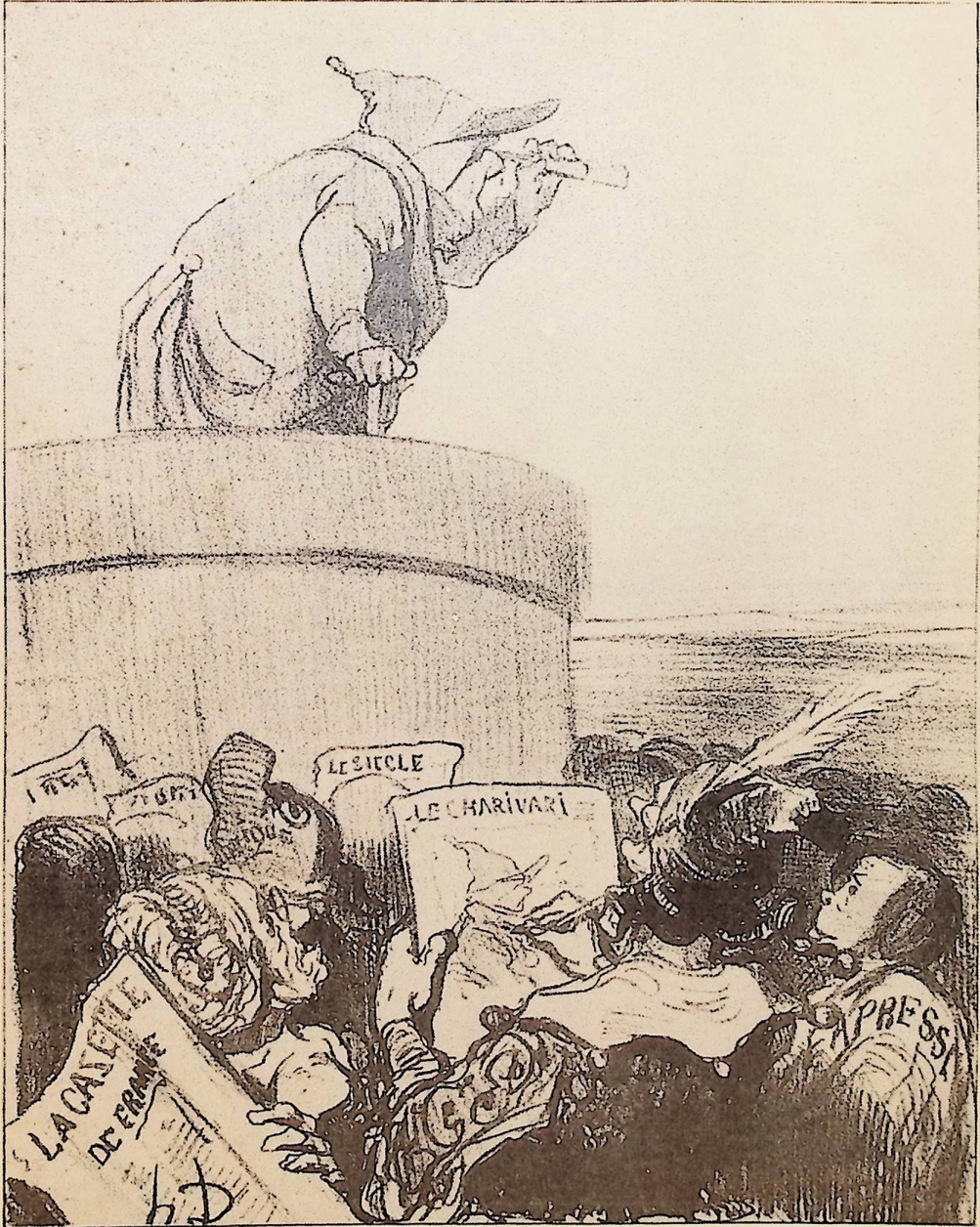


# The Bill of Rights Journal



DAUMIER: Looking into the Political Future

*Published by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee*

*25 East 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. Tel.: (212) MU 3-8120*

**JAMES ARONSON**  
*Editor*

**CORLISS LAMONT**  
*Chairman*

**EDITH TIGER**  
*Director*

**SIDNEY J. GLUCK**  
*Secretary*

**LEONARD B. BOUDIN**  
*General Counsel*

**MARY MOTHERSILL**  
*Vice-Chairwoman*

**JOHN M. PICKERING**  
*Vice-Chairman*

**JOHN H. SCUDDER**  
*Treasurer*

**CLARK FOREMAN**  
*Director Emeritus*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

James Aronson, N.Y.  
Dr. Alan R. Bleich, N.Y.  
Bernard Brightman, N.J.  
Eleanor Brussel, N.Y.  
Ernest Chanes, N.Y.  
Eugene G. Eisner, N.Y.  
Moe Fishman, N.Y.  
Rabbi R. E. Goldberg, Conn.

Ira Gollobin, N.Y.  
Samuel Gruber, Conn.  
David Haber, N.Y.  
Paul Lehmann, N.Y.  
Irving Lerner, N.Y.  
Joseph Miller, Pa.  
Sidney Milwe, Conn.  
Claire Nichtern, N.Y.

Leon Quat, N.Y.  
Victor Rabinowitz, N.Y.  
Harry I. Rand, N.Y.  
Louis L. Redding, Del.  
Esther Rowland, N.Y.  
Robert J. Schwartz, N.Y.  
Nathan Schwerner, N.Y.  
Morton Stavis, N.Y.

### NATIONAL COUNCIL

Arthur Alpert, R.I.  
John Atlee, Pa.  
Robert L. Boehm, N.Y.  
Paul R. Booth, Ill.  
Anne Braden, Ky.  
Robert S. Browne, N.J.  
Jane Buchenholz, N.Y.  
Heywood Burns, N.Y.  
Kenneth Cloke, Cal.  
Aleine Austin Cohen, Md.  
Robert S. Cohen, Mass.  
Lawrence Cole, N.Y.  
Charles W. Collins, N.Y.  
Sylvia Crane, N.Y.  
Joseph H. Crown, N.Y.  
Ossie Davis, N.Y.  
Hon. Hubert T. Delany, N.Y.  
David Dellinger, N.Y.  
Earl B. Dickerson, Ill.  
John M. Dolan, Minn.  
Douglas Dowd, Cal.  
Benjamin Dreyfus, Cal.  
Hester Eisenstein, N.Y.  
Thomas I. Emerson, Conn.  
Al Evyanoff, N.Y.  
Shirley Fingerhood, N.Y.  
Henry Foner, N.Y.  
Moe Foner, N.Y.  
Laurent B. Frantz, Cal.  
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Cal.  
Rev. David Garcia, N.Y.  
Charles R. Garry, Cal.  
Maxwell Geismar, N.Y.  
Louis Gilden, Mo.  
Daniel S. Gillmor, N.Y.  
Allen Ginsberg, N.Y.

Sally Gorton, N.Y.  
Jane Gould, N.Y.  
Richard Grossman, N.Y.  
Charles V. Hamilton, N.Y.  
James Haughton, N.Y.  
Tom Hayden, Cal.  
Rev. George G. Hill, Conn.  
Warren Hinckle, III, Cal.  
Rev. Chester E. Hodgson, N.Y.  
Edna Ruth Johnson, Fla.  
Gloria Joseph, Mass.  
Alicia Kaplow, N.Y.  
Blanche Katz, N.Y.  
Sanford Katz, N.Y.  
Barbara Kay, N.J.  
Hon. Robert W. Kenny, Cal.  
Arthur Kinoy, N.J.  
Paul Krassner, Cal.  
William Kunstler, N.Y.  
Edward H. Lamb, Ohio  
Sandra Levinson, N.Y.  
Herman Liveright, Mass.  
Oliver S. Loud, Ohio  
Jonathan W. Lubell, N.Y.  
Conrad J. Lynn, N.Y.  
Curtis MacDougall, Ill.  
Elizabeth Martinez, N.M.  
Carey McWilliams, N.Y.  
William Meyers, N.Y.  
Broadus Mitchell, N.Y.  
Howard Moore, Jr., Ga.  
W. Edward Morgan, Ariz.  
Phillip Morrison, Mass.  
Stewart Mott, N.Y.  
Jack Newfield, N.Y.  
Harvey O'Connor, R.I.  
Grace Paley, N.Y.

Maurice Paprin, N.Y.  
Sidney M. Peck, Ohio  
Eleanor Jackson Piel, N.Y.  
Lawrence Pinkham, Mass.  
Michael N. Pollet, N.Y.  
David Rein, D.C.  
Dennis J. Roberts, Cal.  
Alex J. Rosenberg, N.Y.  
Tessie Sacher, N.J.  
Marjorie B. Schell, N.Y.  
Diane Schulder, N.Y.  
Donald Shaffer, N.Y.  
Isidore Silver, N.Y.  
Modjeska Simkins, S.C.  
John Simon, N.Y.  
I. Philip Sipser, N.Y.  
Dr. Benjamin Spock, N.Y.  
Michael Standard, N.Y.  
Catherine Stimpson, N.Y.  
I. F. Stone, D.C.  
Paul M. Sweezy, N.Y.  
Stanley Swerdlow, N.Y.  
Moe L. Tandler, N.Y.  
A. Dale Tussing, N.Y.  
Rev. William Van Meter, N.Y.  
Lawrence Velvel, Md.  
Bruce C. Waltzer, La.  
Palmer Weber, N.Y.  
Peter Weiss, N.Y.  
David Wesley, Cal.  
John Wilhelm, Conn.  
Frank Wilkinson, Cal.  
H. H. Wilson, Pa.  
Francis D. Wormuth, Utah  
Jose Yglesias, N.Y.  
Sidney Zion, N.Y.

## INTO DUBIOUS BATTLE WITH CAUSE FOR HOPE

**T**HERE have been three coverups of Watergate: the first, by Nixon, has failed; the second, the burial of evidence by Ford, is failing; the third, by the Establishment is firmly established—the system does indeed work, thank you.

The third coverup is the deliberate obfuscation of the historical roots of Watergate, its continuity with previous trends and policies, its interconnections and exemplifications of our social and economic structure—the system of capitalism and imperialism. The main ploy of this coverup is presenting Watergate as the result of individual aberrations. Even so astute an observer as Mary McCarthy falls into this trap. Speculating that the presidential pardon was given to prevent an insane Nixon from testifying and spilling more information about other individuals (including Ford), she also speculates that such temporary (or permanent) insanity was operative throughout the Watergate events (*New York Review*, October 17, 1974).<sup>1</sup>

That all history is made by individuals is the hoariest of axioms; but what conditions the individuals? Ideas, say the obfuscators. Typical is Henry Fairlie writing on "The Lessons of Watergate" *Encounter* (October 1974) who blames the intellectuals. They fostered the concept of "alienation," the concept that "masses" have come to dominate politics, the concept that mass politics is "authoritarian," the concept that politics can be understood as "who gets what, when and how." Fairlie concludes:

If the faith of the American people

---

CARL MARZANI, author, publisher, organizer and builder, is a veteran of the OSS in World War II. He was perhaps the first Cold War prisoner in the U.S., and now is the last optimist.

in their democracy and its promise has been soured, if their attitude to the public life of the country has become surly and cynical, at least a part of the blame—I am inclined in some respects to say the greater part—must be placed on the American intellectuals, "right" and "left" who in two generations have worked to undermine its intellectual justifications, and have met with little intellectual resistance.

But what is absurd is that Nixon believed it all. He may not have read the books, or have any direct knowledge of their themes. But there he is: the self-consciously alienated man, friendless and separated and lonely, in whom the rejection of community is absolute: regarding "We, the people" only as a mass to be manipulated, never as a public, even less as a number of publics, to be persuaded and led; the most practiced exponent, over many years, knowing no other, of the politics of "Who gets what, when and how." Every miscalculation he has made—the reason why he has not redeemed his reputation in office as he had hoped to do, why he has not written himself (or talked himself by voice-activated tape) into history as a great statesman—may be traced to one or all of these elements. Here profoundly is the source of the immorality. That ideas have tremendous power is again news. But whose ideas are disseminated? Who has the control or the ownership of schools, newspapers, books, magazines, radio and TV? Who but the Establishment, with the result that, as Marx put it, "The ruling ideas of an epoch are ever the ideas of the ruling class."

Here is the heart of the coverup. Commentators and investigators, the Senate hearings and the House Judiciary hear-

ings, Cox, Jaworski, *et al.*—have avoided any mention of class structure. To talk of political events without reference to class is a contradiction in terms—like a vegetarian cutlet. The Founding Fathers would have snorted at such nonsense. Politics was for men of property and both words were operative: women as well as the propertyless and the slaves were disfranchised. The rights of property and of free enterprise, the right to make profits and accumulate capital were riveted in the Constitution through the sacredness of contracts: "No State shall . . . pass any . . . law impairing the obligations of contracts. . . ." Article I, Section 10.

But the Constitution, from its inception, was more than the *magna carta* of the governing class. It also spelled out the rights of the governed, particularly in the first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights—adopted through popular pressure. The conflict between these two sets of rights, those of the property owners—the slaveholders, the robber barons, the great corporations—and those of the propertyless—the overwhelming majority of the

people—is in large part the history of our country and its institutions. Tremendous victories were achieved by the people: the Jackson Era, the Civil War, the New Deal. Yet, as we approach our Bicentennial, it seems as if the people have won the many battles but are about to lose the class war. In this perspective, Watergate looms as a warning and a portent.

For, while the people won their battles—including the extension of the franchise—the ruling class recouped its losses, centralized and strengthened its control of the economy, and learned to adapt and manipulate the political process so as to create the illusion of a classless society, even as it tightened its grip on that society. The illusion was fostered by education and propaganda, but it could not have been effective without a basis in fact.

There was upward mobility in American society, and a constant possibility for the children of immigrants to better their condition. Many blacks could get a few crumbs, and even a few blacks could get a cut of cake; the expanding economy

**YOUR RIGHTS AND HOW TO EXERCISE THEM!** Lawbooks for Nonlawyers

Information guides to your legal rights by the American Civil Liberties Union

- 1.25 **RIGHTS OF MENTAL PATIENTS** — Bruce Ennis and Loren Siegel
- .95 **RIGHTS OF THE POOR** — Sylvia Law
- .95 **RIGHTS OF PRISONERS** — David Rusovsky
- .95 **RIGHTS OF SERVICEMEN** — Robert S. Rivkin
- .95 **RIGHTS OF STUDENTS** — Oliver Rosengarten
- .95 **RIGHTS OF SUSPECTS** — David Rubin
- 1.25 **RIGHTS OF WOMEN** — Susan Deller Ross

In paperback from **AVON BOOKS**

made it possible for a considerable number of people to get a piece of the action.

Alongside the carrot was the stick. The terrorization of the blacks is notorious, and so is the terrorization of the working class in the 19th century to prevent and abort unionization.

Co-option mitigated and reinforced naked force. So did the ancient strategy of divide and rule: women against men, black against white, Jew against gentile, immigrant against native-born . . . the list is long and the permutations endless. Politically, the one-party racist system in the South, and the shrewd manipulation of the checks and balances of the Constitution bolstered the economic power of the ruling class and assured that people's victories, as in the New Deal, would be contained, their organizations subverted and co-opted, or as in the late 1940s, smashed.

By 1950 the American ruling class felt it was in the catbird seat. Its hegemony over the capitalist world was unquestioned: its printing presses rolled out dollars that were accepted as gold; its multinational corporations (a sweet euphemism that one—multinational in exploitation; national—U.S.—in control) were proliferating all over the world; the colonies of the old empires were achieving a political independence that opened the door to American economic influence; the once powerful imperialist nations—France, Britain, Germany, Japan—were now our client states.

At home, the panorama was equally pleasing to the ruling eye. The wealth of the richest nation on earth was in the hands of a relatively few corporations, to a degree and in amounts unparalleled in history. The population was docile or cowed: Harry Truman had taken care of the Communists; Joe McCarthy was taking care of the liberals. The universities and schools, the media, and the government had all been purged. The country was moving steadily to the right as J. Edgar Hoover, the "master blackmailer"<sup>2</sup> put his finishing touches on the Hiss case and the Rosenberg case. A lovely world: what was good for General Motors was good for America, and what was good for America was good for the world.

True, there was the discordant note of the socialist states. But they were weak,

## Our great adventure in freedom under law

# The Law in America

A HISTORY

**Bernard Schwartz**

A prominent legal scholar traces the evolution of American law through every period of our history . . . and "demonstrates valuably that law can do no more than reflect our system and the times—and can hardly be more perfect than our society . . . an indispensable book."

—Publishers Weekly \$12.50

"As the economy becomes more and more shaky, the public begins to explore new possibilities in politics. Increasingly they have come to see that the corporations and their top government allies are at the center of what ails the society, be it the destruction of forests, skyrocketing meat prices, or gas shortages." —Robert Scheer

## AMERICA AFTER NIXON

The Age of the Multinationals

**BY ROBERT SCHEER**

DAVID HALBERSTAM: "An extremely important and original book—looking beyond today's headlines at the real and difficult long-range problems of tempering the American empire."

\$7.95

McGraw-Hill  
Book Company



# Books <sup>F</sup><sub>O</sub><sub>R</sub> Thinkers <sup>A</sup><sub>N<sub>D</sub> Doers</sub>

by CORLISS LAMONT

## **FREEDOM IS AS FREEDOM DOES: CIVIL LIBERTIES TODAY**

Da Capo Press, 227 West 17 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. (1972) \$12.50.  
Third edition, with Foreword by Bertrand Russell and Epilogue by Corliss Lamont.

## **FREEDOM OF CHOICE AFFIRMED**

Horizon Press—156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010. (1967) Cloth, \$5.95.  
Beacon Press—25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02108. (1969) Paperback, \$2.95.

## **THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMANISM**

Fifth edition, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.—250 Park Avenue South,  
New York, N.Y. 1003 (1965) Cloth, \$6.50; Paperback, \$2.95.

## **THE ILLUSION OF IMMORTALITY**

Fourth edition, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.—250 Park Avenue South,  
New York, N.Y. 10003 (1965) Cloth \$6.50; Paperback, \$1.75.

## **A HUMANIST WEDDING SERVICE**

Third edition, Prometheus Books—923 Kensington Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y. 14215  
(1971) \$1.50.

## **A HUMANIST FUNERAL SERVICE**

Third edition, American Humanist Association, 602 Third St., San Francisco,  
Calif. 94107. 50¢.

## **LOVER'S CREDO: Poems of Love**

A. S. Barnes & Co., Cranbury, N.J. 08152 (1972) \$3.95.

## **VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: COLLECTED ESSAYS OF FIFTY YEARS**

Prometheus Books, 923 Kensington Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14215 (1974) \$10.00.

### **—Books edited by Corliss Lamont—**

## **THE TRIAL OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN BY THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**

Horizon Press—156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 (1968) Cloth, \$5.95.  
Monthly Review Press, 62 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011 (1969)  
Paperback, \$2.45.

## **MAN ANSWERS DEATH: AN ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY**

Reprint edition, with Introduction by Louis Untermeyer. Fellowship of Religious  
Humanists, 105 West No. College St., Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387 \$5.00.

*These books may be ordered directly from the publishers by  
enclosing remittance.*

poor, licking the wounds of war. The U.S. was confident that its awesome military and economic power would squeeze and squeeze and possibly fragment them. This was known as the policy of "containment." Socialism was no threat.

Clearly, the 20th century was THE AMERICAN CENTURY. The golden years went on, presided over by President Ike, the benevolent monarch. Protest was silenced, the ultra-right reached for power. Nixon as Vice President was positioned for the Presidency.

In this climate, the future Watergate crew was shaped. Nearly all of the Nixon entourage were in college or high school in the 1950s.

The euphoria lasted ten years. The 1960s began the era of crisis and confrontations, domestic and international. By 1970, the ruling class was beset by problems which seemed so intractable as to raise the question of its ability to govern in the old way.<sup>3</sup> If the problems were forcing drastic changes in popular thought, if the population was no longer docile, if the old political forms no longer

sufficed, then for our rulers, the whole democratic structure and facade was at best a strait-jacket, at worst a trap.

The New Deal reforms were mild and had been contained; coming reforms might be drastic and get out of hand. Perhaps the time had come to move to a more authoritarian system. The tool was at hand: the imperial presidency.<sup>4</sup> Nixon and his crew were not aberrant products of our society; they were in the mainstream of ruling class thought. Their constant refrain is: we didn't do anything that hadn't been done before. This, in a way, is true. They took only a few extra steps on a path well laid out. Watergate is as American as cherry pie.

What made those extra steps so significant? Simply the fact that they were directed against a section of the ruling class, as well as other, previous victims of the system. Suddenly, a section of the Establishment saw what was happening and spoke clearly about the dangers of fascism. Any number of comments can be adduced, but we limit ourselves to a few from the *New York Times*. William Shannon of the Editorial Board wrote:

President Nixon has given the country a kind of slow motion dress rehearsal of how political authoritarianism would begin to consolidate its power. (*New York Times*, 5/1/73).

Two weeks later, a more explicit editorial related Watergate to the Cold War and its techniques:

The Watergate scandals represent the transposition of these [CIA's] dangerous clandestine techniques from the more remote spheres of foreign affairs to this country's own politics. . . . There can be no doubt that CIA-style politics are an unmitigated menace to this country's own democratic institutions (*New York Times*, 5/13/73).

This was an auspicious beginning for a sound historical analysis of Watergate. To hint at neo-fascism and to connect the scandals to the Cold War were crucial steps. Everyone understood this, including the ultra-right which promptly sought to minimize the scandals as a caper ("chicken-thievery," said the egregious William F. Buckley Jr.), or to reduce them to a "series of mad acts" as Kristol did, so he could argue: "Watergate does not signify . . . the danger of a general

OUT OF THE

WHALE

Growing Up in the American Left

An Autobiography By  
JONAH RASKIN

Spanning four decades, here is an inside family story of the old and the new left, by *University Review* editor Jonah Raskin. \$4.95 paper Illustrated with 18 photos

Links Books  
33 West 60th Street, New York, NY 10023

Friends of NECLC can . . .

Subscribe NOW to

**The  
New York Review  
of Books**

and receive a special bonus

*You can subscribe to America's leading literary, cultural, and political journal at the regular price of \$12.50 per year ( 22 issues ) and also receive a free copy of William Appleman Williams' **SOME PRESIDENTS: From Wilson to Nixon.** Eugene Genovese has said about this book that it "demonstrates that combination of conservative sensibility and radical criticism which has helped shape his originality and which must be taken as the starting point for the revision of American history." We will be happy to send you this \$1.95 paperback FREE with your subscription.*

Ms. Margaret Fisher  
The New York Review of Books  
250 West 57 Street, New York 10019  
Please enter my  new or  renewal  
subscription to The New York Review  
for one year. I enclose \$12.50. Send  
me my free copy of William A. Williams'  
**SOME PRESIDENTS.**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Please remember to enclose your check.

drift toward a 'presidential despotism'. . . ."

At this point, shaken in its complacency, and worried as to the extent of the Nixonian apparatus, the *New York Times* and its peers were willing to go to the roots of Watergate. An Op Ed page article by this writer, adumbrating the views here expressed, was accepted for publication in June 1973. Leaks from the Erwin Committee staff indicated that the Senators were going to dig deep, even to expose the role of the corporations.

But something happened on the way to the Senate. As the implications of the Huston surveillance plan and the totality of Watergate sunk in, there was a cooling off. The hearings began with a bang and ended with a whimper—the whimper of the individual culpability of a powermad clique representing no one but themselves.<sup>5</sup> The hearings skirted the issues as much as possible, although they could not avoid making the charge of subversion of the Constitution. But the focus was on getting rid of the "bad guys" and of avoiding an impeachment trial which might show the American people, in color TV, some of the historical roots of Watergate. So General Haig and Fred Buzhardt, Senator Goldwater and Special Prosecutor Jaworski, and Kissinger and others we do not know, chivied and lectured and talked turkey to Nixon to force his resignation. Then Ford stepped center stage to "bind the nation's wounds."

Let the trumpet sound: the system works! Indeed it does. Nixon is gone, but all his major policies remain, implemented by his hand-picked successor. There is no exception, whether in foreign policy (with the retention of Kissinger and his philosophy of intervention)<sup>6</sup>, or in domestic policy (with the stance of helplessness before inflation)<sup>7</sup>, or malign neglect of the blacks<sup>8</sup>, or in the erosion of civil liberties; the FBI is pressing for computerization of the population. And Attorney General Saxbe has been hinting at a national police force.

The Nixon-Ford-Rockefeller policies represent the considered position of the ruling class: abroad, continuing imperialist intervention; at home, increasing exploitation of the population as the burden of inflation and/or depression is placed on its shoulder. We do not have to postu-



late conspiracy for these positions: they are a consensus of the majority of ruling interests.<sup>9</sup> They are also a guarantee of polarization and class confrontations. If a major depression is in the offing, and most economists think it is, the American people, including the unions, will not tamely submit to the suffering that will ensue. The ruling class will have either to submit to drastic reforms, or move to authoritarian rule.

Similarly, in foreign policy, it is Pentagon doctrine that the Vietnam war was lost only because of the weakness of the American people. They flinched; they couldn't take the mounting casualties; they were "irresponsible," in Kissinger's words. If intervention in some country becomes necessary in the near future, it will be necessary to control the American people as well.<sup>10</sup> All the currents to authoritarianism that were present in 1968 are present today. All the various techniques of repression available then are available today, with even greater refinement. And, because of the third coverup, the American people are as ignorant of the dangers ahead as they were before.

If anything, the danger of neo-fascism

is greater today than before the Nixon era. Various political scientists have pointed out that the subversion of democracy implicit in the Watergate scandals represented a kind of "creeping" fascism, of "friendly" fascism, of a fascism "with a smile and in a business suit." Despite the third coverup, the American people have a vague sense of the drift to tyranny represented by Watergate, and it will be more difficult to repeat the attempt in the same way.

Yet, if our analysis of the crisis of the system is correct, authoritarianism remains a necessity for the ruling class and a military coup cannot be excluded. Let us remember that at the height of the Nixon resignation crisis, the Secretary of Defense envisaged the possibility of military action by Nixon and reminded generals that only those Presidential orders were legal which had been channeled through the Secretary of Defense.<sup>11</sup> Already in 1967 a close observer of the Pentagon, a recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting, concluded:

Viewed in its totality, the power centralized in the Office of the Defense Secretary could be used to impose a

# CONSPIRACY

A distinguished panel of writers examines the Harrisburg conspiracy trial in a series of "provocative essays—particularly valuable because they present varying viewpoints about a deeply troubling case."—Arthur S. Miller, The National Law Center, George Washington University

# CONSPIRACY

The implications of the Harrisburg Trial for the Democratic Tradition

# CONSPIRACY

Edited by John C. Raines

## THE TRANSFIGURATION OF POLITICS


*By Paul Lehmann.* Our century's revolutionaries — from Mao Tse-Tung to Che Guevara and Martin Luther King, Jr. — and their revolutions, humanistically interpreted and related to questions of political ethics: freedom and order, justice and law, and violence. \$10.95

## AMERICAN CIVIL RELIGION

*Edited by Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones.* The common faith Americans share outside of their churches, examined from a variety of viewpoints by ten eminent scholars. A Harper Forum Book, RD 15 \$3.95

## RELIGION AND POLITICAL SOCIETY

*By Jürgen Moltmann and others.* Original essays exploring the complexities of religious, social, and political institutions. A Harper Forum Book, RD 87 \$3.95



**Harper & Row**  
10 E. 53rd St., New York 10022  
1817

\$6.95 at bookstores

## *An Invitation . . .*

You are invited to join associates of the NECLC on your choice of one of the following unusual tours to

### NEW PORTUGAL in 1975

I—Portugal and Morocco 20 days	May 4-23	\$975.*
II—Portugal two weeks	July 5-19	\$895.*
III—Portugal and Morocco 20 days	Sept. 7-26	\$975.*

\* Prices subject to change.

This is your kind of tour—a combination of exciting interviews with government and trade union people in which you get a thorough orientation of the New Portugal. An advance representative has made all arrangements, assuring a warm reception. Included is a tour of the interior and some lazy days on the beach. In Morocco, again a combination of warm beaches and inland excursions—Rabat, Agadir, Marrakech, and the Atlas Mountains.

Registration limited—preference given to NECLC supporters. Escorted, 1st class, Double Occupancy with bath, Supplement for Single Accommodations, Breakfast, Dinner, and some Lunches included.

*Write for details:*

ANNIVERSARY TOURS, INC.  
250 W. 57 St., Rm. 1428  
New York, N. Y. 10019  
212-245-7501

ANNIVERSARY TOURS  
1741 Ivar Avenue  
Hollywood, Cal. 90028  
213-465-6141

dictatorship in the nation . . . Unless there are more effective challenges in the future . . . we may have passed the critical point and have already lost the battle against authoritarian government.<sup>12</sup>

Watergate provided an opportunity for the American public to learn of the dangers ahead and a breathing spell to organize to meet those dangers. The opportunity has been dissipated because of the third coverup, but the breathing spell remains. Tremendous struggles are at hand, and great victories can be won if the people as a whole can be mobilized and united. And they can be.

Continuing inflation or the coming depression will force most of the people, including the unions, to fight for their survival. Equally important, ruling class propaganda and brainwashing is no longer as effective as it was a few years ago. The combination of Vietnam, Watergate, the energy crisis, and inflation have shaken public trust in the Establishment, and a radicalization of the public is under way. It can be turned demagogically

into a right-wing party, as with George Wallace. That could be a part of the coming struggles.

We go into dubious battle, but there is no reason to despair.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Mary McCarthy may not be aware of it, but this thesis was first put forth by Nixon's pet intellectual, the ineffable Irving Kristol, who saw Watergate as a series of mad acts: "a wave of collective delusion, suspicion, and paranoia engulfing high White House circles . . ." (*Wall St. Journal*, 5/17/73).

<sup>2</sup> The characterization is by a Hoover intimate, former Assistant Director of the FBI William C. Sullivan. (*New York Post*, 5/15/73).

<sup>3</sup> The nature of those problems is analyzed at length in *The Threat of American Neo-Fascism: A Prudential Inquiry*, by Carl Marzani, American Documentary Films Pamphlet, New York, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> The liberals who bemoan "the imperial presidency" should ask themselves the question: What kind of presidency is more fitting for the leading imperialist country in the world?

<sup>5</sup> The story of the Op Ed article is symbolic. The summer of '73 passed without publication. Upon inquiry, revisions were suggested, made, and accepted. A higher echelon suggested cuts, which were made. In October, the writer was informed that the article would not be published, but a

## Women, revolution, justice, freedom—Morrow puts today's questions and issues in focus.

### ● BETWEEN MYTH AND MORNING

**Women Awakening** • by Elizabeth Janeway  
 "A witty, direct, no nonsense, wise, warm book like a good liqueur after the mixed meals that have been served up to women lately."—MARGARET MEAD  
 "A sane, balanced, brilliant book."—ERICA JONG  
 \$8.95

### ● THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**Politics and Strategy from  
 Apro-Marxism to Guevarism** • by Donald C. Hodges  
 Revolution—whether national, democratic or socialist—studied in depth as the on-going process constituting the mainstream of Latin American development. \$9.95

### ● JUSTICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

**The Way It Really Works** • Edited by Howard Zinn  
 A stunning and disturbing examination of how "justice" really works. Case histories from the streets, courts, prisons, schools, and mental institutions of a typical American city, Boston. \$10.00

### ● WILLIAM PENN

**Apostle of Dissent** • by Hans Fantel  
 "An absorbing account of a life rich in adventure, romance, and heartbreak...the founding of a New World Commonwealth based on the principles of personal freedom and civil liberty—traced to its religious and intellectual sources." \$8.95  
 —PROFESSOR K. R. DOVE,  
 The New School for Social Research



**WILLIAM MORROW**

105 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

check was sent in payment. The check was returned.

<sup>6</sup> One offhand remark by Kissinger illuminates his philosophy: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the *irresponsibility of its people.*" (my italics). The remark was made at a June 27, 1970, meeting of the National Security Council before Allende was elected and while the Council was authorizing an initial \$400,000 for sabotage of his election in Chile.

<sup>7</sup> The biggest attempted brain-washing of the American people since the Truman Doctrine has been the various "summits" on inflation, culminating in the assembly in Washington October 5-6 which President Ford used as a sounding board. It was ballyhooed as participation by the people in economic policy—i.e., they could watch on TV the Establishment economists differing over causes and cures to such an extent that the government seemed helpless. The key question, who pays for the inflation and/or depression, whether the rich or the poor, the corporations or the workers, was studiously avoided.

<sup>8</sup> In the dangerous racial confrontation in Boston, President Ford undermined the mayor by denouncing bussing and then refusing federal troops to the Governor of Massachusetts seeking to control the situation.

<sup>9</sup> Not that conspiracies do not exist, as Nixon's coverup has shown, and as Ford's coverup implies. Further, the writer firmly believes that

some, at least, of the political assassinations of the '60's were group conspiracies rather than individual aberrations.

<sup>10</sup> If there is revolution in some country crucial to U.S. imperialism, in Iran, or Brazil, does anyone doubt that Washington would openly intervene? Or that Americans would resist? What then?

<sup>11</sup> Again, this incident was used to prove the system works. But suppose the Secretary of Defense had been on Nixon's side? The plain fact is that the system works until it no longer works, and when that is clear to everyone, it is too late.

<sup>12</sup> Clark R. Mollenhoff, *The Pentagon*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1967.

In memory

of

PETER HABER

Friends of

Peter Haber

# DOSSIER

## The Secret Files THEY Keep on YOU

by **ARYEH NEIER**, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union

To read this book is to be enraged. A dossier of gossip and information has been compiled on each citizen's sex life, his financial history, his childish pranks in school, his medical records, his arrest records, his political beliefs. This dossier—a two-headed creature of government and business—can keep the helpless citizen from a job, from a promotion, from a bank loan or an insurance policy. It has created, at its worst, an outcast class of untouchables, primarily of minority group males. Neier has marshalled names, places, and dates in this powerful indictment of the FBI Identification Division, the Medical Information Bureau, credit bureaus, the Selective Service, the Veterans Administration, schools, the courts, and the police. Neier's book is a blow for freedom and for privacy; it exposes the danger; it proposes remedies.

*Aryeh Neier received the 1974 American Bar Association Gavel Award, given for his distinguished contribution to public understanding of the American system of law and justice.*

To Order clip and mail to

STEIN AND DAY / PUBLISHERS  
Dept. BR 175  
Scarborough House, Briarcliff Manor, N. Y. 10510

My check or money order is enclosed for \_\_\_\_\_ copies of DOSSIER @ \$7.95. Rush to:

name .....

street .....

city ..... state ..... zip .....

(Publisher pays all postage and handling charges.)  
N. Y. State residents add applicable sales tax.

PAUL BOOTH

## WHAT THE 1960s MEAN IN THE 1970s

WE HAVE all adopted a theory for our own lives, we have decided that we are not powerless, that the future is subject to our influence, that the forces that dominate our social lives can be moved. We should have a theory of history that fits with this—an understanding both that great forces shape history—great economic and political forces—and that men and women by their intervention do so, too. It is never a waste of time to look at history to get a better grasp of how things came to be the way they are; this helps us learn to predict, to know the weaknesses of the system, to build strategy to bring the future under control. It is particularly useful to do that today because the crises that have shaken our country—the racial crisis, the urban crisis, the Vietnam crisis, the meat crisis, the Watergate crisis, the energy crisis—are the prelude to a new era we are now entering. So I am going to describe a little recent history and also outline the nature of that new era and indicate how we can seize the new political opportunities that are opening up.

I was one of the founders of SDS and participated in the creation and organization of the movements that opened up the country to political change. These were known as the New Left, so let me say a word about left, right and center. By the Center, I refer to the Establishment, the main corporate and banking interests. Right and Left, I use as ideological terms: Right indicating those in defense of property interests and seeing movements for change as their enemies; the Left being those movements, those

---

PAUL BOOTH, an activist and theoretician in the New Left movement of the '60s, is affiliated with the Midwest Academy, which trains people for mass organizational work.

---

people who place human needs above property rights. The Left sometimes defines itself as a party but the term applies much more broadly. Our fate is that of the Left.

To talk about what happened in the Sixties and what will happen in the Seventies, we have to pause a bit to talk about the politics of the Fifties.

This era began, in the most important sense, in 1949, the year of the victory of the Chinese Revolution, when one-quarter of mankind chose the path of socialism. History may well record that as one of the most important events of the Twentieth Century—at any rate, it had its effects in the United States, effects that we recall principally because of the recriminations against the Truman Administration for having “lost China”. We associate those recriminations with Senators Joe McCarthy and Dick Nixon.

Let us note carefully that the loss of a great colonial war always results in the defeat of the incumbent party in the metropolitan country and in many cases in a defeat for the political system. Thus, defeat in Algeria led to the fall of the French Fourth Republic and the rise of authoritarian Gaullism. The defeat in Africa has led to the fall of the fascist regime in Portugal. The defeat in China led to the ouster of Truman and to a sharp shift rightward in American politics, although the political system itself did not fall. And the defeat in Vietnam led to a change in our political system although we are still, after six years, consumed in a struggle, now called Watergate, over how the country is going to pay the price for Vietnam.

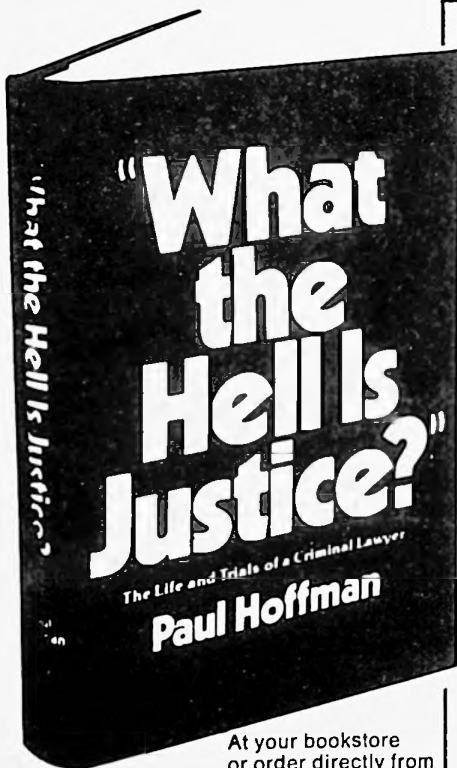
The United States emerged from World War II as the most powerful nation the world has ever known, armed as sole

owner of the Atomic Bomb and having made far less sacrifice to win the war than any of its allies, on whose own ground the war had been waged. Our business class consolidated its gains throughout the world. The Cold War was an all-encompassing national philosophy by 1950. Government was safely in the hands of the political center, a consensus bipartisan foreign policy, whose budgets reflected the defense priority to the exclusion of all else. The result was, as Galbraith put it, private affluence and public squalor. A huge catalog of unmet social priorities was put aside; they had no constituency to fight for them with the Left driven underground and the Center in command.

The Cold War had begun at home, with a tremendous attack on the labor movement and the left within it, beginning after the strike waves of 1946 and 1947. The militants were purged from the plants, the unions were split and left easy prey for the witch hunters. Do not search history for some great flaw in the left that explains why it was crushed at the hands of McCarthyism; there is a simple reason:

the American Left was no match for the strongest and most self-confident ruling class the world had ever known.

But the world dominance of the U.S. was not complete. The achievements of the Soviet Union, in creating a Hydrogen Bomb and Sputnik, were a source of disturbance. Likewise, the steps toward independence of nations in the Third World undermined our power. In 1959, Castro won power in Cuba, 90 miles from the U.S. In May 1960, students at the University of California massed at the Federal Courthouse in San Francisco to repudiate the House Un-American Activities Committee. Starting in February of that year, hundreds of Negro students in the south sat down at segregated lunch counters, imitating the nonviolent resistance of Martin Luther King's bus boycott. A few thousand students began to force open questions that had, for all intents and purposes, been settled during the Fifties. The objective conditions in the world which led to this were that the arms race had become irrational in its own terms, threatening the whole world



\$8.95

At your bookstore  
or order directly from  
Playboy Press  
747 3rd Ave.  
N.Y., N.Y. 10017

Jack Evseroff is a criminal lawyer.

He is not a superstar lawyer who handles only the rich and famous. And unlike Perry Mason, he doesn't win every case.

Evseroff, a member of the bar in Brooklyn, is the kind of lawyer who is in the courts every day, handling everything from misdemeanors to murder. He has represented both the scum of the streets and the overlords of the underworld. He has tried both grisly homicides and "clean" white-collar crimes. He has defended both cop-killers and killer-cops.

Occasionally, his cases get noticed by the newspapers — such as his successful defense of Thomas Shea, a New York City policeman on trial for shooting a ten-year-old to death.

Jack Evseroff opened the files of his most interesting cases to journalist Paul Hoffman. And he talked candidly about his public trials, his private tribulations, and the wheeling and dealing that takes place behind the scenes.

If you've ever wondered about the system of criminal justice in America, you should read this book and see how it actually operates.

IN MEMORY OF BENJAMIN STEINBERG  
1915-1974  
FOUNDER AND FORMER MUSIC DIRECTOR  
of  
THE SYMPHONY OF THE NEW WORLD  
and  
CONCERNED HUMAN BEING

Gloria Agostini  
Mr. & Mrs. Abba Bogin  
Eddie & Reggie Boorstein  
Leonard B. Boudin  
Lois W. Brunjes  
Dr. Val Burtan  
Ruth and Herman Charney  
Augusta Cherry  
Clarissa & Marion Cumbo  
Ray Free  
Harry Glickman  
Sidney J. Gluck  
Mr. & Mrs. Ben Golden  
Lem Harris  
Edward T. Keehan

Thomas J. Knott  
Sadie L. Lucom  
(formerly Cummings)  
John and Bedaar McCann  
Rev. and Mrs. Wm. H. Melish  
Jack Messing  
William Meyers  
Sidney Schwartz  
Harvey Shapiro  
Joseph Siegelman  
William L. Standard  
Edith Tiger  
Sidney Vogel, M.D.  
Maida & Bernard Weller  
Mr. and Mrs. Igor Youskevitch

with nuclear holocaust and providing less, not more, national security. We were liberal youth, students who saw the contradiction between our country's democratic rhetoric and the reality around us.

It is worth dwelling for a moment on the politics of how the student movement grew—how it was organized. The main instrumentality was a pre-existing mass organization into which those of us with an exciting program were able to breathe life and meaning. The organization was the U. S. National Student Association which had been founded and controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency to provide cover for clandestine and covert operations in foreign student movements. Its basic units were campus student governments. The campus activists who controlled student governments and newspapers at a number of fringe liberal arts colleges like Swarthmore, Oberlin, U. of Chicago, and public campuses in New York, Michigan and California, came as delegates to the NSA conventions to lobby for support for civil liberties, civil rights and peace. We almost spontan-

eously formed into a liberal caucus, and developed networks of contacts.

None of the groups had any natural basis for leading the others; at least five campus groups began to organize affiliates linked to them at other schools. The one which emerged as the hegemonic leading force was very simply the one which had access to a budget; it was the group at the University of Michigan which had inherited control of a paper organization called Students for a Democratic Society and was supported to the tune of \$25,000 a year by the needle trades union in New York. With that money Al Haber and Tom Hayden were hired; Hayden travelled in the South to build contacts with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; and they convened a conference that wrote the Port Huron Statement, our manifesto. Then we hired Steve Max to be the field organizer, and by dint of persistence and resources the other fledgling groups joined in.

Ideologically, the group did not start out as anti-imperialist, anti-American or anything of the sort, but it rejected anti-

The very purpose of the First Amendment is to foreclose public authority from assuming a guardianship of the public mind through regulating the press, speech and religion. In this field every person must be his own watchman for truth, because the forefathers did not trust any government to separate the true from the false for us.

JUSTICE ROBERT JACKSON, 1945

Consolidated Water Conditioning  
Corp.

213 East 27th Street  
New York, New York 10016

Ernest Chanes, President

AVAILABLE NOW

Beautiful Posters

by

ALEXANDER CALDER

for information, write:

NECLC-CALDER POSTER

25 East 26th St.

New York, N.Y. 10010

or call:

(212) 683-8120

A limited supply,

so order at once



communism as a suitable basis for politics. The most insightful of our trade-union related sponsors immediately perceived that we were opening an ideological Pandora's Box; without anti-communism to guide us we would inevitably move left. So as soon as they read the Port Huron Statement, they locked the office, evicted our staff and seized the mailing list. For two months in the summer of 1962 SDS battled for organizational survival (staff slept with the mailing list under the sheets, etc.), and, by virtue of the failure of these union people to find any other youth to replace us, we ended up winning the battle.

For two years SDS was an ideological organization, recruiting basically out of NSA, and tailing on to the growing social movements, particularly the civil rights and ban-the-bomb movements. These movements, not SDS, were in direct conflict with the Center politics of the government, which had continued without much change into the Kennedy Administration.

Both the civil rights and student movements were influenced by three fragmentary strands of the old Left that had survived the Fifties. The first of these to give evidence of itself was a radical-pacifist grouping in and around the organization CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and the magazine *Liberation*. Including people like Staughton Lynd, Bayard Rustin, Dave Dellinger, Paul Goodman, this group espoused exemplary direct action. Rustin was Martin Luther King's tactician during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and organized the Youth Marches for Integrated Schools in 1959 and 1960. CORE organized the Freedom Rides on the heels of the southern student sit-ins in 1960. Out of the same group came the impetus for the ban-the-bomb movement at the beginning of the Sixties. This group saw exemplary action as an incorruptible substitute for mass organization.

Next in influence was a tendency in the universities including C. Wright Mills and William Appleman Williams who had kept alive a tradition of radical scholarship and towards which the leaders of SDS turned for explanations of the nature of the society. Although not orthodox Marxists, they convinced the student leaders that ideology and a radical world-

view were indispensable tools. A number of journals were created to carry forward that work, including *Studies on the Left*, *New University Thought* and *Root and Branch*, and the same impetus was behind the writing of the Port Huron manifesto.

Weakest was the tendency avowing the importance of mass organization, descended basically from the communist and trotskyst movements. The lack of a more complete relationship to the experience of our predecessors turned out to be a vital disadvantage.

In October 1962 Kennedy faced off Khrushchev over the Cuban missiles. At some risk, the country's pre-eminence in world affairs had been reasserted, resetting the power relationship in our favor. But Kennedy was not allowed to press his advantage because of domestic discontents. For his first two years in office he did nothing to aid the civil rights movement, forcing King and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to battle for the attention of the country. I remember quite distinctly that it was the direct action battle in Birmingham,

*"...beautiful and stirring collection of sculpture. The book is exquisite too..."*

Ossie Davis  
and Ruby Dee

*"It's wonderful work... and your words are as fine as your sculpture, paintings and graphics—which is saying a lot."*

-Prof. George Wald



## COLLECTED WORKS OF LEE MACH

*"There seems to be little in our contemporary lives, from the horror of Vietnam to the tenderness between people, which you have not perceived and carved with great power and beauty."* -Charlotte and Carl Marzani

**MATV** PUBLISHERS

Box 416 Larchmont, N.Y. 10538

116 pp. 9½ x 12½ \$15.00

**WE JOIN YOU**

**IN HONORING**

**JANE FONDA**

*and*

**TOM HAYDEN**

**BERTHE and CHARLES SMALL**  
Mexico City

in the spring of 1963, that won the first major victory. The breakthrough there was the concession by the Kennedys that they would reverse their priorities from Berlin and Cuba to the U. S. A. Between the missile crisis and Birmingham the newspapers had been dominated by calls from the Right for an invasion of Cuba; almost immediately, the mass arrests and demonstrations forced the Cold War off the front pages. The Kennedys were forced to introduce a civil rights bill, later drastically broadened after 250,000 people marched on Washington on August 28th. But this was the kind of progress that whetted the appetite of the movement.

Birmingham was also significant as the first mass direct action, involving the churches and the mainstream as well as students. The same deepening was occurring simultaneously in the school boycott movements up north.

It was at this point that SDS determined that it would become a mass organization. The deepening of the civil rights struggle had begun to open up the

long closed class questions, economic issues summarized in the saying that it made no sense to struggle for the right to sit down and order a hamburger if you couldn't afford one. We expected that the country would enter another recession (as it had three times under Eisenhower), exacerbating the economic questions. We were aware that 15 years of military priority had weakened the dollar and deprived the peace-time economy of scientific talent. And we feared the polarization that would result from sole focus of the civil rights struggle on symbolic racial issues. So we proposed an organizing drive aimed at building an interracial movement of the poor, utilizing the tactics of the civil rights movement, the organizational forms being developed by models like The Woodlawn Organization (Chicago) and the unemployed leagues of the 30's (about which we admittedly knew little), and fighting for full employment. This struggle could mobilize, we felt, the same constellation of support that the civil rights movement had demonstrated in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963.

Congratulations to Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, their progeny present and future, familial and political, as recipients of the award for their work in the constantly ongoing struggle to defend, preserve and expand the Bill of Rights, and particularly the Right of Privacy featured by this year's N.E.C.L.C. Bill of Rights Journal.

David Mandel

Jack Wysoker

Harold A. Sherman

Bertram J. Glassner

Murray Weingartner

Marvin Feingold

And, most significant, it would increase the confrontation between domestic priorities and the military priority—it would pose the weight of unmet domestic needs against the defense budget. It would be domestic pressure for detente. But our scheme hadn't gotten very far, although we launched ten organizing projects in 1964, because the recession didn't happen.

American politics in a recession is radically different from politics in a boom, and our organizers, deprived of the political issue to unite their efforts, fell into parochial community organizing styles, building groups that didn't want to coalesce with other groups. (Community organizing, I might add, is inevitably parochial unless guided by a broader rationale.) A similar tension appeared in SNCC (whose development seems to have paralleled that of SDS quite closely) in a split between a more political tendency and a tendency that was engaged in a flight from politics. In the summer of 1964 the first period of New Left politics came to an end at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

was denied seating at the Democratic Convention. Johnson ordered Humphrey and the rest of the liberals to say no (as the price of making Humphrey Vice-President) and the compromised nature of liberalism was made fully apparent.

Civil rights activity had swelled in the North after 1963, infected by the successes in the South. The Southern civil rights movement had been presented with a wealth of basically symbolic targets (much like the experience during the first years of the women's movement), victories over which provided much of the stimulus to its growth. The targets of the northern movement were entirely of a more substantive kind, posing questions more of shares of the economic and social pie than of legal rights. Coming up against more deeply ingrained institutional barriers, the northern movement's history was a history of frustration. Rapidly rising social expectations in the northern ghettos were not met with measurable advances, leading directly to the racial eruptions in the big city ghettos.

In 1965 the student movement became a mass movement, involving the majority of students at increasing numbers of campuses. SDS was the organizational expression of a mass movement. Let me now illustrate some of the reasons for its downfall before I elaborate on its greatest successes.

In the first place, any social movement residing in one sector of the population is vulnerable to isolation. But SDS faced an impossible situation—its most likely allies were absent because of the devastatingly successful anti-communist crusade of the early fifties. Every significant social force had been enlisted in the Cold War culture, its radical elements purged. So SDS was prone periodically to romantic efforts to build what we call an adult Left from scratch—the economic organizing drive of 1964 being the first of several such efforts. Without a relationship to the Old Left we were therefore adrift.

Secondly, we were prone to anarchistic tendencies. Beginning in 1964 there emerged a tendency which became dominant through the Left by 1967 (and whose dominance continues to the present day) to oppose institutionalized leadership, to oppose structured organizations, to favor

*Compliments of Arthur Lerner*

**CARDINAL EXPORT  
CORPORATION**

135 West 29th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10001

*In Memory*

*of*

**MANUEL DIAZ**

**—Jo and Bob Schwartz**

spontaneity, to oppose discipline, all under the false name of participatory democracy.

The third problem emerged in the course of the struggle against the war in Vietnam, which SDS launched in February 1965 on the heels of LBJ's escalation.

The Pentagon Papers show that the antiwar movement was a constant and growing problem for President Johnson, one that was influential at every stage. But after March 1965, the masses involved in it couldn't tell that they were having this impact on the government. During the teach-ins, which were a series of all-night debates held in packed auditoriums, the government had willingly sent out its spokesmen to debate us; but we put them so soundly to rout that they determined to avoid all confrontation, at all costs.

A social movement needs targets and confrontations so that its participants learn and grow in struggle. But LBJ appeared above the fray. So that antiwar movement was riven with endless debates

(should we wear coats and ties? should we fly the NLF flag? should we enter Democratic primaries? etc.) which were unresolvable. LBJ simply didn't take us on. He didn't attempt to co-opt or repress. Inside the White House every new sign of our power was reflected in compromises and confusion. And our power, objectively, was growing, as we marched through the institutions of civil society, splitting the liberal forces into pro-war and anti-war camps. First the universities, then the churches, then the media and the professions, then the Democratic politicians, then labor. By late 1967 liberalism was in total disarray. But we could not count any victories and our people couldn't develop any sophistication. Likewise we couldn't use victories as glue for building mass organization. Every effort to create an organizational form for the mass movement fell apart, partly because the instigators never really perceived that the war would go on for years and years (we didn't come to an understanding of that until we started to meet directly with the NLF leaders at the end of the Sixties).

## TRANSWORLD ART CORP.

PUBLISHERS OF

## ORIGINAL GRAPHICS

600-5th Avenue  
N.Y.C. 10020

757-2700

But mostly because there was no organizational glue.

In 1967 an opportunity to create a Third Party behind the banner of Dr. King and Dr. Spock fell apart at the New Politics Convention in Chicago. By this time SDS had taken a distinctly sectarian turn, repudiating its mission as a mass student organization, and beginning to shrink in actual numbers as its leaders hunted for a brand of purist politics to fit their radical mood. After the French general strike in 1968, part of the SDS leadership—known as RYM II—oriented itself toward the possibility of a revolutionary American working class. The unorganized peace movement followed whatever leadership popped up at any moment over the next five years, first Eugene McCarthy, then National Mobilization Committee to End the War, up through the Chicago Democratic Convention, etc. etc.

The ability of the new left to swarm through liberalism was based partly on the linking of Vietnam to other concerns. Everyone who had begun to get excited

about the possibilities of progress in the early Sixties quickly saw that the Vietnam escalation was cutting that off. The churches, to take one example, were completely disoriented by this turn of events. Saul Alinsky's major achievement was his Sherman's March through the Protestant churches, forcing one after another to reorient their priorities to the needs of grass roots organizations. He understood, as did SNCC at Atlantic City, Chavez and others, that the whole possibility for change rested on the momentum that begins with the grass-roots insurgencies, and the strength of their organizations is of utmost priority. Thus they all demanded that liberals adapt to their timetables and agendas. When labor and liberals first asked Chavez to let them help him, he said no—I'm not ready, go away. This just perplexed them even more, although we all can understand the reason very well.

The self-destruction of SDS has been explained. But why did the black movement never even create a mass organization? I have no convincing explanation but I believe it is of the highest priority

Coming in January—

## THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

by Alvin Goldstein; Introduction by Nat Hentoff



A moving, vivid summary, in words and photos, of the trial and execution of the Rosenbergs, based on the documentary telecast widely shown on Public TV.

Paper—\$3.95

Cloth \$6.95

Write now for special prices on bulk orders; free catalogue.

LAWRENCE HILL & CO. 150 5th Ave, N.Y. 10010. Dept. CL

to get an answer.

Through 1968, heady social expectations were still the main motive force in American politics. A majority continued to believe that public ends could be met by political action. Huge participation could be evoked from minority communities by the candidacy of Bobby Kennedy. The same was true among the professional middle class for McCarthy's campaign. With the deaths of King and Bobby, this momentum, in the black community, was cut short. And with the election of Nixon, combined with an absence of a political national organization of the black movement, there began a revolution of *falling* expectations, somewhat disguised by the militant rhetoric and adventurous deeds of some small groupings. This political decompression in the ghetto was joined by decompression on the campuses after Kent State, 1970, similarly disguised for a time by the Weathermen and their ilk. The precipitous declines in political initiative in both cases were reflections of the absence of mass organization, of exhaustion of a set of social forces.

It was at the 1968 Democratic Convention that the combined potential of the black and antiwar movements showed itself. Those two forces fused inside the Convention Hall, functioning as a bloc in the credentials fights, in the antiwar debates, and in the proposal for a Commission on Delegate Selection. Outside, on the streets, they did not join, partly due to the lack of a plan to do that on the part of the antiwar Mobilization Committee, and in the last analysis due to the physical force of the police and National Guard blocking the progress of the marchers on South Michigan Avenue. The Walker report on the police riot described

the city's tactics as unwarranted and excessive force, but we can easily see how Daley felt that if the antiwar marchers had gotten to the housing projects on the Near South Side they would have been joined by an uncontrollable mass of black protesters. I emphasize the importance of that week in 1968 because it illuminates the strategic possibilities for joint action by essentially separate protest movements, and it illuminates the major purpose behind the use of repression, to keep separate movements separated.

The New Left played a major role in humbling the military-industrial machine of the United States. I think you can call that a world-historical event; certainly much of what we can expect from the Seventies begins with the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. The great battle between Nixon and the Democrats in Congress was most clearly about who was to be relegated to history's waste can because of the war. The struggle inside the Democratic Party that flared in 1972 and is continuing, although it is masked as a struggle over party rules, is really a continuation of the fight over the war. The struggle between Nixon and his enemies list, the vendetta against Ellsberg, is also about the war.

Let us examine both the state of American politics and economics. First politics. We have been discussing the state of the Left, how its mass base vastly increased in the Sixties to the point where it could bring politics to a standstill for that long week in May 1970 after Kent State and the Cambodian Invasion, and to the point where it could seize temporary control of the Democratic Party in 1972, only to be overwhelmed at the polls. How about the Right and the Center?



"...explosive and important!"

STUDS TERKEL (Author of HARD TIMES) "

"We are dealing here with an unusual union, a fact not unrelated to the book's significance."

THE NATION

"THEM AND US"

by

UE General Secretary JAMES J. MATLES and Journalist JAMES HIGGINS

Prentice-Hall Inc.

Paperback \$2.95

UE Book Department, 11 East 51st Street New York, N.Y. 10022

**SARCON CONSTRUCTION  
CORPORATION**

**FOREST HILLS, NEW YORK**



*A salute*  
to  
**LEONARD B. BOUDIN**  
General Counsel

**LEX PRINTING COMPANY, INC.**

*Law and Financial Printers*

421 Hudson Street  
New York, N. Y.  
(212) 691-2300



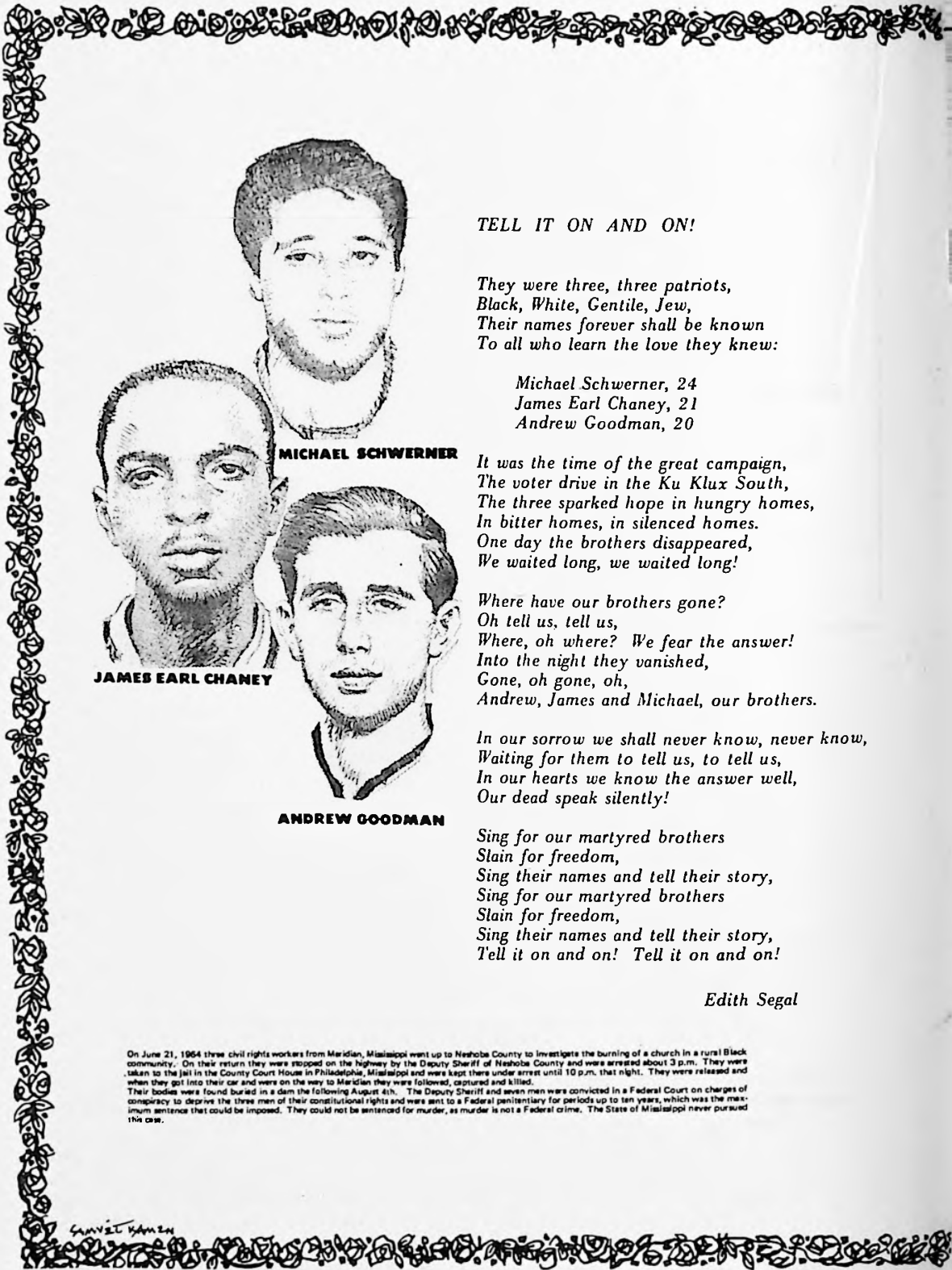
FINE FOODS AND SPIRITOUS LIQUORS  
1469 THIRD AVENUE, CORNER OF 83rd STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028  
UN 1-6110

•  
*Ralph G. Martell*

While the Left was making mincemeat of liberalism in the Sixties, the Right was making great headway, first winning power in the Republican Party in 1964 and then the Presidency in 1968. For his first two years, Nixon's Presidency was on the defensive, reaching its lowest moment in May 1970. Picture the demoralization of Big Business at that moment. Because of the war, they saw a whole generation of youth had gone wild. Although the cities were no longer torn up by racial rioting, their peace was most uneasy. The power of the United States in the world, that seemed so secure after the Cuban Missile crisis, now seemed so vulnerable, defeated at the hands of black-pajamaed guerrillas in Asia. The morale of the armed services was at an all-time low, reducing its fighting capability.

Nixon's rivals, within the ruling elites, the group led by Clark Clifford and Averell Harriman, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, and Harvard, had practically set up a rival regime, demanding and trying to dictate foreign policy. Clifford had every reason to be confident that his man Edmund Muskie could be elected President in '72. Peace could be achieved with the Vietnamese, unblocking the channels to detente with the socialist world and lucrative trade expansion. Even in the area of labor-management relations, one arena relatively under control during the Sixties, the Big Business community was dismayed at their lack of control with a general wage offensive spurred by long and costly strikes in construction, auto, rubber and electrical machinery. So in the dark days of May, Nixon fashioned a three-part strategy to forge an invulnerable Right-Center coalition that would become the decisive political force.

He launched the famous Kissinger diplomacy and the Connally economics. He proved that detente could be had without caving in to the NLF, and thereby removed the material basis for big business support for Muskie. Connally's role was to tell the flabby, confused business class to stand up for its rights and prerogatives, speak up for profits and the right to make them. The problems that couldn't be solved—the need for wage control—would be taken under control by the government. And the government would start



TELL IT ON AND ON!

*They were three, three patriots,  
Black, White, Gentile, Jew,  
Their names forever shall be known  
To all who learn the love they knew:*

*Michael Schwerner, 24  
James Earl Chaney, 21  
Andrew Goodman, 20*

*It was the time of the great campaign,  
The voter drive in the Ku Klux South,  
The three sparked hope in hungry homes,  
In bitter homes, in silenced homes.  
One day the brothers disappeared,  
We waited long, we waited long!*

*Where have our brothers gone?  
Oh tell us, tell us,  
Where, oh where? We fear the answer!  
Into the night they vanished,  
Gone, oh gone, oh,  
Andrew, James and Michael, our brothers.*

*In our sorrow we shall never know, never know,  
Waiting for them to tell us, to tell us,  
In our hearts we know the answer well,  
Our dead speak silently!*

*Sing for our martyred brothers  
Slain for freedom,  
Sing their names and tell their story,  
Sing for our martyred brothers  
Slain for freedom,  
Sing their names and tell their story,  
Tell it on and on! Tell it on and on!*

*Edith Segal*

On June 21, 1964 three civil rights workers from Meridian, Mississippi went up to Neshoba County to investigate the burning of a church in a rural Black community. On their return they were stopped on the highway by the Deputy Sheriff of Neshoba County and were arrested about 3 p.m. They were taken to the jail in the County Court House in Philadelphia, Mississippi and were kept there under arrest until 10 p.m. that night. They were released and when they got into their car and were on the way to Meridian they were followed, captured and killed. Their bodies were found buried in a dam the following August 4th. The Deputy Sheriff and seven men were convicted in a Federal Court on charges of conspiracy to deprive the three men of their constitutional rights and were sent to a Federal penitentiary for periods up to ten years, which was the maximum sentence that could be imposed. They could not be sentenced for murder, as murder is not a Federal crime. The State of Mississippi never pursued this case.

*Samuel Hays*

# TELL IT ON AND ON!

Words and Music by EDITH SEGAL  
Arranged by Al Moss

**Recitative**

C G F Em

They were three, three pa-tri-ots, Black, White, Gen-tile, Jew, Their

C F G7 C Dm

names for-ev-er shall be known to all who learn the love they knew: Mi-chael

G7 C G C C Am G7

Schwer-ner, twen-ty-four, James Earl Chan-ey, twen-ty-one,, An-drew Good-man, twen-

C C7 F Dm C7

ty. It was the time of the great cam-paign, The vot-er drive in the Ku-Klux

F Dm Gm Dm Bbmaj7 Bb7 *rit.*

South. The three sparked hope in hun-gry homes, in bit-ter homes, in si-lenced

C F C7 F Am G7

homes. One day the broth-ers dis-ap-peared, We wait-ed long, we wait-ed long.

**Chorale**

C Em F G7 Dm Em

Where have our broth-ers gone, Oh tell us, tell us, Where, oh where? We

Dm7 G7 C Em F G7

fear the an-swer! In-to the night they van-ished, Gone, oh gone, oh,

C F Em F G C7 F Bb F

An-drew, James and Mi-chael, our broth-ers. In our sor-row we shall nev-er know,

F Bb F C7 F Bb F

nev-er know, Wait-ing for them to tell us, to tell us,

C7 F Bb F Dm G

In our hearts we know the an-swer well, Our dead speak si-lent-ly!

C Em F G7 Dm Em

Sing for our mar-tyred broth-ers slain for free-dom, Sing their names and

Dm7 G7 C Em F Em F Dm-

tell their sto-ry, Sing for our mar-tyred broth-ers slain for free-dom,

C Fm- C Fm- C Eb Db C *Fine*

Sing their names and tell their sto-ry, Tell it on and on!

pushing around the Japanese and European competition, too. The tough economic initiatives were positively titillating to Big Business. Part Three of the Nixon strategy was the small campaign of repression, the Plumbers, etc. Had Nixon known how hugely successful the other two parts would be, he might not have been frightened by Ellsberg into Part Three. He could have put off his repression program until after the '72 election; he didn't and we know what the results have been.

So the Center invested very heavily in Nixon, and they needed to invest in a man of the Right because their problems had become more severe. When Maurice Stans went around to collect their fair share contributions for the campaign treasury, he didn't have to sell the concept, he just had to argue about how much. The support of Business was nearly unanimous, even reaching into businessmen who traditionally back Kennedys, Humphreys, etc.

There are other levels on which the

same forces are reflected. Take the rising social permissive level of incivility. That's a fancy way for describing the ease with which solid American citizens decide to act unconventionally, outside the system, to achieve political goals. The level of social conflict has risen dramatically since the Sixties, and that reflects the increasing weakness of the Center.

It is a great historical inconvenience for our ruling class that America's economic chickens are choosing this moment to come to roost. The very basis of economic transactions, the dollar, has been weakened to a dangerous point, where the unit of money no longer serves as a storehouse of value. This has not happened overnight; as far back as 1963 the United States entered a period of deficit in the balance of payments with the rest of the world. After 40 years in which the rest of the world suffered under a dollar gap, the tide turned. During the Vietnam War, the tendency was exacerbated, as we threw away billions of dollars along with 50,000 young lives. Other capitalist nations became our creditors, and we paid off our

*"there is no progress without struggle"*

Frederick Douglass

## DONALD SHAFFER INSURANCE ASSOCIATES, INC.

All forms of insurance

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

175 REMSEN ST.  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201  
212-834-4713

1615 NORTHERN BLVD.  
Manhasset, N.Y. 11030  
516-627-7330, 212-631-2112

debts with more dollars.

The significance of Nixon's removal of the gold standard in 1971 was that we were now paying for our deficits with our own currency, that is, exporting our inflation. The price of avoiding recession and depression—the great haunting fear of economic crisis—was more inflation. Finally we went to wage controls for three years, the ultimate Keynesian weapon for inflation control, and came out of it with inflation going even stronger. (Not only did this step not work, it made the labor movement more discontent than ever before.)

The economic troubles that are about to victimize millions of Americans will not come from the expected source—we think of recessions as resulting from a lack of buying power, layoffs in durable goods industries, etc. etc. They will first appear in a series of financial crises, bankruptcies, bank, and brokerage failures. The government will be faced with a series of Penn Centrals and Lockheeds—productive enterprises which cannot be financed by the private sector.

We therefore face a series of pressing economic issues that will force themselves to our attention even while Watergate remains unresolved. The politics of the Seventies will be a combination of the continuing battle between the Left and the Right over the disposition of the war in Vietnam and a new series of economic battles.

The prevailing mood of political pessimism on the Left is an invitation to a right turn. I don't think it will happen. I think that unparalleled possibilities are opening up for us. I think it likely that economic radicalism will become a very powerful force in the next five years.

(There is one last proof of the continuing impact of the Sixties. Some of the people who are occupying center stage in politics today got there because of the movements of the Sixties. To take one example, Tom Charles Huston, the Presidential aide who wrote up Nixon's espionage plan, was the leader of the conservative caucus at the National Student Association, the spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom. On the other hand, half a dozen of the Judiciary Committee members who are for impeach-

## *Greetings*

### **DIMONDSTEIN BOOK CO. Inc.**

**38 Portman Road  
New Rochelle  
New York 10801**

*Wholesale Book Distributors  
for All Publishers*

## *Greetings*

### **TREUHAF, WALKER & NAWI**

Robert E. Treuhaf  
Doris Brin Walker  
David Nawi  
Ezra Hendon  
Stephen B. Bedrick  
Lance Director Nagel  
David Krashna

*Oakland, California*

# *GREETINGS*

**JOB LOT TRADING CO. INC.  
THE PUSHCART, INC.**

140 Church Street  
New York, N. Y. 10007

ment, such as Father Drinan, got to Congress in the first place through the anti-war movement.)

But the issues of the Sixties will not serve us in the Seventies. Unless a powerful force at the grass-roots is defining the cutting edge of politics, putting the heat to the politicians so that their alliances are based on a polarization around our concerns, then they are free to follow their opportunistic instincts. To a great extent they have that freedom today, particularly the Democrats who are exempt from criticism for all practical purposes because today's main issue is Watergate. Thus our task is to force our issues to the fore, the issues that have to do with the standard of living of the majority of the American people.

We have a very irrational social system, in many ways getting crazier all the time. We have institutions which guarantee the destruction of cities by siphoning away a neighborhood's own capital. We have a national security system which spends \$80 billion a year on new instruments of destruction and every time we use them in a limited war or threaten to use them we end up weaker. We always have unlimited amounts of capital available for boondoggles but not enough to build sufficient fertilizer plants or schools or anything else that should by any rational scheme be society's first priority. All this is no mystery; I recite it because I believe that the system itself is in question today in a way it never has been before and I believe we have both a high calling to take it on and reason for hope that it can be vanquished.

Marx said a hundred years ago that the choices facing civilization were socialism and barbarism. Certainly that seemed to be the case when Franco overthrew the Spanish Republic 40 years ago. But I think a more modern and applicable definition of the danger we face is an all-encompassing, authoritarian state capitalism: a regime in which the state endlessly strives to subsidize a tottering corporate economy with our taxes and savings and limits our political freedom, controlling popular organizations.

Another line of activity is to develop another New Left. I mean a really new one because the most recent New Left's cadre of leadership will not get their act to-

gether again. The function of this line of activity is to develop a new network of people who are able to relate left theory to the problems that Americans care most about, and who are skilled enough to give political direction, pointing toward real enemies. Popular movements will wander aimlessly if they lack a connection to a radical analysis of what's wrong, why, and what to do about it, repeating the mistakes of the sixties in new costumes.

A further line of activity is labor politics. Inside the Democratic Party and the trade union movement the opportunists are free to carry on at the lowest common denominator if they are not challenged. The McGovern movement showed that a huge following can be obtained in those arenas, but it does not have the capacity to generate the issues which will lead to success. That requires a left presence.

It would be a great sectarian error to believe that relinquishing the Democratic Party to Henry Jackson would not be a colossal defeat. But labor politics involves a wide range of mass organizing, non-electoral activity which aims at forcing labor programs to the fore. It includes the campaign for health security, and struggles around occupational safety. It includes many other struggles that (1) are aimed at making effective the potential majority coalition that now exists left of center, and (2) mobilize in a more intensive way than traditional lobbying a segment of those popular forces. The foremost objective must be to build lasting leadership and organizational forms out of drives of this kind.

Finally there is the task of mass organizational work among those sectors of the population—women, blacks, Spanish-speaking groups—which have developed their own agendas and to which we can bring the lesson that without mass membership organization only a few can advance themselves on the tide of new consciousness created by these movements.

---

Government is not a trade which any man or body of men has a right to set up and exercise for his own emolument, but is altogether a trust, in right of those by whom that trust is delegated, and by whom it is always resumable. It has of itself no rights; they are altogether duties.

TOM PAINE

## THE GRAND JURY AFTER THE FLOOD

ALMOST two and a half years have passed since that fateful morning in June 1972 when burglars were apprehended in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, setting off a chain of events unparalleled in the history of the American Republic. The systematic and widespread grand jury war on dissent waged by the Nixon administration through its reactivated Internal Security Division (ISD), never particularly visible to the general public even in its heyday, was relegated to an historical footnote as cataclysmic events, often centered around grand juries, decimated the ranks of the Nixon regime.

The story of the ISD grand jury inquisitions has been vividly told before (see Fassler and Winograd, "The Political Question," *Trial Magazine*, January-February 1973), and the pivotal role of this grand jury network in the political strategy of the Nixon Administration has been well documented (see Donner and Lavine, "From the Watergate Perspective," *The Nation*, November 19, 1973). Such writings as these, as important as they are, have been buried in an avalanche of more recent ironies.

A law-and-order Vice President found himself forced to resign from office by a grand jury indictment. After his resignation, Spiro Agnew charged that "as things now stand, immunity is an open invitation to perjury. In the hands of an ambitious prosecutor, it can amount to legalized extortion and bribery. . . ." Agnew went as far as to say that if such things

as reform of immunity laws would result, then "the suffering and sacrifice that I have had to undergo in the course of all this will be worthwhile."

Though he did not go quite as far as Agnew, John D. Ehrlichman found a new enthusiasm for grand jury reform in the midst of his legal problems: ". . . one of the things I would like to spend some time on after we're clear of all this is a reform of the grand jury system. . . . To see it in operation here as it has been conducted has opened my eyes as to the shortcomings of it."

If this is not enough, we see John W. Dean III, author of the 1970 legislation that helped launch the Administration's grand jury war on dissent through "use" immunity and special grand juries, bargaining to obtain a grant of immunity. We also see Robert C. Mardian, who as Assistant Attorney General personally directed the ISD campaign, and who argued in the *Keith* case before the Supreme Court that the President has virtually unrestricted power to engage in domestic electronic surveillance for national security, indicted for his alleged role in Watergate-related matters.

And Richard Nixon himself (a pardoned unindicted co-conspirator) on April 23, 1969, told the Congress that he "sought a modern general witness immunity stature under which witnesses in Federal criminal cases could be compelled to testify under threat of a prison sentence for contempt . . ." because "control and reduction of crime are among the first and constant concerns of this administration." Nevertheless on April 17, 1973, the same Nixon expressed the view that "no individual holding, in the past or at present, a position of major importance in the Administration should be giv-

---

FRED SOLOWEY is project director of the Grand Jury Coalition, comprising representatives of the NECLC, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the ACLU, among others.



en immunity from prosecution."

The President and his men, who had made a mockery of the traditional purposes of the grand jury, twisting them to suit their own political purposes, could still have the following exchange in the Executive Office Building on March 22, 1973:

HALDEMAN: (Inaudible) Well, there is danger in a Grand Jury.

DEAN: Well, there are no rules.

PRESIDENT: Well, Grand Juries are not very fair sometimes—

DEAN: That's right.

MITCHELL: (Inaudible).

\* \* \*

Though such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) pressed the Nixon Administration's misuse of the grand jury as one of Nixon's impeachable offenses, developments during the past two years caused many others to see the grand jury in a different light, and the need to reform and revitalize the grand jury as a distant, if not moot concern. (Such widespread views have more than offset the swelling of the ranks of grand jury reformers by former Administration officials.)

The words "grand jury" appeared in headlines across the country, day after day, as the tables were turned on the Nixon Administration. A U.S. Court of Appeals (October 1973) decision concerning delivery of White House tapes to the Watergate grand jury, seemed to erase decades of erosion of the constitutionally mandated functioning of the grand jury, when it proclaimed that "if the grand jury were a legal appendage of the executive, it could hardly serve its historic functions as shield for the innocent and sword against corruption in high places."

A major liberal organization declined to join in the work of the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse, citing Watergate developments as ample reason to render unnecessary educational efforts about and reform of the grand jury system. And even from the ranks of the student movement came new thoughts on the grand jury. When a federal grand jury indicted Ohio National Guardsmen for their alleged role in the 1970 events at Kent

BOOKS IN PSYCHOANALYSIS  
PSYCHIATRY/PSYCHOLOGY  
SOCIAL WORK/CHILD DEVELOPMENT



**BRUNNER/MAZEL**

*Publishers*

64 University Place (10th Street)  
New York, N.Y. 10003

We pledge to continue the fight  
for Academic Freedom.

**THE THIRTY-THREE**

WE JOIN YOU IN THE  
STRUGGLE TO  
HALT THE ATTACKS  
ON FREEDOM

District 65  
Distributive Workers of America  
13 Astor Place  
N. Y. C. 10003, N. Y.

Compliments of

HOTEL DIPLOMAT  
BALLROOM

108 W. 43d Street  
New York, N.Y. 10036  
(212) 279-2488

State, a student who was permanently disabled during that incident, spoke of his recovered faith in the grand jury system.

Though the grand jury developments of the past two years associated with that amalgam we call Watergate, and such other events as the long delayed Kent State indictments, perhaps offer helpful insights and point the way to what the grand jury system *can* mean to our troubled nation, a closer examination of some of these historic occurrences offers some different perspectives on what has transpired.

It has been the Watergate investigation led by Archibald Cox and subsequently by Leon Jaworski that more than anything else, has prompted a general affirmation of the current state of the grand jury system. Few recall the initial Watergate grand jury investigation, operating with the same grand jury, led by Department of Justice attorneys. In his extensively documented "Report to the Special Prosecutor on Certain Aspects of the Watergate Affair," filed June 18, 1973, Charles Morgan, Jr., Director of the Washington Office of the ACLU, offered a careful analysis of that investigation.

Among other findings, Morgan concluded that "the prosecutors portrayed G. Gordon Liddy as the man with ultimate responsibility for the crime when there was every indication to the contrary." His report painted a picture of leads not followed, important witnesses not called, and important areas of questioning not pursued. Indeed, a Department of Justice official stated on September 16, 1972, that the grand jury investigation was "over and there is virtually no prospect of further indictments." The Morgan report hardly jells with President Nixon's October 6, 1972, comment that "the recently completed Federal investigation of the break-in . . . made the 1948 investigation of Alger Hiss look like a Sunday school exercise."—unless of course, Nixon was offering startling new admissions about the investigation of Hiss.

What is most important to understand is that only after an unprecedented groundswell of public pressure was the Special Prosecutor appointed. In contrasting the original with the Cox/Jaworski investigation, the decisive variable was

the prosecutor. Indications are that in both situations, the grand jury by and large followed the leadership of the prosecutor (though, according to some reports, the Watergate grand jury, particular under Jaworski, has been less docile than most grand juries). The critical and alarming point was that it took such a high degree of public pressure to make the wheels of justice begin to turn.

Similarly, a closer examination of the history of the Kent State investigation leads to a like conclusion. The Department of Justice had closed the case, and only after three years of unrelenting pressure from the families of the four slain students and countless others, was the federal grand jury finally convened in Ohio. Moreover, great doubts remain as to whether the indictments engendered covered those ultimately responsible for what transpired in May 1970.

\* \* \*

Much has been and will be written and said about Watergate. Perhaps as pointed a picture as any came from conservative Senator James Buckley of New York, when he called for Nixon's resignation

well in advance of most of his colleagues. He spoke of the "crisis of the regime . . . a disorder, a trauma involving every tissue of the nation," causing "a pervasive and undeniable sense of frustration and impotence that has become the dominant political mood." He warned that this "crisis of the regime . . . has shown no signs of receding . . . and has resulted in a widespread conviction . . . that it has done unique and perhaps irrevocable damage to our entire system of government."

Whether or not one completely agrees with Senator Buckley's analysis, this crisis of confidence is beyond dispute. The American people have grown increasingly fearful about the state of their constitutional rights, and increasingly distrustful of their elected and appointed officials.

It is here that proponents of grand jury reform, many of whom are banded together in the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse, see a vitally important role for the grand jury, on both the federal and local levels. (The Coalition as of now is comprised of the ACLU, Department of Law Justice and Community Relations of

## LEWIS LUMBER LTD.

9 Nassau Drive

Great Neck, N. Y. 11021

516-487-7736

C. P. #39

Manseau, P. Que. GOXIVO

819-356-2200

Lewis Drabkin — "BOIS EN GROS"

## MOTT HAVEN LUMBER CORP.

1000 East 149th Street, Bronx, N. Y. 10455

Phone: 212 MO 5-2318

Brian Drabkin, *President*

the United Methodist Board of Church and Society, National Conference of Black Lawyers, NECLC, National Lawyers Guild, Criminal Section of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, Unitarian Universalist Association, and Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries.) A look at the current situation of the grand jury is important in order to understand this projected role.

Recall the words of the Court of Appeals that the grand jury is intended to be independent of the executive, "a shield for the innocent," and a "sword against corruption in high places." Though there have been conspicuous exceptions in recent years, such as the 1974 Nevada Howard Hughes grand jury, few could disagree with the general appraisal of current grand juries offered by Federal District Judge William Campbell: "This great institution of the past has long ceased to be the guardian of the people. . . . Today, it is but a convenient tool for the prosecutor . . . Any experienced prosecutor will admit that he can indict [or not] anybody at any time for almost anything."

Just as two and a half years of Watergate have done nothing to alter this basic situation, also unaffected is the "star chamber inquisition" potential in the unreformed grand jury system. The second Watergate investigation did show that effective investigation and indictment can occur without forcing immunity on witnesses and without wholesale violation of procedural rights and Constitutional guarantees. Watergate also did serve at least temporarily to terminate the *systematic* use of the grand jury for political harassment, intelligence gathering and repression, as ISD had practiced it.

Watergate did not end political abuse of the grand jury or insure that such systematic efforts as the ISD campaign cannot be repeated in the future. Such court decisions as *Calandra* (handed down by the Supreme Court January 8, 1974) which abolished the exclusionary rule for grand jury proceedings, make misuse of the grand jury all the more inviting.

And, lest it be thought that concern with grand jury abuse is the province only of left-wing dissenters, the comments of

Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis in a 1974 speech, ought to be noted:

Indictments are being generated, and [sic] in my opinion, under an unconstitutional law that is in effect a 20th-century legal rack and screw. The federal law advocated by the Nixon administration, which orders you to talk on the condition that they won't use what you say against you, with the option that if you don't talk you go to jail. So your option is to talk or go to jail. You have no free choice. You really have no option. If this isn't a clear violation of the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination, I have never heard of one.

Grand juries can and do listen to illegal evidence, and when my men were put through the federal grand juries in this city, it was the worst star chamber session you ever saw. Multiple prosecutors scattering themselves through the jury throwing questions from left field and right field, where if it wasn't like the Spanish Inquisition, at least it was like the day when police with rubber hoses and spotlights in the faces of sus-

**ELECTRONICS  
FOR  
MEDICINE, INC.**

30 Virginia Road  
White Plains, N. Y. 10603

*Designers and builders  
of electronic instruments  
for medical research  
and patient care.*

pects got the truth out of them in that fashion.

What then ought to be the future of the grand jury? Some have argued that the lead of a number of states ought to be followed, and the Federal grand jury be abolished (by Constitutional amendment). Speaking on this issue (*Congressional Record*, March 14, 1974). Representative John Conyers, Jr., chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, noted two reasons why "it is better to strengthen the institution than to abandon it or curtail its role." First, noted Conyers, "Neither the Fifth Amendment nor any of the other amendments of the Bill of Rights has been changed by as much as a word since adoption of the ten in 1791. I believe it would be a mistake to amend the Bill of Rights, particularly in a way which would remove restraints on the federal government which have been in effect 182 years."

Conyers' second point is particularly germane to the discussion at hand: "There are only two institutions in our judicial system in which decision making

authority is given to people independent of the government. The trial jury is one; the grand jury is the other. I believe that it would be a mistake to eliminate the grand jury, or to minimize its role at a time when one widely recognized problem of American democracy is the increasing disaffection of American citizens with our political and legal institutions."

Conyers and 18 other Representatives have introduced H.R. 13491 (to be re-introduced early in the 94th Congress), which would provide sweeping reform and strengthening of the federal grand jury. The 19-page bill greatly strengthens the role of the grand jury by requiring the grand jury to vote on subpoenas, requests for immunity grants, and requests for contempt hearings. It requires that the grand jury be adequately informed of its powers and responsibilities (failure to do so being grounds for quashing a subpoena or dismissing an indictment). Perhaps most important in this regard, the legislation allows for independent grand jury inquiry (with court appointed counsel) into alleged criminal activity

## GREETINGS

from

TILLIE GOLDMAN

by government officials.

The bill would introduce many procedural and evidentiary safeguards into the grand jury process. Witnesses would have the right to legal representation in the grand jury room, to seven days' notice on subpoena and ten days' notice on contempt hearings, to advisement of their rights to counsel and against self-incrimination, to not answer questions based on violations of their Constitutional or Statutory rights, to have access to any prior statements they made to law enforcement officials, to inspect a full transcript of their testimony and to be told of the subject matter of the investigation.

The Conyers bill also requires presentation of all exculpatory evidence the government has, bans indictment purely on hearsay evidence, limits contempt sentences to six months while eliminating reiterative contempt, and prohibits post-indictment grand jury subpoenas to gather evidence for trial (the burden of proof being on the prosecutor).

Perhaps the most far-reaching provisions of the Conyers bill (copies and summaries of which are available from the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse, 930 F Street, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20004) concern immunity laws. It abolishes "use immunity" and allows transactional immunity before courts and grand juries, only with the consent of the witness. An exchange could still be made (as in Watergate) of immunity for testimony, but no longer could immunity be used as a political or punitive club.

Whatever reforms the Congress enacts (several have been proposed), a number of other things must be done as well. The understanding of the Founding Fathers must be renewed among 20th-century men and women as to the purpose of the grand jury and the important obligations and opportunities it vests in the people. Financial and other burdens must be removed to insure that citizens from all walks of life can serve on grand juries. Much more attention must be paid to the grand jury in law school curricula.

In states and counties across the country where, for example, grand juries often are mandated to report on prison conditions, the grand jury can play a much more active role in redressing wrongs and

protecting rights. Considerable reform is needed in state systems, without exception.

Back in 1774, "actuated by a zealous regard for peace and good order, and a sincere desire to promote justice, righteous and good government, as being essential to the happiness of the community," 22 Bostonians, including Paul Revere, found it necessary to refuse to serve on colonial grand juries dominated and manipulated by the Crown. Two hundred years later, "actuated" by the same concerns which have been magnified by the Watergate crisis, we must reclaim that wayward institution as the bastion of liberty it once was—and is intended to be.

---

It appears to me that the American people have the greatest aversion to monarchy, and the nearer our government approaches to it, the less chance have we for their approbation. Can gentlemen suppose that the reported system can be approved of by them? Demagogues are the greatest pests of our government, and have occasioned most of our distress.

ELBRIDGE GERRY

*Greetings*

**WOLF POPPER**

**ROSS WOLF & JONES**

# IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM

*On this and the following pages are the names of persons in all endeavors who have contributed through the Bill of Rights Journal to the work of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.*

## Artists

Carl Andre  
Maurice del Bourgo  
Irving Fierstein  
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gwathmey  
Will Lee  
Grambs Miller  
Francis Oliver (Loud)  
Earl Robinson  
Tom Wesselmann

## Attorneys

Harold I. Cammer  
Jean S. Cherevas  
William B. Cherevas  
Stanley Chmiell-Frenzel  
Isaac C. Donner  
Alvin Dorfman  
David Drucker  
Shirley Fingerhood  
Esther Frankel  
Leopold Frankel  
Karparkin, Pollet and Lemoult  
Harold Klein  
Samuel Korb  
Elizabeth S. Landis  
Leonard L. Leon  
Harry J. Lohstroh  
Howard N. Meyer  
Irving Meyers  
John W. Porter  
Leon Quat  
Allan R. Rosenberg  
David B. Rothstein  
Diane B. Schulder  
Arthur Schutzer

Ralph Shapiro  
Michael Chabot Smith  
William L. Standard  
Al Tanz  
Mark Tushnet  
Andrew D. Weinberger

## Certified Public Accountants

Nathan Albert  
Max Block  
Leo Fine  
Oscar Hanigsberg  
Meyer Harbus  
Joseph V. Kahn  
Louis A. Kahn  
Bernard L. Klein

*Greetings*

*from*

RABINOWITZ,  
BOUDIN  
& STANDARD

Ira Krauss  
Larry Krevat  
David S. Levine  
Louis J. Lifshy  
H. Zachary Marks  
Joseph Saslaw  
Samuel B. Traum  
Herman T. Uscott  
William B. Weinberger  
J. B. C. Woods  
Jacob Wortsmann

## Clergy

The Rev. Lee H. Ball  
Rabbi Laurence D. Lauer

## Dentists

Dr. Edward H. Aberlin  
Dr. Leo Botwinick  
Dr. Beatrice Eisman  
Dr. William H. Eisman  
Leon Feinstein D.D.S.  
Dr. Norman Horowitz  
Dr. Irving Jaffe  
Dr. Milton I. Silver  
Dr. Bernard and Tanja Winter

## Engineers

Nat Berg  
David I. Millet

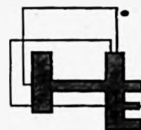
## Physicians

Dr. and Mrs. Harold Aaron  
Elaine Allen M.D.  
Jacob S. Aronoff M.D.  
Charles Berney O.D.  
N. M. Buckley M.D.  
Irving J. Crain M.D.  
Joseph Dalven M.D.  
Milton Dillon M.D.  
Bernard S. Feinberg M.D.  
Murray Fenichel M.D.  
Victor Halitsky M.D.  
Dr. Theodore G. Holzsager

Milton E. Jucovy M.D.  
Alexander A. Katz M.D.  
Harold D. Kratka M.D.  
Harry Klein M.D.  
Dr. Frances Kroll  
Dr. Louis Kroll  
Daniel Leavitt M.D.  
Dr. and Mrs.  
Nathaniel S. Lehrman  
Karen Machover;  
Solomon Machover Ph.D.  
Muriel Gold Morris M.D.  
William Obrinsky M.D.  
Irwin I. Portner M.D.  
Herbert N. Schwartz M.D.  
John L. Simon M.D.  
Dr. David M. Spain  
Theodore S. Tapper M.D.  
I. M. Tarlov M.D.  
Dr. S. C. Volinsky  
Maxwell N. Weisman M.D.

## Teachers and Educators

Robert A. Bays  
Dr. Lucille Becker



THE HARTFORD ELEMENT CO.

BOX 47, SINAPEE ROAD  
NEWPORT, NEW HAMPSHIRE 05773  
603 - 863 - 1454

---



Ed Borok  
 Helen Borok  
 Lillian K. Busch  
 Noam Chomsky  
 Angelo D'Angelo  
 Richard B. Du Boff  
 Thomas K. Goldstick  
 Maxine Greene  
 Theresa L. Held  
 Ed Herbst  
 Mell Jaffe  
 Peter Jaffe  
 Donald Kalish  
 Blanche Katz  
 Murray Lewis  
 Betty Liveright  
 Herman Liveright  
 Lee Lorch  
 Oliver S. Loud  
 Prof. Arval A. Morris  
 Arnold Olenick  
 John M. Pickering  
 Lawrence Pinkham  
 Anne R. Rechemias  
 Sam Rosen  
 Margaret Russell  
 Ralph Russell  
 Stephen Schwerner  
 Thomas Seligman  
 Miriam Singer  
 Samuel Wallach  
 Richard P. Wiebe  
 Claudia Zaslavsky  
 Sam Zaslavsky

## Social workers

Miriam Dubin  
 Helen Evelev  
 Edna Lenchner  
 George Lenchner  
 Arky Markham  
 George Markham  
 Mrs. Helen E. Meiklejohn  
 Mrs. Bessie K. Stensky  
 Mrs. Alexander Trachtenberg

## Organizations

The Churchman  
 The Harvard Civil Rights-Civil  
 Liberties Law Review  
 N.Y. Society for Ethical Culture-  
 Friends & Supporters of N.E.C.L.C.

## Writers

Lewis Allan  
 Franklin and Mary Elting  
 Folsom  
 Gene S. Gilmore  
 Sally Gorton  
 Halsey D. Josephson  
 A. B. Magil  
 Samuel Percely  
 Richard M. Powell  
 Norman A. Ross  
 Robert E. Ross  
 Jessica Smith  
 Richard Stiller

RABBI  
 ROBERT E. GOLDBURG,  
 D.D.

The Cong. MISHKAN ISRAEL\*  
 Hamden, Conn. 06517

*\*for identification only*

Member, National Council  
 of the N.E.C.L.C.

# Friends

Muriel Adams  
Taylor Adams  
Harry Adelman  
M. H. Baker  
Richard W. Baum  
Jon Beckwith  
Norman Blum  
P. Boothroyd  
Jean Borden  
Morton Borrow  
Mr. & Mrs. Aaron Braude  
Mrs. Blanche Chaykin  
George B. Delany  
Anne Dicker  
Beatrice Eisman  
Fred Elmer  
Harriet Fahey  
Mary D. Farlow  
Simon Fellner  
David Flacks  
Mildred Flacks  
Eleanor W. Fowler  
Howard Frazier  
Arnold Ghinger  
Morris Goldman  
Ira Gollobin  
Abraham Goodman  
Mr. & Mrs. Emanuel Graff

REMEMBERING

HETTY  
APPLEBAUM

Mr. & Mrs. T. Gurney  
Lawrence Hill  
Lilette Hindin  
Mr. & Mrs. I. M. Hofferma  
Alice P. Irwin  
Walter N. Jaffe  
J. J. Joseph  
Lee Joseph  
Hy Korth  
Michael Kurtz  
Hy Lampe  
Paul Landwehr  
Hy Landy  
Evelyn C. Leavitt  
Joseph Lerner  
Rose Wortis Lewis  
Edwin A. Mallett  
Philip I. Meltzer  
Rosylyn C. Meyerson  
Owen S. Mollinger  
Anne K. Morais  
Irv Nebenzahl  
Frank Nelson  
Mr. & Mrs. Ben Okshea  
Leah Okun  
William Okun  
Mr. & Mrs. Leonard Orner  
Cyril Philip  
Dorothy R. Plaut  
Miriam Proctor  
Byron Randall  
Dorothy Rick  
Chester Rick  
Pauline Rosen  
Joel Rothman  
Fanny Samberg  
Helen Schechter  
Fannie Schoelt  
Mr. & Mrs. B. H. Siff  
Saul Silver  
Modjeska Monteith Simkins  
Joanne M. Stearns  
Lester Talkington  
Rose Thaler  
Sam Weiss  
Mr. & Mrs. Julius A. Zinman

## AN AMNESTY AWAITS THE PUBLIC'S DEMAND

THERE is no amnesty. There is a cease-fire and an occupation of territory in-place. The Nixon Administration took six years to pull out of Vietnam and it appears that the methods of the war are to be those of the peace.

Instead of the decisive stroke of an amnesty, with the resulting benefits thereof, those immediately concerned, their families, and the country, are to be dragged through a long, bureaucratic gauntlet, which—instead of healing wounds—will keep them aggravated and inflamed.

What President Ford's Clemency Program has done is legitimize policies already in-place. A former Assistant Secretary of Defense, Alfred Fitt, in an article in *The New York Times Magazine* (September 8, 1974), pointed out, with a pedantic pride as his discovery alone,\* a "most recent" precedent for amnesty. "On April 8, 1959," Fitt wrote, "the Army adopted a policy to waive court-martial trial and issue administrative discharges to the remaining World War II deserters, without their return to military control. The men affected—the Army has no record of how many—were given undesirable discharges."

The difficulty with Fitt's precedent is that it does not qualify. The last amnesty/pardon was granted by President Truman on the day before Christmas 1952 and it

\* Fitt was not the first to refer to this policy. See "American Deserters and Draft Evaders: Exile, Punishment, or Amnesty?" *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Winter 1972, p. 109.

---

WILLIAM O'ROURKE is the author of the *Harrisburg 7* and the *Catholic Left* and the recently published novel *The Meekness of Isaac*. When not writing, he is a construction worker.

---

applied to all persons *convicted* for having deserted between August 15, 1945, and June 25, 1950. The Army's more recent "policy," as described by Fitt, far from being an amnesty, was a bureaucratic solution that closed a good number of unfinished cases (most around 14 years old). It should also be noted that "without their return to military control" means, simply, that they were at large and not in custody—indeed, some were probably dead. As a former bureaucrat, Fitt appreciates the neat bookkeeping of such a "policy." (Since his article was written before Ford's proclamation, it is easy to determine the thinking prevalent at the Department of Defense.)

President Ford's program for deserters is little more than the dusting off of this old Army "policy;" and, for the additional price of alternate service, a euphemistic change—for no other real change is affected—of an undesirable discharge to a clemency discharge. Infractions other than those included in the Universal Code of Military Justice in Articles 85 (desertion), 86 (AWOL), and 87 (missing movement) are not included in Ford's clemency plan.

Already there is serious confusion over whether after receiving a bad-conduct discharge the deserter, upon failing to complete alternate service, might be charged anew under Article 83 of the UCMJ (fraudulent information given to obtain a discharge) or 18 USC 1001 (false information given to a government agency) thereby placing himself in double jeopardy.

The unconvicted draft evader is being granted a *post facto* selective conscientious objector status and required then to serve two years of alternate service; a similar device has been used by the courts with the agreement of the Justice Department any number of times. (See 32 C.F.R.

1643.1-3 (1971), providing that convicted draft violators may be paroled in return for submission to induction into the armed services or to some form of alternate service. Emphasis added.) \*

Since alternate service is being dispensed at the local level, capricious and ludicrous examples result. One recently reported in *The New York Times* (October 8, 1974) described a man who, he said, "had volunteered for the Navy at the age of 17 and received an honorable discharge four years later. Ninety days after his discharge, he was erroneously drafted by the Army and in his ignorance of the law completed 22 months before he deserted." He was given two months of alternate service. The military lawyer assigned to give the returnees legal counsel estimated that half could successfully defend themselves against court martial desertion charges. And, he added, according to Jon Nordheimer of the *Times*, "if we did take these cases to trial the military's legal system would come to a grinding halt overnight." It is not difficult to see who

\* *Ibid.*, p. 111, note 148.

profits most from Ford's Clemency Program. Human ledgers are evened, paperwork becomes caught up.

The aspect of Ford's program that has not entirely revealed itself is the Clemency Board, to which convicted draft evaders and convicted military absentees apply. That is because it has not yet started. Patterned after Truman's misnamed Amnesty Review Board, the members make recommendations for clemency to the President. The latitude here is wide and the Board's "broadgauged" (as Ford described it), slightly Mad-Hatter-tea-party make-up, should produce curious proposals.

The language of the Clemency Program is redolent with blame. "My objective," Ford said in his statement, (Sept. 16, 1974), "of making future penalties fit the seriousness of each individual's offense and of mitigating punishment already meted out in a spirit of equity has proved an immensely hard and complicated matter, even more difficult than I knew it would be."

Ford's program allows for no amnesty,

Family and Friends Remember

**FLORENCE FRIEDLANDER**

Fighter for Human Dignity

*To Meet Your Printing Needs*

## NEW UNION PRESS

Quality Printers

Specializing in Newspapers,  
Magazines, Tabloids, Pamphlets

Completely unionized

418 West 25th Street  
N.Y.C. 10001

Telephone: (212) 741-8000

no forgetting, only remembering, and pointing the finger. The "beggars can't be choosers," arguments and the "trying to please all, pleasing none," disputes will continue. Everyone is told once again to pick sides.

The Constitution specifically forbids pardon in one instance. That of impeachment. And since Ford pardoned a President who resigned only in the face of certain impeachment, it is easy to see that the "spirit of equity" has indeed "proved an immensely hard and complicated matter" for President Ford.

A Clemency Program sanctioning what was already fact has been instituted; an amnesty yet awaits. It will continue to wait on the people, the Congress and a different President, one not wearing the shabby garland of the Nixon Administration.

---

A free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. To allow it to be fettered is to fetter ourselves.

JUSTICE GEORGE J. SUTHERLAND, 1936

Greetings!

ROBERT DOROUGH

and

STUART SCHARF

*Compliments*

*of*

HERBERT OSER

*A salute*  
to NECLC  
*from the*  
MARY LERNER STORES  
*Bronx, Westchester*  
*Connecticut, Long Island*

Won't you  
join us?

Why not become an associate of the NECLC, receive our publications (the bimonthly *Rights* and the annual *Bill of Rights Journal*), various reprints and bulletins—and, above all, become a part of a vital organization that seeks to preserve and implement the Bill of Rights and the Constitution as a whole. All you have to do is fill out the form below, and send it to us with a check for \$15 for one year. Address: NECLC, 25 East 26th St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State and Zip .....

**KULICKE**  
LEWIS & CLARK

Framing Centers

43 East 78th Street  
636 Broadway

New York City 254-0140

**O.K., So You're Articulate.**

Maybe you think you know  
all about Korea because  
you read the New York Times.

Think so? Try KOREA FOCUS.  
We're much more accurate.

Send for FREE SAMPLE copy.

Yearly subscription: \$5.00 — Single issue: \$1.50  
Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10010, (212) 242-0240

*Looking for an out-of-print book?*

Send us title and author  
for free search service and quotation.

ALL POINTS OF VIEW

P.O. Box 321

San Antonio, Texas 78292

DISTRICT 1199

National Union of  
Hospital and Health Care  
Employees

RWDSU/AFL-CIO

Leon J. Davis, *President*

*Greetings . . .*

FOLKWAYS RECORDS

43 W. 61 St.

New York, N. Y. 10023

*Greetings*

ANNE JACKSON

and

ELI WALLACH

Greetings From

FREEDOMWAYS

A Quarterly Review of the  
Freedom Movement

Subscription: \$4.50 A Year;  
\$9.00 Two Years

799 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

**FREE**

*For  
Lawyers  
Only*

BLACKSTONE Stationers Inc.  
New York (212) 527-4200

BLACKSTONE'S NEW GIANT CATALOG,  
which fully describes the many outstanding  
values in legal printing, engraving, corpora-  
tion outfits, SPECIALIZED ALBANY SER-  
VICE, and complete office supplies for law-  
yers PLUS pages of valuable information you  
need at your fingertips.

585 Merrick Rd.  
Long Island (516) 599-6411  
Lynbrook, N.Y. 11563

RAND

REALTY 787-1234

*"A House is a Piggy Bank"*

13238 Victory Boulevard

Van Nuys, California 91401

Dave Sauberman  
*Realtor*

KANAWHA FILMS

TIME-LIFE BLDG.

New York, N.Y. 10019

**PATRICK HENRY:**

**Virginia Convention Debates**

"If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities how easy it is for him to render himself absolute: The army is in his hands and if he be a man of address, it will be attached to him and it will be the subject of long meditation with him to seize the first auspicious moment to accomplish his design."



**Joint Board Fur, Leather  
& Machine Workers Union**

A.M.C. & B.W. of N.A. (AFL-CIO)  
109 West 26th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10001

Henry Foner      Bernard J. Woolis  
*President*          *Secretary-Treasurer*

To the Memory of  
**LEO HUBERMAN**

Long-time  
Civil Liberties Militant  
From his colleagues

at  
**MONTHLY REVIEW**

*Greetings from*

Local 140  
United Furniture Workers  
of America, AFL-CIO  
Sol Silverman, *President*

WITH GRATITUDE  
AND CONGRATULATIONS!

David B. Irwin, *President*  
Alice P. Irwin, *Treasurer*

**STORMKING MUSIC INC.**

New York, N. Y.

*Compliments of*  
**SAMUEL GRUBER**  
**MILTON TURKEL**  
Stamford, Conn.

**HAROLD LEVENTHAL**  
**MGT. INC.**

New York, N. Y.

*Greetings*

**HENRY H. FORSTER**

*For the Best in Music  
from Around the World*

**MONITOR RECORDS**

156 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10010

*Free catalog available on request*

*In appreciation of NECLC's  
continuing work in defense  
of civil liberties.*

—Socialist Workers Party

—Young Socialist Alliance

In memory of

**HUGH  
(Geno)  
FOREMAN**

*Edith Tiger*

**MICHAEL A. BLEICH**

*He Loved  
Liberty*

**E. S. WILENTZ'S  
8TH ST. BOOKSHOP**

"GREENWICH VILLAGES FAMOUS BOOKSHOP"  
A LITERARY LANDMARK SINCE 1947

THREE FLOORS OF BOOKS  
17 WEST 8TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

**Rt. 188 PRODUCTIONS, INC.**

**New York, N. Y.**

*Compliments*

*of*

**ABBY & NORMAN  
PARKER**

Here's to unconditional amnesty for  
war resisters of all kinds and with-  
drawal of illegal and unpardonable  
pardon of Nixon.

Right on, N.E.C.L.C.!

Fran & Bob Boehm

**GREETINGS**

**to**

**N.E.C.L.C.**

*Betty & Stanley Sheinbaum*

## The purpose of NECLC

The Constitution of the United States, ratified in 1789, is the world's oldest charter of government. Two years later, the ten amendments which made up the Bill of Rights were put in effect.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was founded in 1951 with one objective: To reestablish the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. For twenty-two years, the NECLC has pursued this single-minded goal, through test cases involving freedom of speech, press, religion, and the right of people to assemble or to travel freely, to remain silent in the face of an inquisition, and—in the last years particularly—to refuse to fight in an illegal and immoral war. Above all, it has defended the right to dissent.

Toward this end it has raised and spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in cases which have become landmark decisions. It has informed hundreds of thousands of citizens through its publications and meetings. All its funds come from citizens of this country whose stake in the restoration of the Bill of Rights is paramount. If you are not already a member, we invite you to join. Individual membership is \$15; sustaining, \$25; cooperating, \$50; participating, \$100. The bi-monthly publication *Rights* is sent free to all members, as well as other pertinent publications during the year. Send your check or money order to:

*National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee*  
25 East 26th St., New York, N. Y. 10010  
Telephone (212) MU 3-8120