## REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. BOWE

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PRESIDENT, CLARENCE DARROW COMMUNITY CENTER AT THE MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO CLARENCE DARROW

> DARROW MEMORIAL BRIDGE JACKSON, PARK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 10:00 A.M. TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1979

AS AN ATTORNEY FOR THE DAMNED, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE OPPRESSED AND DOWNTRODEN, CLARENCE DARROW WOULD HAVE TURNED A PRACTICED EYE ON THE DECADE OF 1960s AND 1970s AS THEY RELATE TO SPIES, CONSPIRACIES, AND ENEMIES OF THE STATE.

HE NO DOUBT WOULD HAVE FOUND IT A NOT SURPRISING CURIOSITY THAT VIRTUALLY EVERY GOVERNMENTAL ENTITY WITH A POLICING FUNCTION GOT INTO THE SPY BUSINESS IN THE 1960s TO HELP SURPRESS WHAT THEN CONSIDERED DANGEROUS CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE STATE. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE 1970s, IT SEEMS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE DRIVE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE WITHIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN THE 1960s COULD HAVE BEEN VIEWED THIS WAY OR THAT THE RELUCTANCE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TO ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORT THE VIETNAM WAR SHOULD HAVE ALSO BEEN VIEWED AS A DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENT TO BE MONITORED AS IT WAS WITH SPIES. NEVERTHELESS, IT HAPPENED.

AND, IT IS WORTH WHILE PAUSING FOR A MOMENT TO INQUIRE WHY THIS WAS SO. IT IS HELPFUL TO REMEMBER WHAT IS DIFFERENT ABOUT GOVERNMENT SPYING---WHAT SETS IT APART FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS. SUCH AN INQUIRY SHOULD SHED SOME LIGHT ON THE NATURE OF THE SPYING BEAST. WHETHER IT BE THE FBI, THE CIA, THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT RED SQUAD, THE ARMY OR THE NATIONAL GUARD, SPY BUREAUCRACIES ALWAYS OPERATE IN SECRET. THEIR BUSINESS, AFTER ALL, IS A SECRET BUSINESS. IT IS HARDLY POSSIBLE TO SPY ON SOMEONE IF THE TARGET OF SURVEILLANCE KNOWS THEY ARE BEING SPIED UPON.

NOW WE ALL KNOW THAT GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES ARE UNWIELDY MECHANISMS ANYWAY, WITH A MOMENTUM ALL THEIR OWN. HENCE WE KNOW THEY ARE NOT ALWAYS FULLY RESPONSIVE TO CHANGES IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP. THIS TENDANCY IS ONLY COMPOUNDED IN CLANDESTINE BUREAUCRACIES WHICH ARE EVEN MORE ISOLATED FROM A SENSE OF THE PUBLIC WILL THAN THEIR ABOVE-GROUND COUNTERPARTS. IN SHORT, SPY BUREAUCRACIES ARE INHERANTLY MORE LIKELY TO BE WRONG-HEADED THAN OTHER GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACIES THAT ARE REGULARLY AFFECTED BY THE HURLY-BURLY OF PUBLIC OPINION.

AS AN ATTORNEY AND A CITIZEN PASIONATELY COMMITTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF JUSTICE WITHIN OUR LEGAL SYSTEM, CLARENCE DARROW WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SURPRISED AS THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR SPIES CAME OUT DURING THE COURSE OF THE WATERGATE FIASCO. BUT ON THE WHOLE, I THINK HE WOULD HAVE BEEN DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED THAT OUR LEGISLATORS

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AT THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL FAILED IN THE 1970s TO RESPOND TO THE PUBLIC'S DISENCHANTMENT OVER THEIR GOVERNMENTS' SECRET PAST ACTIVITIES WITH NEW LEGAL CHARTERS TO RESTRICT AND GOVERN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS. WHERE IS THE CHARTER FOR THE CIA? WHERE IS THE CHARTER FOR THE FBI? WHERE IS A WELL DEFINED CODE OF AUTHORITY FOR THE OPERATION OF THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT'S INTELLIGENT FUNCTIONS?

WHILE THE DECADE OF THE 1970s HAS BEEN AN ENLIGHTENED DECADE COMPARED TO THE PARANOIA OF THE 1960s, CLARENCE DARROW WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT WITH RESPECT TO SPIES AND CONSPIRACIES ENLIGHTENMENT IS NOT ENOUGH.

THEREFORE, THE TASK BEFORE US IN THE EARLY PART OF THE 1980s IS CLEAR. IT IS ONCE AND FOR ALL TO SUBMIT ALL OF THE INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT TO THE RULE OF LAW. LET THERE BE NO CONSPIRACY TO CONTINUE TO SWEEP THIS PROBLEM UNDER THE RUG OR TO LET ITS MAGNITUDE FADE IN MEMORY'S HAZE. LET US INSTEAD TODAY REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE IDEALS EMBODIED IN DARROW'S LIFE AND BE ABOUT THE PUBLIC'S BUSINESS OF LEGALLY DEFINING PROPER AND IMPROPER POLICE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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