United States District Court
Central District of California
Los Angeles, California 90012

Chambers of
WARREN J. FERGUSON
United States District Judge

January 13, 1975

Michael E. Tigar, Esq.
Williams, Connolly & Califano
1000 Hill Building
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Loni and Mike,

Enclosed are pages 34 through 37 of the January 13 edition of U.S. News & World Report which may not have been called to your attention.

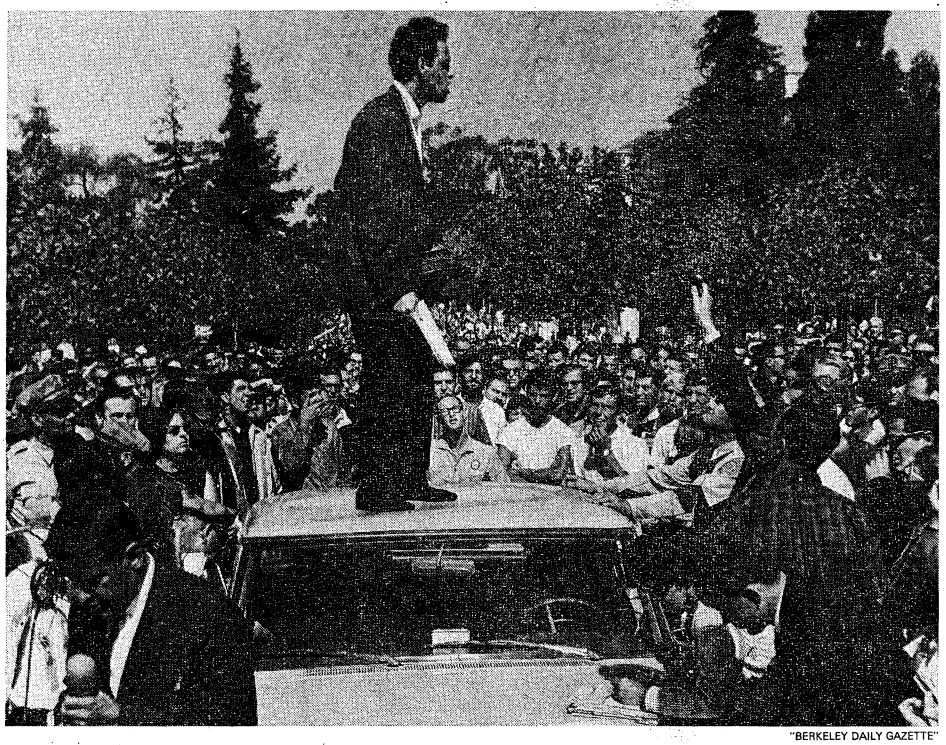
With the report about you in Bench Warmers and U.S. News & World Report, I hope that is the end of it. The writers simply don't understand Mike Tigar.

Anyway, Laura and I had fun with the two of you. The dinner and company were splendid and we hope to see you again.

Cordially,

WHAT'S BECOME OF YESTERDAY'S STUDENT REBELS

Mario Savio, Jerry Rubin, Huey Newton—they were household names in the 1960s. Their followers set the nation on its ear. For a look at the picture today—



"BERKELEY DAILY GAZETTE"

Mario Savio, demanding "free speech" for Berkeley students in 1964, helped ignite nationwide youth revolt. Today, he questions violent turn movement took in later years.

Ten years ago, the "free speech" movement at the University of California in Berkeley touched off an era of youth revolt that many predicted would someday be recognized as a "revolution" in America.

Was it really a revolution? Did it significantly change anything? Are the young rebels of a decade ago still fighting the establishment—or are they part of it?

Today, older and wiser, the young people of that period are pondering its lessons and its effect on their lives and attitudes.

One study estimated the number of "committed radicals" in the 1960s at 350,000—with at least that many sympathizers on the sidelines.

To find out what happened to that tidal wave of angry young people—part of the largest rising generation in the nation's history—staff members of "U. S. News & World Report" talked to dozens of former rebels, now men and women in their late 20s and early 30s. The consensus:

All but a few concede—somewhat sadly—that the movement that promised to transform America only a few years ago is dead today. And many are bitter about the direction their "revolution" took in later years.

But, in their view, the youth revolt has permanently altered the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. And they insist its impact will continue to be felt, as these young adults take on increasingly important roles in society.

From an expert. Over all, these one-time rebels are finding the transition into the harsh realities of the workaday world a big one. Their difficulty is explained by Seymour Martin Lipset, a Harvard University political and social scientist who has studied the youth revolt from its early stages. He says:

"As students, they could live a simple, pseudo-poor existence. They wore jeans and work shirts, but they didn't skimp on hi-fi sets, records, books and cars. Now, when they're out of college, they find the old man won't pay for it, and they have to find something that will support them and agree with their views at the same time."

Many have found niches in new institutions which their earlier agitation helped to create or expand—from public-service lobbying groups to offbeat religions. A look at early protest leaders shows some of the options:

- Mario Savio, the charismatic firebrand of the free-speech movement, is now 32 and teaching at an "alternative" or unconventional school in suburban Los Angeles. Mr. Savio has been keeping a low profile in recent years after an unsuccessful try for the U. S. Senate in 1968, a series of odd jobs and a divorce. But he recently issued a public statement wondering why newsmen who questioned him about the kidnapers of newspaper heiress Patty Hearst would associate him, even remotely, with such a violent group.
- Angela Davis, the black Communist acquitted of murder and conspiracy charges stemming from a 1970 shootout at a California courthouse, is living in Oakland and serving as cochairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, which the Federal Bureau of Investigation identifies as a Communist group aimed at the nation's prison system. After coauthoring a book about her famous trial, she recently appeared before a U. S. Senate committee to oppose Nelson A. Rockefeller's confirmation as Vice President.
- Jerry Rubin, a former organizer of the revolutionary Youth International Party, better known as "Yippies," has joined a self-improvement group, the "human potential movement." He recently appeared at a news conference to accuse drug-cult figure Timothy Leary of informing on young radicals in an attempt to win parole from prison. Another ex-revolutionary who has taken on a spiritual mission is "Chicago Seven" defendant Rennie Davis, who became the most famous proselytizer for the Indian guru, Maharaj Ji.

Relatively few are in hiding or "down and out," observers say. Reports Edwin Young, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin in Madison: "The only students who had their lives severely dislo-

not have been broadcast. The relatively unrestrained dialogue of such highly popular programs as "M*A*S*H," "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" has changed all that.

The violent offerings, however, remain a strong concern for citizen pressure groups, who contend that networks increasingly use new techniques to imply violence, rather than to portray overt brutality.

"Psychological horror." "Many of the new programs impart a psychological horror in viewers—the kind of thing that gives people nightmares," said Father Morton A. Hill, head of Morality in Media, Inc., a New York-based citizen group. "You may see vicious dogs chasing people, or women being dragged down dark alleys by assailants, or families being held under siege by unseen and nameless attackers. It paints the world as a terrifying, dangerous, wicked place."

The cleryman's view is supported by the newest "violence profile" that is compiled annually by the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.

The report for the 1973-74 television season found that although the prevalence of prime-time violence declined slightly from a year ago, the number of victims of violent actions increased. For every 10 characters portrayed as violent, 14 were injured or killed on television.

In addition, the report found that a disproportionate number of television's victims are female, elderly, lower class, foreign and nonwhite.

"Fear of victimization pervades the world of television drama and may cultivate a corresponding sense of danger" in the real world, said Prof. George Gerbner, who heads the violence research for the National Institute of Mental Health.

The network view. Network executives insist that there is enough variety on television that most viewers can find suitable alternatives of high quality on one channel or another. As evidence, they point to such recent products as "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman," "The Missiles of October," "The Execution of Private Slovik," "QB VII," "The Merchant of Venice," "World at War," and the Public Broadcasting System's noncommercial presentations, including "Masterpiece Theatre."

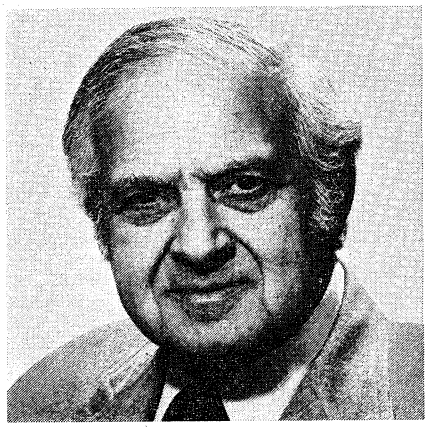
Programers also assert that the increasing frankness and candor of programs on some cable-TV systems and educational stations have led the way to increased experimentation on networks.

An official of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences said:

"Violence and sex on TV is a serious question that people in the industry should be concerned about and should resolve by taking the more outrageous and titillating scenes off the air. But this is also a good political issue in Washington, and sometimes people in Congress are a little hypocritical when they say the public deserves better programs. Basically, networks give the public what the public wants."

As a Leading Jurist Sees TV Industry—

By David L. Bazelon, Chief Judge of U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit



U. S. Appeals Judge David L. Bazelon

The power of television is commensurate—and I do not think I exaggerate in the least—with the power to produce atomic energy and the power to modify human conduct by use of bio-behavioral controls. . . .

It is the perils of these new forms of wizardry which, I fear, will be overlooked in the excitement to exploit new discoveries. Thus it is that the potential evils of the power of television require great sensitivity on the part of the programing executives and their clients, the advertisers. . . .

I think that many of us, as members of the bench and bar, would be willing to walk more than an extra mile to resist those pressures and to uphold the traditional view of the First Amendment.

But one may question whether . . . the broadcasters are not making such resistance more difficult. . . .

The broadcast media surely must strenuously resist all Government attempts to interfere with their wide legitimate discretion. But on the other hand, they must also have the strength to admit their shortcomings, their abuse of the immense power of television for the private profit of a few, to the serious detriment of the nation at large.

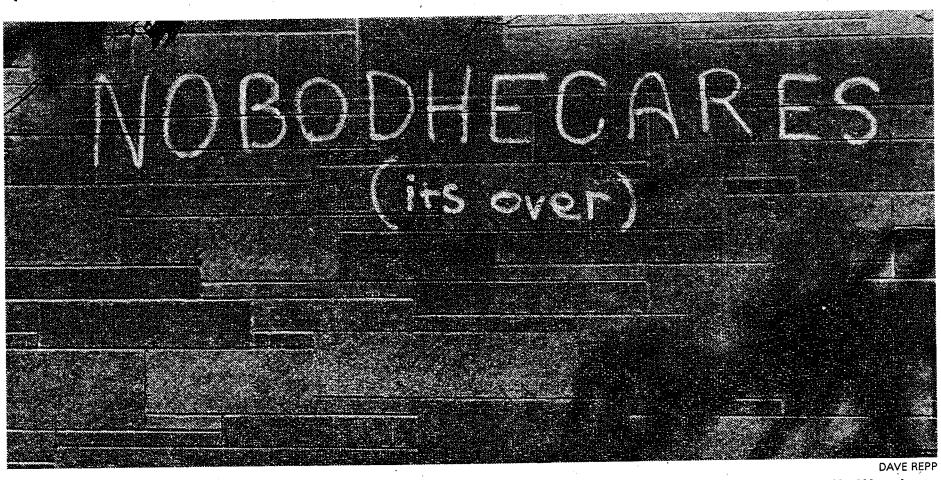
The broadcast media know—or should know—when their programing is simply and only mass-appeal pablum designed to titillate a sufficiently large majority to enable the broadcasters to sell the most advertising. They know when they are presenting only one side of a major public issue, when they are shading the facts to present their own point of view, and when they are ignoring the concerns of the community.

They know the impact of their programs on children, they know about the marketing of human emotions and of the prurient interest in violence and sex. They know when they subvert the professionalism of their own news teams in order to reach the demographic audiences which will attract advertisers.

They know that wide exposure of subjects ranging from the names of rape victims to the private grief of a mother on the death of her son constitutes unconscionable invasions of privacy. And they know when they are overcommercializing their programing to amortize the inflated cost of the broadcast license.

In sum, I think they know the times they may have prostituted the tremendous potential of television as a human communication tool. They know this and they know what should be done about it. The programing executives and their advertiser clients must stop their single-minded purpose to achieve higher ratings, more advertising and greater profits, and stop to consider what greater purposes television should serve. And they must do it soon if we are to preserve our First Amendment values for telecommunications.

(Foregoing are excerpts from an address to the Federal Communications Bar Association on November 15 by Judge Bazelon, whose court hears all appeals from the licensing decisions of the Federal Communications Commission.)



DAVE REPP

End of a revolution? Enigmatic sign on Indiana University building expresses disillusionment of many young radicals who feel little was gained from their rebellion.

cated are the ones who were prosecuted for destructive radical activities."

One fugitive from the law, Jane L. Alpert, renounced her past and called it "the happiest day of my life" when she surrendered in November after four difficult years trying to avoid jail for a series of terrorist bombings in 1969. And, shortly before Christmas, Barry P. Stein, 26, turned himself in to face riot charges in Chicago, rather than struggle to maintain his new identity as director of a health center in Vermont.

Those still being sought by authorities include Mark Rudd, former leader of the Students for a Democratic Society at Columbia University; Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party, and Bernardine Dohrn, a former student wanted in connection with Chicago's "Days of Rage" riots in 1969.

Active in community. Some veterans of the campus wars have lowered their voices and found a role in conventional politics or government. For instance—

John Froines, another Chicago Seven defendant, recently was appointed Vermont's director of occupational health and safety, despite a flurry of debate.

And Paul Soglin, a former student activist, has been pushing liberal programs as the 29-year-old mayor of Madison, Wis. Said Mr. Soglin:

"I disagree totally with anyone who says this group of students lost their ideals. I know many people from my college days who are turning around the policies of major corporations, who are making changes as lawyers and journalists, and who are taking active roles in community organizations."

A more skeptical view comes from Robin N. Lauriault, a socialist and college dropout-turned-fireman who retired from politics at age 27 after two years as the elected mayor of Senoia, Ga.

Mr. Lauriault hired the rural hamlet's first black policeman and raised wages of garbage-truck drivers, who had been making only $1.15 an hour. But now that he has moved away "things have returned to normal," he said, adding:

"I doubt anything useful can be accomplished through political action. Some little reforms like I tried in Senoia, maybe, but not the revolutionary change I used to hope for."

Although Mr. Lauriault is not married, he has lived with the same woman for years, and their oldest child is now in elementary school. Like many young radicals, raising a family began to change his perspective on the "New Left." He explained:

"I wanted day-care centers for working mothers and other concrete things to help the poor. But that was too mundane for all the movement people without jobs or families who thought of themselves as political theoreticians in a nationwide revolution. Their Marxist ideal of the working class was so patronizing there was no hope of getting popular support."

Taking up farming. As political disillusionment sets in, many young rebels are trying subsistence farming, religious colonies and other forms of communal living to insulate themselves from what they consider the dehumanizing pressures of modern society.

Dennis and Judy Chunyo are among hundreds of latter-day "homesteaders"—mostly college graduates—who are taking up farming in primitive settlements scattered throughout the Ozark Mountains north of Little Rock, Ark.

They bought their 40 acres for $6,000 with "relaxed" financing from a young subdivider, who lives in the 600-acre community.

Using castoff lumber hauled on their backs to an isolated creek bank, they built a one-room shack with a dirt floor and wood stove. They hope to clear enough land to start "organic" farming next year.

The two dozen settlers in their community, including children, emulate pioneer ways, pitching in to build fences, to improve their old logging roads, and to discuss common problems at town meetings.

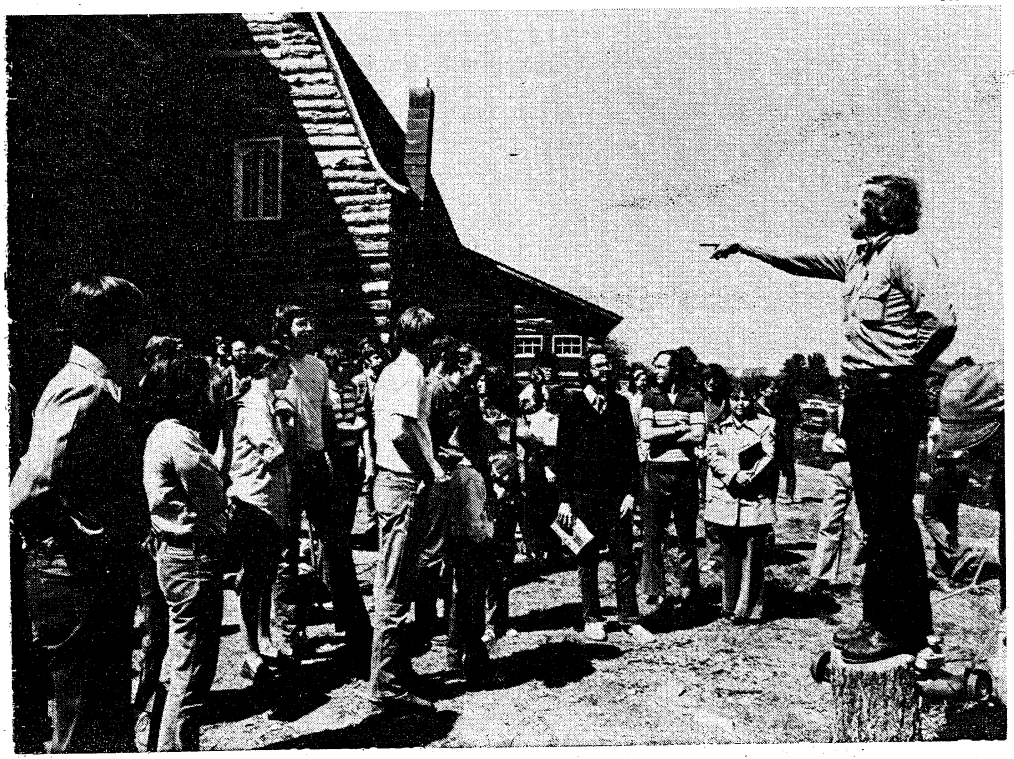
Six members gave up after a difficult trip picking apples as migrant workers in Missouri and Michigan last fall, but Mrs. Chunyo expects hardier settlers to replace them in the spring. Residents include vegetarians such as the Chunyos, a "Jesus freak," and one family that started out practicing Indian rituals and living in a tepee.

Drugs and politics, which used to be

(continued on next page)

Leader asks volunteers for chores at Love Inn, a Christian community near Ithaca, N. Y. Idealism draws many former activists to religion and the simplicity of rural life.

BOB COMBS



YESTERDAY'S REBELS

[*continued from preceding page*]

central concerns in many 1960s communes, are only peripheral there. "Lots of people grow their own [marijuana], but they're too busy to smoke much," said Mrs. Chunyo.

She also reported that those who still hold radical views "are too isolated to pay much attention to national politics." But she added:

"Everybody is into voting, because they've figured out that politicians decide who gets what, and the nearest paved road is about 8 miles from here. Last election, everybody voted for this judge who wanted to bring a paved road up to the store, only 3 miles away."

"Beating the system"? Such experimental life styles are regarded as impractical by many young adults. But even those who consider themselves relatively "straight" often seek simplicity and independence in their private lives, and this can put them into ironic situations. One Eastern sociologist said:

"A lot of them have become artisans or small businessmen—leather workers, restaurant owners, cab drivers or antique dealers. They think they're beating the system but actually they're joining it and providing an unexpected benefit to an important part of our economy."

For example, one alumnus of the Students for a Democratic Society put his savings into an old apartment building in a Florida college town. He hopes to fix up the building and get enough money out of it to quit his job and devote himself to writing fiction.

After reluctantly deciding he had to raise his tenants' rent, this young believer in socialism admits he has become a capitalist.

"Nobody with a family to support can ignore money. But we've managed almost totally to avoid cheap consumerism—wasting money on color-TV sets and semiannual cars. Unless you can invest in something of real value, you'll always be working for somebody else in some tedious occupation."

Earnings of rebels. One study of former student activists recently showed them making 14 to 28 per cent less money than their conventional classmates of 10 years ago. But it also found that more than half still call themselves "radical." The sociologist who wrote the report, James Fendrich, claimed the lower earnings were mostly voluntary.

"Activists are rejecting traditional occupations that offer only conventional rewards, such as money, status and security," he explained.

Hutchinson Traver, a former student-body president at Duke University, is a case in point. A few years ago he chaired a meeting where students decided to take over the university's administration building. Today, the 26-year-old history graduate is still in Durham, N. C., carving wood and making furniture in a three-room house with a cat and four chickens. Said Mr. Traver:

"A lot of my friends are getting really lucrative jobs. But I also see that a lot of them are unhappy because they are not doing what they really want to do."

Many campus activists such as Mr. Traver have remained in their old college towns after graduation. A large number even work for the universities that were the first targets of student protests years ago.

Over half the former radicals surveyed in one study became college teachers, which some observers see as an attempt to return to the atmosphere of academic freedom and intellectual abstraction that gave rise to their views.

Jeanne L. Wilson, one of the first arrested in the Berkeley protests, is now a psychology instructor at a community college north of San Francisco. She explained:

"I teach whatever I want and say whatever I want in my classroom. There aren't any restrictions, and if there were, I probably wouldn't be working there."

The popular jobs. Teaching ranks are jammed to overflowing with such young people, looking for security, personal freedom and a chance to influence others. Also popular is the press corps—and for the same reasons. One scholar noted:

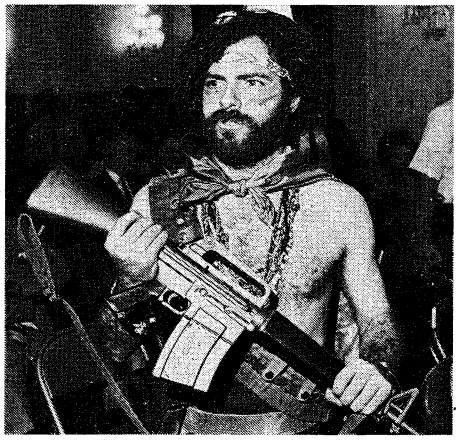
"These people see journalism as a chance to say what you think and do what you want. They think you can expose the 'system' and get paid for it."

The idealistic concerns of this generation have brought them into a host of necessary but previously ignored jobs.

Since the conservation movement began, forestry has lost its "square" image and is popular among young adults. So is teaching in ghetto schools, although many become frustrated and transfer out at the first opportunity. Even prison work is appealing to some middle-class activists who risked jail for a cause during their college days.

Law and medicine are two of the more attractive—and profitable—fields

Ex-"Yippie" Jerry Rubin today espouses self-improvement—a far cry from toy gun and rebel garb of 1968 visit to Congress.



USN&WR

Robin N. Lauriault, former revolutionary and ex-mayor of a small Georgia town, says raising a family turned him against impractical, "patronizing" attitude of "New Left."

Communist Angela Davis testifying at 1974 congressional hearing. Four years earlier, she was under arrest in New York.

Rennie Davis, now clean-cut disciple of an Indian guru, was leading Washington, D. C.'s "Mayday" antiwar protest in 1971.

WIDE WORLD, UPI

for young adults who want to help people without a boss looking over their shoulder. A teacher who has kept tabs on his former students remarked:

"At first, it was inner-city medicine and poverty law. But opportunities for advancement are hard to refuse, and now it's mostly a money thing."

Michael E. Tigar, for example, was one of the first radical leaders at Berkeley and, later, a lawyer for Angela Davis and other activists in trouble with the law. Now, at 33, he is a member of a prestigious Washington, D. C., law firm which has helped draw up the defense in the bribery case of former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally.

Mr. Tigar pointed out, however, that he also has been working on antiwiretap litigation and defending exiled draft resisters.

The firm encourages members to take on outside cases "for the public good," he said, and gives them time and resources to do "quality work on very important social issues—something that often isn't possible in the hurly-burly of public-interest law."

What happened to his political beliefs? Mr. Tigar answered:

"I still think radical solutions must be found to the problems of this society. But I'm less apocalyptic. The process of radical change is a lot more complex than many of us realized."

Their views today. Radicals who have joined the system are nearly unanimous in insisting that their basic opinions haven't changed. But justifying their present lives can be a problem. One veteran of the free-speech movement emphasized:

"I am inactive now, but my politics have remained unchanged. I still have my views."

Another, now a teacher and a mother, called herself "a catalyst within the system, doing what I want to do."

Thomas Cottle, now a clinical psychologist, writer and well-paid researcher for a Boston activist group called the Children's Defense Fund, admitted to the sense of hypocrisy that troubles so many of his generation. He explained:

"I still think there's a great deal of my life that is fundamentally a lie. And it's not a happy life. It's not easy to be happy in this culture if you have a conscience, because of all the misery going on."

Owusu Sadaukai, 33, a labor organizer who founded Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N. C., in 1969—only to see it close four years later—is sharply critical of what he calls "the fat cats of our generation." In his view:

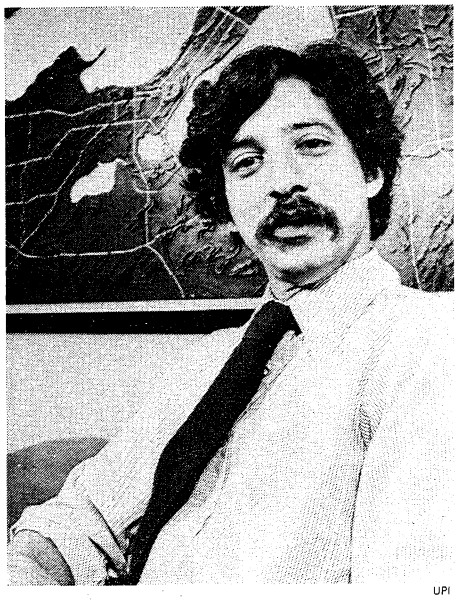
"It is clear as you look around the country, a lot of them are turning to electoral politics, some have become petty-bourgeois community leaders, and some have gone into transcendentalism and other forms of copping out. But there are a significant number of us who are trying to develop in a revolutionary manner, people who continue to work and struggle and organize."

Although the number of participants has been greatly reduced, the FBI has identified at least three surviving offshoots of the last decade's most prominent revolutionary group, the Students for a Democratic Society. One of them, the "Weatherman" faction, has claimed responsibility for three bombings from New York City to Los Angeles in the past 16 months, including a big blast in the Gulf Oil Corporation's Pittsburgh office tower last June.

And, despite the compromises many young rebels have made, some observers believe enough radical sentiment remains to fuel more widespread violence if leaders can find an issue as seemingly simple and emotional as segregated lunch counters or the Vietnam War. Professor Lipset, the Harvard professor of political science, warned:

"If we go into a major depression in the '70s, we will go into it with hundreds of thousands of professionally trained radicals. In the '30s, we had none of that, but we still had trouble. So the chances for upheaval now would be much greater."

Upheaval or no, most of those close to the troubled generation of the 1960s expect them to make their influence felt as they grow older and, in the words of West German radical Rudi Dutschke, "make a long march through all the institutions of society."



UPI

Mayor Paul Soglin of Madison, Wis., once a radical, now is in conventional politics.

THE IDEA OF A MEMORIAL TO FDR

IT'S BEEN 20 YEARS since a commission was set up to create a national memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the 32nd President, and the commission has struck out three times.

But a fourth attempt is coming up early in 1975. The National Park Service, with the guidance of the FDR Memorial Commission, expects to award another contract for preliminary designs. It will go to Lawrence Halprin & Associates, of San Francisco.

If the Halprin plan is accepted, it will fare better than the three monumental designs which have been rejected over the past two decades. Nearly $535,000 has been allocated thus far in the effort to achieve a "suitable" memorial to Mr. Roosevelt.

What FDR wanted. Mr. Roosevelt, in his last years, expressed a desire for a simple monument, small in size and with a minimum of carving. He told Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter in 1941:

"I don't care what it is made of . . . but I want it plain."

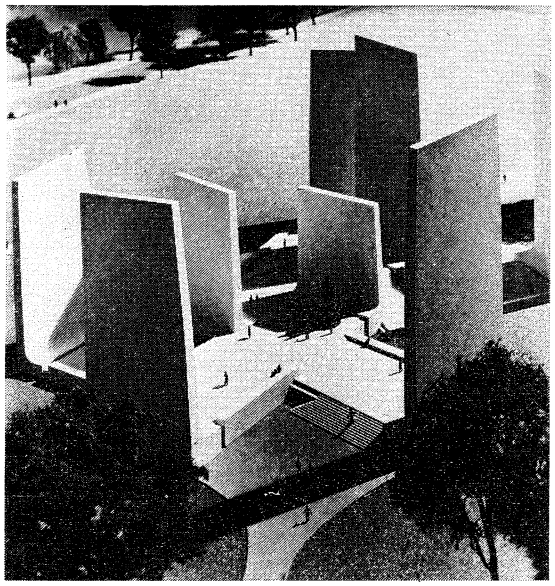
In respect to that wish, a table-size block of granite was placed in front of the National Archives in 1965.

But Congress, among others, felt a more massive undertaking was needed to honor Mr. Roosevelt.

A site in West Potomac Park, located between the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, was approved in 1959. The following year a design was chosen from among 574 entries submitted in a national competition. It consisted largely of eight tall rectangular pillars—and was popularly dubbed the "instant Stonehenge" because of its resemblance to the giant prehistoric monument near Salisbury, England.

The U. S. Fine Arts Commission rejected the design in 1962.

The plan was scaled down and a statue was added. The Arts Commission approved it in a split decision in 1964. But the U. S. Congress turned it down—largely because of objections from the Roosevelt family.



First design for a memorial, even after a revision, failed to win the approval of the Roosevelt family.

Next: a pin wheel. In 1966, the Memorial Commission gave architect Marcel Breuer a $47,500 contract for a new design concept. It was described as a "pin wheel" of 73-foot-high granite "darts" surrounded by pools and a plaza. The Arts Commission turned thumbs down the following year.

By 1970 the Memorial Commission had abandoned the monumental approach and opted for a rose garden, statue and walkways in the 27-acre setting. In 1974, the Interior Department budget provided $175,000 to seek the submission of new designs. Later that year it was decided to employ the Halprin firm.

Eugene Keogh, chairman of the FDR Memorial Commission, said the four-year hiatus in the plans for a garden solution was caused "partly by money and partly by trying to arrive at a consensus."

FDR Commission sources stress that Mr. Halprin's preliminary design for a rose garden, sculpture and perhaps a water fountain will be subject to the approval of both the U. S. Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission.

A hard task. William Walton, writer and painter, who was chairman of the Fine Arts Commission at the time the Breuer design was rejected, said then:

"The whole problem of completing a memorial to great men is a very difficult one and has been done successfully very few times. The Lincoln Memorial is quite successful. It set a high standard for us to aim at since this one is a close neighbor."

Looking back over the 20 years of attempts to build a memorial to President Roosevelt, Mr. Walton says:

"There's no reason to have 'instant' memorials. This is a classical, very interesting city. When you remember that the Lincoln Memorial was not finished until 50 years after the President's death, it seems we're really not doing too badly."

Third design, described as a "pin wheel" of granite darts rising 73 feet high, was drawn up in 1966 under a $47,500 contract. Fine Arts Commission rejected it.