November’s “NLG Presents” discussion with peace activists Cole Harrison and Sarah Fuhrro seemed to touch a nerve amongst many present. We know the suffering caused by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the immense economic cost, and the damage that bombs dropped on civilian targets have done to the U.S.’ reputation and influence abroad. And at the same time, we wonder why tens of thousands are not in the streets as they were 40 years ago. Coexisting with the violence and waste of war takes a toll on all of us, yet many of us feel powerless to change its course.

In this issue, Harrison confronts the strategic challenges faced by the peace movement head-on, and shows how common cause can – and must – be built with advocates for jobs, education, housing, the environment, as he documents the economic cost of war.

Fuhrro highlights the activism of military family members and veterans who know first-hand the costs of war.

NLG Board Member Thom Cincotta describes the Guild’s role in defending – and participating in – civil disobedience against an illegal war, with an overview of relevant international law.

Guild law student at Western New England College Law School Lauren Marcous writes about FBI targeting of anti-war activists, as she describes a recent forum held in Northampton by the Guild WNEC chapter. Cincotta briefs readers on the “material support” law that threatens peaceful international solidarity work.

The discussion in November was passionate, with various views of whether and how mass opposition to the wars can be mobilized. As one veteran activist reminded us afterward, the peace movement in the 1960s did not always look any grander than the peace movement today – it takes a lot of meetings in church basements to end a war.

If you’re looking to get involved, check out the websites of Massachusetts Peace Action, United for Justice with Peace, and the Stop the War Coalition. We hope this will spark more discussion of the Guild’s role in building peace.

- Bonnie Tenneriello and
Thom Cincotta -
Join a Guild Committee

Street Law Clinic Project: The Street Law Clinic project provides workshops for Massachusetts organizations that address legal needs of various communities. Legal education workshops on 4th Amendment Rights (Stop & Search), Landlord/Tenant Disputes, Workers' Rights, Civil Disobedience Defense, Bankruptcy Law, Foreclosure Prevention Law, and Immigration Law are held at community organizations, youth centers, labor unions, shelters, and pre-release centers. If you are a Guild attorney, law student, or legal worker interested in leading a workshop, please contact the project at 617-723-4330 or nlgmass-slc@igc.org.

Lawyer Referral Service Panel (LRS): Members of the panel provide legal services at reasonable rates. Referral Service Administrative/Oversight Committee members: Neil Berman, Neil Burns, Joshua Goldstein, Jeremy Robin, and Azizah Yasin. For more information, contact the Referral Service Coordinator at 617-227-7008 or nlgmass@igc.org.

Foreclosure Prevention Task Force: Created in June 2008, the Task Force’s goal is threefold: (1) to draft and introduce policies that address issues that homeowners and tenants of foreclosed on houses face, (2) to provide legal assistance to these homeowners and tenants, and (3) to conduct legal clinics for them. If you are interested in working with the Task Force, please call the office at 617-227-7335.

Independent Civilian Review Board: In coalition with the American Friends Service Committee and Greater Boston Civil Rights Coalition, the NLG has been pushing for the creation of an independent civilian board to review complaints against Boston police officers. To get involved in the campaign, please contact the office at 617-227-7335.

NLG National Immigration Project: Works to defend and extend the human and civil rights of all immigrants, both documented and undocumented. The Committee works in coalition with community groups to organize support for immigrant rights in the face of right-wing political attacks. For more information contact the NLG National Immigration Project at 617-227-9727.

NLG Military Law Task Force: Provides legal advice and assistance to those in the military and to others, especially members of the GI Rights Hotline, who are counseling military personnel on their rights. It also provides legal support and helps to find local legal referrals when needed. The MLTF and the Hotline exchange many questions and information through their listserves. For advice and information, GI’s can call 877-447-4487. To get involved, please contact Neil Berman (njberman2@juno.com) or Marguerite Helen (mugsm@mindspring.com).

COALITIONS:

Jobs with Justice, a coalition-based organization addressing workers’ rights. The NLG is a member of Jobs with Justice; any interested Guild members can attend meetings & events.
GUILD NEWS

ARTICLES FOR MASS DISSENT

The March issue of Mass Dissent will focus on the women in law and politics.

If you are interested in submitting an article, essay, analysis, or art work (cartoons, pictures) related to the topic, please e-mail the articles to nlgmass-director@igc.org.

The deadline for articles is February 15.
FBI Assassination of Fred Hampton & Black Panthers

In November, the NLG Massachusetts Chapter, with NLG Police Accountability Project, ACLU, and the NLG Northeastern student chapter, organized a panel discussion on “The FBI and the Murder of a Black Panther.” The “standing room only” event featured Jeffrey Haas, author of “The Assassination of Fred Hampton,” and welcomed other distinguished panelists Geraldine Hines, Superior Court Judge; Soffiyah Elijah, Criminal Justice Institute at Harvard; King Downing, NPAP; and moderator Michael Avery, Suffolk Law School.

Jeffrey Haas (standing) describes a layout of Mr. Hampton’s apartment, how the police and FBI entered the room and attacked Mr. Hampton and everyone else in the apartment. (l.-r.) King Downing, Geraldine Hines, Soffiyah Elijah, and Michael Avery.


Photos by Brigitt Keller

NLG 2010 Holiday Party

On the first Friday last December, over 70 Guild members and friends converged at Stern Shapiro Weissberg & Garin in Boston to celebrate the NLG Annual Holiday Party.

The event was festive and very enjoyable, filled with inspiring conversations, witty humor, and obviously wonderful food and wine. It ended with an exciting raffle drawing which left many attendees very happy - the raffle offered a variety of interesting prizes. ’Till next time!

Photo by Sara DeConde
Two years into the Obama era, the antiwar movement is not close to having the power to end the Afghanistan war. Many assumed an Obama administration would at least moderate the move towards permanent war and domestic reaction which developed during the Bush administration. But the opposite has been the case. Obama has tripled U.S. forces in Afghanistan to 100,000 and greatly increased drone strikes in Pakistan. He declared in November that the Afghanistan war would continue until at least 2014. Guantanamo has not been closed, and a new round of FBI subpoenas was served on antiwar activists in December. Instead of moving to a more peaceful foreign policy, the Administration has embraced military solutions that don’t work.

After nine years, the U.S. public is tired of the Afghanistan conflict, with 63% opposed to U.S. involvement there in a December CNN poll. Yet this antiwar sentiment is shallow. Only 8% of November voters indicated in exit polls that Afghanistan is the most important issue facing the country. Public opinion is swinging against the war, but not fast or strongly enough to end it.

To find new allies, the antiwar movement needs to talk much more about how war and empire are destroying the futures not only of Afghans, but also of Americans. After all, the Afghanistan war alone will cost taxpayers $119 billion in 2011, plus $51 billion for the war in Iraq. The military budget has more than doubled in the past 10 years, reaching $737 billion in FY2011 and consuming over 50% of the federal discretionary budget. Yet social security is on the chopping block, and jobs and health programs are in severe jeopardy. When people start to connect the dots and realize their economic interests are being seriously hurt by wars and the warfare state, it will bring important new allies into the antiwar camp, potentially enough to turn the tide on wars such as Afghanistan.

When people start to connect the dots and realize their economic interests are being seriously hurt by wars and the warfare state, it will bring important new allies into the antiwar camp.

With more than 10 million jobs lost and a resurgent right wing opposed to stimulating the economy and helping state and local government, the economic picture for the majority of Americans is bleak. In Massachusetts, next year’s budget shortfall is expected to be $1.5-2 billion and to result in draconian cuts in education, health, local aid, and other programs. Boston plans to close 18 schools, and library closings are still on the table. You might think that Governor Patrick and the State Legislature would be asking the Federal government to end the wars, cut military spending, and send the money saved to Massachusetts. But you would be wrong.

Unions, low and moderate income community groups, advocates for jobs, education, housing, environment, and social services, and cities and towns, all have an interest in cutting back the mammoth share of federal spending that goes to the military and redirecting it to urgent domestic priorities. But many of these groups fear they will lose support if they take on broader issues such as peace, environment, and the like. They fight for their constituents in the state and local political arena, where there are few resources available, while the federal government has most of the money. Engaging in pork-barrel politics to direct military money to their own districts, liberal Democrats in Congress are not held accountable for the runaway growth in military spending. With this approach, the political power to redress national priorities is never brought to bear, the wars continue, and the hollowing out of the U.S. economy continues on its way.

The Massachusetts Fund our Communities / Cut Military Spending 25% Campaign has formed to address this strategic problem. Initiated by peace movement veterans in United for Justice with Peace, the campaign seeks to engage economic justice groups in an alliance to link military spending with state and local budget issues. The campaign and allied groups have already obtained city or town...
Military Families and Veterans Speak Out Against the War

by Sarah Fuhro

There is strong consensus in every branch of the peace movement to link the economic and human cost of war. I belong to Military Families Speak Out, a national organization of families who oppose the wars in which our loved ones are participants. Many Americans have grown accustomed to the endless wars which have extended over the last nine years, yet are deeply concerned about the economy. As military families we see our children, spouses, siblings, nieces and nephews deployed repeatedly, and watch them return to communities devastated by budget cuts. We are deeply aware of the connection between military spending and a failed economy. We are a strong voice, wherever we live to make the connection between endless wars of occupation and the destruction of our social fabric.

The focus for our organization has become Bring Our Troops and Military Dollars Home Now!

MFSO has a postcard and petition drive which we will deliver in March at a lobby weekend in Washington. People can join us in this effort by going to our website: www.MFSO.org and sign our petition: Bring our Troops and Military Dollars Home Now!

Veterans also take a lead in this effort. Veterans for Peace and Iraq Veterans Against the War have created the powerful slogan, How is the Military Economy Working for You?

Iraq Veterans against the War have also brought attention to the redeployment of injured soldiers, and have joined with Military Families Speak Out to bring awareness to this continuing disaster. With returning Iraq and Afghan veterans at a 23% unemployment level and many veterans homeless within a year of their return from deployment, military families and veterans have a very clear picture of the cost of the our military budget priority.

Military families often desperately need the services now being cut in every state. Children are under stress because one or both parents is missing in deployment. Parents return with serious physical and psychic injuries to families who need the stable environment of schools and clinics. But schools and clinics are cut at the very moment when the home environment is under great stress.

It is no secret to military families and veterans that addiction is part of what soldiers bring back from long stays in combat and occupation duties. Yet rehab centers, addiction counseling, and detox facilities are cut and eliminated in order to keep wars and military contracts well financed.

Another area where MFSO and other peace groups have worked together is the recent attempt to crack down on peace activists. The invasion of homes and offices of those involved in peaceful protest has been noted and letters of solidarity sent to law enforcement agencies. It would be very ironic if the constitution, which our loved ones are sworn to protect is disregarded while they are deployed in faraway wars.

Here’s the good news: this is one war where veterans and military families will not keep silent. For those of us who have opposed these wars and the terrible consequences of war upon our communities and our civil liberties, we will keep these issues front and center. United for Justice and Peace, 25% Solution and other groups have been training people to talk about the military budget. In my community our local peace organization Metrowest Peace Action runs seminars on the subject of military spending and budget deficits. This year we will begin the process of asking our town or city governments to join in the call to Bring our Troops and Military Dollars Home! We already have some examples of this in actions taken by the city council in Portland Maine, and public letters from Mayors in Boston and Northampton. We are also fortunate to have a Congressman from Massachusetts, Barney Frank who has proposed a 25% cut to military combined with a call to reallocate these funds to civilian needs.

February 2011

Mass Dissent

Sarah Fuhro is a Board member of Military Families Speak Out. Her son has been deployed (for more than a year each time) to Iraq and Afghanistan with a medical unit of the Army reserves. She lives in Natick and is an astrologer and flower essence practitioner.
Las Vegas Township Judge Jansen will soon decide whether activists who trespassed onto the Creech Air Force Base are not guilty because they acted out of necessity. The Creech 14 entered the base to protest its role in operating unmanned aerial vehicles, or drones, over Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, which have killed hundreds of civilians. Judge Jansen allowed Ramsey Clark, retired Army Colonel Ann Wright, and longtime Guild member Bill Quigley to testify about the need to break the law to prevent future war crimes. Likewise, anti-war demonstrators represented by Guild attorney Larry Hildes in Tacoma, WA argued the necessity of using their bodies to block Stryker vehicles returning from Iraq to be repaired at Fort Lewis. There, Daniel Ellsberg testified on the protesters' behalf.

These cases demonstrate how Guild members can breathe life into international law to support the anti-war movement and deepen criticism for wars that steal resources from our communities and needlessly destroy lives. Public opinion in the U.S. has turned against the war in Afghanistan, but we need to galvanize that opposition by continuing to educate and mobilize.

Though President Obama has frequently spoken of "renewing our commitment" to international law, he escalated military action in Afghanistan. The invasion of Afghanistan has been illegal from its inception, contrary to conventional wisdom that the horrific crimes of 9/11 and the Taliban's "safe haven" for Al Qaeda justified full-scale war. America's use of military force to punish, seize, kill, or dismantle Al Qaeda and the Taliban violates the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Conventions, and key provisions of eleven international agreements dealing with the suppression and control of terrorism. U.S. and NATO actions constitute war crimes pursuant to the Rome Statute, the 2002 treaty establishing the International Criminal Court to prosecute genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

The UN Charter prohibits the use and threatened use of any force in member states' international relations; states must settle their disputes by peaceful means. It prohibits the use of force to topple foreign governments. Article 2 of the Charter prohibits the use or threatened use of forces against another state. The Article 2 prohibition applies to all force and is a rule of customary international law. Professor Francis Boyle reminds us, Bush Jr. went to the UN Security Council to get a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Afghanistan and Al Qaeda.

He failed. You have to remember that. This war has never been authorized by the United Nations Security Council . . . . It constitutes an act and a war of aggression by the United States against Afghanistan.

Article 51 of the Charter, which defines member states' right of self-defense, does not create any right to make retaliatory attacks or to engage in the use of force to repel anticipated armed attacks. Former Guild President Marjorie Cohn explains that Operation Enduring Freedom was not legitimate self-defense under the Charter because the 9/11 attacks were crimes against humanity, not armed attacks by another country. Furthermore, there was not an imminent threat of an armed attack on the U.S. after 9/11, and the necessity for self-defense must be "instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation." President Bush stretched traditional notions of self-defense by assigning the Taliban regime responsibility based on "harboring" Osama bin Laden and his operation.

Not only was the war unjustified, but there is mounting factual evidence that the war is "demonstrably criminal in its execution," says Canadian military veteran John McNamer. In a brief sent to members of Parliament, McNamer documents substantial

Continued on page 10

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3 For a complete listing of relevant authorities, see: Gail Davidson, “International Law: The Illegality of the War on Afghanistan,” (Oct. 13, 2001).
4 As of October 2010, 114 states have ratified the treaty. The United States signed, then withdrew its signature.
5 Francis Boyle, “Is Bush’s War Illegal? Let Us Count the Ways,” CounterPunch.org (Sept. 17, 2002).
In December, the Western New England College chapter, along with Alliance for Justice, American Friends Service Committee and more than one dozen other organizations co-sponsored a talk in Northampton on the growing menace of FBI repression. The event featured a discussion with targeted activist Meredith Aby, a prominent member of the progressive community in the Twin Cities who is a mother, a high school government teacher and a leader in the Minneapolis Anti-War Committee. Following Aby’s talk, Bruce Miller, a civil rights attorney and professor, provided attendees with information on how to handle a visit from the FBI. Aby and Miller shared the chilling details of FBI raids on peace activists that took place on September 24th, 2010, the equally chilling legal ruling upholding the “material support of terrorism statute” (see article on page 9 for details), and what can be done to fight back against the FBI’s repressive regime.

Aby and the other activists who are being targeted by today’s FBI are unsurprisingly similar to the targeted political dissidents of the past. They are loudly speaking out against U.S. foreign policy during a time of war and attempting to hold the U.S. government accountable for their imperialistic exploits across the globe. Although these are protected activities under the First Amendment, ever since the Supreme Court’s ruling in Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project in June of 2010, the attack on freedom of association and political speech has heightened. Aby pointed out that if the current material support statutes were in place during Obama’s college years, he may have been subjected to criminal investigation for his advocacy on behalf of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress. Aby believes this an important story in fighting back against the FBI’s continued attacks on civil liberties. “We need to make these connections . . . [that] disagreeing with your government does not make you a terrorist.”

Both Aby and the Guild attorneys who are defending those who have been subpoenaed believe this investigation is a test case for the Department of Justice to see how far they can extend the material support of terrorism statute. In response to this attempt to revive the witch hunts that became commonplace in the dark era of McCarthyism, Aby says “we have a responsibility to defend our movement. We have a responsibility to push back and say ‘this is a ridiculous waste of resources and this doesn’t make us safe.’” She suggests that activist groups stand together in solidarity against these egregious violations of First and Fourth Amendment rights by starting or joining a local chapter of the Committee to Stop FBI Repression. By signing the petition to end FBI repression online at stopfbi.net, emails stating opposition to the FBI investigation of activists will automatically be sent out to U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, Barack Obama, and other key politicians who hold seats on relevant congressional committees. Responding to and participating in the Committee’s national calls to action is also a critical way to build political pressure and being an end to the FBI’s repressive tactics.

Lauren Marcous is a 2L at Western New England College School of Law and President of her school’s NLG student chapter.
Mere months after *Citizens United* struck down restrictions on corporate speech, in *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*, 561 U.S. ___ (2010), the Roberts court ruled that the First Amendment permits Congress to imprison human rights activists for up to fifteen years merely for advising militant organizations on ways to reject violence and pursue their disputes through lawful means. The court upheld Section 303 of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which makes it a crime to knowingly provide “material support or resources” to a designated terrorist organization, even when the speech support consists only of speech advocating peace and human rights. Lower courts had struck down the provision as unconstitutional, but the Obama administration (represented by Elena Kagan) appealed.

Specialists in peaceful conflict resolution and disaster relief who wanted to interact with the Kurdistan Workers Party and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam challenged the terms “training,” “expert advice or assistance,” “service,” and “specialized knowledge” as unconstitutionally vague. The KWP and LTTE engage in a variety of both lawful and unlawful activities and are designated as terrorist organizations by the Secretary of State.

Under this law, advising Hezbollah while monitoring elections in Lebanon or publishing Op-Eds by Hamas leaders would be criminal. In the past, the Supreme Court has ruled that the First Amendment protected the right to advocate even criminal activity, so long as advocacy was not intended and likely to produce an imminent crime. In *Humanitarian Law Project*, says civil rights attorney David Cole, “the Court ruled for the first time in its history that speech advocating only lawful, nonviolent activity can be subject to criminal penalty.”

As Cole explains, the court reasoned that speech advocating peace might “legitimate” a listed group, thereby interfering with U.S. foreign policy. Chief Justice Roberts even speculated that advising an organization on how to file human rights complaints might permit the group to use the law to “threaten, manipulate, and disrupt,” and helping a group pursue peace might give it cover to prepare for its next attack. Roberts stressed that the law only reached speech “coordinated” with listed groups, not independent advocacy or speech coordinated with domestic groups.

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2. This reasoning sounds precariously close to right-wing arguments that Israel is under attack by “Lawfare” - human rights groups’ use of international law to challenge abuses and war crimes in occupied territories. See *The Lawfare Project*.

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**Anti-war Movement Broadening its Base**

*Continued from page 5*

In spring 2011, the campaign is organizing budget hearings and speak-outs to coincide with state budget time-lines. The hearings will invite testimony from individuals and organizations hurt by state and local budget cuts, invite congresspeople and their staff, urge them to move money from the Pentagon to community needs, and support fair, progressive tax reforms. The campaign seeks to build locally based groups and coalitions across Massachusetts to keep participants involved and build pressure not only to cut the Pentagon budget and stop the wars, but to direct the resulting funds back to our communities and enact state tax reforms this year.

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Cole Harrison is communications coordinator for Massachusetts Peace Action and convenor of UJP’s Afghanistan Task Force.
allegations of illegal torture; illegal and abusive detainments – sometimes leading to deaths in custody; civilian deaths from bombing and other indiscriminate use of force, and collusion with illegal “renditions” of individuals to and from other countries for purposes of torture. All national and international law forbid the killing of non-combatants. Total civilian deaths caused by U.S. led military actions are estimated at 8,991 to 28,583 direct and indirect deaths. \[8\] “The Charter,” explains a treatise in International Law, “is based on the belief that international law should not be enforced by the commission of more crimes.” With every passing day, the U.S. commits more crimes in Afghanistan and the rationales for this war continue to crumble before reality.


“Civilian Casualties of the War in Afghanistan (2001-present),” Wikipedia.

Thom Cincotta is a researcher at Political Research Associates in Somerville and a member of the NLG Board of Directors.
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I, _____________________________________, am making a commitment to support the Massachusetts Chapter of the Guild with an annual contribution of:

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Please mail to: NLG, Massachusetts Chapter
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In the spring of 2003, the Massachusetts Chapter of the NLG initiated the Chapter Sustainer Program. Since its inception, the Program has been very successful and has been enthusiastically joined by the following Guild members:

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   Urszula Masny-Latos, Director 11/2/2010
The National Lawyers Guild is...

"...an association dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system. We seek to unite the lawyers, law students, legal workers and jailhouse lawyers of America in an organization which shall function as an effective political and social force in the service of people, to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property interests. Our aim is to bring together all those who regard adjustments to new conditions as more important than the veneration of precedent; who recognize the importance of safeguarding and extending the rights of workers, women, farmers, and minority groups upon whom the welfare of the entire nation depends; who seek actively to eliminate racism; who work to maintain and protect our civil rights and liberties in the face of persistent attacks upon them; and who look upon the law as an instrument for the protection of the people, rather than for their repression."


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* Any new member who joins after September 1 will be carried over to the following year. Dues may be paid in full or in quarterly installments. Dues of $80 cover the basic membership costs, which include publication and mailing of Mass Dissent (the Chapter’s monthly newsletter), national and regional dues, and the office and staff. No one will be denied membership because of inability to pay.