

UH NEWS

liberated
press

Strike Issue No. 3

May 11, 1970

Strike Against

*"Who will protect the
people when the police
violate the law?"*

Attorney General Ramsey Clarke

Repression



ALL PEOPLE DIFFERENT YET ALL TOGETHER.

Monday C.O. Day

1. Monday 7:30 P.M., May 11, 1970, all eligible draft candidates will report to the U. of Hartford to request of their draft boards forms for CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION (form SS 150) Supervision will be given by professional draft counselors.
2. THIS IS A NATION WIDE MOVEMENT.
3. Our aims are:
 - (a) To inform draft boards throughout the nation of our opposition to the war in Southeast Asia.
 - (b) To back log draft procedures, causing a slowdown and an eventual halt to draft procedures.
4. If your C.O. is not granted, your previous draft status will remain the same, but you may only apply for a C.O. once.

Please bring paper and a stamped envelope with the address of your draft board.
 For further information contact University of Hartford, Gengras Campus Center Room C—Draft Resistance Headquarters.

THIS IS LEGAL AND THE RIGHT OF ANY DRAFT ELIGIBLE MALE. THERE IS NOTHING TO LOSE, ONLY TO GAIN!!!!!!

General Memo on Classification appeal and rights and Procedures

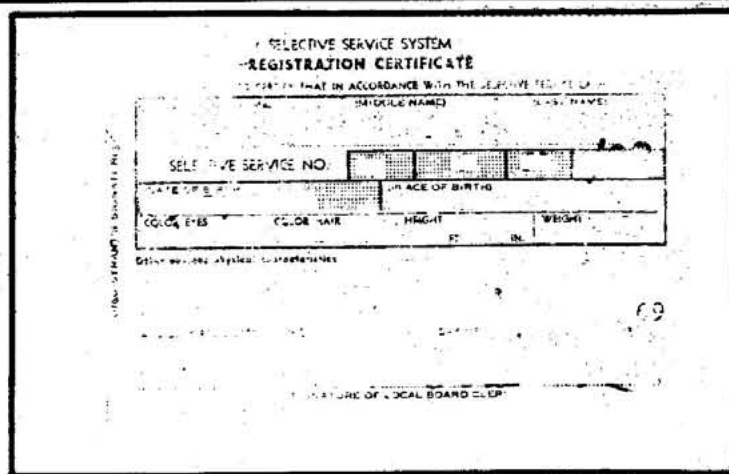
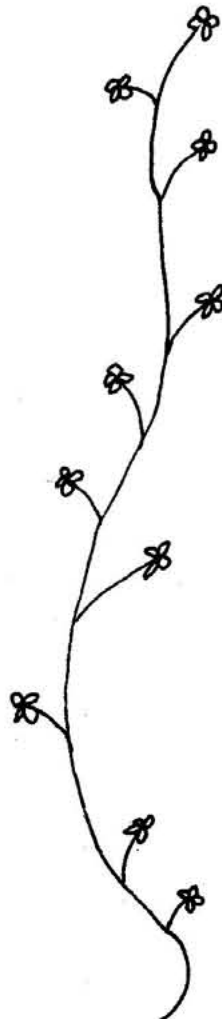
If you receive a classification card (SSS form 110) which notifies you that you have been classified in a class which is for some reason unacceptable to you, you may:

1. Within thirty days from the mailing of the card request of your local board in writing a personal appearance (unless the classification is based on a personal appearance in which step 2 applies). The board will make an appointment for you to appear before it to argue for a lower classification. After the appearance, you will be reclassified, and you will receive a new card (SSS110) with the old classification or a new one.
2. If the classification based on the personal appearance is unacceptable, you may within 30 days from its mailing, request in writing of your local board that you desire to appeal the classification. The board will send the file to the appeal board which will make a decision on the basis of the facts in the file. The board will send a new 110 with the board's vote.
3. If the appeal board's vote is unanimous, there is no further appeal unless judicial review is obtained. If there is one vote in your favor, and you dislike the majority decision on the card, you may within 30 days request of your local board an appeal to the president. From the presidential appeal board's decision there is no recourse unless judicial review is obtained. If you meet the deadlines, you are within the rights that are yours and cannot be inducted until the administration processes above are completed. If you fail to meet the deadline, you may be inducted and it may be considered a waiver of your claim. You should keep a copy of everything you send to the local board and of everything that they send to you. All transactions should be in writing and you should send everything to them by certified mail. Return receipt requested. You have the right to submit to the board at any time materials relevant to your classification, and they are obligated to include these materials in your files. All communications with the board should include your selective service number, the date, your signature. Remember that you are required to report to the selective service system within 10 days any fact or change of circumstance which may affect your classification, and that you should be given the lowest classification to which you are entitled.

—Compliments of AFSC
 147 South Quaker Lane
 West Hartford, Conn. 06119
 232-9521 or 232-3631

For further information contact Draft Resistance Headquarters
 University of Hartford, Gengras Campus Center—room C

This issue deals primarily with political repression which is the second of the strike demands.



"IN REALITY, THIS IS NOT A PIECE OF PAPER. IN REALITY THIS IS A DEATH WARRANT. I'VE SIGNED THIS DEATH WARRANT, AND NOW I TEAR THIS DEATH WARRANT UP. MY NAME GOES OUT ON NO MORE DEATH WARRANTS, AND MY BODY STANDS BETWEEN ANY MAN AND THAT DEATH WARRANT. I STAND HERE TODAY AND TOMORROW AND THE NEXT DAY WITH MY BROTHERS AND I DON'T STOP STANDING UNTIL ALL MY BROTHERS ARE ON THEIR FEET."

From ON THE RESISTANCE
 Mike Ferber
 Dave Harris

(GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA) — THE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHOOL THAT BOASTS IT'S "THE NATION'S SQUAREST UNIVERSITY" SAYS THE FOUR DEAD KENT STATE STUDENTS GOT WHAT THEY DESERVED. IN THE WORDS OF BOB JONES, JUNIOR... "IF THEY GET A FEW MORE OF THEM KILLED...THEY WILL START BEHAVING THEMSELVES." JONES HEADS BOB JONES UNIVERSITY...A FUNDAMENTALIST NON-DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL FOUNDED BY HIS FATHER IN GREENVILLE SOUTH CAROLINA.

(GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT) — CONGRESSMAN LOWELL WEICKER JUNIOR SAID TONIGHT HE SUPPORTS PRESIDENT NIXON'S MOVE TO SEND AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CAMBODIA.

BUT WEICKER ADDED IN HIS WORDS... "I CAN ASSURE THE VOTERS OF THE FOURTH DISTRICT THAT I WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY POLICY THAT COMMITS AMERICAN BOYS TO THE DEFENSE OF THE NEW REGIME IN CAMBODIA."

THE CONNECTICUT REPUBLICAN SAID HE WOULD BACK THE PRESIDENT ONLY IF THE POLICY REMAINS ONE OF DEFENDING U.S. TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

(WASHINGTON) — THE HOUSE HAS DECIDED TO ACCEPT PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLEDGE TO WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM CAMBODIA IN SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS. IT DID SO BY REJECTING, ON A 94 TO 163 NONRECORD VOTE, A PROPOSED LEGAL REQUIREMENT THAT ALL GROUND COMBAT FORCES BE PULLED OUT OF CAMBODIA NOT LATER THAN JULY 1ST.

UNIVERSITY OF BRIDGEPORT

Students of the university have occupied four buildings of the Administration. They could not get support to hold workshops, meetings, etc....to participate in student strike. They still occupy and have liberated switchboard lines etc.. Would like letters of support sent to the President of the University.

Henry Littlefield
 178 Glen Arden Drive
 Fairfield, Conn.

Tel. 203-259-3943

TELEPHONE TAX RESISTANCE

There is an excise tax of 10% on your phone service. It goes to the Vietnamese war effort. Pay for your phone service. DO NOT PAY THE WAR TAX. Your phone will not be disconnected. Inform the telephone company of why you are not paying the war tax.

Hartford Seminary

Schedule of 5-8-70

Workshops 9:00 — 11:00, and 1:00-3:00 on Draft, HS organization repression of blacks. Held at wight (?) Hall Hartford Seminary 7:00 at U Conn Law School; Harrison Salsbury writer for NY Times author of two books on Vietnam. Hartford Seminary needs people to canvas. call 232-4453.

For all parents who wish to attend the activities at the University of Hartford: Beginning May 8, 1970 there will be babysitting services during the hours of 10:00 A.M. and 3 P.M. and 7:00 and 10:00 P.M. There will be a charge of 75 cents for the whole day. A nurse will be available at all times.

For more information call 242-0534.

This service is provided for you so that you can learn more about your nation.

Monday, May 11

- 9:00 Rm H — Informal Chanting & Movement
- 10-5 Hartt — "Write Your Congressman"
- 10:00 Rm G — "War" — Muraskin
- 9:30 All day — Rm C — Draft Counselor Clinic
- 11:00 Rm H — Origins of Cold War — Gilbert
- 12:00 Rm G — Mob Psychology — Schloss
- 1:00 Cambodia — Mrs. Adams from Yale
- 3:00 Lounge — "Gay Liberation Front"
- 7:30 Gym — "Draft Resistance" C.O.
- Hartt School Concerts — Benefit

OPEN — always — Study Rm basement G.C.C.
 Prayers and Meditation

The Hartt College Write-In to send your thoughts to Congressional Officials will be stationed at the second floor lounge by the information desk. They have 1. paper 2. typewriters and pens 3. stamps 4. a list of men and addresses.

Letters

Children,

Four lifeless bodies. Four dead beings who would have been living, loving brothers and sisters. Think about it for just a moment. Who really killed the four Kent U. students? Why do other countries hate us so much? Why is it that pollution will kill us all anyway, and nobody cares? That's right! Nobody cares. YOU say you care, and then you lift up your own brick to throw. We are all destroying our world with hypocrisy.

I know who is responsible for these four deaths, and those to come. The missile of death came from the National Guard, but who pulled the trigger? It was YOU! You, the armed forces, you the Black Panthers, and you the apathetic slob who clutter our world with hate. It was you, cops; and you SDS; and you Spiro. And it was me.

Does it make you want to cry? If not, pull the trigger again. This time kill all those who are crying. As tears go by Rudy

To all the students attending last night's meeting,

Other than one time last night, when a person mentioned 'wives going to sleep in empty beds at night', no one once directly spoke about striking to bring the guys now fighting in Vietnam back home. Everyone was quick to denounce Nixon and his present policy in Cambodia (in fact his impeachment got a standing ovation), but no one stood up and spoke for these men. These men who could be you, or your boyfriend, or your brother did not choose to be where they are now. As we all sat there and listened to demands about trustees giving money to the school and getting Hartford cops off campus, there were hundreds of people dying over in Vietnam. Yes, innocent Vietnamese children and women -- and young American men.

If anyone is naive enough to think that these men want to fight

a war they don't believe in, then I pity them. Our men fighting over there weren't born soldiers, they were made into soldiers. I say OUR men, because they are "our" brothers. They belong to our generation and are forced to fight by a government in which most of them have no say. What can they do now that Nixon has sent troops into Cambodia? Some people said that protesting won't do any good -- well the "fighting" men aren't even here to be able to protest. Let's say it for them!!

I know too many guys that are over in Vietnam right now, also some that are back from duty not quite the same as they were when they left, and some that never made it back; and if I'm going to protest it will be for THEM and against Nixon's policy. This should be the main issue now. If there's a strike, let the slogan be, "Bring our men home, before there aren't any to come back!"

Sandie Lavery

My kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing...to watch over...institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing and clothing can wear out or become ragged...To be loyal to rags, that is the loyalty of unreason...The citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet, holds his peace, and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway.

-Mark Twain

(Washington) -- Vice President Spiro Agnew says the fatal shooting of four Kent State University students by National Guardsmen was "apparently an overreaction in the heat of anger." Agnew says he takes great sorrow over the tragedy, but feels the guardsmen acted in the heat of anger and there would have been no shooting if the guardsmen hadn't been attacked by militants. The Vice President says the opinions of younger people are being heard, but, in his words, "the fact that they are heard does not necessarily mean they must be heeded." He says he doesn't understand why some people take offense at his "invective" in acceptable English but find nothing wrong about dissidents using four-letter words to describe him.

Agnew made the comments in taping a television appearance on the David Frost Show in a Los Angeles studio. It was released in part in Washington.

Williams' kNOW for Peace Committee

We are exploring the possibility of calling a general, national stoppage. No date or time has been set, but we are thinking in terms of a one hour work stoppage in about two weeks time to call on all Americans to unite in support of an end to the expansion of the war and an end to the growing divisiveness of the nation. This stoppage would be a

statement that we cannot understand recent events (Cambodia, etc.) as a positive move for peace. In addition, such a stoppage would be a national effort to re-establish a bond of faith and trust between the people and their government. This stoppage would allow all Americans to make a positive act irrespective of geographical location and occupation. kNOW for Peace

Economic Slowdown

The U.S. of America is currently fighting a war in South East Asia -- people are killing and others are being killed. The "killers" are "fighters" -- the "killed" are "victims". But what about the majority of fighters? Where are they?

About 200 years ago in our nation, which was not a nation, but merely 13 separate colonies, we, too, were engaged in a war -- the Revolutionary War, or the fight for independence, from our, then, mother country, England. What measures were taken at that time to make the British people aware of our struggle? One of our first steps was to throw overboard the tea which we were coerced into buying. This plan was twofold: 1 (it made the people of England aware that we did not want to be forced into buying their product alone, and 2 (it also made the people of

England recognize our right as human beings to decide for ourselves that which we wanted.

Since then, however, changes have taken place. We have grown "fat". We have forgotten how to fight -- we are the forgotten fighters -- who? Both you and I. Why? Over an extended period of years, and decades, the U.S. has encountered many technological advances in every facet of life. Much of this progress has been beneficial to everyone in one way or another. However, we have had too much of a good thing. It has gotten to the point where we expect to live comfortably. It appears that we cannot function physically, psychologically, physiologically, intellectually, and individually without the "good life". Is this really true or does it seem to be true? Can we learn to not want as much as we have already? I think we might be able to do so if we begin at once. How?

The war in Southeast Asia is costing our nation lives and money. Who is paying for this war? Us. What can we do, as citizens, to end it, or at least to make Mr. Nixon listen to us? Money. If our Chief Executive has little regard for human lives, he might have a bit more respect for money. That is, he might consider putting a halt to the war if we put him in a position where there is not much available money for him to pay for the war. Let us appeal for a nation-wide economic showdown. To do this, let us LIMIT, rather than ELIMINATE. If we eliminate completely all our goods, we will either starve or give in. This would be a short-range plan. Our economy would suffer for two weeks or so, and then terminate itself. We want a long-range effect. Thus, we must limit ourselves. If we cut down on our style of living, for more than just a couple of weeks, the economy will eventually feel it. How can this idea be put into effect now, and who can help? Everyone can help -- we must let our conscience decide for us that which is a necessity and that which is a luxury. We can limit phone calls, electricity, gas, major purchasing (automobiles, TV sets, etc.) TO A MINIMUM. If one happens to go to a movie twice a week, limit it to once a week. The same holds true with restaurants, theatres, etc. If everyone helps, it will be very effective. This is based on the "Keep America Beautiful" program. If each person refrains from throwing a gum wrapper or a tissue on the ground, nature will remain beautiful. If, however, each person is a litterbug, there is going to be an ugly mess. Each person must help in his own way. Remember, LIMIT, don't ELIMINATE.

(Continued from Page 7)

with its shenanigans and Mooney and Billings sat in prisons for forty years until a labor-led defense effort paid off with the election of New Deal Democrat as Governor in 1938, who shortly ordered the men released.

B. The second method is to choose a radical activity and to call it a crime, or to charge people under a vague, all-encompassing law. The World War I Espionage and Sedition Act was one such law. Under it, "The courts treated opinions as statements of fact and then condemned them as false cause they differed from the President's speech...Almost all the convictions were for expressions of opinions about the merits and conduct of the war (Political and Civil Rights in the U.S., Emerson, Haber and Dobson, p. 59)

C. The Panther case is a combination of the two approaches. Through the press campaign nationally and prejudicial pretrial publicity locally, the government has attempted to create a popular hysteria reminiscent of the early 1950's, and it is charging all the defendants with the easy to challenge, difficult to defend against crime of conspiracy, as well as a more substantive crime.

6. Conspiracy.
A. The Nature of Conspiracy
The nature of the crime of conspiracy deserves some attention. Supreme Court Justice and Nuremberg prosecutor Robert Jackson defined it as an "elastic, sprawling and pervasive offense... (it) exemplifies the tendency of a principle to expand itself to the limit of its logic... loose practice as to this offense constitutes a serious threat to fairness in our administration of justice. The modern crime of conspiracy is so vague that it almost defies definition." (Krulwitch v. U.S., 336 U.S. 44U) Learned Hand called it "that darling of the modern prosecutors nursery", because of the many advantages it affords the prosecution. (U.S. v. Falcone, 109 Fed. Rep. 579) Hearsay evidence inadmissible under ordinary rules can be used to implicate a defendant of his co-defendants, about which he may know nothing, but for which he may be held liable. The effect of evidence introduced against some defendants may act on the jury in such a way as to produce convictions for all. The mere fact of being tried together associated the defendants in the jury's mind and it may have trouble

remembering which evidence applies to which defendant. If there is a joint defense, the defendants may be identified together in the jury's mind. However, if the defendants have separate counsel, the trial may be lengthened by a repetition of motions and counter-motions. For these reasons the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges, presided over by Chief Justice William Howard Taft warned that "the rules of evidence in conspiracy cases make them most difficult to try without prejudice to an innocent defendant." (Quoted in 24 Brooklyn Law Review 1, "Conspiracy -- The Prosecutor's Darling", Solomon A. Klein, p. 1-11.)

B. History and Use of Conspiracy
Taft's contention is amply borne out. The crime originated in the Star Chamber, an inquisitorial court of 17th century England, and was reborn in America in 1806 in the Philadelphia Cordwainers case, which ruled that a shoemakers strike was a criminal conspiracy. More recently it has been used against anti-war and other radical groups: the Spock Trial, the Oakland 7, the Chicago Conspiracy Trial (in which one of the defendants is Bobby Seale who is also charged in this case), and in California in several other cases, including some Chicago leaders who organized a school boycott in Los Angeles. The evidence used by the prosecution in the Oakland 7 trial shows how all-inclusive a charge of conspiracy may be. Among the overt acts charged were opening a bank account entitled Stop The Draft Week, hiring buses to carry people from Berkeley to Oakland, arranging a meeting, and transporting loud speaker equipment to the Berkeley campus. In interrogating the U.C. Dean of Students, Jan Blais, District Attorney Coakley recalled that he had warned the administration that the use of university facilities could be considered a part of a criminal conspiracy, so that university officials could be prosecuted. Such broad use of conspiracy obviously makes a mockery of First Amendment rights.

7. Violations of Due Process: Obstacles to a Fair Trial.
The guarantee of due process of law in the Fifth Amendment means that everyone has the right to an impartial trial, conducted in accordance with fair methods of procedure. This case has already seen several violations of due process which make it questionable whether the defendants can receive a fair trial.

Women's Liberation

Inquiry by James Turco

The following article is a brief condensation of the WLF's ideals, thoughts, and grievances. These views were expressed by a member of the WLF and approved by the members of the Universities WLF Committee. Sandi began by stating that women have fewer options than men." This, she said, "is a movement to find out why they have fewer options. The whole idea is the freeing of women's human potential." She, as does all WLF members feels that women are objectified in this society. Women are programmed to be objects for consumption. Through a magazine such as 17 a girl is kept insecure about her appearance. She is made to feel that the next product she buys will make her into the Break girl. The product becomes obsolete in two months and a new cosmetic becomes current.

A girl is programmed in nursery school for 'service'; she finds a broom and dust pan under the Christmas tree. From then on her role in life is in service to others. She is subservient to others; she is in fact subservient, decorative, and auxiliary in any situation life presents.

Sandi continues to say that a woman achieves her identity in relation to the males in her life. She takes her father's name and protection and goes to her husband's home where she gets his name and protection. She becomes a wife, mother, and eventual grandmother. The student identity is the last relatively free identity in a girl's life. For up to that point she has considered her educational

opportunities equal to that of a boy. Her rude awakening follows high school, college, or graduate school. If she does the right thing and hears wedding bells and has the 2.7 children she is suddenly relegated to a no-exit trapped four wall existence with only toddlers to talk to all day and objects to maintain for forty years. The best meal is only dirty dishes in thirty minutes.

Every married man has a servant in the house. Her role is to maintain the morals of every member of the family. Meanwhile the ideas and stimulations known to her as a student is lost to her. Her husband is in the outside world and is supposed to create and produce to the height of his capability. Her frustration is real and poignant but where did the human potential and promise she showed as a student go? She becomes neurotically involved in the lives of her children and begins to live vicariously through them. And we end up having Portnoys' mother.

Instead of giving her children the liberty of being themselves, she requires performance for all the years of emotional investment and has a hard time of letting go.

The movement of the Women's Liberation Front is an attempt to discover the difference between what is natural and cultural in sex role definitions of women and to give women control over their own destinies.

WLF is not an anti-male movement; the same system that oppresses women oppresses men.

POWER TO WOMEN
POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE RISE OF THE

The following is excerpts "from the Preface to the Third Edition, Mass Psychology of Facism, written in Nazi Germany in 1933, by Wilhelm Reich. Because of the suppression of all of Reich's works and because of the pretinence of his description of the rise of the fascist state, this valuable preface has been reprinted, fuck copyrights."

The MASSENPSYCHOLOGIE DES FASCHISMUS took shape during the years of the German crisis of 1930 to 1933. It was written in 1933. The first edition appeared in September 1933 and the second in April 1934 in Denmark.

Sex-economic sociology was born out of the attempts to harmonize the depth psychology of Freud with the economic theory of Marx. Human existence is determined by instinctual and socio-economic processes. But we must refute any eclectic attempts at an arbitrary combination of "instinct" and "economy." Sex-economic sociology dissolves the fateful contradiction which made psychoanalysis forget the social factor and made Marxism forget the animal origin of man. As I once put it, psychoanalysis is the father and sociology the mother of sex-economy. But a child is more than the sum of its parents. It is a new, independent being with a future of its own.

CENSORSHIP OF WORK

Really one would have expected that parties which pretended to be fighting for human freedom would have welcomed my political-psychological work. As the archives of our Institute prove abundantly, the exact opposite was the case. The greater the social effects of the mass-psychological work, the more violent were the counter-measures of the party politicians. As early as 1932, the Socialist as well as the Communist organizations, over the vigorous protest of their own members, prohibited the distribution of the works published by the Verlag for Sexualpolitik, then in Berlin. I was threatened with execution as soon as Marxism should gain power in Germany. In 1932, against the explicit wish of their members, the Communist organizations in Germany banned sex-economic physicians from their meetings, as the Social Democrats in Austria had done as early as 1929 and 1930. I was expelled from both organizations because I introduced sexology into sociology and pointed out its implications for human structure formation. Between 1934 and 1937, it was again and again the officials of the Communist parties who reminded the fascist circles in Europe of the "dangerousness" of sex-economy. The sex-economic publications were turned back at the Soviet Russian border as were the masses of fugitives who tried to escape German fascism. These are facts which cannot be countered by any argument.

Misinterpreted Marxism

Today it has become absolutely clear that fascism is not the deed of a Hitler or Mussolini, but the expression of the irrational structure of the mass individual. Today it is clearer than ten years ago that the race theory is biological mysticism. Today, one is closer to an understanding of the orgasmic longing as a mass phenomenon than ten years ago; there is more of a general inkling of the fact that fascist mysticism is orgasmic longing under the conditions of mystification and inhibition of natural sexuality. The sex-economic statements in the book showed themselves to be as true as ten years ago, and to be further confirmed by the experiences of the past ten years. The Marxist party slogans in the book, on the other hand, were all shown to be erroneous; they all had to be replaced.

The change in terminology takes into account an important fact: today it is no longer the Communist and Socialist parties but, in opposition to them, many unpolitical people and groups of people of all shades of political opinion who are developing more and more a revolutionary attitude, who, in other words, are striving for a basically new, rational social order. There is a rather

general awareness of the fact that the world, in its fight against the fascist pestilence, has entered a phase of a gigantic international revolution. The concept "proletarian" was coined more than a hundred years ago to connote a stratum of society which was deprived of all rights. True, there are still such groups, but the great-grandchildren of the proletarians of the 19th century have developed into specialized, technically trained industrial workers who are socially responsible and conscious of their skills. The term "class consciousness" has to be replaced by "work consciousness" or "social responsibility."

Marxist sociology, out of its ignorance of mass psychology, contrasted the "bourgeois" with the "proletarian." This is erroneous. A certain character structure is not limited to the capitalist, but pervades the working people in all professions. There are revolutionary capitalists and reactionary workers. There are no characterological class distinctions in the biophysical depth of human structure. The fascist pestilence makes it clear that the economic concepts of "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat" have to be replaced by the characterological concepts of "reactionary" and "revolutionary."

The vulgar-Marxist concept of "private enterprise" was irrationally misinterpreted to mean that the revolutionary development of society would bring about the abolition of all private property. Of course, the political reaction made capital of this misinterpretation. As a matter of fact, the development of social and individual freedom has nothing to do with the so-called "abolition of private property." The Marxist concept of private property did not pertain to people's hirts, pants, typewriters, toilet paper, books, beds, savings, residences or plots of land. It referred, exclusively, to the private possession of the social means of production which determine the social process, such as railroads, power plants, mines, etc. The "socialization of the means of production" became a bogey because it was confused with the "expropriation of private property" such as chickens, shirts, books, residences, etc. During the past hundred years, socialization of the means of production has reduced their private ownership in all capitalistic countries, in varying degrees.

Because the structure and the incapacity for freedom of the working people made them unable to adapt to the tremendous development of the social organizations, it came to pass that the "state" exercised functions which properly would have been those of the "society" of the working people. In Soviet Russia, the alleged acropolis of Marxism, there is no trace of a "socialization of the means of production." The Marxist parties had failed to distinguish "socialization." The

present war has shown that the American government, e.g., has the right and the means to nationalize poorly functioning industrial plants. A socialization of the means of production, their transfer from the private ownership of individuals to society is a much less frightening concept if one begins to realize that today, as a result of the war, there are in the capitalist countries only few independent private owners left while there are a great many collective owners responsible to the government; and if one further realizes that in Soviet Russia the state factories are in no way at the disposal of the workers, but of groups of government officials. The socialization of the means of production will not be possible until the masses of the working people become structurally capable of administering it, that is, not until they are conscious of their responsibility.

This is the main sociological reason why the private economy of the 19th century changes everywhere to an increasing degree into a state-capitalistic economy. In the strictly Marxist sense, there is not even in Soviet Russia a state socialism but a state capitalism. According to Marx, the social condition "capitalism" does not consist in the existence of individual capitalists, but in the existence of the specific "capitalist mode of production," that is, in the production of exchange values instead of use values, in wage work of the masses and in the production of surplus value, which is appropriated by the state or the private owners, and not by the society of the working people. If this strictly Marxist sense, the capitalistic system continues to exist in Russia. And it will continue to exist as long as the masses of people continue to lack responsibility to crave authority.

Sex-economic structural psychology adds the characterological and biological to the purely economic comprehension of society. The elimination of individual capitalists and the replacement of private capitalism by state capitalism in Russia has not in the least altered the typical helpless and authoritarian character structure of the masses of people.

Furthermore, the political ideology of the European Marxist parties operated with purely economic conditions characteristic of a span of about two hundred years of mechanical development from the end of the 17th to the 19th century. Fascism of the 20th century, on the other hand, threw into focus the basic questions of the human character, of mysticism and the craving for authority, problems pertaining to a span of 4-6000 years.

From all this it is obvious that the fascist mass pestilence, with its background of thousands of years, cannot be mastered with social measures corresponding to the past three hundred years.

Freudian Contribution

Extensive and conscientious therapeutic work on the human character has taught me that, in judging human reactions, we have to take into account three different layers of the biopsychic structure. As I have shown in my book, CHARACTER-ANALYSIS, these layers are autonomously functioning representations of social development. In the superficial layer, the average individual is restrained, polite, compassionate and conscientious. There would be no social tragedy of the animal, man, if this superficial layer were in immediate contact with his deep natural core. His tragedy is that such is not the

case. The superficial layer of social cooperation is not in contact with the biological core of the person, but separated from it by a second, intermediary character layer consisting of cruel sadistic, lascivious, predatory and envious impulses. This is the Freudian "unconscious" or "repressed"; in sex-economic language, it is the sum total of the "secondary impulses." Orgone biophysics has shown that the Freudian unconscious the antisocial element in the human structure, is a secondary result of the repression of primary biological impulses. If one penetrates through this second, perverse and antisocial layer, one arrives regularly at a third, the deepest layer, which we call the biological core. In this deepest layer, man, under favorable social conditions, is an honest, industrious, cooperative animal capable of love and also of rational hatred. In character-analytic work, one cannot penetrate to this deep, promising layer without first eliminating the false, sham-social surface. What makes its appearance when this cultivated mask falls away, however, is not natural sociality, but the perverse antisocial layer of the character.

As a result of this unfortunate structure, every natural social or libidinous impulse from the biological core must, on its way to action, pass the layer of the perverse secondary impulses where it becomes deflected. This deflection changes the originally social character of the natural impulse into a perverse impulse and thus inhibits any natural life manifestation.

The Biological Nucleus

We can now apply our insights into human structure to the social and political field. It is not difficult to see that the diverse political and ideological groups in human society correspond to the various layers of human character structure. We do, of course, not follow idealistic philosophy in its belief that this human structure is eternal and unalterable. After social conditions and changes have formed the original biological needs into the character structure, the latter, in the form of ideologies, reproduces the social structure.

Since the decline of the primitive work-democratic organization, the biological core of man has remained without social representation. That which is "natural" in man, which makes him one with the cosmos, has found its genuine expression only in the arts, particularly in music and painting. Until now, however, it has remained without any essential influence upon the form of human society, if by society is meant not the culture of a small rich upper crust but the community of all people.

In the ethical and social ideals of liberalism we recognize the representation of the superficial layer of the character, of self-control and tolerance. The ethics of this liberalism serve to keep down "the beast" in man, the second layer, our "secondary impulses," the Freudian "unconscious." The natural sociality of the deepest, nuclear layer is alien to the liberal. He deplores the perversion of human character and fights it with ethical norms, but the social catastrophes of this century show the inadequacy of this approach.

All that which is genuinely revolutionary, all genuine art and science stems from the natural biological nucleus. Neither the genuine revolutionary nor the

FASCIST STATE

artist or scientist has been able thus far to win over and lead masses or, if so, to keep them in the realm of the life interests.

In contradistinction to liberalism, which represents the superficial character layer, and to genuine revolution, which represents the deepest layer, fascism represents essentially the second character layer, that of the secondary impulses.

At the time when this book was originally written, fascism was generally regarded a "political party" which, like any other "social group," was an organized representation of a "political idea." According to this concept, the fascist party "introduced" fascism by force or by "political manoeuvre."

Contrary to this concept, my medical experience with individuals from all kinds of social strata, races, nationalities and religions showed me that "fascism" is only the politically organized expression of the average human character structure, a character structure which has nothing to do with this or that race, nation or party but which is general and international. In this characterological sense, "fascism" is the basic emotional attitude of man in authoritarian society, with its machine civilization and its mechanistic-mystical view of life.

It is the mechanistic-mystical character of man in our times which creates fascist parties, and not vice versa.

Fallacious Reasoning

Even today, as a result of fallacious political thinking, fascism is still being considered a specific national characteristic of the Germans or the Japanese. The stubborn persistence of this fallacy is due to the fear of recognizing the truth: fascism is an international phenomenon which permeates all organizations of human society in all nations. This conclusion is confirmed by the international events of the past 15 years.

From the first fallacy all other misinterpretations follow logically. To the detriment of genuine endeavors for freedom, fascism is still regarded as the dictatorship of a small reactionary clique. My character-analytic experience, however, shows that there is today not a single individual who does not have the elements of fascist feeling and thinking in his structure. Fascism as a political movement differs from other reactionary parties in that it is supported and championed by masses of people. I am fully conscious of the responsibility involved in such statements. I could only wish, in the interest of this battered world, that the working masses had an equal realization of their responsibility

for fascism.

One has to distinguish ordinary militarism from fascism. Germany under the Kaiser was militaristic, but not fascist.

Since fascism, always and everywhere, appears as a movement which is supported by the masses of people, it also displays all the traits and contradictions present in the average character structure: **Fascism is not, as is generally believed, a purely reactionary movement; rather, it is a mixture of rebellious emotions and reactionary social ideas.**

If, by being revolutionary, one means rational rebellion against intolerable social conditions, if, by being radical, one means "going to the root of things," the rational will to improve them, then fascism is never revolutionary. True, it may have the aspect of revolutionary emotions. But one would not call that physician revolutionary who proceeds against a disease with violent cursing but the other who quietly, courageously and conscientiously studies and fights the causes of the disease. Fascist rebelliousness always occurs where fear of the truth turns a revolutionary emotion into illusions.

Racism

In its pure form, fascism is the sum total of all irrational reactions of the average human character. To the narrow-minded sociologist who lacks the courage to recognize the enormous role played by the irrational in human history, the fascist race theory appears as nothing but an imperialistic interest or even a mere "prejudice." The violence and the ubiquity of these "race prejudices" show their origin from the irrational part of the human character. The race theory is not creation of fascism. No: fascism is a creation of race hatred and its politically organized expression. Correspondingly, there is a German, Italian, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish and Arabian fascism. **The race ideology is a true biopathic character symptom of the organically impotent individual.**

The sadistic perverse character of the race ideology is also seen in the attitude toward religion. Fascism, we are told, is the arch-enemy of religion, and a regression to paganism. On the contrary, fascism is the extreme expression of religious mysticism. As such it appears in a specific social form. **Fascism is based on that religiosity which stems from sexual perversion; it changes the masochistic character of the old patriarchal religions into a sadistic religion.** It takes religion out of the other-world philosophy of suffering and places it in the sadistic

murder in this world.

Fascist Mentality

Fascist mentality is the mentality of the subjugated "little man" who craves authority and rebels against it at the same time. It is not by accident that all fascist dictators stem from the milieu of the little reactionary man. The captains of industry and the feudal militarist make use of this social fact for their own purposes. A mechanistic authoritarian civilization only reaps, in the form of fascism, from the little, suppressed man what for hundreds of years it has sown in the masses of little, suppressed individuals in the form of mysticism, top-sergeant mentality and automatism. This little man has only too well learned the way of the big man and now gives it back, enlarged and distorted. The Fascist is the top-sergeant type in the vast army of our sick civilization. One cannot with impunity beat the tom-tom of high politics before the little man. The little top-sergeant has outdone the imperialistic general in everything: in martial music, in goose-stepping, in giving orders and obeying them, in the deadly fear of thinking, in diplomacy, strategy and tactics, in uniformed strutting and in medals. In all these things a Kaiser Wilhelm appears as a poor bungler compared with Hitler. When a "proletarian" general covers his chest with medals, on both sides, and from the shoulders to the belt, he demonstrates the little man trying to outdo the "real" great general.

One must have thoroughly studied the character of the suppressed little man and must have learned to see things as they take place behind the facade, if one is to understand the forces on which fascism is based.

In the rebellion of the masses of abused people against the empty niceties of a false liberalism (I do not mean genuine liberalism and genuine tolerance) the character layer of the secondary impulses was expressed.

One cannot make the Fascist harmless if, according to the politics of the day, one looks for him only in the German or Italian, or the American or the Chinese; if one does not look for him in oneself; if one does not know the social institutions which hatch him every day. **One can beat fascism only if one meets it objectively and practically, with a well-grounded knowledge of the life processes.** One cannot equal it in politics, in diplomacy or strutting. But it has no answer to practical questions of living, for it sees everything only in the mirror of ideology or in the form of the state uniform. When

one hears a fascist character of whatever hue preach about the "honor of the nation" (instead of the honor of man) or about the "salvation of the sacred family and the race" (instead of the society of working individuals), if he lets out a stream of empty slogans, one only has to ask him this:

"What are you doing to feed the nation, without plundering or killing other nations? What do you, as a physician, do against the chronic diseases, or as an educator for the happiness of children, or as an economist for the elimination of poverty, or as a social worker for the mothers of too many children, or as a builder for more hygienic living conditions? Give us a concrete, practical answer or shut up!"

Vanquishing Fascism

Clearly, international fascism will never be vanquished by political manoeuvres. It can only be vanquished by the natural organization of work, love and knowledge on an international scale.

As yet, work, love and knowledge have not the power to determine human existence. More than that, these great forces of the positive life principle are not even conscious of their strength, their indispensability and their decisive role in the determination of human existence. For this reason, human society, even after the military defeat of party fascism, continues to hover at the brink of the abyss. The downfall of our civilization is inevitable if those who work, and the natural scientists in all branches of life (not death), and those who give and receive natural love, do not become conscious, in time, of their gigantic responsibility.

Will human and social freedom, will self-regulation of our lives and that of our children come about peacefully or by force? Nobody can tell. But those who know the living function in the animal, in the newborn or in the true worker, be he a mechanic, a researcher or an artist, cease to think in those terms created by party systems. The living function cannot "seize power by force," for it would not know what to do with power. Does that mean that life will forever be at the mercy of political gangsterdom, that the politicians will forever suck its blood? No, it would be wrong to draw this conclusion.

As a physician, I have to treat diseases, as a researcher I have to disclose unknown facts in nature. If, now, a political wind-bag were to try to force me to leave my patients and my microscope, I would not let myself be disturbed but would, if necessary, throw him out. Whether or not I have to use force in order to protect my work on the living function against intruders does not depend on me or my work but on the intruders' degree of impertinence. Let us assume that all those who do work on the living function were able to recognize the political wind-bag in time. They would act in the same way. Perhaps this over-simplified example gives a partial answer to the question as to how the living functions, sooner or later, will defend itself against its intruders and destroyers.

The following quotes are excerpts from the final report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

"When in man's long history other great civilizations fell, it was less often from external assault than from internal decay."

"The time is upon us for the reordering of national priorities and for a greater investment of resources in the fulfillment of two basic purposes of our Constitution — to establish justice and to insure domestic tranquility."

"When group violence occurs, it must be put down by lawful means... But when it occurs — we must permit aggrieved groups to exercise their rights of protest and public presentation of grievances... and we must have the institutional flexibility to correct these injustices promptly."

"The President (should) seek legislation that would confer jurisdiction upon U.S. District Courts to grant injunctions on the request of the Attorney General or private persons, against the threatened or actual interference by any person... with the rights of individuals or groups to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, peaceful assembly and petition for redress of grievances."

"In exercising his power to appoint members of local draft boards, the President (should) name at least one person under 30 to each local board."

History

A. History: The Black Panther Party was founded in October 1966, when Huey Newton and Bobby Seale drafted the ten demands which still represent the party's guiding program. Newton and Seale who had met and worked together at Merrit College in Oakland were appalled by the disorganization and helplessness of the black community in the face of daily police brutality. Influenced by the writings of Franz Fanon and Malcolm X, angered by Newton's recent experience in jail, the two men first wrote up a program calling for self-determination for blacks and then set out to organize for mass movement.

From the beginning, their appeal was to the young black people on the ghetto street corners. And their initial message was simple "we are not going to let them push us around any more." They bought guns and began patrolling the Oakland ghetto (at that time it was illegal in California to carry concealed weapons). Newton, who had attended law school, compiled 13 points of legal "first aid" which they taught to ghetto residents. Armed Panthers followed Oakland police around the black community. Observing police activities from a distance and informing any black people who were stopped of their constitutional rights. As a consequence, the general incidence of police brutality and harassment in Oakland's ghetto declined; but soon, harassment of known Panthers began.

The party's brief history has been one of rapid growth and genuine service to ghetto residents accompanied by drastic official repression and violent encounters between party members and police. In May 1967 the Panthers came to national attention when they arrived, armed, at the California legislature to lobby against a bill specifically introduced to prevent them from carrying guns. The incident which resulted in murder charges against Huey Newton took place in October 1967; The shooting which involved Eldridge Cleaver and other party leaders and which ended with the murder of party Treasurer Bobby Hutton took place in April 1968. By summer 1968 the party was establishing chapters in cities across the country and seeking alliances with other political groups, even as arrests, shootings, and police raids on Panther offices were increasing in number.

B. Popular misconceptions: It is difficult but important to show how inaccurate and distorted is the image of the Black Panther Party conveyed by our conventional media. As a *Wall Street Journal* article of August 29 pointed out, the Black Panther Party is frightening to Americans as "a symbol of social disruption and of the potential for racial violence in the U.S." But that symbol has been created not by the Panthers but by a press which — out of the ignorance, bigotry or fear that plagues most whites — Americans' dealings with blacks — persists in misunderstanding and misrepresenting the Panthers.

Gene Marine suggests that many of the inaccuracies stem from Reporters' reliance on the Panthers' "hometown" newspaper, the *Oakland Tribune*, for information about the party. The *Tribune*, with a notoriously conservative editorial bias, not only relies on the police for its information about Panthers but also presents that information in a tone clearly contemptuous of the Panthers. One story published after the party's appearance at the California legislature began: "The Black Panthers of the East Bay is self-proclaimed 'revolutionary,' party whose members are best known for their habit of dressing in black clothing and lugging pistols, rifles and shotguns around in public." The *Sacramento Bee*, a paper known for careful reporting, inaccurately described the Panthers as "anti-white" in their story on the incident that brought the Panthers to national attention; This inaccuracy has been repeated in story after story across the country.

The press regularly describes Panthers as anti-white, as instilling hatred of police in ghetto children, as advocating the violent overthrow of the government. These are the most frequent and most harmful ways in which the Black Panther Party is misrepresented.

C. Police in the ghetto: No understanding of the Black Panther Party is possible without an understanding of the way police have functioned and continue to function in American ghettos. Although this paper cannot do it, one of the most convincing ways to explain the Panther's program and success is to describe — one after another — the hundreds of occasions on which ghetto residents have been subjected to brutal and degrading treatment at the hands of police.

It is this fact of ghetto life which gives force to the Panther's comparison of the ghetto to a colony and to their characterization of police as occupation troops. In a June 1 article, the *New York Times* reported that blacks' distrust of and hostility toward police is increasing, despite cities' attempts to institute reform in their police departments. The article also noted that in Detroit police permitted white youths to drive around with rifles hanging out the car windows, while some black youths with a rifle locked in their trunk (such transport of weapons is legal in Michigan) were arrested. But every Black Panther newspaper is filled with better examples than this of the reason for blacks' feelings about police: the November 1 issue reported that a 19-year-old Chicago youth was shot by police the same day he had attended the funeral of his 16-year-old brother shot by police. A few months after the party was founded, the Panthers gained in membership and prestige in the Bay Area black community by rallying Richmond blacks to protest the police murder of Denzil Dowell. Every incident of brutality aids in Panther recruiting.

Although the party does not advocate use of violence except in self-defense, they answer accusations that their presence and program encourage violence in the ghetto with the following story: On the day Huey Newton was alleged to have shot a policeman in Oakland and was himself shot by the policeman, a 70-year-old unarmed black man, who was later proven to be innocent of any crime, was shot in the back and killed by a Palo Alto policeman. Who is responsible for violence in the ghetto? the Panthers ask.

D. Basic ideas: There are three basic beliefs that underlie black Panther Party programs and organizing. Briefly stated, they are:

1) Black people in this white-controlled society have been and continue to be segregated off from whites, brutalized, and exploited. They are denied full humanity because they are denied control over all important aspects of their lives. They are thus unfree in much the same way colonial subjects are unfree; and the American ghetto can be compared with a colony oppressed by the foreign mother country.

2) This racist subjugation of black people has become so closely bound up in our present economic and political institutions that elimination of such racism can be achieved only with very great changes in these dominant

institutions.

3) Our economic and political systems will probably not yield to such drastic changes without violence.

The influence of Malcolm X's thinking is clear. Frantz Fanon, who wrote about the special psychology of colonized peoples, also influenced Black Panther Party doctrine. These two men are much more the spiritual fathers of the Panthers than Marx, Mao Tse-tung or Lenin.

In the first of these basic beliefs, the emphasis is on exploitation and impossibility of self-determination. The Panthers see that the black population's imposed inferiority produces economic helplessness — the most important feature of which is that blacks are hired last and paid least — and that their economic helplessness makes possible continuing exploitation. Thus, by "self-determination" the Panthers mean more than just pride in blackness or emphasis on cultural heritage. The Panthers carefully distinguish themselves from what they call black cultural nationalists. What the Panthers want is the opportunity for blacks to set the terms by which they will live rather than having them imposed by whites.

But they also recognize that racism is only one way in which people get exploited. And they stress that they have common cause with all oppressed people, here and abroad. Although racism is a kind of exploitation which pervades our society, there is exploitation of whites as well as

believe in revolution by force only in the absence of any possible peaceful alternative. Huey Newton explains it this way:

If a Kennedy or Lindsay or anyone else can give decent housing to all of our people; if they can give full employment to our people with a high standard; if they can give full control to black people to determine the destiny of their community; if they can give fair trials in the court system by turning over the structure to the community; if they can end their exploitation of people throughout the world; if they can do all these things, they will have solved the problems. But I don't believe that under this system, under capitalism, that they will be able to solve these problems.

Many of their present programs show that the Panthers are willing to try peaceful alternatives, to exhaust all their legal remedies. They simply feel that it is very improbable that their will not be violent confrontation.

This identification of the Black Panther Party as revolutionary and the Panthers' insistence on Blacks' right of self-defense (a right this society has always acknowledged where whites are concerned) has led the press to depict Panthers as violent. It is very important to stress that the Panthers do not use violence as an organizing technique and in fact condemn any unnecessary use of violence. They are very much opposed to ghetto riots and have helped quell several. Members have carried guns only where legal and only in order to gain something

sometimes to other agents of the established powers) is often pointed out as evidence of their hatred of whites. But "pig" is not synonymous with "white". The word has tactical significance for blacks who have long suffered humiliation and insult from police. "It is no accident that the Panthers turned 'pig' into a derogatory black synonym for 'cops'; it is a deliberate attempt to let the black community hear blacks addressing whites as whites have always addressed blacks..." (Gene Marine, *The Black Panthers*, p. 43). It is still fair to say that the Panthers remain more pro-human and pro-black than anti-cop.

F. Program and issues: In the black community Panthers still organize around the ten demands that Newton and Seale drew up in 1966. They are demands for rights so basic that it is outrageous that they not only need to be made on behalf of millions of Americans but also are considered revolutionary when made by blacks. The Panthers demand job or guaranteed income, decent housing, education, freedom from conscription, fair trial by their peers for all black prisoners, etc. The tenth demand incorporates in its entirety the Declaration of Independence.

The organizing issue on which Panthers put heavy emphasis is stopping police brutality in the ghetto. They are presently circulating petitions which request community control of police. Their theory is that a policeman who lives in the district he patrols and whose hiring and firing is in the hands of his neighbors will be inclined to deal fairly with his district's citizens.

Although the needs of the black community are the Panthers' chief concerns, their doctrine leads them to support a wide range of causes besides black self-determination. A glance at any issue of the *Black Panther* illustrates this: the paper carries articles about the war in Vietnam, labor disputes, the plight of workers in Japan or Italy, injustices in the army, police brutality, etc.

G. Services: One of the most impressive facts about the Panthers (noted in *The Wall Street Journal*, August 29) is that in the midst of repression they are providing so many genuine, badly needed services to black and other poor people across the country. Besides the petition for control of police, the party's key programs are all services: free hot breakfasts for children, free health clinics, free liberation schools.

The Panthers are now feeding an estimated 40,000 children every morning. In several cities Panthers have recruited doctors and nurses to give some time to treating ghetto residents free of charge, either in clinics, or by house call. The party also has plans to train members to teach nutrition, parasite prevention, and oral hygiene in the ghetto. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Panthers are making an "increasingly effective effort to curb narcotics traffic in the ghetto." Other services include distributing free clothing, calming ghettos when there is threat of riot, and informing people of their legal rights under police questioning or under the welfare law.

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted a black woman on Staten Island — a woman whose children had gotten free breakfasts and medical care — as saying, "The Black Panthers are doing things for us no one else has done. If they can keep it up, a lot of people are going to cooperate with them." Here, then, is an explanation for the Black Panther Party's growth and increasing influence. And here is support for Ronald Steel's argument that, because they defend the people's interests when no one else cares, "the Panthers are actually a force for stability in the ghettos."



blacks; and there is exploitation by blacks as well as whites. Because our capitalist economic system depends on one man's controlling and making money from another's labor, a lot of people in the country have their basic life conditions controlled by people richer and more powerful than they. The Panthers feel that one man's lack of freedom and security makes us all unfree and insecure.

The *Wall Street Journal* of August 29 summed up the Black Panther Party's basic doctrine in this sentence: "The party seeks to forge a coalition of all 'oppressed' people as the basis for an interracial revolutionary movement toward a socialistic form of government in the U.S." The Panthers believe that a socialist organization of the economy — giving the people who actually do the work control over decisions about what is produced and who produces it under what conditions — a form of organized sharing, should correct the grave injustices which characterize our society now. But socialism will not necessarily bring an end to racism, although preservation of the capitalist system will preserve racism. Both kinds of changes must be sought at the same time.

Finally, the Black Panther Party is revolutionary in that they believe sweeping changes in this country's apportionment of wealth and power are necessary. They know that people and institutions resist such evasive changes and that such resistance often leads to violence. As Ronald Steel points out in the *New York Review of Books*, September 11, the Panthers

like bargaining power vis a vis powerful, bigoted police. Although many Panthers have been arrested or tried for violent crimes, none has yet been proved to have used his gun in something other than self-defense.

E. Lack of Racism: It cannot be overemphasized that the Black Panther are not anti-white, not racist. They maintain that exploited races and classes of people have a common cause. Eldridge Cleaver has stressed that suffering is color blind (*N.Y. Times*, July 21, 1969). The *Wall Street Journal* article noted that a growing number of Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Orientals are joining the Black Panther Party; and that party leaders have not dismissed the possibility of admitting whites. The Black Panther Party is now virtually the only Black "militant" group which seeks and works with white allies (witness the alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party that led to Cleaver's presidential candidacy).

The Panthers do not see their willingness to work with whites toward common ends as contradictory to their belief in the need for black self-determination. Only blacks, says Huey Newton, can decide on the proper strategy for the black community; and there can be no black-white unity until there is black unity. The Panthers want the opportunity for blacks to set their own terms; but they also want to cooperate with whites whose goals are compatible with theirs.

Panther use of the word "pig" when referring to police (or

Party

General Repression

A. Government policy and methods: In any society, the people who are responsible for making and enforcing law have, by definition, a natural interest in preventing basic changes in the social-political system of which they are a part. If an individual, organization or minority group seriously challenges the bases of the existing system, those who control and protect the system can use and often misuse—the established legal machinery to quash that challenge.

The Black Panther Party's doctrine and rhetoric call into question some of the principles around which American society is organized (even while their demands are that the country live up to some of its other long-standing ideals). The Black Panther Party is also under tremendous pressure from law enforcement agencies across the country; all the party's leaders are now jailed, exiled, dead or under indictment for major crimes; more party members are shot or arrested every week. The purpose of this section is to present evidence that there is a causal connection between the preceding two sentences—that this country's legal machinery is mobilized against the Panthers BECAUSE of their political beliefs.

It is difficult for many people to make this connection largely because police and courts are traditionally seen as impartial protectors of society's interests. But all this information on repression of the Panthers should be read and presented with the following facts in mind: Rhetorically and organizationally the Black Panther Party's most potent challenge is directed at institutions of law enforcement. Faced with such a challenge, this country's police and courts are no longer (if they ever were) neutral. They are partisans fighting to protect their own interests. (An example: In September 1968, Panthers and their supporters who had come to a New York City court hearing were attacked and beaten by a group of off-duty police wielding night sticks. No on-duty police interfered; none of the attackers was arrested at that time.)

There is ample evidence from various government officials, that the Black Panther Party has been designated as politically offensive (potentially subversive of the established order) and consequently has been subjected to continuous surveillance. The Wall Street Journal on August 29, 1969 reported that the Justice Department has a "Task Force" to "investigate" the party, and "sources say the FBI secretly pays willing Panthers for information on the organization." J. Edgar Hoover himself revealed his agency's focus on the Panthers. Of all the "violence-prone black extremist groups," he said in his 1969 annual report, "the Black Panther Party without question represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

In line with this perception of the Black Panther Party, the federal government is apparently maintaining electronic surveillance of party members. The attorney-general has filed an affidavit to this effect in the Chicago trial of eight activists charged with conspiring to violate the Interstate Riot Act. In that affidavit, Mitchell admits that telephone conversations carried only several of the defendants — among them Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party — were overheard by agents monitoring wiretaps approved by Mitchell's predecessor. The government claims in an accompanying brief, that it is under no compulsion to reveal in court all the instances in which it has used electronic surveillance; that only illegal wiretaps need be revealed; and that the executive may legally order wiretaps without judicial approval any time information "deemed vital to the national security" is needed concerning "domestic organizations which seek to use force and other unlawful means to attack and subvert the existing structure of the government." An organization's advocacy of "unlawful means," contends the government, may be overt or covert. What all this means is that the executive may decide that a group like the Panthers is

"covertly" trying to subvert governmental structures and may then keep that group under constant electronic surveillance while depriving the group of any opportunity to challenge the government's decision.

Special police treatment of the Panthers is not only permitted but encouraged by other government officials. Vice President Agnew described the Panthers as "a completely irresponsible, anarchistic group of criminals." Taking their cue from Washington, federal district courts have also begun to focus extra attention on the Panthers. The New York Times (May 1) reported that a federal grand jury has been constituted in San Francisco specifically to "investigate" the party.

The legislative branch, too, has sought ways to discredit and disable the Black Panther Party. In 1967 a California legislator from Oakland introduced in the state assembly a bill to prohibit carrying of loaded weapons in the cities. This bill, instigated by Oakland police, was directed specifically at the Black Panther Party. This past spring Senator McClellan's Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations directed its attention to the Panthers, calling in as witnesses policemen and informants who used the committee hearings to denounce the party.

B. General harassment: searches and false arrests: Oakland police began to harass known Panthers not long after party members began following police to observe and inform ghetto residents of their rights. Gene Marine reports that police stopped Panthers on every pretext, arrested them in connection with any ghetto crime, held them for the maximum time, and then released them without charge. Pictures of party members were posted in Oakland police stations.

This kind of "routine" harassment is now a fact of daily life for Panthers all over the country. It is hard to document, harder still to stop. The party chairman for Southern California says that a Panther who was recently shot by police had — in his three months as circulation manager for the paper in L.A. — been arrested three times for robbery and twice for murder, always without grounds. The same man had been issued an average of two traffic tickets a week. On July 31, Panther Leo Wilkerson of the Jersey City chapter came to the scene of an arrest and himself arrested for interfering; he was badly beaten on the way to the station. A week earlier a Jersey City Superior Court had responded to Black Panther Party charges that police were threatening party members and interfering with their constitutional rights by issuing an order to show cause why the police should not be enjoined from harassing Panthers (N.Y. Times, July 23 & 24, 1969); an injunction was later refused, however.

In the October 11 issue of the Black Panther Bobby Seale noted that there had been over 250 arrests of Panthers in Los Angeles

during the preceding months. (Two party members were arrested while serving children breakfast; the children were thrown out of the building at gunpoint.) "When we put out thousands of dollars of donated money from the people to bail them out," writes Seale, "the charges are dropped. It's an operation to intimidate and at the same time deplete funds of the party." One such occasion on which police arrested Panthers and were later forced to drop charges was the day of John Huggins' murder. Very shortly after the shooting, police raided the house where Huggins had lived, arresting his wife, who had just been told of her husband's death and who was carrying her three-week-old baby. Ericka and sixteen others were charged with conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon. Janice Culberson, one of those arrested, reported that police ransacked the house and tore down posters. On the way to the station police made comments such as, "I haven't had any target practice, so why don't you run?" (AIM Newsletter, March 1, 1969)

Many Panthers' homes have been invaded by police without search warrants. Police are allowed to make such searches only if they have "probable cause" to believe that a crime has been committed or that evidence will disappear if they wait for a warrant. In 1967 Bay Area police made many such raids on Panther homes without arresting anyone or turning up evidence of a crime. (Gene Marine) On January 16, 1968, at 3:30 a.m. the San Francisco Tac Squad shoved their way into the Cleavers' apartment without warrant and over the Cleavers' protests; they scattered personal belongings, screamed epithets at the men and obscene suggestions at Kathleen, then left. On February 28, 1968, police surrounded Bobby Seale's house after an alleged phone call from a neighbor who claimed to have overheard someone in the house plotting a murder. They arrested four people emerging from the house, then knocked and told Seale that they wanted to inquire about a disturbance in the neighborhood. When Seale opened the door a crack, the police pushed it in, slammed Seale and his wife against the wall, searched the house, and arrested the Seales on gun charges. (A Supreme Court judge later held all the arrests illegal and called the policeman who was responsible a liar.) And on January 19, 1969, San Francisco police — 20 to 25 of them — broke into the home of Panther Cleveland Brooks without a warrant. One shouted, "Don't move, nigger, or I'll blow your brains out." They slugged Brooks, ripped down his posters, and charged him with possession of dynamite and firing a gun within city limits.

Many of the official actions against the Panthers come close to denying party members their First Amendment rights of speech and assembly. The University of California Regents attempted to keep Eldridge Cleaver from lecturing to a class at Berkeley; they eventually withdrew credit from the course (in which Cleaver was only one of seven speakers and the Oakland police chief was another). Police in the Bay Area tore down election posters when Cleaver ran as Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President. (Gene Marine) On April 3, 1968, police with shotguns leveled burst into a party meeting held at an Oakland church; they left when they did not find Cleaver or Bobby Seale, offering neither explanation nor apology. Late this summer three Panthers were arrested at San Francisco's Greyhound station while selling party papers. (Black Panther paper August 30, 1969) As they were leaving, they were tackled by private guards, then arrested by city police for disorderly conduct, blocking traffic, and possession of stolen property (one Panther was carrying a friend's bank book).

C. Raids and confiscations: Raids on Black Panther Party offices across the country have been so numerous that they

deserve special attention. A few hours after Huey Newton's trial ended in conviction for manslaughter, two men in a police car pulled up in front of national party headquarters and shot the building full of holes. Patrolmen Robert Farrell and Richard Williams, when arrested later, were released immediately on \$3,000 bail.

Recently, the raids have been official. After the New Haven murder arrests, police looking for fugitives raided party offices in cities all across the country — in Washington, Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, Indianapolis, Des Moines, Detroit. In nearly every case police smashed or confiscated office equipment, literature, and supplies or money. In San Diego on June 15, police shot their way into the office, claiming that they had thought there was a sniper there. The Chicago Panther office has undergone several such attacks. In June eight people were arrested for harboring a fugitive, although no fugitives were found there. The FBI confiscated literature, a list of donors, and a petition with 15,000 signatures for the release of Illinois Party Chairman Fred Hampton. Police raided the office again in July — when — as they claim — they saw men outside carrying guns. Three unarmed Panthers were arrested; food and medical supplies for the ghetto children were destroyed. On October 4, the office was once again raided and five Panthers beaten and jailed.

There have been more raids on Black Panther Party offices than are listed here; and there is reason to believe that there will be more raids in the future. On September 6 the party paper reprinted a detailed plan of attack on national headquarters — a plan stolen from and drawn up by Berkeley police. The plans called for use of riot tanks and machine guns to subdue occupants of the building. When this document was first printed in a Berkeley underground paper, the police chief did not deny that it had been prepared by his men; he thought it was probably the work of a couple of sergeants who were acting on orders from the captain. Forty other cities, he said, have such contingency plans.

D. Shootings: Several confrontations between Panthers and police have involved shootings. Here, as where searches or arrests or raids are concerned, there have rarely been outside witnesses to the incidents; we can only weigh Panthers' words against policemen's words. None of the violent confrontations between party members and police have been satisfactorily explained.

On October 28, 1967, Huey Newton was wounded in the stomach during an encounter with police that left one patrolman dead. Newton was tried for murder but found guilty of voluntary manslaughter. Evidence that Newton shot Patrolman Frey was scant and unconvincing. The prosecution relied on jumbled, contradictory testimony by police and two witnesses. During the trial the following facts were established with reasonable certainty: The police had stopped Newton and a companion for no apparent reason and arrested him when — by right — he refused to get out of the car. No one testified to seeing a weapon in Newton's hand at any time (although he was apparently carrying a law book, perhaps to show the policeman the law concerning his right to remain in the car); no weapon such as the prosecution claimed Newton had was ever found at the scene. The shooting occurred when Frey was marching Newton to the police car. None of the witnesses could give a clear account of the exchange of gunfire. But the bullets in Frey were from a police gun. This means that even if Newton had had a gun and had opened fire on Frey he would have missed at a very close distance; and then, wounded in the stomach by Frey's return fire, Newton would have had to grab Frey's gun and fire seven times!

(It is worth noting the treatment that Newton received at the

hospital. Although he was calling out in pain, the nurse refused to treat him for 25 minutes. When the police arrived, they handcuffed him, hands over his head, to the table; the doctor did not protest this cruelty. During his convalescence, Newton's family had to hire round-the-clock private nurses to stop the police guard's practice of kicking Newton's bed to cause him pain.)

The reasons for the shootout in which Eldridge Cleaver was involved also remain a mystery. It is clear, however, that in flushing Cleaver and Bobby Hutton out of a basement where they had taken cover police used methods that would have been unimaginable had the trapped men not been Panthers and the neighborhood not a ghetto. One woman's house was completely destroyed by the police barrage. When Bobby Hutton, unarmed and completely blinded by tear gas, emerged from the basement, he was shot to death by police who claimed he tried to escape. (Gene Marine)

There were no witnesses to an October 18 shooting in Los Angeles. Panther Walter Pope was killed. Police claim they were ambushed by two men; Panther leaders say that police had told Pope, "We're going to get you." (Guardian, November 1, 1969) In Kansas City recently the Deputy Chairman of the Black Panther Party in Missouri was wounded by an unidentified gunman two days before he was to testify before the McClellan committee that the Kansas City police chief had approved an allotment of guns to General Carl Turner (retired) and to the Minutemen. The list of such incidents is long and growing.

This list of ways in which the Black Panther Party is repressed is far from exhaustive. Included above are some of the best documented of most persuasive examples. Ronald Steel's article contains a good (but outdated) tally of the effect of such use of the legal machinery against the Panthers.

5. Repression through the courts. The courts are a resource the established order used quite often to suppress radical political groups and militant unions which seek to challenge that order. The state hopes for convictions which will silence the movement, but knows that at the very least the mere bringing of charges will tie-up leaders, hinder their organizational and political activities, and put a heavy strain financially on the group concerned. In addition prospective radicals will be intimidated from joining such a group.

A. Once the means of the courts is chosen, the repression can take one of two forms, or a combination of the two. The first form is to charge those on trial with important, substantive crimes like murder or robbery and to promote and "use public hysteria to create an atmosphere highly prejudicial to defendants, or in other words to railroad a conviction. Such were those of the Haymarket Square defendants, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzet Mooney and Billings and the Rosenbergs.

A description of the Mooney-Billings case is typical of this genre: "The case developing out of class social tensions...was forged through the abuse of fair procedure by local law enforcement officials." (The Mooney case, Richard Frost, p. 489) The two men, both active in radical union politics were accused of bombing a San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade in 1916. The Parade was meant to encourage the U.S. to enter World War I. Both men were convicted and both were almost certainly innocent. The prosecution suppressed facts, manufactured evidence and suborned perjury. In his closing speech the prosecutor accused the defendants of glorying in the murder of babes and grinning like hyenas on the witness stand. He ordered the jury to do its duty as patriotic Americans by voting to hang the defendants. The hysteria in the city was such that the prosecution was able to get away

(Continued on Page 3)


Conscientious Objector Form

REGISTRANT'S CERTIFICATE

INSTRUCTIONS.—Every registrant claiming to be a conscientious objector shall make this certificate.

NOTICE.—Imprisonment for not more than 5 years or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or both such fine and imprisonment, is provided by law as a penalty for knowingly making or being a party to the making of any false statement or certificate regarding or bearing upon a classification. (Military Selective Service Act of 1967.)

I, _____, certify that I am the registrant named and described in the foregoing statements in this form; that I have read (or have had read to me) the statements made by and about me, and that each and every such statement is true and complete to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief. The statements made by me in the foregoing _____ (are, are not) in my own handwriting.

Registrant sign here 

(Signature or mark of registrant)

(Signature of witness to mark of registrant)

(Date)

(Date)

If another person has assisted the registrant in completing this form, such person shall sign the following statement:

I have assisted the registrant herein named in completing this form.

(Signature of person who has assisted)

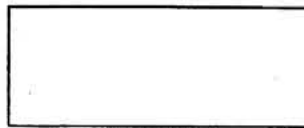
(Occupation of person who has assisted)

(Address of person who has assisted)

(Date)

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM SPECIAL FORM FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Form approved
Budget Bureau No. 23-R0115



(Local Board Stamp)



DATE QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED AT LOCAL BOARD

Date of Mailing: _____

Complete and return within 30 days.

1. Name of Registrant (First) _____ (Middle) _____ (Last) _____	2. Selective Service No. _____
3. Mailing address (Number and street, city, county and State, and ZIP Code) _____	

(The above items, except the date received back at local board, are to be filled in by the local board before the questionnaire is mailed.)

INSTRUCTIONS

A registrant who claims to be a conscientious objector shall offer information in substantiation of his claim on this special form which, when filed, shall become a part of his Classification Questionnaire (SSS Form 100).

Section 6(j) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 provides: "Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. As used in this subsection, the term 'religious training and belief' does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views, or a merely personal moral code. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the Armed Forces under this title, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, in lieu of such induction, be ordered by his local board, subject to such regulations as the President may prescribe, to perform for a period equal to the period prescribed in section 4(b) such civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest as the local board pursuant to Presidential regulations may deem appropriate and any such person who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order from his local board shall be deemed, for the purposes of section 12 of this title, to have knowingly failed or neglected to perform a duty required of him under this title."

Sample Copy

SSS Form 100 (Revised 8-30-68). (Previous Printings Obsolete)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1969-O-318-764

(4)

(1)

Series I—CLAIM FOR EXEMPTION

INSTRUCTIONS.—The registrant should sign his name to either statement A or B in this series. If he cannot sign either one, he must indicate why.

A I am, by reason of my religious training and belief, conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. I, therefore, claim exemption from combatant training and service in the Armed Forces, but am prepared to serve in a noncombatant capacity if called. (Registrants granted this status are classified I-A-O.)

(Signature of registrant)

B I am, by reason of my religious training and belief, conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form and I am further conscientiously opposed to participation in noncombatant training and service in the Armed Forces. I, therefore, claim exemption from both combatant and noncombatant training and service in the Armed Forces, but am prepared to perform civilian alternative service if called. (Registrants granted this status are classified I-O.)

(Signature of registrant)

Series II—RELIGIOUS TRAINING AND BELIEF

INSTRUCTIONS.—If more space is needed use extra sheets of paper.

1. Describe the nature of your belief which is the basis of your claim and state why you consider it to be based on religious training and belief.

.....

2. Explain how, when and from whom or from what source you received the religious training and acquired the religious belief which is the basis of your claim. (Include here, where applicable, such information as religion of parents and other members of family; childhood religious training; religious and general education; experiences at school and college; organizational memberships and affiliations; books and other readings which influenced you; association with clergymen, teachers, advisers or other individuals which affected you; and any other material which will help give the local board the fullest possible picture of how your beliefs developed.)

.....

(2)

3. To what extent does your religious training and belief restrict you from ministering to the sick and injured, either civilian or military, or from serving in the Armed Forces as a noncombatant without weapons?

.....

4. Have you ever given expression publicly or privately, written or oral, to the views herein expressed as the basis for your claim? Give examples.

.....

Series III—REFERENCES

You may provide your local board with any additional evidence from any source that would support your claim of conscientious objection. You may, if you choose, provide in the space below the names of references who could provide the local board with information regarding your religious training and belief. You may wish to suggest that these references, if given, write directly to the local board in support of your claim.

NAME	FULL ADDRESS	OCCUPATION OR POSITION	RELATIONSHIP TO YOU

(3)

Sample Copy