating in the program. Competent men and women having lived and studied the needs of the 'inmate,' i.e., professional people, psychiatrist, social workers knowing their field were of the planning committee I am sure. But as with so many State and Federal run programs, the blue prints read beautifully, the bricks and mortar are placed in perfect order. Then the funds run out, the buildings are up, but money is lacking to finance the professional men and women needed to carry out the theory, the ideas.

The program will be nothing unless these professional people with the understanding and competency to work satisfactorily with the individual are employed in proportionate numbers whereby the participant can engage himself fully in a healthy and non-competitive process of growth for once in his life.

And yet, what is the result here and in other institutions of this nature? Millions of dollars are used to operate Fox Lake to make the external structure appealing to the public. The tax-payers money is now paid out primarily to non-professional people who reap from this white elephant coming to their locale, while we in what are reeking in need of our own families and people who understand how to help us back into normal and meaningful existence as soon as possible.

What is needed is a professional staff of handpicked social workers, psychiatrists, criminologists and teachers, who working full time within the institution, will have the authority to work out a relationship with the men that will be beneficial to all. The power to release a man when a mutual understanding is reached between the personnel and the individual.

But as it now is, the person is an object in the hands of the state. His sentence given, he is passed down to serve his time. All the pious platitudes in the world will not break down the walls that have been built. He knows and feels his servitude to this system; to society, the police, this judge, this warden and to the present staff members. And like it or not he is a prisoner, a captive. All on both sides of the 'fence' know this. Somehow, with time, men and women inside and out become mechanized, intentionalized toward fulfilling a job that goes on each day. A salary collected, an unquestioned duty performed and external smiles indicate a smooth operation. No one seems hurt, but the 'con'. No one is hurt enough to challenge the deathening elements within the system.

Upon investigation, it would be apparent how identical this operation is to other state and federal run institutions, to big business, to government and military structures. How man becomes a number, a tool or machine working robotly for the profit of the few.

From where do I come to make an indictment as this? And am I justified in doing so? It seems a person has a right to speak of what he has experienced. The more one has breathed in and out forms of the American Institution, the better he can speak about them.

The most natural forms of the system within which I have lived and worked and had my being are the Catholic Church, as priest and person, Catholic education, as an instructor of Christian values. And, the middle class society and suburbia surroundings, where slowly a world larger than I had known and one which I gradually felt more responsible to, dawned upon me. That one can come to see a larger world, the world of man and the world of human need, from a past engulfed in protection and packaged answers is what I wish to convey here.

For me freedom became a meaningful expression as the religious order of which I am a member, encouraged each of us, priest and brother alike, to follow the spirit of the times. Prayerfully, reflectively, and responsibly. Overcoming and risking the possibility of being wrong, of making mistakes. In this fashion the Church (in the form of a religious order) broke through the institutional barrier of limited confinement, pronouncement and vision. With this leverage granted me, the Catholic education of the classroom soon took on new horizons. From Salvation History with its maps and diagrams of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, I began to discover the holy land and God's people with the city streets of Duluth, Minnesota. Holy land, holy people; searching, looking and finding: human rightmeetings, Job Corps work, trips with students to Mississippi and working on voter registration there. And finally, breaking from the classroom completely and going to Chicago to take up residence

in a small apartment—and asking vital questions. Why are people placed in the slums? Are they really compelled to live in such conditions?

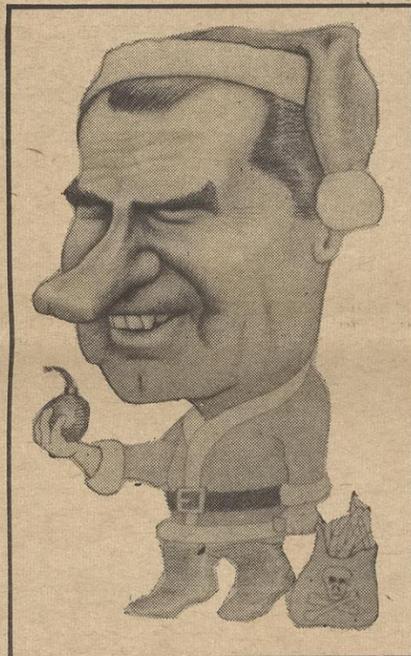
While living amongst the Spanish American, the Blacks and poor whites, I along with a fellow priest, discovered things totally adverse to our up bringing. Cat-size rats, broken windows, holes in every wall, heat only from the kitchen stove; all appearing in buildings with signs 'for rent', when the sign 'condemned' was fitting.

And at last, on to Milwaukee. To a household of people who called themselves a Christian Community. A residence where people preached the Word of God by feeding and clothing the blurred eyed man, taking in the abandoned mother and children, and where the hardy and strong gave their income to support those that did their part in some other way.

When one has the fortune of seeing even slightly through the eyes of the 'poor' of this country, the giant problems of war, of national and universal poverty and the problems of our American cities, all take on an urgency; the call of Abraham now hits right between the eyes. Take up your things, get on the road to Ur, and put your trust in me. I have a mission for you. To form a people who will be a light for others.

So from the suburbs, I took up my bag, and hopefully in the Spirit have been carried all the way here.

And as the question of the Vietnam war became central to me on the street, the question of the war finds its way in a form of questions as the days pass by within prison. With this resume of my past before you, I take up relating this war to the institution of penal reform, as it appears to me today.



The question must then be asked: are the men entering the institution here at Fox Lake as guilty, if guilty at all, as the men of the armed services, and more specifically, of those involved in incidences such as Song My? Trained men; trained to kill indiscriminately, innocent men, women and children.

Former Vietnam Veterans now in prison relate how routine killing becomes and how marijuana is smoked in order to make atrocities possible. That 'shacking up' with 12 year old Vietnamese girls is as common as eating a meal, as necessary as an after dinner smoke. 'No wonder,' they say, 'we come home with the challenge in our bones to 'screw' anyone, in any way, for whatever purpose. For the very same 'crimes' we were schooled in and given medals, we are now being sent to prison.' Some men for life, others, for terms of 25, 15, and 5 years as the case may be.

All birthing from a Nation who in World War I found itself engaged in a battle whose total number killed was 1 million people, 95 per cent soldiers making up the fatality list. World War II, 50 million killed, 52 per cent soldiers to 48 per cent civilian. Korea 9 million killed, 84 per cent civilian, 16 per cent soldiers and in Vietnam statistics would indicate to this date—90 per cent civilian. Do we see what these figures are saying? How far the 'soul' of our country has degenerated!

Can anyone of us be absolved from the outright murder we commit in Southeast Asia? And is there no link between Vietnam and the screaming voices we hear from the crowded streets of Harlem or the Chicago's Southside? From our reservations, and from the trails of the Migrants? No link from this universal cry of man in need to the response this call receives from us; from our government, the representative of the people? The fact is—we are guilty of innocent death throughout the world.

A fact made possible by C-52 bombers, insecticides, fragmentation bombs. Already in 1967, shortly after the Detroit riots, the roster of weapons for repression in America's major cities showed that 3000 police forces have chemical mace and about 1000 police departments have a new tear gas grenade that releases gas and floats it on a light powder. 75 cities had riot shields and helmets. 30 police departments were interested in the 30,000 dollar armored tanks, with 18 gun ports and a revolving machine gun turret. Also as early as 1967, there were preparations to prepare cities for riots. Besides the stock piling of weapons, riot control training was enthusiastically taken up by housewives in the suburbs of Detroit and the infiltration of the Black Community for 'intelligence' purposes was already begun.

I state these figures, Mr. Gagnon, because I feel they indicate the present disasterous and insane mentality that grips this country. An insanity that is subtle, because the individual can sit back and say not guilty, while holding the entire system that he is a part, responsible.

The Blacks along with other minority groups are finally surfacing to fight their struggle for survival. The women for liberation, youth for recognition and men everywhere in institutions, penal or otherwise are becoming aware that while the icing is getting thicker and the carrot dangling, more appealing, the actual death to all that is humane is in complete control.

Here at Fox Lake, beneath the surface of gold color frosting, corruption, in middle class and capitalistic garments, lives without being questioned. For if I say anything my chances of parole will be lost, and so the disease increases, noticed less and less as a disease as the days go by.

Examples: A parole board made up of men who never come into direct contact with the inmate review his case and determine his fitness for returning to society. A defer of 6 months to a year is routine. This is purely an extension of something evil, because the man is here to serve a given number of years. Not sent here primarily to be worked with, then released when competent men and women judge him to be ready.

Guards being paid as high as ten to twelve thousand dollars annually are given 'distinguished' titles as Captain, Lieutenant, Sergeant in this 'center of rehabilitation.' Some of their duties make clear what lies hidden from the eyes of the passer by. Daily misconduct tickets are issued on matters such as eating an extra sweet roll at breakfast. Possessing two pairs of pants rather than one. Having a borrowed book. (Jim Harney is serving a three day room confinement for using another's typewriter. 'Who is to know whether it is stolen or not,' he is told.) For not having one's shirt tail tucked in properly. Leaving the radio on by mistake, or not having the shades in our rooms at the proper level. Having hair too long, or side-burns a fraction of an inch below the top of the ear-lobe. (wow) Issuing tickets on abuses as these, take up a good portion of the Captain's daily work. In fact, the two Associate Wardens primary function each morning is to hold 'court' and punish the men by so many days room confinement or days to be spent in the 'hole.' (The 'hole'—There are 4 isolation rooms commonly called 'holes' here at the prison. Five more are now in construction. It's a means of punishment. A mattress, wash basin, toilet—4 walls, no windows, a steel door with a slot in it for a food tray to pass through. A week or ten days on a minimum of food is normal confinement.) depending on the seriousness of the offense. For this kind of discipline the taxpayer is paying. I heard an employee recently brag about never having to do a days work here. And if he had to go back to industry, he wouldn't last a minute.

And Jesus came to be a "light in the darkness." He came to say that money isn't all important, that men are. He came and lived off the fruits of the land and told us that to worry about food and clothing is not as important as "following him." Of working for the bare necessities and sharing whatever one has left over. And food to live by I will give to you.

And yet man imprisons other men by taking away these bare necessities. The right to learn, the right to a job, the right to live in cleanliness, to be warm in the winter and have fresh air to breathe in the summer.

And because these rights are not given to me, my mind gets all messed up. I yell at my neighbor and seek to possess that which I see others having. I crave and desire to have what seems to be the symbol of status. . . nice clothes, new cars, yachts, jewelry and fancy living quarters. And so I kill, and steal and rape and get frustrated and I end up getting an attitude toward the law finding myself in and out of places of detention.

(continued on page 8)

iron hands in velvet gloves by john neko

Is it at all useful to analyze repression? If it is, who is interested in the first place in clearing things up? These questions rankle in my mind after talking to a few students who represent the spectrum of opinion within the movement. My overall impression is that students cast a rather disdainful glance on legislature's, regents' and administration's efforts to keep them in hand. Repression, for the students, is one of the trivial setbacks in their revolutionary drive and they would rather treat it on a tactical level. On the other side of the generation—or opinion—gap, quite a few people feel guilty about being enrolled in the silent majority which allegedly supports the forces of law and order. They would like to have things explained to them. This article, therefore, reflects what the students have to say—grudgingly—to other people, in particular to faculty and administrators who are not hopelessly enmeshed in reaction.

Contrary to general opinion, repression in the University is not a reaction against student riots. It is the other way round. Active repression, hiding behind institutional authoritarian manipulation of the young—the iron hand in the velvet glove—is merely made more obvious in troubled times.

The facade is made up of a number of myths, some of which are rapidly crumbling down, while others have not yet been taken care of by radicals.

The myth of reason, rationalism, logic as supreme and overriding value is almost unchallenged to this day: there could not be more than half a dozen students in Madison willing to take up this issue. Those few—a vanguard—have realized that the criterion of rationality is the first weapon of academic repression. A question in the classroom, a demand by SDS, black students or TAA must be couched in rational terms. There is no way, at present, to push through an irrational demand, even if it conforms to all the other imperatives that could be lumped together under the term "human". If you have a few hundred sheriffs to back you up, and you can demonstrate that the given student demand is unreasonable, the chances are that the sheriffs can stay home and the students will go home too—shamefacedly.

For some reason, it never happens that logic works the other way—I mean, forces the cops (and the authorities who called them in) to lose face. Is this really so mysterious, after all? Maybe we should look far back at the sources of Western civilization for possible connections between Aristotle's logic and the authoritarian structure of our societies.

When teachers' minds are encumbered with such stereotypes, hyper-rationalism becomes the ruling principle in education. It is driven year after year into students' heads. It kills in all but a few their natural spontaneity, which more often than not is irrational, yet potentially creative. The few hot-heads who survive this treatment are the chosen heralds of revolutionary change.

Closely related concepts, like efficiency, progress or success are becoming as hateful to the young as hyper-rationalism in so far as they are used as repression tools in the context of an essentially technological society.

There is a common saying among campus authorities which could be summed up in the phrase: "the student action is basically good, but it is premature." This relates to the concept of superior knowledge and experience which goes along with older age and to the well-known dread of liberals to upset or provoke the power by elite by an "inconsiderate" action—in fact by any action that the authorities might disapprove. It is considered as a good tactical position for the repressive structure . . . except that for conscious students the premises are completely outlived.

The most die-hard of all myths might prove to be that of academic freedom. It is clear that liberal faculty cling to it as a token of rapidly disappearing civic and political liberties in society at large, a token miraculously preserved in this unique institution, the University. It is true that some freedom is left to tenured professors. But look at what happens to junior faculty, in this University as in most others. Undisguised political discrimination and repression meets the slightest show of political outspokenness. You cannot draw a line between a sociological, economical, historical or literary statement and a political one. If you do, it can only be arbitrary. And this is done all too frequently by academic authorities. The younger faculty are only free to express what is agreeable to seniors and to local establishment, represented in the Board of Regents, while senior faculty have made sure that their utterances will not upset the Washington administration.

To speak of academic freedom for teaching assistants or students is a bad joke.

When a classroom ventures to express some mild philosophical position, Protection and Security is called in by the irate professor and "leaders" are arrested. It is hardly surprising that academic freedom has become a typical "class" issue, supported by privileged academics and their politically blind following. What is rather surprising is the brazen pretention by the administration to repress free speech in the name of academic freedom, as happened for example in the "bullhorn regulations."

The whole ideological setup of this society is a cobweb of long-outlived, hollow myths. The University is no exception and we would never exhaust the listing. Let us mention just one more, sometimes mentioned to me by students: the myth of the Ivory Tower.

This is the old contention that science is sufficient unto itself and basically has nothing to do with politics, business, wars etc. The concept, strangely enough, is still in common use among a majority of scientists. It is difficult to tell if it is mostly a cynical put-on, or if they candidly believe it, or else have their doubts but shut their eyes to them.

The majority of science students follow the same line, which leaves the few who realize the hoax, and say so, the more exposed to disbelief and reproval.

This myth provides a good cover-up for activities which are far from teaching or "pure" science. As such activities become exposed and attract the students' ire, University's public relations try to win general public support by falling back on the Ivory Tower myth. On this campus, the maneuver has been attempted many times to whitewash the Army Math Research Center.

While the mythical superstructure is forced into rearward smoke-screen actions, real forces, generated both inside and outside the University, are pushing forward in complete disregard of past and present history.

The cooptative recruitment of the academic elite helps in maintaining outdated principles of education. Hyper-rationalism and efficiency may have had their historic function during the phase of militant industrialization, but in the present over-developed post-industrial society they appear, especially to the young, as useless vexations. Still, such educational principles are part of the academic routine. Together with imposed discipline, they provide the convenient setting for authoritarian dispensing of knowledge. Most faculty and administrators are unable to imagine an alternative and the system perpetuates itself by sheer inertia.

For students, however, it is becoming evident that conservative educational principles are not merely a survival of past traditions but continue serving very definite extra-academic interests. The young not only feel frustrated and crippled by the educational process, but realize that they are being cast in moulds devised by and for the big Corporations (including the Pentagon) which run this country.

It is very difficult for liberal faculty and administrators to step out of their life-long mental habits and realize that they are being manipulated by the military-industrial complex. For students, the step is made easier thanks to the cynicism of those who manipulate their lives and minds—the military and the spokesmen of the Corporations who sit on the Board of Regents. The students experience this education as a ruthless aggression against their persons in the name of sordid interests.

Another heavy repressive force inside the University is the self-centered activity of the administration. Like all the other bodies invested with some power, the administration tends to consider a smooth and orderly operation as the supreme goal. Naturally, for a score of office men to marshal a few thousand faculty and many thousands of students, there has to be discipline. As long as it is peacefully accepted, discipline falls into the same category as the authoritarian pedagogy mentioned above, a matter of routine, or disguised violence, (e.g. salary recommendations for faculty, ID's with picture, etc. for students). When, however, there is some resistance, the administration is obliged, to ensure orderly operation, to resort to administrative and physical violence. However distasteful to the legislature, the Protection and Security force on this campus is being constantly developed. In fact, the planning and development anticipates rather than follows the student riots.

An important point in maintaining the status quo is the conservation of University's property. Some of the major student riots of the past couple of years (like Columbia and Berkeley) arose from property issues. In Madison, likewise, the most irate reactions were brought forth by damage to concrete, glass, furniture, etc. The proprietorial mentality of campus administration is in perfect accord with

similar concerns of property owners in the city and the state. The same powerful conservative streak is operating on and off campus. Nor is it purely defensive in nature: rather, often it is offensive to the student population, as shown by student housing policies.

Whether they acknowledge or conceal the fact, University's top administrators and educators belong to the power elite of the nation. They are bound and gagged by a thousand overt or implicit compromises common to all those who wield power over large numbers of people. Maintaining their power means making it felt at all times. In this respect, the most powerful influence on campus is the state power as embodied in the academic power elite. At all times, not only during riots, everyone feels that the whole repressive apparatus (law, police, army, economic pressure) stands behind campus authorities. Democratic correctives to excessive power, including grass-root protest, are permanently forestalled and repressed—allegedly in the name of lofty ideals, in reality just to keep in hand the power and the attendant privileges. The establishment, and its representatives on campus, are by no means more foolish than revolutionaries: radical teachers and students are eliminated before they can do much "harm".

Much of what has been said appears exactly symmetrical when seen from the student side of the barricade. Enforcement of law and order in the name of Corporations, the military or the University, subservience to tradition, unconditional respect for private property . . . are targets for student protest while they form the positive values for the estab-



lishment and the conservative part of public opinion. The students, however, have a few motivations of their own, which are not easy to explain to older generations yet are of primary importance in what should be called the counter-repression movement.

In many countries, on farms, in factories and army camps as well as in universities, the young people are protesting and confronting authorities in ever increasing numbers. Is it wanton agitation of unknown origin, which evokes secondarily a repressive reaction? Hardly credible! It is much easier to consider youth revolt as a reaction against excessive regimentation by society and the state. Youth is thus performing its historical function of permanent counterpoise to the existing social order. As the latter's pressure increases beyond tolerable limits both in scope and ruthlessness, so does dissent rise from its normal level to negation and nihilism. Protest is proportional to repression.

The history of the American student movement is perfectly clear in this respect, if we remember that students react not only to wrongs experienced by themselves but also, in a large measure, to oppression inflicted on others. The whole thing started as a protest against draft and against wholesale slaughter of Vietnamese by the megalomaniac American army. Student protest further escalated on the issue of Black Studies supported by blacks and whites. Murders of Black Panther leaders and political and racial discrimination in courts are among other powerful motivations of student action. Being able to react to other people's wrongs is probably a distinctive feature of student political activity.

When the overall result of the student

movement is considered, it does not matter very much which particular political ideology inspired this or that action. The spectrum extends from residual Civil-Rights mentality, leftist Christian inspiration, straight Marxist and Maoist theories to right-wing- and communist anarchism. Pervading the theoretical background, and specifically related to the age-class of the protesters, there is to be found a revolutionary attitude toward life, and not only politics. This so-called "wholistic" approach makes it easier for young protesters to import general political issues to campus and to export specific student attitudes into outer population groups. In fact, as they deny the validity of the whole system, they also wipe out the artificial boundaries which have been set up to divide human groups and manipulate them. I would suspect that for many students the main motivation is not a political theory but rather, in intimate conjunction with the life-style, a basically anti-authoritarian attitude with altruistic overtones. Understandably, in a society based on authoritarian conservation of class- and race-privileges, this attitude per se is considered revolutionary.

Quite frankly, the stance taken by the young is outspokenly offensive although it arises primarily from societal oppression. Its latest manifestation—damage to public and private property—is particularly aggravating to this profit-oriented society. Yet, when put in perspective with corporate violence, like the Vietnam genocide, the shooting of Fred Hampton and other Panthers, the parody of justice at the Conspiracy trial, etc., the window-smashing and ROTC trashing scenes appear as harmless token actions. Likewise, political indoctrination through propaganda, which raises so much protest from liberals, is nothing compared to the corporate demand for conformity, the intellectual and moral drill extending through years and years from grade school through high and college then the army camp and later the factory or office.

College is the focal point, because many kids reach at that stage the ability to think by themselves, yet are still comparatively free from economic pressures. This might be one of the reasons for spontaneous response to general political issues. It could also explain why students are so much more critical of the way the University works than are their teachers and administrators. More and more students extend their criticism of society, and University alike, to the content (and not only the pedagogy) of the classroom teaching. For many, the nihilistic conclusion is that they are being offered b.s., which does not surprise them in the given conditions of both society and university. They not only reject hyper-rationalism and the myth of efficiency, but the very notion of an intellectual life. Incidentally, this attitude is in complete agreement with the wholistic, all-rounded life style that many of them prefer. This attitude is the most natural reaction against the increasingly computerized treatment of students by the administration. There is nothing the administration can do against people who decide to be themselves, and ultimately drop out . . . except pointing them out for harassment by the city police.

By and large, the life-style, the political and intellectual revolt of the most advanced students are much more determined by the crimes and failures of society at large than by the repressive schemes of academic authorities. Students hardly take heed of them at all. It is not surprising that some of them have been looking elsewhere to achieve more importance.

University presidents and ambitious professors appease their thirst for additional power basically in three ways, examples of which exist on this campus. The first is to sell out a Department to some important public or private Corporation, like the Math Research Center to the Army. The second consists of making yourself useful, or indispensable, to some government agency, like the Land Tenure Center for economic penetration of Latin America. The third, like WARF, is to launch directly into business by exploiting patents and discoveries from scientific Departments. All three give good returns in money and influence to the academics concerned. At the same time, the procedure increases the value of the institution in the eyes of the power elite and big Corporations. The need for adequate protection increases accordingly. Security clearances, classification create additional harassment for the rank-and-file. Again, security and protection (i.e. repression) precede eventual disruption. And, of course, disruption follows in the wake, since all these maneuvers show in a crude light the mutual involvement of University, the military and industry. To respond to disruption that they called upon themselves, academic author-

(continued on page 8)

jesse, earl and booker by james rowen

They came and got the Black Panthers,
and I was uneasy,
but I was not a Panther, and I did nothing.
Then they came and got S.D.S., and I was
uneasy,
but I was not in S.D.S., and I still did
nothing.
When they came and got the Peace Marchers
I was uneasier still,
but I was not marching, and I did nothing.
Then they came and got me, and I did
something,
but by that time, it was too late.
—text of a wall poster
memorializing Fred Hampton

Many people I spoke to about the Chicago 8 conspiracy trial viewed it as an epic battle between Judge Julius Hoffman and the defendants, with the outcome a draw. This view of the trial, repetitiously fed to the public by the media, holds grave dangers for the movement and its sympathizers.

The essential danger posed by this fundamental misperception of the conspiracy trial is that by seeing it only as a contest between "an eccentric octogenarian" and "eight militant anti-war leaders," (paraphrasing the TV news), the trial became an apolitical event, an aberrant, chance happening rather than the prominent link in the lengthening chains of repression which it surely was.

The trial became like popular Vietnam war mythology—an accidental event, and therefore to be discussed only in terms of the "unique" personalities involved.

Nothing is farther from the truth, and if we are to successfully meet and defeat this repression, it is absolutely necessary that repression be understood not as an aberration, not even as a policy, but as the unmasked American system itself, manifested as plainly as a wing of B-52's disgorging its bomb load over Southeast Asia.

While the Chicago trial was in progress, there were numerous political trials proceeding simultaneously across the country, including stages of the trial of the Milwaukee-3, Black Panthers who have been subjected to absolutely medieval conditions of arrest, confinement, and treatment. While I will discuss their case and its ramifications at length, let me first review some of the larger political trials underway to give a sense of how widespread the situation is, and how singular the Chicago 8 trial was not.

Panthers are facing a variety of charges in large groups in at least four cities. There are the New York 21, the Los Angeles 19 (survivors of the police raid on their headquarters a day after the killings of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in Chicago), the 11 Chicago Panthers who survived where Hampton and Clark did not, and the New Haven 14, charged with conspiring to murder an informer whom the Panthers claim the police eliminated.

There is the Chicago 15, accused of burning draft records on that city's south side, and the Los Seite de la Raza, seven Chicanos accused of killing a police officer.

Do we remember the Fort Hood 3, the Presidio 21, or the Milwaukee 14, one of whom is being tried this very week? The Oakland 7, the Catonsville 9, the Silver Spring 3? Many others never came to trial, as the police, National Guard, sheriffs' departments, and the U.S. Army handed out summary convictions on the streets of Watts, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Berkeley, and on a lower, but nonetheless real level—Mifflin St.? It is an endless war against the poor and the discontent; it is the system's premeditated and sanctioned response to those who are moving to fundamentally change the system under which they cannot live.

Which brings us to the Milwaukee-3, a situation close to us in Madison, but one which the local press, and most white students have ignored.

The 3 are Black Panthers—Jesse White, Earl Leverette and Booker Collins, all residents of the inner core. The core is Milwaukee's black ghetto, which exists in the shadow of the city's industrial giants—Schlitz, Pabst, Briggs & Stratton, A.O. Smith—who drain the ghetto of exploited labor. It is the largest city in a state which slashed welfare payments, and instituted a 4 per cent sales tax in the midst of the worst inflation in 20 years and core unemployment for black youth running at 17 per cent. Milwaukee County even refused a winter clothing allowance for the children of the poor.

Jessie, Earl, and Booker were members of the Wisconsin chapter of the Black Panther party which formed to meet the needs of the people which the city and state refused to do.

On September 22, 1969, the three were returning home in a VW from a day of

political work at the Great Lakes Naval Station in Chicago.

The police claim that as the Panthers drove past a white rookie patrolman named Robert Schroeder, walking his beat, alone, on Fond du Lac avenue, Jesse White leaned out of the front passenger seat and fired a single shotgun blast at Schroeder. Schroeder stated that he saw a muzzle flash, ducked, memorized the license plate number of the Panthers' car, and phoned for assistance. The car was stopped shortly thereafter at 22nd near Lloyd, and the Panthers were arrested for attempted murder and resisting arrest.

Trial on the resisting arrest charge was held in November. Judge Christ T. Seraphim sentenced the three to a year in prison, the maximum, and set bond for the attempted murder charge at \$10,000 per man. Unable to raise the bail to be free while their resisting arrest conviction is proceeding through appeals courts, the three are serving the year sentence at the House of Corrections, Franklin, Wisconsin.



repress (rē pres') vt. To check or restrain; to hold down. *Syn.* Restrain, suppress. To *repress* is to prevent the natural or normal expression of anything; to *restrain* is to check or hold back from action by physical or moral force; to *suppress* is to keep from activity, as, to *suppress* a revolt, a story, or one's passions. —'er n. —'ible

Trial for the charge for allegedly shooting at Officer Schroeder has been scheduled for September 21, 1970, one day short of a year from their original date of arrest.

As in other Panther cases, notably the New York 21 and that involving the survivors of the police raid that killed Hampton and Clark, high bail keeps poor defendants in jail, while low bail, or recognizance bonds remain the privilege of the rich, the income tax evader, the mafioso, and the corporate white-collar swindler.

Like the police version of the Chicago Panther murders, which changed from day to day and inquest to inquest, the Milwaukee police department and Schroeder's story have been altered publicly already to meet numerous contradictions. For instance:

—While Jesse is charged with the actual shooting from the right side of the front seat, he was sitting in the back seat when the three were stopped and arrested only blocks and minutes from the scene of the alleged shooting.

—While Jesse is charged with the shooting, his fingerprints are not on the gun. Booker's are. Booker is not charged with the shooting.

—While the shooting is alleged to have been done with a shotgun, which makes a terrifically explosive report, in an overcrowded portion of the city, in the dead of night, not ONE person has been produced by the District Attorney who says he or she heard a shot that night.

—At the scene of the alleged shooting, there are some pock marks on a wall approximately 20 feet high on a building wall, 75 feet from the street, hardly in line with Officer Schroeder, who claims he DUCKED to avoid the shot.

—Officer Schroeder first claimed he saw the muzzle flash—then ducked. Later at the resisting arrest trial he claimed he saw the barrel come out of the car window and ducked before the gun fired. While the second explanation subtracts some physical gymnastics, neither explains mysterious marks thirty feet up on a wall, or the lack of witnesses to the sound of the blast.

—No explanation has been offered as to why Schroeder, a white rookie patrolman, was walking a beat alone in the inner core, contradicting Milwaukee Police Department policies.

—Finally, picture a person in the front passenger seat of a car, about to fire a long gun out the window. The logical place to rest the gun butt is against the left shoulder, sighting with the left eye closed and firing with the right hand. That is a left-handed shot. Jesse, who is charged with the shooting, and whose prints are not on the gun, is right-handed.

The Panthers version of the story is as follows. They were returning from Chicago, but were never on Fond du Lac avenue,

"At the time I got sick the doctor that comes through here left. So I was isolated for about twenty (20) days without any type of medical attention. This is happening to other brothers who get sick to the point that they can't work also. I have been threatened to spend the rest of my time of this year sentence in a block maximum security in the event that I get sick again. The Asst. Supervisor who actually runs this institution has made it clear that he doesn't give a damn about the brothers health condition."

Earl Leverette also wrote:
"There is a lot of oppressed people in the House of Corrections concentration camp who really need medical attention. . . . The average person who needs medical attention is given only aspirin and sent back to work. If you demand medical attention you will be put in the hole for some trumpeted up charge like refusing to work. This is done to keep you quiet for a while. One brother cannot hardly walk, another brother can't hardly catch his breath and still another has a serious problem with his heart and these pigs don't do a damn thing about it but laugh. These pigs expect us to do this slave labor and if he get sick take their so-called miracle pill—the aspirin, and go back to work. We need outside support help to see that we get proper medical attention. . . . So we ask the people to help get these brothers to the hospital."

On March 6, 1970, the Milwaukee 3 were arraigned on the attempted murder charge before Circuit Judge O'Connell. None would formally enter a plea but each made a brief statement.

Jesse White: "The 3 of us decided that our pleas wouldn't make any difference because the pig departments are vamping on black people across the country." Earl Leverette: "Black people have not received justice in America since this judicial system has existed. We have no reason to believe we will receive it now." Booker Collins: "I cannot say because there are too many officers of repression in this courtroom."

Judge O'Connell entered pleas of not guilty for the defendants, and ordered them returned to the House of Correction. The trial is scheduled for September 21, 1970, and is expected to last at least a week. If found guilty, they could each receive 30 years in the Waupun State Penitentiary.

Despite the enormity of this incident, from the flimsy contradictory arrest explanations, to the beatings, ransomous bail, Byzantine brutality, withholding of medical care from Booker, and the plain fact that this is the most repressive act carried out by the state of Wisconsin and the city of Milwaukee in recent memory, the response from those who claim to "support the Panthers" has been superficial and spotty.

When Panthers came to the University from Chicago and Milwaukee, the vast majority of the white student audience used the Panthers for a vicarious extraction of revolutionary fervor and dedication which they lack themselves. Students groove on the Panthers, and perhaps donate their spare change to the organization. But they lack any real commitment to educate the members of their own communities about the Panthers and to aid them when they are jailed or murdered, and their chapters, such as the ones in Milwaukee and Chicago, are forced to disband.

One of the forces which worked to prevent Huey Newton from being railroaded to the California electric chair were endless demonstrations up and down the state by people who wanted to save Huey's life and to publicize the role of the then-fledgling Black Panther Party. Similar activities, to which students must devote themselves and their resources, and needed if the Milwaukee-3's case is to be won.

Students have got to realize that the repression is here, that it is infinitely more dangerous than the McCarthy era, where only jobs and reputations were threatened. Today, no one's life is safe. What police violence we have experienced here is but the fringe of the storm raging in black, brown and poor white communities throughout the country. How we organize to meet the repression will determine the security and the future of the entire movement. The immediate task is clear—Free the Milwaukee-3.

Two funds have been established to raise money for the Milwaukee-3. The Legal Aid Against Repression fund is raising \$30,000 bail to free the defendants. The Milwaukee-3 fund is expressly for providing medical care for Booker Collins. Both funds are at the same address—P.O. Box 2339, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53212.

894 blacks arrested in boycott by peter greenberg

As Universities around the country are beginning to erupt, a dangerous precedent of news black-outs is being established. However, something happened earlier this year at Mississippi Valley State College that goes far beyond this precedent. Not only did the story go unreported, but we now see that the United States Department of Justice has made direct and active suppression of campus protest part of its policy. This policy we will now make public.

On Wednesday, February 11, 1970, near the Delta town of Itta Bena, Mississippi, 894 black student demonstrators who were legally boycotting classes were arrested in what has been classified as the largest mass arrest of college students in the nation's history.

What is as strange as the circumstances surrounding the arrests is that no wire services carried the story and no television crews filmed the incidents. In fact, it was not until Thursday, February 19 that the basic story of what actually happened finally surfaced in an article by Phillip Carter of the Washington Post. Further details have been discovered since then to point to the fact that this mass arrest was the first ever planned with the advice and assistance of the Justice Department in Washington.

All of the 58 arresting officers involved were hand-picked and were black. The mass arrest was coordinated by the state of Mississippi's Law Enforcement Assistance Division, a federally funded agency. Charged with blocking a public road on campus and disobeying police orders to disperse, all 894—one third of the student body—were herded into buses and taken to the state penitentiary at Parchman. After being imprisoned for 24 hours, those arrested were permitted to return to the campus long enough to get their personal belongings and go home.

For the Justice Department's "fledgling Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)," Carter wrote in his Post story, "the arrests marked the quiet beginning of one of the Nixon administration's potentially most volatile policies—federal 'technical assistance' in local suppression of 'campus disorders.'"

There can be no doubt it was a quiet beginning, for the Justice Department's involvement at Valley State College, through LEAA, happened when congressmen on the House Judiciary Subcommittee were investigating the funding and management of LEAA.

Attorney General John Mitchell, at the time of the subcommittee hearings testified that LEAA was "not operational," and that LEAA did not participate in local situations.

His testimony directly contradicts LEAA's actions at Itta Bena, and two congressmen on the subcommittee have subsequently called for an investigation into the arrests and LEAA, citing insufficient testimony given by the Attorney General.

The president of Valley State College, J.H. White, who himself is black, and whose policies were the target of the boycott, announced that the state-supported school would follow a "selective admissions" program in the future. As a partial result, none of the college's elected leaders of student government (who directed the boycott) were readmitted. White also fired two faculty members who he said had "advised" the students.

How did the boycott start and how did LEAA become involved? The student government had prepared a list of 30 relatively mild demands and presented them to President White. The only demands White agreed to was for a relaxation of the dress codes, and ten academic scholarships. Val-

leance. (Reliable reports state that at the time the plea for police was made there had been no violence.)

At this point the Department of Justice's role becomes clear. In the state capital at Jackson, soon after the request had been made, officers of White's all-white board met with the state commissioner of public safety and Kenneth Fairly, executive director of the state law enforcement assistance division of LEAA.

LEAA was now involved directly. Its involvement came as a result of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which created LEAA as a Justice Department Agency for federal "economic and technical assistance to local and state law enforcement agencies."

CROWN OF CREATION

(Paul Kantner)

You are the crown of creation
 You are the crown of creation
 And you got no place to go—
 Soon you'll attain the stability you strive for
 In the only way it's granted
 In a place among the
 Fossils of our time
 In loyalty to their kind
 They cannot tolerate our minds
 & in loyalty to our kind
 We cannot tolerate their obstruction
 Life is change
 How it differs from the rocks
 I've seen their ways too often for my liking
 New worlds to gain
 My life is to survive
 & be alive
 For you.

ley State had never awarded scholarships on other than athletic ability. The students also demanded control of the student "activity fund," and a coin operated laundry. They also asked for clarification of "fictitious laboratory fees."

These demands were denied by White. As the student government called for a student boycott, federally sponsored machinery began to roll to contain what the state's white political establishment began to perceive as a probable black insurrection.

Within a few days, with the boycott over 95 per cent effective, the state's all-white Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning asked for outside police assis-

Under the terms of the act, the state of Mississippi created a commission on Law Enforcement Assistance.

Mississippi's population is 40 per cent black, but no blacks sit on the commission. When the Justice department approved an "action grant" of \$288,405 to the Commission in 1969 it did not challenge the racial composition of the Mississippi group.

Mr. Fairly, after the meeting with the Board of Trustees and the public safety commissioner, called LEAA officials in Washington and Atlanta, where the decision was initially made to make arrests.

George Murphy, director of Atlanta's regional office, along with Washington LEAA members advised using black police-

men to make the arrests to avoid "bloodshed," and sent three LEAA staff personnel from Washington, including a civil disorders "specialist." None of the three stayed in Itta Bena more than a day, and none were even on the campus of the troubled university before, during, or after the arrests were made.

Mississippi's Fairly by this time had scoured the state and had found a total of 58 black policemen. On February 11, scarcely two days after the call for help had been issued, 58 black policemen joined several specially deputized, gun-carrying campus janitors and cafeteria workers and the arrests commenced. While the arrests proceeded, white highway troopers and Sheriff's deputies blocked newsmen's entry to the campus.

"For the time being at least," Carter said in his Post story, "the events in Itta Bena stand as a victory for one of the strangest alliances ever assembled in the name of law and order: President White, Mississippi's segregationist Gov. John Bell Williams, his all-white highway patrol, 58 black policemen and the Department of Justice."

Mr. Fairly later reported he was satisfied with the situation. "There were no pictures of a white cop with his nightstick mashing the head of a black student." Fairly also was pleased with Justice Department cooperation. Department officials "have looked at this situation and think it has some application for use elsewhere," he said.

As a final note, an interested citizen who initially brought detailed news of Itta Bena to this reporter, found through his own research that Wisconsin Congressman Henry Schadeberg recently wrote Attorney Gen. Mitchell asking for LEAA investigative assistance into the Whitewater situation. Schadeberg's letter was written two weeks after Mitchell's testimony before the House Judiciary subcommittee. He received a reply from the Attorney General saying that LEAA was not "operational," that they (LEAA personnel) were not used to handle local situations, and Mitchell suggested that the congressman contact the FBI.

The events at Itta Bena should make us all aware that LEAA, as an extension of the Justice Department and John Mitchell, is very much indeed "operational" and that Kenneth Fairly's confident statement that Justice Department officials think LEAA methods have "some application for use elsewhere" should serve as a warning to those who don't believe Itta Bena could happen again or in strange alliances. As dissent and disruption grow, alliances will be made out of necessity to protect the system, and repression will become the real news for which there can be no blackout. We will no longer be able to consciously or subconsciously avoid or ignore it. We will have to face it and fight it.

iron hands in velvet gloves

(continued from page 6)

ities quickly bring in troops, and so goes the spiral of violence.

When looking for power sources outside the University or calling police and troops to campus, academics implicitly acknowledge their feeling of inadequacy and helplessness. They are the first to betray the traditional sources of authority on campus. White western culture, experience and knowledge, efficient administration are losing their commanding positions. Authority is being divested of all protecting myths and reduced to its bare substance—brute force and crude administrative blackmail.

The process is well under way, to be sure, but so far it has not been completed. It would be unfair to overlook the few pos-

itive traits of the ideal bourgeois university which survive the general breakdown of values. Some measure of academic freedom exists for some professors. The most independent students may choose as many courses as they like. Rather than political neutrality, there is some political diversity among professors, or even administrators. Many teachers are more concerned with the promotion of human values and conceptual development than with factual indoctrination. As compared to many European universities, American colleges are extraordinarily liberal.

All these liberties, however, are highly suspicious to those who hold the real power—the regents, and behind them, the Establishment. The liberties, therefore,

are only tolerated to the extent that they do not encroach on the primary motivation of the Establishment, namely profit. Academic liberties and franchises, in fact, have been turned into advanced defences of the holy shrine of this society, capital.

The young people who want to hit the system at the heart have no other choice than to throw down the whole rotten structure, including the few valid, but presently perverted, concepts. The University, in its present form, will not survive this moribund society.

We are not scared by charges of nihilism or iconoclasm. Those who are lost in the American dream and those who maintain the dream to protect their privileges are patently unable to grasp all the crea-

tive fermentation which underlies the struggle against old institutions. Hopefully, the academics concerned with the future of higher education will be more perceptive. The values that they hold for positive, when liberated from the perverting context, may re-develop in an entirely new perspective.

The young generations are developing a pragmatic, libertarian approach to life and politics. There is room in the restructuring of society for a new approach to knowledge.

This article contains ideas volunteered by Barry, Jim K., Mike R. and John, Michael M. and many other brothers and sisters of the Mifflin Community.

letter to the warden

(continued from page 5)

But Jesus didn't get excited by the 'thief's' actions. He lent an ear and the man changed. The reason why Jesus meant so much to the two men on their way to Emmaus is that his life had issued a ray of hope, a strength that identified itself with ordinary people, avoiding the power structures the best he could.

'And He still lives on!' This is what we should be shouting, as we share our food, our homes, our lives that others too can live. So Jesus may continue to be recognized today in the daily breaking of the bread.

When we begin to be able to love the hidden humanness in men and witness them

as people with potential beneath the surface display, then our innate response to the repression of men everywhere will begin to sharpen. The answer, "that we are trying," "give the system a chance," "let things work themselves out," is not answer enough. Inhuman systems must break down now, and men on top sacrifice now, so the men unjustly in chains and suffering are unchained.

The carrot is not the answer, we must feed all men as we would our own flesh and blood, regardless of the cost, bending to the level of the need of the person.

People working in penal institutions and departments of the State and Federal Government, the Military and other forms of big business must take risks. They must

respond to the gospels as intended for every man. It is not too foolish to think that the Spirit demands radical changes within the institution. The call to sell what you have, (get out of those systems that restrain life and freedom) and follow me is being asked of men and women in every profession today.

When every means has been tried and failed to run our penal system humanly, what other choice have we then to step out, Mr. Gagnon, others of the staff! When the all but bodily death of men within the system begins to get to you, what other choice than to sell all, is left?

This decision you make may well be an enormous stumbling stone to your friends. They may, because of you, be led to

question the values of their own life and the values of the system, as never before. Nothing done or said by you will mean more to them than this total break from the past, and your choice of a new beginning.

Taking up your life with men and women from the various professions, you will go to the streets working and living and feeling the burden of your brother. Creatively sharing your life with these people, and they, their life with you, values will be discovered together and the economic system understood as it should be. Hopefully there will be a movement begun that will speak effectively to the establishment. Speaking of what is most 'treasured' in human existence.