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**THE ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE BICENTENNIAL
The Peoples Bicentennial Commission**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MARCH 17 AND 18, 1976

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the testimony of Francis M. Watson, Jr., taken in executive session on March 17, 1976, and Mary O. Walton, taken in executive session on March 18, 1976, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

Approved: June 1, 1976.

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THE ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE BICENTENNIAL—THE PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1976

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:07 o'clock a.m., in the Russell Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland, chairman, presiding.

Also present: Richard L. Schultz, chief counsel; Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and David Martin, senior analyst.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

In the discharge of our mandated responsibilities, the Internal Security Subcommittee has, over the years, responded to the expression of congressional and public interest in the activities of emerging revolutionary organizations. A review of our publications will disclose that the Internal Security Subcommittee has conducted continuing study relevant to the activities of both those organizations dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union, as well as those apart from such dominance. In the absence of a duly constituted agency or commission of the Government, the Internal Security Subcommittee has, and will continue to develop a body of evidence concerning revolutionary organizations which cannot be made available to the Congress or to the public through such customary means as a criminal investigation by the FBI. There is no other legally constituted body available to do the job.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is well aware that there are individuals and groups who view our Bicentennial celebration as a historic opportunity to test the strength of our fiber by engaging in acts of terrorism or through actions designed solely for the purpose of bringing about disruption.

We are also aware that there are those who would test the strength of our fiber through insidious means.

It is important that the Congress and the public be aware of the existence of organizations of the revolutionary left, which seek to pervert the legitimate meaning of the American Revolution, and who with the tacit connivance of front organizations, have engaged in a massive campaign to try to "capture" the Bicentennial celebration for themselves. The subcommittee meets today for the purpose of receiving testimony and evidence from witnesses who have made a study of

revolutionary organizations. Through their testimony, today and in subsequent hearings, we plan to peel back the patriotic veneer of the name the Peoples Bicentennial Commission for the purpose of examining and laying before the Congress and the public, facts, by which the legitimacy of this organization's publicly stated goals and objectives and the integrity of their spokesmen may be objectively evaluated.

Our witness today is Mr. Francis M. Watson, Jr., director of Media Research, Dunn Loring, Va. Would you stand and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WATSON. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel, would you please proceed with the questioning?

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS M. WATSON, JR., DIRECTOR OF MEDIA RESEARCH, DUNN LORING, VA.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Watson, would you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. WATSON. Francis M. Watson, Jr. Business address?

Mr. SCHULTZ. That will be fine.

Mr. WATSON. Box 51, Dunn Loring, Va. 22027.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What is your occupation?

Mr. WATSON. I am a researcher and writer.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And what type of materials do you research and write about?

Mr. WATSON. My specialty field is media analysis and propaganda analysis, and I am usually concerned with revolutionary organizations and their tactics and propaganda.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How long have you been so associated?

Mr. WATSON. About 12 or 13 years.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you briefly describe your background for us?

Mr. WATSON. I have a bachelor's degree in education and a master's degree in journalism, with a specialty in public opinion. I am a retired Army officer, and in my last years in the military service, I was involved in research in counterinsurgency and propaganda. I left the military service in 1966. I went to work for a civilian research organization that did this same type of work, and when I left them I went to work for an organization that did media analysis for public opinion poll type information, and while I worked for them I conducted a year long research project into what underground newspapers in the United States were saying at that time.

We actually analyzed a sample of underground papers taken from across the country and published our results in monthly reports called 'Tupart Monthly Reports on the Underground Press. I think those are on file in the Library of Congress.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. From what school did you graduate?

Mr. WATSON. University of Georgia.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And what was your specialty?

Mr. WATSON. Public opinion. I did my graduate work in journalism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. Have you published any books in connection with your work?

Mr. WATSON. Well, since I left National Media Analysis, for the last 4 or 5 years I have been independent and have written a number of reports and published booklets on the subject of propaganda and terrorism. I have just finished a book—it will be published next month—on terrorism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Mr. Watson.

I note that you have a prepared statement and I would suggest that you proceed at your own pace at this time.

Mr. WATSON. This statement is designed to try to set the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in some sort of understandable context. It gives a little bit of the background of it, and what I think are the reasons for being concerned about it.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission which I will call PBC hereafter, poses itself as a "nationwide citizens' organization dedicated to restoring the democratic principles that shaped the birth of this republic." Here I am quoting PBC. In actual fact, it is a propaganda and organizing tool of a small group of New Left political extremists who seek to use the Bicentennial to further their own goals.

This is not something about which we need speculate. We can find statements of this intent in their own words. For example, in 1972, when Jeremy Rifkin, the rising young frontrunner for PBC, was trying to interest fellow members of the newly formed radical New American Movement in sponsoring the PBC idea, he wrote in that organization's monthly newspaper:

It makes no sense for the New Left to allow the defenders of the system, the advantage of presenting themselves as the true heirs and defenders of the American revolutionary tradition. Instead, the revolutionary heritage must be used as a tactical weapon to isolate the existing institutions and those in power.

I, incidentally, have that newspaper with me so that you can copy it and enter it into the record.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Watson, we will mark this as exhibit No. 1, and I hand it to you and ask that you identify this document for the record.

Mr. WATSON. I will. This is the November-December 1971 edition of an organizational newspaper called New American Movement, published in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this and all other documents offered by the witness in the course of this hearing be accepted and the final decision as to inclusion in the record be reserved until the documents can be reviewed and an appropriate decision reached.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered. Carry on.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 1 and will be found in appendix A, p. 75.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. And how did you come into possession of that newspaper, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. Well, it happens to be one of the newspapers that we picked up in the course of the project I described having conducted several years ago of analyzing underground newspapers, and this qualifies as an underground newspaper.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. Please proceed.

Mr. WATSON. Further, in the same article in this paper, Rifkin explained that by establishing the Peoples Bicentennial Commissions on the State or local level, the New American Movement could attract citizens from communities, unions, civil organizations, grade schools, high schools, and colleges for eventual recruitment into local chapters of the New American Movement itself. He pointed out that people who would not feel comfortable in a radical political organization initially could be led into the New American Movement through radical-directed Bicentennial activities.

In the concluding paragraphs of his article, Rifkin said:

Aside from engaging large numbers of people for the first time, who might not feel comfortable relating directly to the New American Movement, the Peoples Commissions would provide a unique forum for mass media exposure over the next four years. This mechanism could be used to raise political awareness and to promote New American Movement and other radical activities and demands.

Subsequent developments show that Rifkin knew precisely whereof he spoke, for almost every line in this paragraph has come true in the 4 years he specified and probably to an extent beyond his fondest dreams. The media, the conservatives, as well as those usually considered liberal, have fallen all over themselves providing Rifkin and his self-appointed Peoples Bicentennial Commission time and space. Newspapers, news magazines, and radio and television outlets have taken things at face value and in the process have simply made themselves conveyor belts for anything the PBC wants to pump out to the American public. To say that PBC has gotten more time and space than the official Bicentennial Administration is an understatement. It has happened right within the pages of given editions of papers and magazines, again, even in those of traditionally conservative tones.

For example, before the kickoff of the official Bicentennial celebration period, the observance in Lexington-Concord in April of 1975, Rifkin went around the country saying PBC was going to send a message to Wall Street. It is doubtful that even he thought he could use the Wall Street Journal to do so, but he did. I, incidentally, have a copy here of such a Wall Street Journal article.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will identify that as exhibit No. 2 and would you identify the date and edition?

Mr. WATSON. This is the Wall Street Journal, April 15, 1975, an article entitled, "The Spirit of 1976—Is It a Bicentennial or a Buycentennial?"

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 2, and will be found in appendix A, p. 81.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. And what is the substance—what's the focus of the article?

Mr. WATSON. Well, "Buycentennial," spelled b-u-y, is a catchword that was coined by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission so the Wall Street Journal is picking it up here, and within the article it says:

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission, a private activist group, eschews commercial products altogether. Through groups like the National Campfire Girls and the National Council of Churches it distributes literature aimed at reacquainting Americans with social, political, and economic issues in the revolutionary era that still exist, today. The Peoples Bicentennial Commission seems motivated by an old-fashioned egalitarianism.

I don't think the Peoples Bicentennial literature backs up that statement in the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. SCHULTZ. All right, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Back to the situation at Lexington-Concord. With Rifkin and his cohorts shouting, "Abolish the corporations," he was still written up in the Wall Street Journal as an altruistic alternative to the Government's Bicentennial agency. Even his bad press would be a public relations man's dream. For example, when the PBC-inspired rowdies tried to make a mess of the ceremonies at Concord, Mass., on April 19, 1975, about the worst that was said about them in the press was that they were "a bunch of juvenile delinquents out for a good time," and this from U.S. News & World Report, again, a traditionally conservative publication.

We, incidentally, have an article here that we might suggest entering, showing the coverage given in U.S. News & World Report, for PBC and Jeremy Rifkin. In this article in U.S. News & World Report, Rifkin is spoken of as an economist.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will identify that as exhibit No. 3, and it will be accepted in accordance with the chairman's order.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 3, and will be found in appendix A, p. 82.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Perhaps we can inquire more about these as we get into your testimony.

Mr. WATSON. Yes. As to attracting large numbers of people who might not feel comfortable relating directly to a radical organization, PBC has set some new sort of record. Indeed, there is hardly a question that if PBC's true origin and ancestry were known, many of the current participants, supporters, and endorsers would not have touched it with the proverbial "10-foot pole."

Say what he might, Rifkin knows this. At the very moment he was writing the article proposing the PBC idea as a radical organizing tool he was not only a ground floor member of the New American Movement, fully aware of its socialist revolutionary aims, but he was one of a committee of seven appointed to sanitize the organization's literature and eliminate telltale rhetoric that would frighten away the ordinary citizen it hoped to reach. Amazingly enough, all of this is spelled out in clear language in the selfsame edition of the New American Movement newspaper in which Rifkin is proposing to dupe the American public with PBC. That is in the same item we introduced as exhibit No. 1—in the same edition of the paper.

Incidentally, an original of this entire newspaper is on file at the Wilbur L. Cross Library of the University of Connecticut at Storrs, as a matter of establishing the record for the paper.

PBC was built on this sort of duplicity from the ground up, and it continues to build with very little challenge from anyone. For instance, to read the daily press you would get the idea that Jeremy Rifkin is probably going to form a new anti-Communist league as a side effort. He tells reporters that he was in the antiwar movement, but says that he "had a hard time identifying with some of it." He was against the war, he claims, but "never understood things like quoting Mao." His writeups frequently include such lines as these, taken from the Washington Star-News: "When he calls himself and his colleagues revolutionary"—the newspaper is talking about Rifkin here—"he says he is not thinking about Lenin and Karl Marx, he is thinking about Paul Revere and Nathan Hale. Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams are the revolutionaries he likes to quote."

Mr. SCHULTZ. What was the date of this article, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. November 24, 1974.

Yet, as you can see in this underground press article that we cited earlier, the same Jeremy Rifkin wrote to his fellow leftists, and I quote: "A genuine understanding of revolutionary ideals is what links Thomas Paine, Sam Adams, and Benjamin Rush, and the American people with Lenin, Mao, Che"—Che Guevara, that is—"and the struggles of all oppressed peoples in the world."

Mr. SCHULTZ. And this statement appeared where?

Mr. WATSON. This statement was in the November-December 1971 edition of New American Movement, which was introduced as exhibit No. 1.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mr. WATSON. Then, back in the literary sanitizer role that he was serving in with the New American Movement, he cleaned the "Lenin," the "Mao," and the "Che" and so forth out of that paragraph and plopped it otherwise word for word in an introduction to what PBC now advertises as its first book, "America's Birthday," published in late 1974 by Simon & Schuster.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you have an example there that you can put in the record?

Mr. WATSON. I do. This is a copy of the book, "America's Birthday," and there are a number of paragraphs in this book that you can do this with. I will read you first the paragraph from the underground newspaper and then I will read you the same paragraph sanitized and put into "America's Birthday."

The underground press article reads:

A genuine understanding of revolutionary ideals is what links Thomas Paine, Sam Adams, and Benjamin Rush, and the American people with Lenin, Mao, Che, and the struggles of all oppressed peoples of the world. Not until the masses of Americans begin to reidentify with these principles and develop their own revolutionary struggle will they be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people.

Now, turning to the book "America's Birthday," published by Simon & Schuster—

Mr. SCHULTZ. What page is that?

Mr. WATSON. Page 13. "A genuine understanding of American democratic ideals."—Notice he has changed the word "revolutionary" to "democratic"—"is what links the American people with the struggles of all oppressed people in the world."

You will notice that he's left out some names there, including Lenin and Mao.

Indeed, the American Revolution has stood as an example of revolutions of the Third World. Not until the majority of Americans begin to reidentify with our democratic principles and develop our own revolutionary struggle will we be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people.

So, he has taken the same paragraph and eliminated words which might upset the ordinary citizen and put it in the book. There are a number of such paragraphs that we can come back and look at later.

Not only has Rifkin covered up his own New Left objectives in turning out PBC literature and in meeting the press, he has masked the Old Left origin of the very idea of PBC and, as a matter of fact, much of its literature. There is hardly a week that goes by without

some newspaper or magazine publishing an introductory paragraph or two explaining how Rifkin alone conceived of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission as an alternative to the commercialized tinsel of the Government's official Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration. As a matter of easily documented fact, Rifkin inherited the basic set of ideas, rhetoric, revolutionary quotations, graphic designs and so forth, from an aging old-leftist and fellow Chicagoan, John Rossen. Rifkin, a more generally acceptable 30 years of age, versus Rossen's age, between 65 and 70, simply took the blueprints for PBC and moved the locus of the operation from Chicago to Washington.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Where are they located in Washington?

Mr. WATSON. 1346 Connecticut Avenue.

Rossen stays in the background, his hand still obviously in the game; but associates himself mainly with the Chicago PBC office.

Not only does Rifkin mask this connection, but Rossen himself denies even having had a hand in the founding of PBC. In fact, one of the few articles to air some of PBC's murkiness, quotes Rossen as angrily dismissing as "fairy tales of the Right," statements that he originated the PBC concept in Chicago in 1969 with pamphlets calling for a new revolution based on Marxism and American nationalism.

That article in which he is quoted as dismissing his connection with founding of PBC as a fairy tale of the Right, was an article by a columnist in Chicago named Bob Wiedrich. I can locate that article and we can enter it in the record, if you like, because part of it is based on an interview with Rossen, where he denies his connection with the idea.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The article you have just mentioned we have marked as exhibit No. 4.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 4 and will be found in appendix A, p. 84.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you identify the date and paper from which this article was taken?

Mr. WATSON. From the August 24, 1975, edition of the Chicago Tribune.

The pamphlets upon which these "fairy tales" were based included such items as a pocket-sized booklet of "Revolutionary Quotations from the Thoughts of Uncle Sam," and a series of tabloid-size periodicals entitled the New Patriot. The latter was edited by "Johnny Appleseed" Rossen, and both items were described in radical publications and catalogs in such terms as these, and here I'm quoting from a publication called Source Catalogue, produced by the Source Collective, an outgrowth of the Education Liberation Front in Washington, D.C. This is one of the entries in that catalog, and it says—

Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications, . . . is best known for "Revolutionary Quotations from the Thoughts of Uncle Sam." An energized 61-year-old man runs the operation, writing tracts to "radicalize Americans by Americanizing radicalism." He also does the New Patriot paper and is trying to start a radical party called Sons of Liberty. Distribution is mostly local in Chicago. He can use help Contact Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications, Post Office Box 40393, Cicero Ill. 60605.

Mr. SCHULTZ. To your knowledge, does Rossen still operate from this address and under the name of the Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications?

Mr. WATSON. I don't know about the address, but he still uses this Johnny Appleseed name.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mr. WATSON. In 1969 the "Revolutionary Quotations" booklet, said in its foreword to have been inspired by the "Little Red Book" of quotations from Mao Tse-tung, was offered as a subscription bonus with some of the more volatile underground papers in the Midwest, such as *Rising Up Angry*, in Chicago, and *Kaleidoscope*, out of Milwaukee. It was also advertised in the nationally circulated Marxist-Leninist-Maoist weekly, *Guardian*, and I have an example of that. This is the May 3, 1969, edition of *Guardian*, and there is a half-page ad for Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications. Featured in the picture is "Revolutionary Quotations From the Thoughts of Uncle Sam," and this has the same address on it that we just read from the Source Catalogue.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We'll designate that as exhibit No. 5.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 5 and will be found in appendix A, p. 86.]

Mr. WATSON. This advertisement draws a comparison between this little book and the "Little Red Book" of Mao.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What's the color of this book that's advertised?

Mr. WATSON. It's red, white, and blue. This is——

Mr. SCHULTZ. Obviously patriotic.

Mr. WATSON. Yes. Rossen is offering this same booklet under a little different cover in the back of his publication the *New Patriot*; here he calls it the "Little Red, White, and Blue Book—Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans." If you compare the table of contents between this book and the one in the *Guardian* ad, you see that you're really dealing with the same book with a little different cover to it.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What's the date of the advertisement, in the——

Mr. WATSON. The *New Patriot*?

Mr. SCHULTZ. The *New Patriot*.

Mr. WATSON. This is March-April 1971. You can pick up the similarity here between what Rossen is doing and what Rifkin was cited as doing earlier. When offering his little booklet of carefully selected quotations from both 1776 figures and modern leftists to the seasoned readers of a hard-line radical publication, he let the allusion to Mao's book shine through. In other words, when he advertised it in *Guardian* he let the allusion to Mao's "Little Red Book" shine quite clearly through, but when he put it out in the *New Patriot*, in which he was trying to reach more of the ordinary citizenry he changed the name to "Little Red, White, and Blue Book of Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans" and avoided the reference to Mao's book.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Did he also sanitize it by leaving out the names that were found in——

Mr. WATSON. Yes; he did. In the *Guardian* article he says that it contains quotations from Tom Paine to Tom Hayden, from Sitting Bull to Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton, from Gene Debs and Bill Haywood to Helen Keller and C. Wright Mills, and from Richard Daley to Rennie Davis. He doesn't say that sort of thing in the *New Patriot* ad.

In the New Patriot he was seeking a broader, less radical audience, and he sanitized it and eliminated the blatancy of his propagand-operation. If you look at a packet of the PBC materials being sent out around the country, you will see a continuation of this Rossen gimmick. That is, in this packet of materials PBC has a little 3½ by 5½ inch booklet, entitled "First Principles." It has many of the same table of contents—entries that we have seen in both of these two versions of Rossen's "Revolutionary Quotations" book, but it's been further sanitized to eliminate the obvious traces of modern revolutionaries.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And when you say modern leftists you're referring to whom?

Mr. WATSON. Such people as Eldridge Cleaver, Rennie Davis, Gene Debs, Bill Haywood, Huey Newton, Tom Hayden, and so on.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Right; thank you.

Mr. WATSON. Also in the New Patriot the "Don't Tread On Me" button Rossen is offering to his readers is identical in artwork to the buttons PBC is now distributing. He's offering here on page 30 "Don't Tread On Me" buttons, 25 cents each, 10 for \$1.50, so on. The artwork is identical to the artwork which PBC now uses.

And still on this, in this New Patriot he lists several ways to "Use the New Patriot To Organize Your Community." We're still on page 30. These, almost every one of these ideas is a part of the present PBC program. Now, if you look at the back cover of this edition of the New Patriot we see a miniature poster here, "Kent State, May, 1970." This is, again, identical to a poster that PBC now uses.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I don't believe we've previously identified that by number.

Mr. WATSON. The New Patriot?

Mr. SCHULTZ. The New Patriot. We will designate that as exhibit No. 6.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 6 and will be found in appendix A, p. 87.]

Mr. WATSON. This is the New Patriot, March-April 1971, volume 1, No. 4.

John Rossen can angrily dismiss his having had a hand in the founding of PBC as fairy tales of the right, if he so chooses, but the evidence is that he designed the whole thing. He has a sky blue van bearing his "Johnny Appleseed" signs on one side and the PBC indicia on the other. Somehow his van symbolizes the two faces of John Rossen.

I might digress for a moment. When I first read about him, I found John Rossen to be a little hard to believe, running around in a black beret and a turtleneck black shirt, and a black suit, but I attended a meeting at Champaign-Urbana in January 1975, a regional PBC meeting, and I saw John Rossen there at the meeting dressed in precisely that fashion, and saw his little van with the "Johnny Appleseed Spirit of '76" painted on the side of it, the "Sons of Liberty" and the "American Revolutionary Bicentennial 1776-1976." I have a picture of that out on the campus of the University of Illinois.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you be willing to furnish that picture to the subcommittee for inclusion in the record?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. We also have a picture of Rossen and Rifkin sitting together in the conduct of a meeting.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And these pictures were personally taken by you?

Mr. WATSON. They were taken by a young woman who was working with me. My assignment on that particular occasion was to attend the meeting and with her and a young man's help, to see if we could find out what PBC was all about.

Mr. SCHULTZ. But you can attest to the fact that these pictures truly represent what you observed while attending this meeting?

Mr. WATSON. Absolutely.

Mr. SCHULTZ. For purposes of clarification, is the meeting that you refer to a Peoples Bicentennial Commission regional conference held in Urbana, Ill., on January 10 and 12, 1975?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark the pictures as exhibit No. 7. Thank you. Please proceed.

[The pictures referred to were marked exhibit No. 7 and will be found in appendix A, p. 92.]

Mr. WATSON. Another piece of evidence in the relationship between these two is the Benjamin Rush quotation under the banner of the New Patriot, Rossen's publication here. It is a quotation attributed to Benjamin Rush that says:

The American war is over but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution; on the contrary, nothing but the first act of this great drama is closed.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And, again, you are referring to exhibit No. 6.

Mr. WATSON. Right. Not only is the general PBC idea of using 1776 quotations to legitimize modern revolutionary activities, traceable to Rossen's little booklet of 1969—and it's in that original Little Red Book of Quotations—this particular quotation is a key passage quoted in PBC literature. It appears many times in the PBC book "America's Birthday" and other literature and just as it is used to introduce the New Patriot, it is used to introduce the PBC's New Patriot Handbook the syllabus and study guide in their basic packet.

Incidentally, on this Patriot's Handbook, the syllabus and study guide which is sent out with a packet to schools and community organizations and libraries and so forth, to "help them study about the American Revolution," the lead entry under the section on the American Revolution, per se, is a book called "American Revolution," by Herbert Aptheker, who, as you know, is the head theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Basic to the PBC idea, though, is a concept called revolutionary nationalism. This is the absolute core of the whole PBC idea: the propaganda strategy of trying to transfer the patriotic attachment for the revolutionary figures, events and spirit of 1776 to an endorsement of leftist revolutionary aims in the 1970's. More needs to be said about that, but for the moment note Rossen's references to this concept in the New Patriot. First, on the inside cover he refers to his article, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the American Left," in the radical avant-garde magazine Evergreen Review.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Again, we are referring to exhibit No. 6. Is that correct?

Mr. WATSON. Correct.

Here, we must note that one of the fairy tales Rossen so angrily dismissed was that he originated the concept of PBC in pamphlets calling for a new revolution based on Marxism and American nationalism. It should also be noted that Rossen's revolutionary nationalism

writings in his tabloid, the *New Patriot*, were indeed expanded into his article in *Evergreen Review* and that, in turn, became verbatim a full chapter in the first book-size publication PBC put out: "How To Commit Revolution American Style," by Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen, a volume, incidentally, both men now choose to ignore and, apparently, hope everyone else will do likewise.

I have a copy of that book here "How To Commit Revolution American Style," by Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen, the Bicentennial declaration.

Mr. SCHULTZ. For purposes of reference, we will identify that as exhibit No. 8.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 8, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. A photocopy of the jacket will be found in appendix A, p. 93.]

Mr. WATSON. It's not difficult to understand why Rifkin and Rossen choose to ignore this publication and hope everyone will forget it, for between Rossen's earlier pamphlets and this book, the grandiose duplicity of the whole PBC idea is revealed—the manipulative strategy called revolutionary nationalism is it. That is the concept upon which Rossen developed the basic design of PBC. If you could pull that single concept out of the PBC program, as you might pull a piece of timber from a structure, the whole affair, including every piece of its literature, would collapse into a pile of unrelated quotations and drawings.

Thus, an understanding of what these people mean by revolutionary nationalism is essential to an appreciation of the size of the hoax they are pulling. Rossen devotes considerable space to this concept in his publication, the *New Patriot*. He quotes Regis Debray, the French Marxist writer who accompanied the Castroite revolutionary Che Guevara on his guerrilla forays into Bolivia. Debray is credited by Rossen with perceiving this particular practice of Marxist-Leninist strategy for revolution. Rossen cites only a loose fragment from Debray in the *New Patriot*. In that book which PBC seems to wish did not exist, he cites a larger excerpt from Debray's Bolivian prison writings. The closing lines from that larger citation carry the real kicker:

There will never be an authentic nation on this continent without revolutionary socialism, just as there will never be socialism without revolutionary nationalism.

And here lies Rossen's mark on PBC: agitation for a socialist revolution through propaganda with a nationalist flavor.

Remember how the radical catalog spoke of the idea behind Rossen's Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications, that is to "Radicalize Americans by Americanizing radicalism." This runs through all of Rossen's pamphlets and writings, then Rifkins, and it is the mainstay of the PBC program and literature. The rationale which led to this, and the thesis of the more formal term "revolutionary nationalism," is that if nationalism, or patriotism as we usually think of it, is the stuff which holds the people together in the resistance to a revolution, the clever revolutionary will not fight it; he will seek to gain control of it.

That is what Rifkin was saying in his article in the *New American Movement*, speaking to fellow new leftists fresh from the antiwar struggles, and this is what Rossen was saying before Rifkin came along. There in 1971 they were talking to the same audience. Both of

them were on hand for the founding of the New American Movement, Rifkin as one of the New Left antiwarriors himself, and Rossen as the old leftist who had been moving in and out of radical youth circles for several years. Look, they were saying to the New Left radicals, you have been trying to bring a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolution to the United States by using opposition to the Vietnam war as an issue, and we agree with you on this goal, but you're going at it wrong. People in this country are not going to buy off from the turgid writings of Marx, the easily identifiable polemics of Lenin, or quotations from the "Thoughts of Chairman Mao." You have tried that and it has not worked. Here, give them the "Revolutionary Quotations from the Thoughts of Uncle Sam." We are completely committed to bringing a Cuban or Chinese-type regime to the United States just as you are, but it simply cannot be done the way you are trying to do it.

Of course, this is the sort of generalization that Rossen labels as one of those "fairy tales of the right," so let's look at it in his own words from the PBC book he and Rifkin put together in 1973, but now seem to want to hide. On page 149 of that PBC book, and this is exhibit—

Mr. SCHULTZ. Exhibit No. 8.

Mr. WATSON [continuing]. Exhibit No. 8, Rossen is talking about "revolutionary nationalism" as the new movement in our hemisphere. In Cuba, he says, "Fidel was an early revolutionary nationalist" and is "clearly aware of this powerful new current and its effect on world revolutionary strategy."

Then Rossen says—

In the Caribbean islands, new Black liberation movements are popping up all over. In Canada, the Quebecois Liberation Front has brought the fires of revolutionary nationalism right up to the U.S. frontier.

On the European continent, similar fires are scorching the hides of imperialists. In Spain, Franco's fascist empire, kept afloat for nearly three decades with the aid of the U.S. imperialist establishment, may well be smashed on the rocks of Basque and Catalan revolutionary new patriots within Castile itself. In northern Ireland, the Catholic minority represents a form of revolutionary nationalism; and closer to home for the British imperialists, the resistance of Scottish and Welsh nationalism forebodes new headaches for No. 10 Downing Street.

In the Middle East the Palestinian Liberation Movement and in Africa the struggle to free Angola stand out as the revolutionary nationalist bastions of the anti-imperialist front. In the Philippines, the resurgent anti-U.S.-imperialism movement is clearly another manifestation of the new revolutionary nationalism.

In Asia the entire continent seethes with the movement. The victory of the first stage of the Chinese Revolution can be said to have struck the sparks that set off the whole world-wide phenomenon of revolutionary nationalism.

Thus, one has to conclude that Rossen is trying to promote in the United States what has already taken place in Cuba and China, and "revolutionary nationalism" amounts to a means for Communist takeover—or we are misunderstanding what he is saying. One has also to conclude that Rossen condones terrorism as a means to advance "revolutionary nationalism." Note that he includes several terrorist organizations as exemplary of this movement. For example, the Quebecois Liberation Front, which he said had brought the fires of revolutionary nationalism right up to the U.S. frontier, had, indeed, burned its name into the headlines the year before with the spectacular kidnaping of a British diplomat and a Canadian official; the latter they strangled and left in the trunk of an abandoned automobile.

Back to Rossen's own words. We turn to page 157 in the Rossen-Rifkin book, again, exhibit 8, and get additional help as to what he means, vis-a-vis, the United States. There he says "the American version of the concept of revolutionary nationalism will be anti-capitalist and socialist in content, and national in form and rhetoric." Indeed, this is what Rossen means by his patriotism. A little further in the book he chides American radicals for feeling that patriotism and nationalism are antipathetic. He quotes a Marxist scholar as saying that either word may refer merely to "the most suitable policy to advance the welfare of one's own group." Further, Rossen claims revolutionary nationalism is the new patriotism, and we know from his previously cited explanations that he considers revolutionary nationalism to be exemplified in the revolution conducted in China by Mao.

All of this, mind you, is offered by the man who angrily dismisses statements that he is calling for a new revolution based on Marxism and American nationalism. Journalist Bob Wiedrich, in whose Chicago Tribune article this angry dismissal was reported, talked with Rossen. Rossen said—

I reject Marxism and Stalinism and Maoism. I have abandoned any ideas that were purely Marxist.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Where did this appear, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. We have it as an exhibit. That is the article from the Chicago Tribune.

Mr. SCHULTZ. That is exhibit No. 4.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Pay careful attention to Rossen's phraseology. He said he has abandoned anything that is "purely Marxist." This calls to mind an editorial that he wrote in his little tabloid, the New Patriot, which is exhibit—

Mr. SHORT. Six.

Mr. WATSON [continuing]. Six. And here I am quoting Rossen—

I would say that for a revolutionary socialist in the 20th century to label himself a Marxist or a Marxist-Leninist is as ridiculous as for a modern physicist to call himself a Newtonian or for a modern biologist to call himself a Darwinian. Marx laid the sturdy foundations for the scientific revolutionary-socialist methodology, and for any modern revolutionary to ignore these foundations would be as stupid as for a physicist to ignore the findings of Isaac Newton. But neither can the modern revolutionary limit himself to the findings of Marx. That is why I use the expression "scientific revolutionary methodology" rather than the expression "Marxism."

The problem with most of those who call themselves Marxists today is that they accept Marxism as a dogma and not as a scientific tool, a revolutionary methodology which is constantly being refined, added to, improved on on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the last century and a quarter.

It seems that what Rossen is really saying in that interview with Wiedrich is that neither pure Marxism nor Maoism, nor Stalinism, will sell in the United States. It has to be cut with some carefully selected Americanism first—preferably out of context. That is what PBC is all about.

Rossen's denial of being anything but a member of PBC must similarly be examined. Apparently, he was not satisfied with this denial as it came out of the Wiedrich column. So, about 10 days later, a letter from Rossen appeared in the Tribune's "Voice of the People," rebutting Wiedrich further. There Rossen wrote—

I support the Peoples Bicentennial Commission because I find it substantially in agreement with my definition of patriotism.

We have that letter from the Chicago Tribune if you would like to have that as an exhibit.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, I think if you merely identify the date that it appeared, that that would be sufficient.

Mr. WATSON. All right. It was in the Chicago Tribune, September 3, 1975.

Even if the traces of Rossen's hand could not be seen in the basic framework of PBC, his imparting his own definition of patriotism from its pamphlets, it would still have to be noted that he wrote 15 pages defining patriotism in the first book that the Peoples Bicentennial Commission ever put out.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The title of that book is——

Mr. WATSON. "How to Commit Revolution American Style." Exhibit No. 8.

Mr. SHORT. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Rossen simply chooses now to obscure the facts of the past. No one has to point out this sort of thing to columnist Wiedrich, however. He includes a couple of paragraphs in his article on Rossen's long record as a leftist organizer and propagandist. He notes, for example, the remarks on Rossen and the PBC made by Congressman Ichord on the floor of the House of Representatives. We have a copy of those remarks, if you want them entered. They are December 1973 remarks by Mr. Ichord.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, I think Congressman Ichord's remarks are on the record, and the record will speak for itself.

Mr. WATSON. All right. Actually, Rossen's name has frequently appeared in reports of organizing and propaganda activities. Back in the 1940's and 1950's he was reported as being highly commended by the U.S. Communist Party newspaper for his work. In the 1960's he was constantly being reported on the fringes of the New Left, especially the Students for a Democratic Society. He seems often to have been involved in helping with funding that organization, and he was apparently privileged to their national meetings even when the press was barred. He was specifically placed as speaking from the floor in some of the more volatile sessions in which the organization was splintered into the various pro-Maoist sects which erupt into violence even today.

In the progression of such affairs, the New American Movement, to which Jeremy Rifkin belonged when he first began writing about PBC, is a product of this splintering. In fact, if you were to draw up a family tree of the splintering and combining of the Communist factions in the United States over the past 5 or 6 years, you would probably have to consider the New American Movement something of a second cousin to such terrorist organizations as the Weathermen and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

And there you could probably etch in the background of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, itself a splinter from this cousinry. Certainly the organization comes out of the murkiness of hard-line, far-left organizational entanglements. And it is headed up by a young man who claims to have had more to do with its conception than the evidence supports, and supported by an older man who claims to have had less to do with its conception than the evidence indicates.

Both of them have expressed intentions to use the Bicentennial for manipulative purposes—separately and jointly—and both of them appear anxious to conceal some of their past political associations and activities, including their own mutual association.

The odds are that much of this coverup attitude came from a degree of success with the PBC idea that none of those involved in its launching had predicted. PBC did catch on quite rapidly, and, as we have pointed out earlier, with people who would not have had anything to do with the goals and strategy Rossen and Rifkin were expressing in their initial writings. In fact, it may have been a combination of this unforeseen success with nonradical elements of the press and public, and the easily documented statements that Congressman Ichord made about Rossen, that caused PBC to shove the Rossen-Rifkin book into the closet. The book came out in 1973, just before Mr. Ichord's remarks came out in the Congressional Record.

Whatever the reasons, Rifkin and Rossen have now played down their association, and Rifkin has disappeared from the literature of the New American Movement. After the aborted launching from the New American Movement, Rifkin has stopped writing about Lenin and Mao, never mentions his affiliation with New American Movement, and has gone into high gear putting out material quite different from the radical literature we have been discussing. He has devoted his time to speaking primarily to the general public, and in doing so, he and his colleagues have prepared a packet of excellent propaganda material. In fact, as one who has had considerable experience in examining propaganda, I have to say it is as skillfully done as any I have seen.

I would like to add one thing to this statement in terms of the reception that the PBC idea has been given because it is quite current. The April 1976 selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club is authored by the staff historian of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. The title of that book is "A New Age Begins"; the subtitle reads "A Peoples History of the American Revolution." It is written by Page Smith. There is an interview with Page Smith inside the Book-of-the-Month Club News for April. Nowhere in this interview does Smith discuss the fact that he is on the staff of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, although the Peoples Bicentennial Commission literature cites him as its staff member and as "a prize-winning historian, currently traveling in Western States, appearing before the Kiwanis, Rotarays, and other civic groups to discuss the democratic principles of the American Revolution."

I am quoting from a little tabloid entitled, "An Introduction to the Peoples Bicentennial Commission," which was published by that organization.

That's the end of my statement.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will designate the Book-of-the-Month Club News identified by Mr. Watson under the date of April 1976 as exhibit No. 9.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 9 and will be found in appendix A, p. 97.]

Mr. Watson, in your opening statement you made a point of the fact that the conception of the PBC is, in fact, attributable to John Rossen, and that both Mr. Rossen and Mr. Rifkin have taken great pains to disassociate themselves in their endeavor. For the record, I will note that Mr. Rossen has appeared before both the House and the

Senate in testimony and, without further comment, the record of his testimony will stand on its own.

However, can you give us a little more information of what you know about Mr. Rossen's background?

Mr. WATSON. Well, it's rather widely written that he had been a Communist Party organizer in Illinois for a number of years, and that he served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, and that he ran for the mayor of St. Louis on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you know of any connection that he had with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. WATSON. I have read that he staged a rally for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and apparently was the head of a branch of that committee in Chicago.

Of course, in his literature, he cites North Vietnam and Cuba as examples of the continuing revolution that starts with "national liberation and continues through and beyond a Socialist revolution." He had ties with the SDS, and in 1969 he was the owner of a building that housed the SDS national office in Chicago. He apparently had something to do with their finances, was instrumental in their acquiring a printing press, and was apparently a speaker on the floor of that closed meeting of SDS in June 1969, when the organization was splintered by an attempt to take it over by the Progressive Labor Party.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there anything within your knowledge and study that would indicate to you that Mr. Jeremy Rifkin is simply more than a progressive, and perhaps may be characterized as a true revolutionary?

Mr. WATSON. Well, I think that the comparison of his writings when he was speaking to his own leftist comrades versus those that he puts out to the American public suggests a duplicity typical of the revolutionary propagandist, and then when he resorts to citing Mao and Lenin and Che Guevara as the type of sources for the revolution he is trying to run, I have to take him at face value on that. This is the sort of thing that he says under the table to his leftist comrades and that he won't say to the American public. As we have seen, in an interview with an ordinary newspaper man he says that he doesn't like to quote Lenin and Mao and he doesn't understand this waving the Vietcong flag, yet, he does the same sort of thing in his own writings under his own byline in that New American Movement article we have introduced as an exhibit.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Lenin, of course, explained how the party can be presented to the masses and outlined two methods, mainly, propaganda or agitation, and he suggested that the party must be presented with many ideas, so many ideas that they will be understood as a whole only by a few persons, and he identified propaganda as a good method for recruiting party members. Then, as far as agitation went, Lenin advocated that by directing their efforts to presenting a single idea to the masses by which they could strive to arouse discontent and indignation among the masses, this would serve to promote the party cause, and Lenin said, and I quote, "Our task is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest."

I am wondering whether or not you might characterize PBC as following the Lenin doctrine in manifesting their program—the revolutionary ideas that they are advancing.

Mr. WATSON. I can't really think of a better general description of the PBC literature than that what you have just read there from Lenin. The PBC packet that they send out for \$10 around the country to schools and civic organizations and communities and so forth is, in itself, a do-it-yourself kit for creating dissatisfaction and agitating people, and it doesn't leave anything to chance. It is a most detailed recipe for going in and locating and exploiting dissatisfactions that I have run across.

In a student-teacher guide, which is one of the tabloids of the PBC pamphlet, they have a whole series of exercises with detailed instructions, sending you, the reader, out to do this in your community. In each case, they give you loaded questions, guaranteed to provide dissatisfying information, rather than satisfying information, about your community.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let me ask a few background questions, and then maybe we could pursue that in detail.

You mentioned that the packets are sent out. Are these packets paid for?

Mr. WATSON. They are offered for sale for \$10. But, PBC staff has said in some of their verbal comments, that to anyone who doesn't have the \$10, they will send it free. One of their minor money-raising schemes, though, has got to be the fact that they get a lot of \$10 bills for these packets sent out. And they are advertised for that for sale.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are these packets sent only on request, or are they disseminated by shotgun method across the country?

Mr. WATSON. Well, I have asked a question quite similar to that in the PBC offices on Connecticut Avenue, and the reply that I received is that they will send them out on request only. It amounts to that, because we are talking about a hefty packet, it costs better than a dollar to send this stuff through the mail, but they will send a flyer out advertising this material—it's something like the introduction to the Peoples Bicentennial Commission that I held up a few minutes ago—to any address they can get, that they have any reason to think might be a possible market for the packet.

They also have said that they send out teaser material blind. People get a blank envelope, you know, a no return address envelope, with a PBC teaser in it to get them interested in the PBC idea.

Mr. SCHULTZ. They are, of course, capitalizing on our Bicentennial year. Do you have any reason to believe that the material they send out, even in teaser form, would mislead the public into thinking what they might get by responding to this material?

Mr. WATSON. There isn't any question in my mind, but what the public has been misled by this in many instances. No longer ago than Monday of this week, in addressing an audience out in Ohio, I had a mature businessman come up to me at the end of a talk and say, "You know, I would not have recognized that this was a phony operation from the looks of the literature; explain it to me again." I, incidentally, get correspondence and telephone calls from people around the country, trying to clear up this confusion from time to time.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would like to explore the publicly stated objectives of this organization and take a look at what they are actually doing, and contrast the theory and practice. Maybe we could do that by starting with the schools, packets that you mentioned that are sent to the schools.

Do you have concrete examples there of what it is they are sending to the schools, what they are asking the students or recipients to do?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. I think it's significant to note what they say in their introductions to the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. This little flyer that they send out, or hand out when they can, what they say their objectives are there.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let's identify that as exhibit No. 10.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 10 and will be found in appendix A, p. 98.]

Mr. WATSON. We talked about this earlier when we were talking about Page Smith and the Book-of-the-Month Club. The same document. In this document they say,

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission is a nonprofit, public foundation founded in the belief that it is time to reaffirm the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the American Revolution. Today we face economic and political crises as great as those of 1776. Like our ancestors, we must meet the challenge to our democratic birthrights. We must dedicate ourselves to a new patriotism, one that calls for allegiance to the revolutionary democratic principles that launched our first national rebellion to tyranny.

And, of course, we have the stated objective in Rifkin's own words that the purpose that the Peoples Bicentennial should have is to use the Bicentennial as a tactical weapon to isolate the existing institutions and those in power by constantly focusing public attention on their inability to translate our revolutionary dreams into reality.

Now, what much of the literature that is in the packet really does is to try to hold up a revolutionary ideal, frequently one that could never be met by anyone, but one that you could say is a dream, and then design a set of questions or a set of activities to send people out to prove that the system has been unable to translate it into reality.

To give you an example, in this student teacher guide, they have numbered activities 1 through 16, each of them with a set of instructions as to how to go out in your community and find out how the existing conditions balance against the revolutionary ideals.

Mr. SCHULTZ. As they perceive them?

Mr. WATSON. As they perceive them. The first activity is called "Consent of Who." It is typical of PBC literature, not resorting to the Constitution as the document which describes the system our Republic runs on, but plucking a line out of the Declaration of Independence. This exercise purports to explore the concept of government by the consent of the governed. It takes those words out and hangs them up as the revolutionary ideal, and sends the reader out to interview individuals whose daily lives put them in such pairings as teachers and students, store managers and clerks, military officers and enlisted men, landlords and tenants. Instructions provide that everyone fitting in the first category of each of these pairings is to be confronted with the question as to whether or not they govern by the consent of those they govern. In other words, ask the store manager, are you ordering this clerk about in your store on the basis that he has consented to be governed by you; asking the private soldier, are you taking orders from that officer over there on the basis that you have consented to be governed by him.

Everyone fitting in the second half of the category is asked if they feel they have consented to be governed by the other person. I would

argue that that is a propaganda gimmick guaranteed to produce an amount of dissatisfaction, and an unrealistic application of the meaning of our founding documents.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do they provide the individual with a portion of the Declaration of Independence, and do they add to it any words that are not in the original Declaration of Independence?

Mr. WATSON. No, they don't add anything to it in this literature. Now, Rifkin has written an economic declaration of independence that, incidentally, has been published in the New York Times, in which he has taken the basic wording of the Declaration of Independence and rewritten it, to declare independence from the corporations of the United States.

This has been published in the New York Times under his byline, entitled "Economic Freedom," but within the PBC literature they don't generally. I don't know of any instances where they tamper with the—well, let me correct myself. They provide a format for a declaration of independence from the school systems, for students. This is a little blank setup where they introduce the general wording of the Declaration of Independence and leave a blank in there for "We, the students of John Doe School," or whatever it might be, do declare our independence, and so on. The students are supposed to fill out the grievances in that.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Will you provide to the committee a copy of this material that you have just described?

Mr. WATSON. Sure.

[The document referred to is exhibit No. 11 and will be found in appendix A, p. 98.]

Mr. WATSON. One thing that they do is they frequently use a truncated form of the Declaration of Independence. They pluck out the part that talks about rebelling, the actual act of revolution; they leave out the lines in the Declaration of Independence that say this should not be done for light and transient reasons. They frequently do that.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Such as the statement, "prudence indeed, will dictate that governments long-established should not be changed for light and transient causes?"

Mr. WATSON. That's right. They will. The only time they use that is when they are quoting the whole Declaration of Independence, and frequently it's in facsimile form, a little difficult to read, if you know what I mean.

But, when they are quoting from the Declaration of Independence, they usually only quote the part that says that people have the right to overthrow the system when it no longer pleases them, and so on.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Has the PBC engaged in or fostered the technique of having people on the street read the Declaration of Independence and getting them to sign it?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; that is one of the exercises that they have. It's to send people around with a copy of that portion, that truncated portion, of the Declaration of Independence on a little piece of paper with signature blanks on it, and they—

Mr. SCHULTZ. For purposes of the record and clarity of the record, let's put in exactly what their language is and, with the chairman's permission, I would also like to immediately follow that with the

complete Declaration of Independence, which would provide an interesting comparison.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

[The document referred to is exhibit No. 12, and will be found in appendix A, p. 99.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Responding to that previous question, then, concerning the manner and method in which PBC uses a portion of the Declaration of Independence, would you go ahead and respond?

Mr. WATSON. I would like to give you that in some detail because I have done a study of that particular part of the literature and have written it up.

It is striking to me that the overriding emphasis of the packet of PBC is on the Declaration of Independence and the events leading up to it, not on the building of the republic on which the Founding Fathers immediately set to work after signing the declaration, but even within that Declaration of Independence the emphasis of the PBC is selective.

The entire document is printed once or twice, but more often the Declaration of Independence is printed only in the extracted first half of the second paragraph of the Declaration printed in a bold, modern type, with a rhetorical finger always pointing at that portion of the phraseology, which reads "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government."

One of the devices the PBC packet uses for pushing this idea is extracting that portion of the declaration in which these lines appear and reproducing them onto full pages of cutouts, small cutouts. The recipient of the packet is then instructed to clip these cutouts and paste them on 3x5 cards to be sent through the mail, unlabeled and out of context, to community, government, and business leaders for their comments.

In similar fashion, this same extract is printed at the top of a page on which blanks are provided so that it can be taken from door to door for signatures—or offered for signature at card tables set up in shopping centers.

The entire mechanism of manipulation for the signature collecting is especially well worked out.

The piece of literature in which it appears is an 8-page tabloid, the front of which is decorated with a facsimile of the entire, original handwritten Declaration of Independence.

The signature collecting is to be done, however, on a specially prepared back page at the top of which is clearly written or printed the word "petition," not "Declaration of Independence." Underneath this, except for the signature blanks, only the following appears:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

That's all that is on the page.

This, of course, is extracted directly from the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, the first half of this extract contains an expression of some of our basic ideals on the equality of men and their rights to be free.

The second half of the quotation, though, is the keystone to our forefathers' rationale for declaring themselves to be so opposed to the existing form of government as to be determined to alter it or abolish it and set up another.

Taken together, the implication here is that the ideas expressed in the first half are not being met. Therefore, the determination expressed in the second half is to be actualized.

In fact, it is the second half, the statement of an intent on overthrowing the existing system, that is the meat of the passage. The first half is merely preparatory to it. The passage as a whole is not a celebration of the ideals of freedom; it is a declaration to fight for them. Put back into the only context in which it can be properly seen, it commits its signers to changing their political situation by going to war. This is precisely what it was intended to do in 1776, when the colonists agonized so long and seriously over taking such a drastic step. Indeed, even though deciding to overthrow their system, they issued a caution that the PBC writers chose to omit, although it appears in the same paragraph, in fact, in the sentence immediately following the lines they did extract. But, note, it does not serve PBC purposes, for it begins: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." And, accordingly, the authors of the original document examined the long train of abuses painstakingly, and detailed them in succeeding paragraphs, before they presumed to ask people to sign anything. Historical accounts of the line-by-line debates over that original document suggest that none of its 56 eventual signers would have put his name to the lone, partial paragraph the Peoples Bicentennial is trotting around for Americans to sign.

If this were merely a party game, it would be crude enough. It is not, though. It is a devious means for creating divisions among people and for enticing the unsuspecting into making a revolutionary commitment for whatever purposes the collectors of the signatures may eventually decide to put them. For it is one thing to quote this passage, as is often done, as one of the most resounding handful of lines in our heritage. It is quite another, though, to use it as a propaganda tool for tricking people into endorsing an unstated change in the present system in favor of an also unstated alternative.

Certainly, holding this out of context passage out for people to sign is taking the old fine print on the contract gimmick to an outrageous extreme; the fine print is just not there. It is kept off in the behind-the-scenes writings and the discussions of the leftists who designed the gimmick. Thus, no one should feel any qualms, or tolerate any criticism of his patriotism over refusing to sign such a blank check. He should not be intimidated by such taunts as, "Won't you sign something from your own Declaration of Independence?" He should give that no more serious consideration than someone's challenging his faith in banking because he would refuse to sign a sheet of paper on which were written only the words "pay to the order of," even though he has a bundle of checks in his pocket bearing those self-same words.

Large numbers of people will be duped, though. One edition of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission's periodical Common Sense claims the ruse has already been run successfully in a high school in South Dakota, a college in Pennsylvania, and a community in New York. I should point out that this was written 2 or 3 years ago. How many times the ruse has been run since then, I don't know.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Watson, do you know, or are you aware of how these signatures are used by the PBC? Or is it merely an exercise?

Mr. WATSON. No; but it appears to be merely an exercise as far as I can see it. It's an exercise turned over to the local radical to create dissatisfaction. It's the sort of thing that can get people into a fist fight. Someone comes to your door and asks you to sign this document, and you say no, I won't sign this. Then, they challenge your patriotism and say what's wrong with you. So, getting citizens up to fight with each other, is what they are doing with this type of ruse.

Mr. SCHULTZ. A very insidious method to focus on rebellion and cause dissent.

Mr. WATSON. That's quite correct.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Watson, we have taken a brief look at the focus of the PBC directed toward schools and the community. Let me ask if the PBC has directed any activities toward business or matters relating to the economy of the United States, and do you have any public documentation of their efforts?

Mr. WATSON. Well, the main thrust of PBC talks and rallies has been antibusiness sentiment. If you remember in the statement that I made initially, they went up to Concord to "send a message to Wall Street." They are planning a rally here in Washington on the Fourth of July, an antibusiness rally, so a great deal of their material is antibusiness.

They are trying to promote the idea of an economic democracy, and they are trying to do this from several different angles. One of the things that they did last year is quite interesting. They commissioned Peter Hart Associates, a pollster, to take a poll of a sample of the American public to find out how the public stood on the economic system.

The Washington Post carried an article on August 31, 1975, describing the results of this poll, which the PBC had made. The PBC paid \$14,000 to have this poll taken by Peter Hart Associates. Now, the headline of this article in the Washington Post is "37 Percent Think the United States is in Decline." This is a quick headline summary of it. It was rather significant to me, though.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Now, this relates to economic decline?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, and a decline of faith in the system.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mr. WATSON. It is rather interesting to me, though, that it was in the Wall Street Journal. As I said earlier, Rifkin had been saying he was going to take a message to Wall Street, but I'm sure he didn't think that he would get it in the Wall Street Journal.

On August the 22d on the front page of the Wall Street Journal there is a little small paragraph that says, "Antibusiness Feelings." That is the headline of the paragraph.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you read it, please?

Mr. WATSON. This is the entire paragraph.

Antibusiness feelings run high, pollster Peter Hart finds. He says 61 percent of Americans believe there is a big business conspiracy to keep prices high. Only 17 percent favor the present economic system; 41 percent want major changes. By 66 percent to 25 percent margin, Americans favor employees owning most of their companies' stock.

Now, this is the self-same poll that the Washington Post is reporting on August 31, but, of course, the Washington Post story reveals the fact that this poll was commissioned by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. It set out to find the type of information that they wanted to use, and they refer to it in their literature and, undoubtedly; in their public speaking engagements, saying that this is what the American people think: "Only 17 percent of the American people favor the present economic system."

I have to believe that the American people should know a little bit more about where this information came from and what the objectives were for acquiring it.

MR. SCHULTZ. Does the Peoples Bicentennial Commission packet also contain business-oriented materials and a questionnaire similar to that used for the community and high schools?

MR. WATSON. Some of the exercises outlined in the packet will send the reader to a corporation's public relations department with a set of loaded questions to find out what the corporation's attitude is about the community and why it hasn't done this and what it's doing about working conditions. It's a list of questions that probably would amaze most public relations people, and, when someone comes running in with this—bear in mind that the people they are setting up to do this are people from the community; these are not PBC staffers. This is the agitation propagandist getting the local citizen to do his job for him. It's an ingenuous device.

MR. SCHULTZ. Are you suggesting that most participating citizens are doing this in an honest but misguided manner—that they are not aware of what they are participating in?

MR. WATSON. I feel sure that this is usually the case. I don't know whether it is pertinent to what we are talking about now, but as I said earlier, I have gotten a number of letters and telephone calls from citizens around the country who have run into PBC literature, the book, "America's Birthday," for example, and become suspicious of it. They want to find out what it's all about, but usually not being trained analysts of propaganda, they can't quite pinpoint anything to raise a complaint on, but they are suspicious that this is not a legitimate organization.

I have responded to letters from schoolteachers who said that their school board had adopted the PBC book with these exercises that we were talking about, for use in an elementary or high school. The schoolteacher was concerned that something was wrong here, and having run across my name in some of the articles I have written on the subject, asked me for specific information with which to go to the school board and complain about using PBC materials.

And that, incidentally, is why I am sitting here today. Frankly, I feel that what your subcommittee is doing in terms of telling the American public what this thing is all about is of great service. The media has, for the most part, dropped its responsibility to dig into this thing and report it so people can then make up their own minds.

Someone needs to lay the truth out. Then, if people want to play these little games with the PBC, they are free to do so. But we are sending schoolchildren out to play a propagandist's game without the community having the opportunity of knowing that this is what is really going on.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Has the press—if it's not too great a generalization—generally supported the PBC activities, either in a witting or unwitting fashion?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you tell us how this has come about?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; I can. It is built into the size of the packet. You have a hefty propaganda packet here. It's more than the average workingman has time to look through carefully, and he just flips through it and, my heavens, these are authentic looking pictures in here of colonial America, and some rather good art work, and there is a quotation from Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, and Samuel Adams, and so forth.

If one of your kids brought it home and you just leafed through it you would think, well, this is great, and look at the cover on it. It looks like something American Heritage might have done.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Describe the cover for us, if you will.

Mr. WATSON. Well, it's a very handsome cover. This is the 8½ by 11 format, with a very good shade of gray on it, blue and red letters, printed in colonial style type, with the Liberty Bell and Paul Revere on his horse near the top of it, and the "Don't Tread on Me" snake flag above that.

It says it's a planning and activity guide for citizen participation during the Bicentennial years. This paperback version of it sells for \$3.95. There is a hardback version, with exactly the same contents, that sells for \$8.95. I bought this particular copy in a bookstore in Tyson's Corner in Northern Virginia. It is sold in regular bookstores, not just in underground newspaper shops or anything like that.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, this book and some of the other documents, the packets are expensive to manufacture and disseminate. What is the principal source of PBC's financing, if you know?

Mr. WATSON. PBC has gotten its money from several sources. They quote the figure either \$200,000 a year or \$300,000 a year as their operating expenses, depending on when you happen to catch them, regardless of the year. I think that we have to bear in mind that this is a lot more money than it might be to you and me because they use a lot of voluntary labor. Rifkin says that nobody on his staff makes more than \$85 a week.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you know the size of his staff?

Mr. WATSON. It hovers around a dozen here in Washington. It varies from time to time, but it's usually around 12 to 15. We know, also, that when they travel around the country—and they do quite a bit of traveling and speaking—that they are frequently housed by people in the communities so that their lodging and food doesn't cost them anything. Their transportation is about the only expense they have, so I think you must realize that expenses to them are a lot less than they might be if I went out to try to do the same thing and had to pay my own way.

Sometimes, when Rifkin is asked this question—and he is frequently asked the question—he will simply say that they receive donations from a lot of concerned citizens, plus the fact that they sell these packets for \$10 apiece. At other times, and especially when he thinks that he is off the record in his remarks, he will laugh and say, “Hell, I go to rich liberals and tell them that there is a new McCarthy era pressing down on us and if we don’t do something about it, we are all going to be in trouble, and they jerk out their checkbooks. They just lap up what I am saying and write me a check.”

It has been reported that certain foundations, such as the Stern Foundation, have given them money, and, of course, it’s irritating to many taxpayers that the first few thousand dollars PBC got was a grant of \$7,210 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. This was made because Rifkin presented himself and his cohorts as a group of young people who wanted to do some research on the working-man’s position in the American Revolution. I chased this down in talking to the National Endowment for the Humanities on the telephone, and they admitted that this had happened, but said that it had happened because they did not understand what PBC was all about, and that they had gotten a concurrence in this grant from the then-American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, or Commission, I think, it was called at that point. It’s been reorganized since then.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a question, Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to point out that the subcommittee has documents which were provided by ARBA that reflect some of the circumstances surrounding the \$7,210 grant given to the PBC by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you describe those documents, Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. First we have a memo dated July 24, 1972, to Mr. George Lang from Martha Jane Shay, program officer (ARBC). In this memo, Ms. Shay brings out the point that many questions have been raised about the Peoples American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (PARBC), which, of course, is now known as the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and she wanted to explain her involvement with them.

Second, is a letter dated July 11, 1972, to Ms. Deborah W. Lawrence of the PARBC from Martha Jane Shay, explaining the purpose and use of the program criteria and offering assistance in preparing materials to be submitted to ARBC if they wish to seek official recognition.

Next is a letter dated May 31 from Nancy Moses of the National Endowment for the Humanities to “Janie”—Martha Jane Shay. This letter refers to a proposal from the PBC. The proposal is not attached to this document. However, I do have a copy of an application which was submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, from The Youth Project Peoples Bicentennial Commission, requesting \$7,210 for a 3-month period, June 1, 1972, to September 1, 1972. Now attached to this application is a proposal of what the PBC intends to do; also attached is a résumé of the project director, Jeremy Rifkin.

In addition to these documents, I have a copy of a letter dated June 30, 1972, from Martha Jane Shay to Mr. Armen Tashdianian,

National Endowment for the Humanities stating the proposal from the PBC had been reviewed, and recommending support for the project. I would submit these documents for inclusion in the record.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark them as exhibit Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 respectively.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit Nos. 13-17 and will be found in appendix A, pp. 101-111.]

Mr. SHORT. You will note that on Mr. Rifkin's résumé, he states that during the period 1970-71, he was with the, and I quote: "Citizens Commission of Inquiry. A public interest research group concerned with American policy in Asia. Staff Coordinator." What Rifkin did not say was that the full name of that organization was the National Committee for a Citizens Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam. It is of interest to note that listed among the sponsors and National Coordinating Committee of this organization were such people as Sylvia Kushner, a member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and known Marxists such as Ossie Davis, Douglas Dowd, Eugene D. Genovese, Noam Chomsky, Eric Seitz, Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers' Guild. In support of this, I would like to offer a paper with the letterhead reading National Committee for a Citizens' Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam. There is no date on this piece of correspondence, but it is the yearend report of the committee. In addition, I would also offer for inclusion into the record, a press release dated November 20, 1970, and bearing the same letterhead as the yearend report. The staff, sponsors, and national coordinating committee are listed on both documents.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark the yearend report as exhibit No. 18 and the press release as exhibit No. 19. Apparently, neither the ARBC nor the National Endowment for the Humanities made much of an investigation before approving the grant.

[The documents were marked exhibit Nos. 18 and 19 and will be found in appendix A, pp. 112 and 113.]

Mr. WATSON. In other words, some people at the top did not know what they were authorizing the taxpayers' money to be used for. This is the same sort of thing that happened when you asked me earlier about people approving this literature. People just look at it, you know, and go along with it. We've had some rather conservative newspapermen that have endorsed PBC materials. I have talked to some of these people who have subsequently reversed themselves, and they said, well, I didn't read it very carefully the first time.

Mr. SCHULTZ. In that regard, I am sure that pollists many times take things at purely face value. What suggestions, if any, do you have as an expert as to how an individual might recognize documents that are not whole cloth?

Mr. WATSON. Well, in the first place, the practice of endorsing anything that you don't look carefully into is a grave error. Anyone in government or in the media or purely as a private citizen, who gives his approval to anything as massive as the PBC literature, without finding out more about it, is making a mistake. And I think that we are all showing a great naivety when we read some of the things that are printed in the public press about PBC and don't question them. You know, Rifkin comes along with a big banner up at Concord, a banner about 20 feet long, saying "Economic Democracy." Nobody asks him what economic democracy is, and, as a matter of fact, if

you pick up the telephone and call the PBC headquarters and ask them to explain economic democracy to you, get yourself ready for a runaround because they can't explain it.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have you done this?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; I've done that.

And, of course, as I've said earlier, I feel that the Congress of the United States, especially in this time when we are trying to celebrate the Bicentennial, the founding of the oldest Republic in the world, I believe that the Congress should inform itself about any organization such as the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, which obviously seeks to mislead and deceive people, and make that information available to the public. This would seem to me to be especially imperative since a grant from a Federal agency was instrumental in getting this thing started. I am, of course, referring to the grant of some \$7,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How did they respond to your inquiry concerning a definition of economic democracy?

Mr. WATSON. Well, they said economic democracy means worker ownership and management of the corporation. This is about all that you get out of them. I heard this question asked on the floor up in Ann Arbor, Mich., at a meeting of PBC that I attended last year, and—

Mr. SCHULTZ. When did that occur, if you remember?

Mr. WATSON. May 23 and 25, 1975. And after a big harangue had been made on the subject of economic democracy, of course, PBC always make a point of the good press it has gotten when it talks to a group of citizens. You know, we are really legitimate, you find us in U.S. News & World Report, and some lady got up and said, "Aren't you really talking about socialism and communism?" Her question was passed off with no real answer and that's about the sort of thing that you get when you call the office and ask them this.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Was there an out and out denial that they were fostering socialism or communism?

Mr. WATSON. No; it's fuzzed up, usually. I have a reported discussion in here in one of my sets of notes wherein, I believe it was Bill Peltz who was hit with this sort of question, and he said, we have to come up with a new language in this time.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You just made reference to Bill Peltz. You meant to say Rifkin?

Mr. WATSON. I meant to say Rifkin. I was thinking of the wrong experience. This was a meeting at Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, on January 10 and 12, and the speaker at that point, dealing with the subject of economic democracy, was Jeremy Rifkin, himself, and when this sort of questioning came up, he said, "We have to develop a new language that will unite us with the ordinary citizenry of all types. Our job is propaganda, and we, therefore, don't want to get into that sort of discussion."

A similar thing came up at Ann Arbor when Bill Peltz was the speaker. Peltz is a staff member of PBC, who is located at Champaign-Urbana, but he was leading the meeting up at Ann Arbor, Mich., in May of 1975.

Bill Peltz is also the Midwest regional coordinator for the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. He advertises himself as a lay minister and is involved in teaching Bible studies to religious organizations in the Champaign-Urbana area.

When he was on the floor at Ann Arbor, a young woman interrupted him to ask if he were not talking about socialism or communism, and he said to her and to the group:

I don't think we are talking about socialism and communism. There is a tricky thing about all of this. PBC contends the rhetoric has to be examined and the various labels that we are accustomed to using for things have to be reconsidered.

So, "economic democracy" is not necessarily socialism or communism, because that's not the way PBC likes to have it interpreted.

He says, when they talk about socialism they can talk about returning to basic principles, and they can talk about economic democracy; we don't have to talk about socialism or communism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there any documentary evidence that the New American Movement played a major role in the launching of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; there is documentary evidence of that. In the first place, Rifkin was a member of the New American Movement at the time that he proposed the idea for the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and he proposed it as a member of the New American Movement.

There is also a report on the founding conference of the New American Movement in a December 1971 edition of Guardian, which provides evidence on this point.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will designate that as exhibit No. 20.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 20, and will be found in appendix A, p. 114.]

Mr. WATSON. This is an article in the December 15, 1971, edition of Guardian. It is describing a meeting at Davenport, Iowa, the Thanksgiving weekend meeting, during which they were trying to agree on a national program for this new organization, the New American Movement.

This Thanksgiving conference—I am quoting from the article now:

This Thanksgiving conference was intended to unify chapters of the New American Movement, not just around the document, the basic document, which was written last spring by three Seattle conspiracy members, that spread the idea of forming a mass organization to put socialism on the agenda in the 1970's, but also around a common national program.

Skipping down the article:

There was an older libertarian left representation at the conference, as well as a strong Americanist contingent that wants to emphasize the American Revolutionary tradition to the exclusion of all things foreign, such as Marxism, or solidarity with the third world struggle.

And still further down in the article:

One of the proposals that was made during the weekend was for a Peoples Revolutionary Bicentennial.

Mr. SCHULTZ. May I look at the exhibit, please?

Mr. WATSON. Sure.

And if we can revert back to our first exhibit, Rifkin's article from the New American Movement publication itself, there is a paragraph in that article, I think, that is germane to what we are talking about. I will read it.

He is talking about setting up Peoples Bicentennial Commissions and saying that:

Each State has established an official Bicentennial Commission to coordinate activities and programs between now and 1976. New American Movement chapters could research the methods for selection of the commissions and expose the patronage and nonrepresentative nature of the boards, that is, too few youths, blacks, women, native Americans on the commission. The New American Movement could also petition for appointments to the commission and present detailed proposals for statewide Bicentennial activities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you know how many regional chapters are now in existence?

Mr. WATSON. I do not, and I doubt that anyone knows.

When you sit in on a regional meeting, such as I have sat in on twice, you hear the proposition being made to people that they have attracted to these meetings to go back home and form their own Peoples Bicentennial Commission. And the first priority is to get them to go back home and form an organization called the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in their home towns, but if that doesn't work, then they are to get the Peoples Bicentennial literature in any other organization that is handling Bicentennial activities, whether it's the official organization or not. And, if there is already a radical Bicentennial group in the community, then they don't have to change the name of it, or anything, just use the Peoples Bicentennial material. That's the requirement.

So, it's very, very difficult to keep up with how many chapters they might have around the country.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How many people attended the meeting that you attended? The one you attended in Michigan.

Mr. WATSON. I went to one in Urbana, and I also went to one in Ann Arbor, and I would have to check my notes to feel comfortable about answering that. In both cases, we are talking about a relatively small group of people. We are talking about 30, 40, or 50 people in each case.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Did you gain the impression that these individuals were from the 50 States, or at least a regional representation?

Mr. WATSON. They were a regional representation. You would run into people at either one of these places from Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana. I took down a notation of the staff people that were at the Ann Arbor conference, and one was from each of the following States: Nebraska, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan. That's about the geographical spread that the attendees represented, too, from talking to them during the breaks. The attendees were a mix of people running from rather radical-looking students on the campus to middle-aged and middle-class businessmen and housewives, small businessmen and housewives, librarians, teachers, people like that.

In both cases, the conferences were held at least partly on campus. At the Champaign-Urbana conference, the entire thing was held on the campus. For some reason, I never did figure out why, the one at Ann Arbor was held only in part on the campus. Some of the meetings were held on the campus and some were held downtown in the public library.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Were these meetings held under the auspices of the schools?

Mr. WATSON. Well, to the extent that they were advertised on the the student union boards. You know, you put up a flyer on the student union board, and you say there will be a meeting of all those concerned with the Bicentennial, and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is going to speak, and there will be coffee and beer. And, of course, Bill Peltz, who is a Midwest regional coordinator and was very much in evidence at both of the meetings I went to, is apparently a faculty member of the University of Illinois.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Does the PBC attempt to associate itself with the official Bicentennial Commission? The American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration?

Mr. WATSON. They advertise themselves as an alternative to the official Bicentennial Administration. Of course, the national office is where they make the big thing out of this. It's the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration in Washington that they are always throwing rocks at. They don't throw as many rocks at the State commissions and the local commissions around the country. They are frequently trying to cooperate with them. They want to work with them. They want to get people in there.

I've sat at these meetings and I've listened to them tell people to go back home and, if you can't start a PBC of your own, get yourself a job in the official Bicentennial Commission and see that this literature gets used.

Mr. SCHULTZ. It's interesting. You've identified both Rossen and Rifkin as founders of the New American Movement. Your testimony certainly suggests that you regard the New American Movement as a revolutionary organization, rather than one committed to peaceful change. Doesn't the New American Movement claim in some of its propaganda that it is a democratic socialist movement? Doesn't this suggest that they may be close to the Western European socialists in outlook?

Mr. WATSON. I have a couple of reports on the first NAM—the first New American Movement conference, that I think might be entered for the record, that will somewhat clarify this question.

One of them is in that same edition of the New American Movement newspaper that we introduced as exhibit 1. It's in an earlier page than the PBC article. This report does use the expression "democratic socialism," but then a few passages later they make it clear that they have nothing but contempt for the British and Scandinavian socialism, which they describe as welfare capitalism.

I think there is ample evidence that the New American Movement belongs to the far left end of the political spectrum, rather than to the progressive or reform sector.

For example, in December of last year, there was in Puerto Rico, the second conference of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which as testimony given before your subcommittee demonstrates, is not really a Socialist party in the European sense, but a Castro Communist Party. The New American Movement had fraternal observers present at this conference. Other organizations which had fraternal observers there included the American Indian Movement, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the Filipino Communist Party, and the Guardian. The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, as testimony given before your subcommittee establishes,

is a support organization of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and operates under the complete control of the Cuban Secret Police, the DGI.

The Guardian, as you know, is essentially a Maoist Communist movement. The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee is a support organization for the Weather Underground.

To give you an idea of the tenor of the conference, I have here the Guardian of December 17, 1975; I would like to quote two paragraphs describing the speech of Juan Mari Bras, the secretary general of the PSP. At the rally he directly confronted the question of electoral strategy. "Does the electoral strategy mean that we set aside the armed struggle?" he asked. "We answer, definitely not. Quoting from Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, Mari Bras brought the crowd to its feet with a thundering ovation as he declared, 'There can be no victorious revolution if you have the arms and you do not have the masses, but there cannot be a victorious revolution without arms. We will never renounce our right to armed struggle, not until the day that imperialism gives up its last gun.'"

I think that when the New American Movement participates in conferences such as that, then it is pretty clear what their colors are.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What successes do you see that the PBC has had?

Mr. WATSON. What successes?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Well, I think it has to be regarded as somewhat successful that the April 1976 Book-of-the-Month Club Selection on the American Revolution itself, was written by the staff historian of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and sells for \$12, \$15, \$20—I've forgotten exactly the price of it, it's a rather expensive book. I think that has to be recorded as a success.

The press coverage that they have received has been phenomenal.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You mentioned they've been quoted and listed in Newsweek. What other major publications?

Mr. WATSON. Well, U.S. News & World Report gave them better billing than it did the Official Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, and you can pick up a handful of newsclippings from almost anywhere in the country and read a favorable review.

Here is a piece of a Girl Scout newsletter that one of my neighbors in northern Virginia brought to me because she was aware of some of the things that I had written on the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. She is a Girl Scout leader, and her council, her Girl Scout council, put out this recommendation:

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission has materials available for groups. The introductory packet of materials is free. A kit of Bicentennial materials, including a subscription to "Common Sense," costs \$10. Their most recent publication is "America's Birthday," a planning and activity guide for citizens participation during the Bicentennial.

That's the book that we described looking like the American Heritage cover. The book is published by Simon & Schuster. The PBC address is 12346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you identify the document from which you just read?

Mr. WATSON. This is a newsletter from the Capitol Area Council of the Girl Scouts.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You can provide that to the committee?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 21 and will be found in appendix A, p. 116.]

Mr. WATSON. Anywhere you want to pick up a newspaper, you find coverage of the PBC. The Washington Post, the Washington Star, newspapers from the west coast, from the South, the National Observer, Playboy. We cited earlier the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have any of the newspapers or magazines identified the PBC for what they are?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, they have, in very few cases. The Chicago Tribune has done two anti-PBC pieces after they had run several pro-PBC pieces. Back in 1974, was the first time I noticed the Chicago Tribune had given a rather favorable coverage. It was not until the article cited earlier by columnist Bob Wiedrich, in which he cited Rossen's background and so forth—an expose of PBC published by the Chicago Tribune—that the record was set straight.

Then, last December, December 20, 1975, the Chicago Tribune published a lead editorial which they entitled "Hijacking the Bicentennial." It said much of the same sort of thing that we have been saying here, including referring to Chairman Ichord's remarks in Congress. They mentioned Rifkin and Rossen; gave a little brief description of the literature and so on.

But, hard on the heels of that, here is a piece from the New York Times taking the PBC quite seriously, "Radical Group Presses for New Bicentennial View."

Mr. SCHULTZ. What's the date?

Mr. WATSON. January 18.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The title of that article?

Mr. WATSON. January 18, 1976, the New York Times, "Radical Group Presses New Bicentennial View."

In the same edition of the New York Times, the PBC had nearly a full-page advertisement for which they paid \$10,000. It's covered in this article here. PBC has been favored by a variety of magazines around the country. The newspapers have generally done likewise. If we tried to come up with some sort of percentage on good press versus bad press—and I would have to do this off the top of my head—I would say that they probably have somewhere between 5 and 10 percent bad press, in other words, anti-PBC stuff, and the rest of it is pro, and some of it is so lavish that it's absolutely amazing.

For example, I have to contend that this byline article by Jeremy Rifkin on economic freedom in the New York Times—

Mr. SCHULTZ. Which appeared when?

Mr. WATSON. May 26, 1975. This is the one in which he rewrites the Declaration of Independence along economic lines. The New York Times credits Jeremy Rifkin as an economist and codirector of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, an author of "Common Sense II." That's all the American public is told about what PBC is all about.

That, generally, is the sort of press that they have gotten around the country, and, as I say, you cannot tag it to what people frequently speak of as the ultraliberal press versus the conservative press.

Lloyd Jenkins Jones, out in Tulsa, Okla., has written a couple of very good PBC pieces that tell it like it is, but these are rather rare.

When I introduced the book, "How to Commit Revolution American Style," by Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen, I should have cited its publisher, which I didn't do at the time. The publisher is Lyle Stuart, Inc., of Secaucus, N.J. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons that Rossen and Rifkin don't like to advertise the book too much, because Lyle Stuart's reputation as a publisher includes mostly quasi-pornographic material and revolutionary material, including the "Anarchists' Cookbook," which he published.

It also is significant, perhaps, that Lyle Stuart was a treasurer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, according to testimony before the committee.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I will finish my questions and then with the chairman's permission we will go around for your additional questions, gentlemen. The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine, go right ahead.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Watson, you have mentioned that the PBC is planning a mass rally in Washington on July 4. Do you have any information about the plans that have been made for this rally and about those who will participate in the rally?

Mr. WATSON. Well, they have been talking for—at both the meetings I attended in the Midwest, the subject of the Fourth of July came up, and they mentioned in their Common Sense from time to time since then that they wanted to have a massive rally on the Fourth of July, and apparently recently they have applied for a permit to have a rally here in Washington on the Fourth of July. The Washington Post has published a story on January 21, 1976, in which they say the PBC says it expects to attract 250,000 people to a protest rally in Washington on July 4. I would like to insert this into the record if I may.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Without objection, this article will be identified as exhibit No. 22.

[The article referred to was marked exhibit No. 22 and will be found in appendix A, p. 116.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you know if this request for a permit has been granted?

Mr. WATSON. I don't really know that. I have no information as to whether it has nor not. The article certainly sounded like it would be granted. Of course, when they put on the demonstration at Concord they did get a permit for that affair, and they estimated about four times the number of people that they actually got there. They always inflate the figures as to how many they really expect to have, but if they set out to put on a rally here in Washington, I would say that they could certainly get 25,000 or 30,000 people.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you know whether the anticipated rally will be a single issue or one organization rally, or whether the PBC will serve as an umbrella for many groups to come in under the permit?

Mr. WATSON. I would not think that they would encourage a lot of other groups to come in and take their thunder, but as far as the multi-issue approach is concerned, it is almost guaranteed that it will be a multi-issue approach. They will have PBC literature and PBC—

Mr. SCHULTZ. But with the focus of rebellion?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. But they will take in anyone who is of like mind, but they want it to be a PBC affair.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And as a matter of fact, so that they would make a good showing, just the number of bodies, whether committed to their particular cause or not, would help them?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. SCHULTZ. One final question from me before I ask for other questions by the members of the staff. What response is the official Bicentennial group giving when they receive inquiries concerning the PBC, if you know?

Mr. WATSON. I don't really have much of an answer to that, other than the fact that I have made a couple of calls myself over the last 2 years, several calls for one reason or other, to the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, and most people that you talk to there don't have much to say on the subject. They will not give you much of a clarification of what the PBC is all about, and I have referred citizens to them on occasion, and the citizens are seldom satisfied with finding out much about the PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you evaluate the response? Is it because they don't know, or are they reluctant to characterize the PBC?

Mr. WATSON. Well, I have been told by one or two of the people that I have talked to that they don't see it within their charter to say anything derogatory about any other organization. I can understand that sentiment. I am also pretty well convinced that some people I have talked to don't really know.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Of course, I would assume that they clearly dispel any association between the two organizations to those individuals that call and ask?

Mr. WATSON. Sometimes it's the lack of clarity there.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I understand. Mr. Martin, do you have any questions?

Mr. MARTIN. Just one question. You gave the subcommittee several examples of what you called the duplicity of the PBC. Rifkin and Rossen are writing for the movement, for the cadres of the movement—you have some frankly revolutionary prose which you quoted. And you pointed out that they will use much the same paragraphs in writings intended for the general public, but they will delete certain names or certain words that might give offense to people who are not revolutionary in their personal orientation.

For example, they would delete references to Lenin and Che Guevara and Castro, and so on. In order to demonstrate that this isn't something that has just happened occasionally in their writings, but that it is part of a consistent pattern of duplicity on their part, do you have a number of other examples which you could offer for the record?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. This has been such a common occurrence in looking at their literature, running across this sort of thing that I developed a little comparative sheet here that has four paragraphs on it, wherein on one side of the page Rifkin is writing in the underground press to fellow leftists and on the other side of the page he is writing in "America's Birthday," the Simon & Shuster book, and you are looking at the same paragraphs, but they have been doctored to get the scare words and the scare names out of them. Actually, the introduction to "America's Birthday," is, by and large, a cut and paste job of Rifkin's underground press articles with these words and names taken out. You can go down through there page-by-page and just find whole paragraphs have been picked up and plopped over there with the scare words and scare names taken out.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Of the analysis that you prepared, is each paragraph documented as to source?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. All right. We will mark your analysis as exhibit No. 23, for inclusion in the record.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 23 and will be found in appendix A, p. 118.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Martin, do you have anything further?

Mr. MARTIN. That's all.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Tarabochia.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. A group of revolutionary organizations such as the PSP, the American Indian Movement, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, are sponsoring a massive rally under the name of the July 4th Coalition to coincide with the official celebrations in Philadelphia. Do you have any knowledge whether the PBC is going to participate or sponsor this rally?

Mr. WATSON. No; I don't. I would suggest that it is worth looking into further though because, as I remember it, the PBC in Philadelphia is not called the PBC; it has some other name. It's one of those, as I remember, that did want to change its name, but it has a heavy PBC influence. I would think from their method of operation that they will certainly have an oar in it, but I don't really have any particular knowledge of that.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Because I notice that the New American Movement is one of the endorsers of this. The National Committee of the New American Movement is an endorser of this rally.

Mr. WATSON. I would say this, that there is a very good chance that PBC would be involved.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I have no other questions. Thank you.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Short, do you have any questions?

Mr. SHORT. Yes. Mr. Rifkin, at the regional PBC conference in Urbana, stated that he wanted to establish an organization which would be capable of replacing the Daughters of the American Revolution, the DAR, as it is commonly known, as representative of Americans with revolutionary lineage. How does he propose to do this?

Mr. WATSON. Well, he said at that meeting, that they were seeking people whose ancestors took part in the American Revolution, and he said they already had some, to sign up with PBC under the banner of "Sons and Daughters of Liberty," or "Sons and Daughters of the Revolution." He said they wanted to get 500 such people to announce the formation of this organization and call for a second American revolution to create economic democracy, and he was encouraging the local PBC's and the people that he was trying to get to go back home and start their own PBC's to do the same thing—find people in their communities with revolutionary lineage and sign them up as part of this new organization.

Mr. SHORT. I believe, also, that the PBC claims that there are three basic documents which are essential to a proper interpretation of the revolution 200 years ago. They are the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Bible.

Now, you mentioned earlier a William Peltz, the PBC Midwest regional coordinating chairman. Could you tell me briefly what he stated at the Ann Arbor, Mich., conference concerning recruitment of Christians for the PBC?

Mr. WATSON. Well, as I mentioned earlier, Peltz, presents himself as a lay minister and says that he regards teaching of Bible studies as one of the ways that you can get across revolutionary information.

He says that, of course, there are several conservative branches of Christianity to be concerned with—the fundamentalists, and they have not been so ready to step into the social action activities, the leftist activities, as some of the other denominations might have done, and they might be a little leery of some of the activities that PBC advocates; but if they can be reached, he says, they can be the most powerful influence possible because of the high level of dedication fundamentalist Christians have.

He said, they believe in the Bible and if you can show them how the Bible backs up the idea of revolution, their dedication and evangelistic spirit can literally work miracles for you, and he says that you are then using that third document that's essential to the operation.

He says that PBC is really a religious movement, as well as a political one, and he looks at it that way. He says the ideas about sharing the wealth and caring for your neighbor didn't originate with Marx. You can back them up with scripture from the Bible. He says that the Founding Fathers, whatever their individual convictions might have been, were steeped in the Scripture and this gives you a bridge for talking to these fundamentalist Christians.

He says it's simple to go back into the Bible and recapture some of the ideas that you can use in expounding on the Founding Fathers and their religious beliefs, as, for example, the Bible tells us God is supreme, not government. The Bible also tells us we are only sojourners here, and he cites Leviticus, chapter 25, to back this up. And he says, we have no right to own land because we are only sojourners here, that the land belongs to God and everybody.

He says the Bible also makes it clear, as does the Declaration of Independence, that government should be done away with when it no longer serves the needs of the people; that the Bible even makes it clear that there should be a periodic sharing of the wealth. He says, look at the jubilee year that is talked about there in Leviticus 25, and that there is nothing in the Bible to support the existence of corporations.

Mr. SHORT. So, when he uses terms concerning the Bible, he is really not getting away from the Marxist theory at all?

Mr. WATSON. No; he is not. He is using it to do the same sort of thing that PBC has done with the revolutionary 1776 quotations and art work. He is simply using it to cover up what he is really trying to do. He says the point is that if you can get the fundamentalists turned on to the PBC concept of economic democracy and show it is supported in the Bible, you will have tapped a major power source in moving the thing forward.

Mr. SHORT. That's all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Watson, we appreciate your appearing before the subcommittee this morning.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Senator Eastland, it was my pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing further, the subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:20 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

THE ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE BICENTENNIAL—THE PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1976

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:12 o'clock a.m., in the Russell Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman, presiding.

Also present: Richard L. Schultz, chief counsel; Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and David Martin, senior analyst.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. WALTON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Now, counsel, would you proceed with the questions?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mrs. Walton, would you state your full name for the record, please?

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARY O. WALTON OF ILLINOIS

Mrs. WALTON. Mary O. Walton.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What is your address, Mrs. Walton?

Mrs. WALTON. I live in the State of Illinois.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mrs. Walton, have you made a study of revolutionary groups and organizations over the past several years?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; I have.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Approximately how long have you made such studies?

Mrs. WALTON. For the past 15 years.

Mr. SCHULTZ. In the course of your studies have you collected many materials relating to revolutionary organizations, writings, and documents?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; I have.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You are here this morning to furnish information and testimony in connection with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?

Mrs. WALTON. That's correct.

Mr. SCHULTZ. All right. I know you have a prepared statement to make. Would you proceed?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, sir.

Gentlemen, my presence here today has been brought about due to a concern we have in common. Namely, the radical left forces that are using the guise of our Bicentennial to further their aims of a social revolution to bring about a restructuring of our free enterprise system, and of our democratic republic system of government which derives from it. I do hope that my testimony will shed some light on this potentially serious situation.

I would like to preface this testimony with some of my qualifications. First, I am a mother of two sons and through them, close to many young adults. Therefore, I am concerned about the world they and their future generations will inherit.

Second, I am an American who believes, in spite of its inadequacies, in the United States of America. With this I believe in our democracy within a republican form of government and the free enterprise system of economics.

I have lived in several areas of Europe in all sorts of conditions; lived in—not as a tourist. When I have come home, I thank God I am privileged to live in this great land, for nowhere on Earth is there the freedom and opportunities that our Nation affords her citizens.

I wore an American flag pin and everywhere I went people would come up to me and tell me how desperately they wanted to come to this country to live.

George Washington, in his farewell address said, “The name American which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism.”

Twelve years ago, I became concerned when I detected some—may I just stop briefly?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes.

Mrs. WALTON. My study did start 14 years ago, but I became more deeply concerned about it 12 years ago.

Twelve years ago, I became concerned when I detected some of the elements behind the so-called “Free-Speech Movement” at the University of California, at Berkeley; namely, Bettina Aptheker, daughter of Dr. Herbert Aptheker, head theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

In 1965, my husband’s company sent us to Scotland. There I witnessed Communist Party verbal attacks against the United States and the stirring up of British youth with the identical rhetoric that was and is being employed to attempt to gain the control of American youth.

Lenin stated, “Youth will decide the issue of the entire struggle—both the student youth and, more still, the working class youth.”

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at the founding of the Young Workers’ Liberation League in 1970, said, “In all struggles for social progress especially during explosive events—the youth are the shock troops. They provide the ranks with boldness, militancy, and enthusiasm.”

He went on to state that youth needed leadership with “advanced ideas” and that the Communist Party was establishing that leadership.

Upon my return from Scotland, I saw that the “radical student movement” had grown considerably and that the “shock troops” were on the march against the Pentagon and campuses.

Realizing that our wonderful American youth with their tremendous concern for the world and mankind, their enthusiastic though somewhat naive idealism were being manipulated and maneuvered, I felt it necessary to get to the root of this manipulation.

In order to understand better what was happening and to know how to deal with the situation, I launched upon an intensive, in-depth research which I am still actively pursuing.

I have become a student of communism and all forms of totalitarian socialism which includes Nazism and Fascism. Along with this I am studying the Old and New Left plus the radical right organizations in the United States.

This study has consisted primarily of publications of hundreds of radical organizations, from left to right, and government documents and books. This knowledge has been developed further by my attending "peace" meetings, demonstrations and listening to lecturers ranging from Dr. Herbert Aptheker, with many in between, to Mr. William Kunstler.

I do not set myself up as a totally qualified authority and as one who has all the answers as, indeed, my study continues every day. However, I do feel I have gained enough knowledge from closely monitoring "the movement" to see the pattern of what is occurring in the United States.

I do not represent any organization in this research, just myself—a concerned mother and an American who is far from being ashamed of love of country.

I also do not look for a Communist behind every bush. I acknowledge that the vast majority of people, both students and adults, that are or have been caught up in the "movement" are sincerely concerned about many issues and are far from being Marxists dedicated to the destruction of the capitalist system of economics.

The leaders and manipulators of the radical "movement" know exactly what their goal is and are pursuing it with total dedication.

Several years ago, I took to the lecture platform and have authored many newspaper articles and appeared on talk shows. This led to Governor Ogilvie appointing me to the Governor's Advisory Council. I have worked with many educators on the problems of student radicalism and drug abuse.

Seemingly, the "radical student movement" has slowed down. The students may have been turned off by the "movement" leaders and manipulators. However, these masters of deceit are at it again. They never for one moment give up.

We are now in the midst of celebrating our Nation's Bicentennial and again, I turn to Washington's Farewell Address when he warned us "Much pains will be taken, many artifices employed" and that "The batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively—though often covertly and insidiously—directed" to weaken in Americans minds belief in our form of government.

He concluded by warning us against "The mischiefs of foreign intrigue and to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism."

This warning is particularly appropriate in modern terms when applied to the PBC. Let me say a few words about how the "Peoples Bicentennial Commission" got started.

In 1969 a document entitled "An Open Letter to the American Left" was published by the Johnny Appleseed Press of Cicero, Ill. This is owned by John Rossen, a one-time organizer for the Communist Party in Illinois and Missouri. In the article, Rossen stated that an urgent question for the American Left will be "How to get started on the American road to socialism."

It then told of a meeting of American radicals in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia with the DRV (North Vietnamese) and the NLF (Vietcong) where they were told; "The problem with you American friends is that you have not yet found your identity; you do not identify with the American people."

This letter continues:

If one accepts the proposition that there is an American road to socialism, that no social revolution can be "transplanted" or "grafted" onto American society, then it is clear that the humanist-socialist transformation of society in the United States can come only as an unfolding of the unique history and the unique experiences of the American Nation, as a further development and flowering of the Great American Revolution of 1776.

Is it possible that there is only one American Revolution, that it began in 1776, and that in 1969, Americans have the revolutionary task of bringing that revolution up to date?

American Radicals, who are really American and really radical, must accept the proposition that Twentieth Century Americanism is humanist-socialism.

A revival and up-dating of the "Spirit of '76" by the American left and a re-vamping of left theory and practice in terms of that spirit would not only defeat the Fascist danger, but would create the conditions for an offensive by the left that would speed the day of the arrival of the American people at the next milestone in their history—a humanist-socialist society.

Thus was launched the Johnny Appleseed movement; and this new "patriotic movement," using American nationalism to put across Marxist doctrine was furthered with the publishing of a paper called the New Patriot.

This was all the brainchild of John Rossen and in the summer of 1971, it appears that the Johnny Appleseed movement was handed over lock, stock and barrel to one Jeremy Rifkin and renamed the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

I believe it was called the Peoples Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission and then the name "Revolutionary" was dropped at a later period.

This is typical of the Old and New Left structures, to regroup and change names in order to confuse. In my opinion, this was a clever move as Rifkin's left wing record was not well known like Rossen's. John Rossen has obviously remained as mentor, guiding light, very active and the voice of the Chicago Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

I feel the most revealing aspect of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is their "Student Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial" and all their educational tools.

They state that "educational reform today is meaningless without a general reorientation of our society * * * students and teachers can never really take control of the educational process from administrators, boards of education and the needs of big business and demagogic politicians until the people of America have taken control of our society from the neotories who run our Government and economic system."

I would like to go into more detail on the Peoples Bicentennial educational plans when we review their publications.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission states that their program is designed to reawaken the radical student movement of the 1960's.

The radical Old and New Left, cloaked with patriotic trappings, diabolically using the commemoration of our Nation's birth with which to ensnare Americans and lead them down the path to a Soviet or Castro style socialism are finding a widespread acceptance of their new patriotic rhetoric.

They have, indeed, found a fresh way to identify with the American people as internationalist Marxists advised them to do.

As John Rossen wrote in his pamphlet "Toward a New Patriotism," "The New Patriotism would be socialist-humanist and internationalist in substance and content and nationalist in form and rhetoric."

Gentlemen, I would like to conclude my opening statement with a quote from Samuel Adams. "The liberties of our country, the freedom of our civil constitution, are worth defending at all hazards; and it is our duty to defend them against all attacks. We have received them as a fair inheritance from our worthy ancestors; they purchased them for us with toil and danger, and expense of treasure and blood, and transmitted them to us with care and diligence. It will be an everlasting mark of infamy on the present generation, enlightened as it is, if we should suffer them to be wrested from us by violence without a struggle or be cheated out of them by the artifices of false and designing men."

Gentlemen, I would now like to go over the documents and publications of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and related materials with you. I have furnished the subcommittee with copies of many of these documents. In doing this you will be able to comprehend more fully what the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is, their history, and aims. This hopefully will lead to discussing what can be done to neutralize this Bicentennial hoax.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Mrs. Walton. Just a few questions in connection with your opening statement. You mentioned that your studies are not connected with any organization. That they have been done wholly on your own. Have you been paid by any organization?

Mrs. WALTON. I have received a few honorariums when I have gone out and lectured. I have not received any funds from any organization, per se.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You are not on a continuing—

Mrs. WALTON. No; and I am not a member of a speakers' bureau or anything like that. My lecturing has been done purely by word-of-mouth.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Where is the Peoples Bicentennial Commission's Headquarters in the Chicago area?

Mrs. WALTON. It is at 2440 North Lincoln Avenue, in a building called Liberty Hall, that is owned by John Rossen.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are there any other organizations within that?

Mrs. WALTON. There are other organizations. I am not aware of all of them. Rev. Iberus Hacker, who works with John Rossen, in the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, has an Open Pantry for the Poor, in the same building.

I am aware of a few other organizations listed in the telephone directory at the Liberty Hall, 2440 N. Lincoln address. They are:

City Colleges of Chicago—Uptown Education Programs—Iberus Hacker, Tel. 271-1737. Rainbow Coalition—Lincoln Park Office, Tel. 271-1737. Chicago Tomorrow—Social Service, Tel. 528-0191.

Women For Peace, Tel. 929-6690. The Old Country Church, Tel. 271-1737.

I also have many documents showing that various organizations hold meetings at the 2440 N. Lincoln address such as: Citizens Alert/Alliance to End Repression, Venceremos Brigade, Iranian Student Association, Benefit for Chicago Workers School, "Class Struggle"—October League, Consumer Counteraction, United Farm Workers, Institute For Social Studies, New American Movement, National Caucus of Labor Committees, and others.

I want to make it clear that the mere fact that an organization or operation has its offices in Liberty Hall does not necessarily mean it is revolutionary. But I think it would be quite accurate to state that with few exceptions, the organizations who have their offices in Liberty Hall or who have used Liberty Hall for meetings and rallies are either actively involved in leftwing politics or else are welfare organizations—or what passes as welfare organizations—operated by a variety of leftwing organizations.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have you ever been to this building?

Mrs. WALTON. I have not.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Who is the Peoples Bicentennial Commission spokesman in Chicago?

Mrs. WALTON. Mainly John Rossen. Sometimes Rev. Iberus Hacker, Sister Joan Baustian or Susan Rockwell.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is it not true that John Rossen disassociates himself from Rifkin?

Mrs. WALTON. He disassociates himself from Rifkin. They are very careful about that. As a matter of fact Jeremy Rifkin in a Chicago Sun Times article dated October 5, 1975, stated that the beginning of the PBC all started with a discussion in 1971 with a friend who publishes the Progressive in Madison, Wis., and no mention of John Rossen. Although Jeremy Rifkin is in and out of the PBC's Chicago office from time to time John Rossen is very obviously in command. One instance that I know of, he went to New Trier West High School in Northfield, where he gave an adult seminar on bicentennial planning. He spoke as representing the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. Sister Baustian accompanied Rossen to this meeting.

His associates with the Chicago Bicentennial Commission are Sister Joan Baustian and Rev. Iberus Hacker.

Mr. SCHULTZ. When did the Northfield, Ill., appearance occur?

Mrs. WALTON. The meeting took place on the evening of February 27, 1975.

Mr. SCHULTZ. When did you first become aware of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?

Mrs. WALTON. Shortly after they were formed in 1971, I became aware of them. My documents go back to the Johnny Appleseed movement which I put away in a file and then when I heard about the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, it was very clear, in my opinion, that this was what had developed out of the Johnny Appleseed movement. Many of the PBC documents that I secured at a later date bear out this opinion.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Describe for us, if you will, how you first contacted the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and what you gained through your contact with them.

Mrs. WALTON. I first wrote to them in April 1974, and at that time, I wrote to—no, March—I am sorry. March 28, 1974, and I wrote to them at their Liberty Hall address.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How did you obtain this address?

Mrs. WALTON. I obtained it from the Chicago Peace Council, as a matter of fact. I take that back, it was not March 28, because I wrote to them 3 weeks prior to that and I did not have an answer. So then I followed it up with a letter to them on March 28, and I received a letter back from Sister Joan Baustian, on April 9, 1974, stating that they had never received my first letter and that they were glad that I had written again, but I did not include my phone number and that she had spent nearly 3 weeks in a hospital and she sent me a few publications of the PBC and hoped that I would join and receive all the materials.

She informed me that on April 23, 1974, at 7:30 p.m., they were holding a meeting of people interested in the PBC and that Jeremy Rifkin, from Washington, D.C. would be there. She invited me to come down to that meeting and to talk about their ongoing activities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that any documents offered by Mrs. Walton during the course of this hearing be accepted and the final decision as to inclusion in the record be reserved until they may be reviewed.

The CHAIRMAN. That's fine. Without objection so ordered.

Mr. SCHULTZ. If you are willing to provide a copy of that to the subcommittee, we will mark that as exhibit No. 1.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, sir.

[The documents referred to were marked as exhibit Nos. 1 and 1A and will be found on pp. 127 and 128, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Did you have subsequent correspondence?

Mrs. WALTON. In some of the publications, they sent me, there was a form to fill in to receive the Peoples Bicentennial kit. I sent \$10 to the Connecticut Avenue address and I have furnished the original documents of the kit to the subcommittee.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mrs. Walton, when you say the Connecticut Avenue address, are you talking about an address in Washington, D.C.?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, I am. That is the PBC headquarters.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Could you give us that specific address?

Mrs. WALTON. It is 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 1010.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you describe for us the origin of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and the connection which you have found between that organization and the Johnny Appleseed movement?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, sir. This began in 1969, with an "Open Letter to the American Left," which was printed by the Johnny Appleseed Press—they are located in Cicero, Ill. The Johnny Appleseed publisher is John Rossen.

In this "Open Letter to the American Left" it was proposed that a new patriotic movement be developed. I did quote from this in my opening statement.

Mr. SCHULTZ. As documentation for your remarks in your opening statement, we will mark that as exhibit No. 2.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 2 and will be found on p. 129, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. This, plus another document called "One, Two, Three . . . Many SDS's." This was also distributed by the Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications at the same time. This was an excerpt from Ramparts magazine, copyright 1969. This also describes some of the new ideas for the "Old Left."

These were picked up at the same time and I might explain where these documents came from.

Mr. SCHULTZ. If you would, please. We will mark that as exhibit No. 3.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 3 and will be found on p. 133, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. These documents were distributed at a convocation at the Bellarmine School of Theology, 230 South Lincoln Way, Aurora, Ill. on October 4, 1969. The Bellarmine School of Theology was a branch of Loyola University, in Chicago, and it has since ceased to exist at that address.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Were these documents obtained by you?

Mrs. WALTON. They were obtained by a friend of mine that I sent to this meeting. She brought back many documents. These were just among them.

Another document that was brought back was a document explaining the John Rossen "Little Red, White and Blue Book" called "Revolutionary Quotations from the Thoughts of Uncle Sam." On the back of this there is a reprint, second in a series, from Johnny Appleseed. It is an advertisement actually, seeking the development of a new political party called A Revolutionary Mass Party.

These three documents were secured at the same time.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mark the advertisement as exhibit No. 4.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 4, and will be found on p. 141, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. Now going along with that exhibit there was in the Chicago Tribune, on February 24, 1970, a write-up about that meeting in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, that is referred to in the Open Letter to the American Left.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The Chicago Tribune article dated February 24, 1970 will be exhibit No. 5.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 5 and will be found on p. 143, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. Now to tie the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in—shortly after the Open Letter to the American Left went out, a publication called the New Patriot was printed by the Johnny Appleseed Press and recently, I secured from the PBC a copy of this original publication in which they very conveniently stamped the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in the corner linking the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in with the original publication of the New Patriot.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Will you identify that document by date and perhaps by volume number?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes. September, volume No. 1—volume 1, excuse me, No. 2, September-October, 1970.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You obtained that—

Mrs. WALTON. From the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Fine. Thank you. This will be exhibit No. 6.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 6 and will be found on p. 144, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. Further to that, last year the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, in Chicago, began to issue a monthly newsletter called the Chicago Patriot, and in their volume 1, number 4, which was December 1975, January 1976, they state, "The New Patriot, the newspaper formerly put out by the Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications will be resumed by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission of Chicago and Johnny Appleseed. The Chicago Patriot is hereby discontinued. Subscribers will receive instead the New Patriot with its large colorful format of 20 to 30 pages; \$3.50 is our special rate for early subscribers to the New Patriot, in January."

This further links the New Patriot with the Chicago Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What is the date on this pamphlet?

Mrs. WALTON. December 1975, January 1976.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

We will mark that as exhibit No. 7.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 7 and will be found on p. 145, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you have any other documents that you would like to furnish the subcommittee which would show the relationship between the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and the Johnny Appleseed movement?

Mrs. WALTON. I believe that scattered through some of the Johnny Appleseed publications are things that are identical to the PBC such as statements, pictures, logos, an ad for "Don't Tread On Me" buttons identical to those sold by the PBC, and the listing of such organizations as: Committees of Correspondence, DAR II and Daughters and Sons of Liberty. These can be found in the New Patriot volume 1—No. 2/September–October 1970 and the New Patriot volume 1—No. 4/March–April 1971. Also a letter dated July 14, 1975 from Susan Rockwell of the Chicago PBC office containing information on the redevelopment of the New Patriot by the PBC.

May we backtrack?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Absolutely.

Mrs. WALTON. In my opening statement I referred to the Gus Hall statement on using American youth as shock troops, at the founding of the Young Workers' Liberation League. This statement was made in Chicago, February 8, 1970, and it was the opening speech by Gus Hall, at the Founding Convention which was held in the Sherman House Hotel, in Chicago.

I would like to enter this in evidence.

Mr. SCHULTZ. This is documented—

Mrs. WALTON. The date, February 28, 1970.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What is the name of the paper?

Mrs. WALTON. This is from the Daily World.

Mr. SCHULTZ. That would be exhibit No. 8.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 8 and will be found on p. 146, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mrs. Walton, what are the publicly stated goals and objectives of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?

Mrs. WALTON. I think their goals are stated very clearly in all their publications.

The PBC publication entitled "The Bicentennial Era 1972-76" gives four aspects for a sound program for revolutionary change in corporate America: a set of principles, an analysis of the system, a set of blueprints, and a program of attack or a program for taking power. This is followed by a Peoples Bicentennial Declaration in which is stated "the new American Revolution must not be a revolution in rhetoric but rather a revolution in fact."

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission has what they call the Declaration of Economic Independence, and if I may I would like to read a few paragraphs from it.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the economic bonds which have tied them to another, a decent respect for the opinions of humankind requires that they should declare the causes which compel them to separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all people are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights economic institutions are instituted among people, deriving just power from the consent of the citizens, that whenever an economic system becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new economic system laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

* * * The history of the present giant corporations is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let the facts be submitted to a candid world.

America's giant corporations have seized control over the great land and resources of our country.

They have forced millions of Americans into unemployment lines by systematically closing down their American plants and moving their business operations abroad so they can hire cheaper labor and reap still greater profits for their owners.

They go on and explain more of why they are against the corporate structure in the United States, and then at the end they conclude:

We therefore, the citizens of the United States of America, hereby call for the abolition of these giant institutions of tyranny and the establishment of new economic enterprises with new laws and safeguards to provide for the equal and democratic participation of all American citizens in the economic decisions that affect the well-being of our families, our communities and our nation. In furtherance of our joint hopes and aspirations and mindful of the lessons of history, we steadfastly adhere to the general principle that a Democratic Republic can only exist to the extent that economic decisionmaking power is broadly exercised by the people and not delegated to a few. Such is the necessity which compels us to act in support of decentralized economic enterprises with ownership and control being shared jointly by the workers in the plants and by the local communities in which they operate, with similar patterns of shared representative control being exercised on a regional and national level to insure the smooth and efficient coordination of all economic operations. For the support of this declaration with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

[The complete text will be found on p. 155, Appendix B as part of exhibit No. 9.]

Listed under that is the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Washington, D.C., 20036.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there a date or a volume number on the publication?

Mrs. WALTON. Volume 4, No. 1 of Common Sense.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is this one of the documents which you obtained through the mail?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; I am on what they call their committee of correspondence. This is lifted from Our Founding Fathers who had a committee of correspondence. You receive periodically their publication Common Sense as well as other documents.

I would like to add that this particular copy of Common Sense was mailed to all the State legislators in the State of Illinois and the opening statement on it is "1976, The Year for Revolution."

There is another interesting—well, there are two interesting things I would like to point out in this document. The announcement of the demonstration on July 4, in Washington, D.C.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What page does that appear on?

Mrs. WALTON. It appears on page 11.

The PBC states that they will have 250,000 new patriots for the largest economic rally in American history.

The 200th anniversary of the American Revolution, a time to begin the second American Revolution. Declare your economic independence from ITT, GM and EXXON. Send a message to Wall Street. Rededicate yourself to the democratic principles of 1776. Join the Movement for Economic Democracy. Join the Peoples Bicentennial Commission at the Capitol, in Washington, D.C.

Join prominent speakers and entertainers in pledging your life, fortune and sacred honor to a new America. Make some history of your own. Be there.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask the subcommittee chief investigator if he has any information concerning the proposed demonstration for Washington, D.C.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, Mr. Art Lamb, Chief of the Division of Special Events of the U.S. National Park Service informed me this morning that a permit for a demonstration on July 4th, by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission has been applied for but not granted yet.

A meeting with Jeremy Rifkin is scheduled for 10 a.m., March 29, 1976, to work out the details of his demonstration.

There are two permits that are required for these demonstrations because the gathering is going to take place in front of the Capitol and also spill over on the mall from First to Fifth and Seventh Streets.

It is of interest to note that on the same date the following events are to take place in Washington, D.C. An event at the Kennedy Stadium where about 50,000 people are going to be involved; the opening of the Air and Space Museum at the Smithsonian Institution; the opening of the Visitors Center at Union Station; the fireworks at the monument grounds; the Folklike Festival around the Lincoln Memorial and the opening of the new Bicentennial Gardens on the site of the old Navy Annex on Constitution Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mr. Schultz, will you carry on?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mrs. Walton, did you have any other items?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; I would like to show one item in this particular publication of Common Sense. There is a picture of all of the Presidential candidates including Senator Birch Bayh and former Senator Fred Harris—who have been generally regarded as the most liberal of the Democratic candidates—and conservative candidate Governor Ronald Reagan.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission rejects all of these candidates as being of the same cut. Common Sense says, "After 200 years, is this the best we can do? Look at these men. All of them want to be President of the United States. Each of them wants your vote."

Then they conclude, "We think it's time to put the candidates on notice, we're fed up with worn out cliches and endless chatter from a cast of Twiddledee and Twiddledum candidates. We want some action."

Then they state, "We're the Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy." The Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy is forming groups across the country to heckle all of the Presidential candidates.

When President Ford was in the Champaign-Urbana area of Illinois, I believe it was 10 days ago, Bill Peltz who heads up the Midwest section of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission led a group of hecklers against the President.

When Governor Reagan was in Oshkosh, Wis., recently, a group of 500 students demonstrated in the name of the Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy. They are proposing to do this all across the Nation.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Historically, of course, we think of Thomas Paine when we think of a group or a label of Common Sense.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; of course.

This is why they very cleverly took the name "Common Sense," for their publication and for their Campaign for a Democratic Economy.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

This is exhibit No. 9.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 9, and will be found on p. 150, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. You have given us some idea from the writings of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission what their goals and objectives are as publicly stated.

How does the PBC plan to carry out the activities they are advocating?

Mrs. WALTON. They have various programs. They have a program called "Community Programs for Peoples Bicentennial" in which they present to individuals and organizations in every community in the country the opportunity to participate in a "new social movement." It is suggested that a Community Research be undertaken by forming a new group on a campus or in a town called the People's Research Operation for the Bicentennial Era (PROBE). It is further suggested that students do this research as they have the time and are anxious to contribute to movements for social change. In fact, they say PROBE can be used as a continuing aspect of the student revolt of the 1960's. They state PROBE should go into the community and ask such questions as:

"What do the people of your community know about the ideals of the American Revolution?"

"Do the institutions that affect the community operate in accordance with those ideals?"

"The Russians have the Communist Manifesto; the Chinese have the Quotations of Chairman Mao. Do Americans have a political document to lean on for guidance?"

"When the Founding Fathers signed the Declaration of Independence they pledged their lives and fortunes . . . Do you think modern politicians are that dedicated to the people they represent?"

"The Declaration says that whenever any form of government turns against our rights and tries to destroy them, it is our duty to change or abolish that form of government. Do you agree with that?"

"The colonists complained that they had no voice in making decisions. Do you feel that you have a voice in local decisions? In state decisions? In national decisions?"

These are just a few of the questions to be asked to plant a seed of discontent and then the acceptance of the restructuring of our society in people's minds.

They outline how to effect change by exerting pressure on the power base in every community.

They are to organize around community issues such as child care. There is a 4-year PBC program for the largest day-care organization in the Nation—the National Day Care and Child Development Council of America. The PBC's grassroots door to door campaign "Birthday Parties For Kids" aims at enlisting 10 million parents into a day-care lobby to press for quality, community-controlled day care by 1976. Other issues are education; recreation; jobs; senior citizens; service systems—transportation, sanitation, police, courts, health, welfare, and so on. There are other numerous plans for community organizing. I think it is worthy of note that Students for a Democratic Society had a similar plan for community organizing.

They have the "Light in the Steeple," which is a religious program for the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. It is published by the "Ecumenical Task Force on the Religious Observance of the Nation's Bicentennial." The PBC under contract to the Task Force contributed the general concept, much of the content, the layout and printing of this publication. It is contained in the PBC kit but additional copies may be ordered from the Ecumenical Institute, Riverside Drive, N.Y. Copies of this work have been sent to denominations around the country, where they serve as sermon suggestions for ministers and discussion for church groups.

They also have a Student Teacher Program for the Peoples Bicentennial.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would like to ask just a few general questions about the community programs and also the religious programs.

Are you aware or do you know whether or not such programs have been implemented in Illinois or specifically in the counties surrounding Chicago?

Mrs. WALTON. A few instances have come to my attention but I do not know how many communities or churches are using the PBC materials.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are you aware or do you have any knowledge concerning the proliferation of this material and its availability to the people in the area?

Mrs. WALTON. In most instances the PBC materials have to be subscribed to individually. I do know of cases where introductory materials have been sent to young people without their requesting it. As I stated "The Light in the Steeple" has been distributed by the "Ecumenical Task Force" to churches throughout the country. Publications have been sent to legislators. The PBC books are sold in reliable bookstores throughout the United States.

Most of their materials cannot be purchased from any other source than the PBC. I do not believe you can even buy them in the stores that deal in radical underground publications. The PBC is very much above ground.

I would have no way of knowing how many individuals have subscribed to this material. I know of one historical society in one of the suburbs on the North Shore that wrote and requested this material.

It has been brought to my attention that some teachers are using PBC materials in school.

I know that many public libraries across the Nation have the PBC books. For instance, some Chicago suburban public libraries have several of the publications put out by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, "America's Birthday," "Common Sense II," et cetera.

In the Committees of Correspondence Column of the Common Sense publications are listed letters from teachers and students requesting PBC materials.

The PBC claims they are selling to Girl Guides, National Council of Churches, American Bar Association, et cetera.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. Let us focus then on the educational programs. What are the goals and objectives with respect to the educational programs?

Mrs. WALTON. I did state in my opening statement—I quoted from the "Student Teacher Programs for People's Bicentennial" where they stated that "educational reform today is meaningless without general reorientation of our society"; that "students and teachers can never really take control of the educational process from administrators, boards of education and the needs of big business and demagogic politicians until the people of America have taken control of our society from the neo-Tories who run our Government and economic system."

They suggest their program is to be used at the high school level, and they also state that this program can be adopted for elementary and junior high schools.

To begin with, they suggest that a PBC chapter be formed by student activists. They state, "Building a campus Bicentennial Commission will give a sense of movement, energy and growth. Imagine how powerful an entire network of campus PBC's could make students feel by 1976."

They tell the students to organize around what the PBC calls oppressive issues and then bring about student freedom and self-determination.

One of their principal organizing activities is a "Declaration of Student Independence."

Would you like me to read from this?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Could you give us some details on that? Not only their objectives, but how they plan to implement.

Mrs. WALTON. They start out:

As the 200th Anniversary of the American Revolution nears, we, the students of _____ high school pledge ourselves to reaffirm and live the revolutionary principles of the ideals that founded this country.

It is clear to us students that education today is run on the same basis on which King George III ran his empire—inequality, arbitrary regulations and lack of personal freedom.

They go on to repeat, with clever modifications, some of the semantics of the original Declaration of Independence.

They go on to state that students are forbidden the basic rights of the fundamentals of this country, among these, "freedom of speech, press, assembly and thought"; that they are denied meaningful decisionmaking as to what their education and classes will be like; that students are at the mercy of whims of teachers and administrators; that they have no part in hiring or firing faculty.

They state they are divided and segregated according to artificial categories, that they are forced to compete. And then they say,

Therefore, we the students of _____ high school endorse and present this declaration to the school and our community and declare that students are and of right ought to be, free and independent human beings fully participating in shaping their education.

We pledge to one another that having stated and endorsed these grievances, we commit ourselves as the Founders of America did, to right these wrongs, to take control of our lives and our education and as the patriots proclaimed in 1776, to use every method in our power to secure our rights.

Then they provide instructions for the implementation of this program. They say, after printing up this "Declaration of Student Independence," present it to the principal putting him on notice that students feel the need for change. Then they say to make large copies and paste them up as broadsides not only around school but student hangouts, stores and so on. And, once 70 percent of the students have endorsed the declaration they should hold a public festival to celebrate the student independence.

Then their next step is to be the "Student Bill of Rights." I would have to go back and explain the "High School Bill of Rights," which has a long and lengthy history. It was originally developed by the Student Mobilization Committee in 1970. The history of the Student Mobilization Committee is contained in a House Committee on Un-American Activities report entitled "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)."

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let us take the time to do that now. You are going to give us some background material on the "Student Bill of Rights."

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; in a copy of the Militant—and the Militant is the Socialist Workers Party publication—dated Friday, February 27, 1970, there is a description of a meeting held by the Student Mobilization Committee in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Case Western Reserve University.

It was at this meeting that there was a development of the "High School Bill of Rights." In fact, it was a major meeting of organizing high schools.

I have quite a lot of documentation on it. This goes back a ways. This is the "High School Bill of Rights," as put out by the Student Mobilization Committee.

I did quite a bit of lecturing in Illinois on this organization. This was from the Student Mobilizer, volume 11, dated November 20, 1970. Part of this is "Freedom of Political Activity," "Freedom of Speech and Press," "Due Process," "Free Elections," and "No War Machine."

After that meeting at Case Western Reserve University they held meetings at Roosevelt University in Chicago, the Student Mobilization Committee did, in coaching students how to develop this "High School Bill of Rights."

I personally became involved in this because a group of radical students at a large high school in the Chicago suburbs brought this Student Mobilizer "High School Bill of Rights" to the school and presented it to the school board and this was the way they did it.

If I may go back. This is from my memory. I do have the documents to back it up, but it is from my memory.

The boy that brought this out, John Ayers, was Bill Ayers' brother. Bill Ayers was one of the leaders of the SDS Weathermen. He is still wanted by the FBI. He is still hiding in the Weather Underground.

John Ayers brought the "High School Bill of Rights" to the suburban high school. He encouraged the president of the student body—this is how they were told to do this—he encouraged the president of the student body who was a boy that had received an appointment to West Point, to present this "High School Bill of Rights" to the board of education.

I was notified about this. When the board of education had that meeting, there were 1,500 people at the meeting, a small handful of radicals and a great many irate parents because in the meantime, five newspapers in the suburbs had asked me to write articles describing the organizations behind this "High School Bill of Rights" and what the purpose of the "High School Bill of Rights" was.

In one of the articles we printed the entire text of the "High School Bill of Rights." So, this meeting was quite a meeting.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What resulted from this meeting?

Mrs. WALTON. What resulted from this meeting was that I worked with the school board in the district on this, and they hired a law firm in Chicago. I do have the name of the law firm. They have a law firm in Chicago which is an authority on students' rights and school law. The name of the law firm is Norman and Billick.

As a result of this, the school district published, and I do have a copy of that—I can get it for you later—they published a document of student's rights which completely shut out the radical students rights bill.

At the meeting where this statement of student rights was proposed and adopted, there were the group of students there that had presented the "High School Bill of Rights." They immediately got to their feet and screamed that they were being denied their civil and constitutional rights and that the school was going to be sorry for it, that there would be demonstrations, et cetera.

At that time too, they said to a reporter of one of the papers who was covering the meeting, that they were going to a party, a pot party, and asked the reporter to join him.

As a result, this "High School Bill of Rights" did not succeed.

Now this "High School Bill of Rights" was presented to school districts all across the entire country. Most of the school districts did the same thing. They did not accept this at all. Some of the schools accepted part of the High School Bill of Rights.

Because the school districts turned it down, the Student Mobilization Committee went to the American Civil Liberties Union, and presented it to them. As a result this little booklet was printed from the New York Civil Liberties Union and this was distributed to students all across the Nation telling them what their rights are and the rights in this book are identical to the "Student Mobilization High School Bill of Rights."

Mr. SCHULTZ. May we mark the Student Mobilizer as previously described by Mrs. Walton as exhibit Number 10.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 10 and will be found on p. 156, app. B.]

The article from the Militant will be exhibit No. 11 and the cover from the "Student Rights Handbook" No. 11A.

[The documents referred to were marked as exhibit Nos. 11 and 11A and will be found on pp. 157 and 159, app. B.]

Now tie in, if you will, the information which you have just described concerning the "Student Bill of Rights" with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and their focus on the educational program.

Mrs. WALTON. These are the "Bill of Rights" that have been put out by the PBC. They state that the school shall make no rules, regulations or policies restricting a student right to freedom of speech or of the press, right to assemble and right of free thought.

Now in reading these and when you read the "Student Mobilization Committee High School Bill of Rights," you will see the similarity between the two. The Student Bill of Rights said:

"Students shall be free from cruel and unusual punishment including corporal punishment and punitive use of grades. All students have a right to participate in the full educational process, extra-curricular activities and school-sponsored programs and shall not be discriminated against on the basis of race, sex, creed, political beliefs, appearance, marital status, pregnancy, grades or other unreasonable classifications.

"Every student has the right to participate in planning his or her education and in the democratic process of establishing rules and regulations both in the school as a whole and in the classroom.

"A student who is to be suspended or expelled must be given the right of due process and receive a trial by a jury of his or her peers."

Then they tell the implementation. There is a lot more to this which I will go into, but they tell the implementation of this "Bill of Rights."

Petitions put the administration on notice that students are dissatisfied. The petition as an initial tool shows that you are reasonable and that you tried moderate methods to effect change.

A petition helps build drama. A petition drive puts organizers in touch with the students. It is stated the "Declaration of Student Independence" is an exercise in psychic guerrilla warfare while the "Bill of Rights" is the student body program to end their oppression and assert their rights.

Now the paper goes on to explain that one of the rights claimed is the freedom of the press. The students are told that the official school papers are controlled by the administration and censored, so therefore, they must attempt to take control of the official paper and if this fails, then student activists should start their own underground paper.

They are advised to write to FPS, Youth Liberation, 2007 Washtenaw Avenue, Ann Arbor, Mich., for its 25-cent pamphlet "How to Start a High School Underground Newspaper." A sample packet of 10 high school underground newspapers for \$1.00, and a booklet reprinting of 10 FPS articles from past issues, 50 cents.

I do have all those documents.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have you written and obtained those documents?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes. Here they advise to rip off the paper from the school to print the underground paper. This is also an introduction to the Youth Liberation.

Now I do not know if there is a connection, but SDS had their publications put out, the Revolutionary Education Project, from Ann Arbor, Mich. I have not found proof that this is tied in with it. I believe

it is. I believe it is a continuation because John Rossen stated at that meeting at New Trier West High School—we have discussed this, haven't we.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes.

Mrs. WALTON. That some of the SDS went into the Weathermen Underground and the rest of these wonderfully patriotic kids joined his Johnny Appleseed movement.

Mr. SCHULTZ. This was a statement by Mr. Rossen?

Mrs. WALTON. A statement by Mr. Rossen.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We can mark these exhibits as 12 and 13, for identification.

[The documents referred to were marked as exhibit Nos. 12 and 13 and will be found on pp. 160 and 162, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Describe the cover sheet of "Selected Reprints."

Mrs. WALTON. This is the clenched fist of the SDS symbol.

It contains a pen, also. These are reprints. The logo is, "FPS YOUTH LIBERATION—but they won't tell you what FPS stands for. The clenched fist is used as an international Marxist salute. It was adopted by the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mark it as exhibit No. 14.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 14, and will be found on p. 169, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. One of the underground papers that they send is called High School Action. This is volume 1, No. 3, December 1973; January 1974, put out by the High School Youth Against War and Fascism which is a Marxist organization.

Mr. SCHULTZ. From whom did you obtain this?

Mrs. WALTON. I obtained this from Youth Liberation and this was in the group of underground newspapers that I obtained from the Youth Liberation organization that the PBC tells the students to write to.

Mr. SCHULTZ. In Michigan?

Mrs. WALTON. In Michigan.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you tell us how the student receives the "Bill of Rights" and the general educational program put out by PBC? Is it mailed out indiscriminately or must they pay for it and write for it?

Mrs. WALTON. They have to write for it. It comes out in the kit. It can be bought separately, but it is sent to you automatically in the kit that the PBC puts out. As I stated I do know of some young people who have received, without requesting, some of the PBC introductory material. Then they can write for all the materials. Also the complete text of "Student Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial" can be found in "America's Birthday" written by the PBC and published by Simon and Schuster.

As I stated "America's Birthday" is obtainable in book stores all across the Nation and is to be found in many public libraries.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Exhibit 15. I am not sure you identified the name and date on it, if you would please.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; it is volume 1, No. 3, December 1973, January 1974. It was put out by "High School Youth Against War and Fascism."

Mr. SCHULTZ. It is titled?

Mrs. WALTON. "High School Action," again with a clenched fist.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 15, and will be found on p. 170, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. It can be obtained from the PBC, the student and teacher programs for the PBC. But all of the kit that the PBC puts out is contained in this book, "America's Birthday," which is published by Simon and Schuster. This is obtainable in bookstores all across the Nation and it is in many public libraries.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you read the description on "America's Birthday?"

Mrs. WALTON. "A Planning and Activity Guide for Citizens Participation during the Bicentennial Years."

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have you read this book?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, I have.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Tell us something about it.

Mrs. WALTON. The book on the surface is absolutely beautiful. It looks so patriotic. All red, white and blue, and beautiful wood cut prints which they acknowledge come from the Library of Congress and the National Archives—they put in their graphics sources. John Rossen's words describing his New Patriotism very aptly describe this book, "Socialist-humanist and internationalist in substance and content and nationalist in form and rhetoric."

By the way "America's Birthday" was reviewed in March 27, 1975 on the Today show by Gene Shalit. It as well as another PBC book were reviewed as Bicentennial books.

The book contains, as I said, all of the documents that are sent out by the PBC in their kit which they will send to you for \$10.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are there byline articles in this book or does the book identify contributors to the material therein?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, it does. Major writers and contributors to the book. Ted Howard—Ted Howard is located here in the PBC, on Connecticut Avenue. He does travel throughout the country. He has been in Chicago doing public relations for the PBC.

Charley Jones, I am not aware of him.

General contributors are Bill Callahan for the Tea Party, Kathy Johnson, Bob Leonard, Cecilly Nichols, Lou Redden, Jeremy Rifkin, Shelia Rollins, James Showl, and Ed Schwartz.

Of those last-named, Jeremy Rifkin and Shelia Rollins are two names that are—come to mind as running the PBC in Washington—as in fact, Jeremy Rifkin is the head of Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

Shelia Rollins testified recently to a subcommittee on small business. There was a committee hearing. I do have the documents. She was called in as a witness on what has happened to small business in this country. She was called in as a reliable witness.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You have read the book. Are there any inconsistencies or things which you could point out which do not truly represent the history that this book appears to portray?

Mrs. WALTON. You mean pertaining to our American history?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes.

Mrs. WALTON. Well, it is very subtle. It is cleverly done. They quote constantly from our Founding Fathers, but they quote out of context so that they attempt to draw a parallel between conditions in 1775/6 and today. They refer to "radical heroes" like Jefferson,

Paine, and Adams, and "radical events" such as the Boston Tea Party.

They say the modern day Tories—all in authority—will attempt to present themselves as the true heirs of the first American revolutionaries. Throughout all their publications the PBC say they are the true heirs of the Founding Fathers as they are today's "New Patriots."

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you find an example?

Mrs. WALTON. I will see if I can find an example. I have marked so many things. The entire book is so full of these cleverly taken out of context quotes that it is difficult to single any one out.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Perhaps something which might mislead the unsophisticated reader?

Mrs. WALTON. They state in "America's Birthday," "Revolutionary principles must be used to challenge existing institutions and those in power by constantly focusing public attention on the new Tories' inability to translate our revolutionary dreams into reality.

"The Peoples Bicentennial can inspire new social, energetic commitment for millions of disillusioned Americans."

Now, when the PBC refers to the new Tories they mean anyone in authority, as they say demagogic politicians, school administrators, corporate heads, anyone that they feel, in their opinion, is oppressive of the masses of the people in this country.

Mr. SCHULTZ. This interpretation you have just given you have gained through viewing their community programs, their religious programs, and their school programs?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; that call for revolution is brought out in all of the PBC publications. In "The Light in the Steeple," as in the other documents, various questions are asked which would tend to build up in people's minds a total disillusionment with our form of government and economic system.

"The Light in the Steeple," which is the religious publication of the PBC working with the Ecumenical Task Force on Religious Observance, calls to my mind Dr. Herbert Aptheker who is the head theoretician of the Communist Party in the United States, and his visit to Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill., in April 1969.

His speech was entitled, "Marxism, Religion and Revolution" and in this he drew a parallel between Marxism and Christianity stating that a red thread runs through all Christian teachings.

He also stated that true Christianity cannot survive in a capitalist society, that survival depends on a socialist society.

At this meeting at Elmhurst College there were many students. I was there as an observer. There were many students and, of course they hung on to every word that Dr. Aptheker said. You could see how he was putting over to them the thought that there was this red thread running through Christian teachings. I realized at that time how a clever propagandist could exploit religion for Marxist purposes.

I have also been challenged by various members of churches at times when I have been out to lecture and they have stated to me that there is this parallel between Marxism and Christianity, that Marx and Christ preached the identical philosophy.

Of course, I have challenged them very strongly on that by telling them what the Marxist philosophy truly is and also Karl Marx's biographical background, personality and so on.

I have had several people say to me, well, I am sorry, I can't argue with you further because I have not read the life of Marx or the Marxist philosophy.

Mr. SCHULTZ. That is interesting.

How were the remarks of Dr. Aptheker received by the students?

Mrs. WALTON. They were received just terrifically—as if they had found a new form of religion through Dr. Aptheker.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I wonder if we might return to some of the other students' rights that are suggested as goals for implementation.

Mrs. WALTON. Two particular ones that I am very concerned about—they encourage students to assess their text books and when they have decided which text books are worthless, students should organize to have the books assigned to the trash bin. Then to dramatize their objections, students are to rewrite them chapter by chapter and the student written books will be called "People's Textbooks."

Then under curriculum change the students should push for a "Free Week," a time when all kinds of classes are taught by whoever wants to teach them. They give an example such as the History of the Peace Movement can be taught with students doing the bulk of teaching and teachers learning.

Students should have the choice of curriculum and how subjects will be taught with the teacher serving only as an adviser.

Once curriculum barriers are broken down by student activists, then so will exams, grades and homework be arising issues.

Other issues to be taken up during the Bicentennial years will be compulsory school attendance, access to school resources—such as buildings, audio visual equipment, et cetera—for organizing, dress codes, mandatory physical education and ad infinitum.

As a service to the teacher there has been a whole realm of multi-media tools to be used in the schools. All of these have the theme that ours is an oppressive Tory society and that they—students, teachers, PBC people—are today's "New Patriots," and it is their duty to overthrow their oppressors.

One tool is the "Patriot's Handbook," a syllabus and study guide to the American Revolution with such recommended books as Herbert Aptheker's "The Colonial Era of the American Revolution" and "The Negro in the American Revolution."

I was lecturing a few months ago, in a Chicago suburb, and one of the women at the lecture said to me she did not know who Dr. Herbert Aptheker was until she had heard me speak of him, but she was concerned. Her daughter had brought home Dr. Aptheker's book on the American Revolution from their high school and they were using this as a Bicentennial educational book.

Needless to say, she went to the high school and raised a little bit of—well, I won't say what, but she was very disturbed by it and as a result of that they did remove the book as a Bicentennial educational book.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I take it that the aim of the educational program advanced by PBC is not directed entirely toward high schools.

Mrs. WALTON. No.

Mr. SCHULTZ. There are some practical limitations to having students take over the duties of the teachers. While it might happen in college, high schools are a lower level, certainly, of the practical—

Mrs. WALTON. It would be impractical at a lower level but then none of the PBC's program is really practical. Rather it is impractical. That I will agree.

Their program at the university level is on a much broader scope but it is also impractical. That is also contained in their student-teacher programs for the PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do they orient their materials for the various levels—college, high school?

Mrs. WALTON. They don't seem to. They seem to have the same educational tools for all levels of education which probably would be left to the determination of the teacher of how to use these tools.

One thing that I think we could note at this time, Dr. Page Smith, who is a retired professor of history from the University of California, Santa Cruz, is the staff historian of the PBC.

Dr. Smith is the author of a prize-winning, two-volume work on John Adams. His new book on the American Revolution is this month's Book-of-the-Month Club selection. Its title is "A New Age Begins, A Peoples History of the American Revolution." Dr. Page Smith has a reputation as a respected historian in this country.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark the "Patriot's Handbook" as exhibit No. 16.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 16 and will be found on p. 174, app. B]

Mrs. WALTON. Now, in furtherance of their program for education for the Bicentennial, the PBC, working with Bantam Books, Inc., has put out a flyer directed at teachers and schools.

Bantam Books has what they call a Learning Ventures Section, which puts out educational publications. There has been set up a PBC publications program within the Learning Ventures Section.

This flyer has been widely distributed. It is called Create Your Own Birthday Package. It is a complete educational program for the Bicentennial, based primarily on the Peoples Bicentennial Commission documents, using this particular one, "Common Sense II," which was authored by Jeremy Rifkin.

If I may say at this time, I am disturbed by the fact that no one else has seemed to come up with an educational program for the schools on the Bicentennial.

I feel very strongly that ARBA should have done so—this should have fallen within the realm of ARBA's activities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. ARBA is?

Mrs. WALTON. The American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, the official Government Bicentennial organization. They have not come up with an educational program for the schools.

To the best of my knowledge, the PBC is the only organization that has done this.

In speaking to educators when I go around and lecture, they are very disappointed that the Government has not come up with an educational program for the Bicentennial, because they are looking for that and many of them have said they have put their own program together because they have received nothing. It is likely the Bantam Books PBC program department has, in many instances, filled this void, as have other PBC educational materials.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have you found in any of the schools that you visited, any of the PBC works or documents are actually being used?

Mrs. WALTON. I know they are in New Trier West High School. There have been people who have been trying to get me into New Trier West High School to lecture for years and have not been successful. These people, parents of students, have told me a teacher there is using PBC materials.

In our own county, and I might point out because this is rather interesting, the head librarian at our high school, in seeking his master's degree, was doing his thesis on the Bicentennial. In the process of that he sent for "America's Birthday," put out by the PBC, believing that this was a very patriotic book.

When he received it, he couldn't believe it. The first thing that occurred to him immediately was, Students for a Democratic Society, in reading it.

He took it into the superintendent of schools in the county who was a personal friend of mine, who told him that he knew about "America's Birthday" because I had brought it to his attention and we are not going to have this in the schools in our county, unless an individual teacher brings it in, unknown to us.

The librarian then had copies made of all my documents. He put a presentation together and he invited all of the librarians from the schools in the county to the meeting and explained this entire thing to them.

So, we will not, hopefully, have it in our schools in our county.

Now, as I travel throughout Illinois—I was in Barrington, last month, which is a suburb of Chicago. At the end of my lecture a gentleman stood up and he introduced himself as the new superintendent of the high school district in Barrington.

He stated that he was going to call a meeting of all of the school administrators in Barrington the following week and present the facts about the PBC to them. He assured me that the PBC material would not be used in the schools in the Barrington area.

I cannot go everywhere, obviously. I am traveling and lecturing constantly on this and going into every area that I possibly can to try to stop it in the schools.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would assume from what you are saying that you would not like to see the book in the schools unless it is identified for what it is.

Mrs. WALTON. Correct. This brings to mind my dealings with Kroch's and Brentano's. Kroch's and Brentano's is a chain of book stores in Chicago, perhaps the leading chain of book stores in Chicago. I purchased "America's Birthday," for \$8.95 there, as a matter of fact.

When I brought it home I knew what it was. I called down and asked for the purchasing manager.

The gentleman I contacted at Kroch's and Brentano's was their executive vice president. I explained to him that I had purchased "America's Birthday" believing that it was a Bicentennial book and when I got it home and looked at it, read it, I was quite astounded by the many proposals pointing to a Marxist type revolution.

He asked me to wait a moment. He came back and he read to me the Simon and Schuster's release on the book which stated something like this, that "America's Birthday" was published of course, by

Simon and Schuster, and that it was written by the PBC, a patriotic citizen's organization which was developed to offset the commercial aspects of the Bicentennial, and to offer an alternative.

Then it went on to describe the beautiful woodcut prints et cetera in the book. That was why he purchased the book. He purchased it believing that it was a Bicentennial book.

Now I explained to him that I was not a book burner; that I certainly did not suggest that they get rid of the books, but I did suggest that they put it under a different category. I suggested that that category be political-activist and that it be taken from the Bicentennial books.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Did they do so?

Mrs. WALTON. The executive vice president asked me to send him information on the PBC. I have a five page very brief document which I have written giving some of the history of the PBC.

I sent this to him and I also pointed out things in it I thought he should read. I told him to read the book. I received this letter in return from him dated March 27, 1975.

Dear Mrs. Walton. Thank you for your letter of March 21st, 1975, and my particular thanks to you for taking the time to outline carefully, in letter form, your viewpoints about America's Birthday by the PBC.

I am forwarding your original letter to the Director of Marketing of Simon and Schuster, in New York. I am sending a copy of your letter to Mr. William Casey, who heads up Kroch's and Brentano's Branch stores.

I have asked Mr. Casey to determine a more appropriate category within our stores for these books wherever it is possible.

Since that date I have spoken to the gentleman at Kroch's on the 11th of November, 1975, because the Chicago Tribune printed an article stating that the PBC calendar could be purchased at Kroch's and Brentano's store.

He called me back and said that was not true, that the calendar could not be purchased there and that since we had had our correspondence his wife had discovered "America's Birthday." His wife is a librarian. She was very horrified by it.

He said that he had spoken to other people who backed up all I said about the PBC. He informed me that the Kroch's and Brentano's Stores no longer carried any of the PBC publications.

We did the same thing with Marshall Field & Co. A friend of mine went in and found the books there. We got the information to them. Marshall Field & Co. also returned the books to Simon & Schuster.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Let us identify the Learning Ventures, which is an order form for the Bicentennial materials of the PBC, as exhibit No. 17.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 17 and will be found on p. 199, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. There are other publications in there which are really harmless publications such as "Guns Along the Mohawk." This is typical of the tactics of the leftist organizations. Just add a few valid books or publications to throw the unwary or uninformed off the track of the true intent.

Mr. SCHULTZ. For reference purposes we would identify the book "Common Sense II," as Exhibit 18.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 18 and a photocopy of the cover will be found on p. 200, app. B. The book itself may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. What provisions does PBC make? What do they advocate the students and or the teachers do if they do not subscribe to the educational program or they are not allowed to carry it out?

Is there some more revolutionary aspect?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, they say that if students are told that the administration opposes their underground paper, pass it out anyway, even if you have to sue the school for your First Amendment rights.

They state this, that these are student rights. They are the rights as outlined by Supreme Court rulings.

I did make this statement that it said that it is stated that the Declaration of Student Independence is an exercise in psychic guerrilla warfare, while the Bill of Rights is a student body's program to end all oppression and assert their rights.

In the Declaration of Student Independence—in the conclusion they say that “We commit ourselves as the Founders of America did, to right these wrongs and to take control of our lives and our education and as patriots proclaimed in 1776, to use every method in our power to secure our rights.”

Now they do not go into detail of the methods. They do talk about the implementation of the high school bill of rights. They do not go into detail about what methods they would use. They speak of using every method in their power.

They specify in one instance where they said if you cannot put out the underground newspaper then sue the school for your first amendments rights.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mrs. WALTON. One conclusion the PBC makes in the student teacher programs for the PBC is, “Revolutionizing individual institutions and society without a societal revolution is meaningless. We can begin by laying the basis for a revolutionary education, but we cannot genuinely change it until we have revolutionized society.”

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you have the documentation for that?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes.

That is contained in the Student Teacher Programs for People's Bicentennial. I have given you an original copy of it. I gave the subcommittee a complete packet of the original copy from the PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Before we leave this area, Mr. Martin, do you have any questions?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I have one question relating to exhibit No. 4. Exhibit No. 4, on the reverse side, reproduced an advertisement printed by Johnny Appleseed and it was headed for the Party of the Permanent American Revolution.

The words “Permanent Revolution,” as you may be aware, is just about a Trotskyist logo. Trotsky wrote a book called “The Permanent Revolution,” when he was one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution. The official Communist Movement has been bitterly critical of Trotsky's theory of the “Permanent Revolution.” The Maoists do not use it. The left wing Social Democrats don't use it. The Anarchists don't use it. In the entire Far Left radical spectrum, the only ones who use the expression “Permanent Revolu-

tion" are the Trotskyists and individuals who have a lot of ideological sympathy for the Trotskyists. I was wondering whether you were aware of that?

Mrs. WALTON. No; I wasn't aware of that.

Mr. MARTIN. I don't say that any firm conclusion can be reached or drawn from this, but I think that anyone who is familiar with the literature of the Far Left would agree with the characterization I have just made. That is the only point that I wanted to make.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Tarabochia, do you have any questions?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. I have no questions.

Mrs. WALTON. Before we leave the educational program, may I just bring this to your attention. The Organization of American Historians, which is a recognized group of American history professors at the university level, in their publication called Organization of American Historians Newsletter, dated January 1975, state that the PBC has produced a complete Bicentennial display package of books on the American Revolution entitled, "In the Minds and Hearts of the People," and that this display is especially suited to library and school use. "It contains 8 large posters based on quotes from the Founding Fathers and Mothers, 30 reproductions of the Revolutionary Era, engravings, captions, and headlines describing the major events and themes of the American Revolution, and a syllabus and study guide developed by Dr. Page Smith, senior staff historian and Bancroft award winning author. The display package can be ordered from PBC, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., for \$20."

I wrote to the Organization of American Historians and requested that they send me this newsletter, which they did. So this is recommended, the PBC materials are recommended, at the university level.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark these as exhibit Nos. 19 and 19A.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit Nos. 19 and 19A, and will be found on pp. 201 and 202, app. B.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you have any additional material relating to the educational program before we move on to another area of the PBC?

Mrs. WALTON. I think that basically outlines the PBC educational program.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We have talked about some of the publicly stated objectives and goals and how they propose to implement them. Tell us something about the actions of the PBC, particularly as it relates to demonstrations connected with legitimate or other Bicentennial activities.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes. This is Common Sense, volume 2, No. 1, January 1974, PBC, in which they have pictures of an event that took place in Boston, at the commemoration of the Boston Tea Party. "Twenty thousand rebels rise up at Boston Party, dump King Exxon." They met in Faneuil Hall, in Boston—by the way the PBC's headquarters in Chicago's Liberty Hall, was once called Faneuil Hall—and 1,000 people filled the hall and its large balcony to discuss impeachment and the oil crisis. Speakers included Congressman Robert Drinan; Harvard economist Arthur McKeun; Thomas Adams, a direct descendant of Sam Adams; and Carl Hill—all of whom talked about the necessity for impeachment.

When they left Faneuil Hall they went down to the Boston Harbor where they conducted a guerrilla street theater. They had rented a sailing vessel and they dumped oil drums into the harbor and they had hanging in effigy President Nixon and what they stated were the oil barons and said the people of the United States were being oppressed by the oil barons and instead of dumping the tea they were dumping oil drums. This was in 1974.

In 1975—I will have to go through some of the documents to get it—but I will briefly explain here. They had the same type of meeting and this time they threw off the sailing vessel boxes which they said contained sugar and they hung in effigy Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, stating that the people in the United States were now being oppressed by the sugar industry.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The events which you just related are paraphrasing articles found in Common Sense?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, in Common Sense.

I also have pictures taken from different newspapers—namely the Chicago Tribune.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Describing the activities?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes.

I can supply the subcommittee with those documents as well.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark Common Sense, volume 2, No. 1, as exhibit No. 20.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 20 and will be found on p. 203, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. Then Common Sense, volume 3, No. 2, has a picture on the front "Concord, Mass., April 19, 1975"—this was the 200th commemoration of the Battle of Concord—"Why aren't these men smiling?"

In the same publication they had "Join the Midnight Ride to the 200th Anniversary of Concord"—the shot heard round the world. "Send a Message to Wall Street." "Peoples Bicentennial Commission," April 19, 1975.

This entire publication is a call to that meeting at Lexington and Concord. I was not there, but I was in Concord a couple of weeks after this event took place. I do have further documentation on this. The people in Concord said there were between 40,000 and 45,000 people, not all members of PBC, but this was conducted by the PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Participants?

Mrs. WALTON. Participants—mainly young. They did receive a permit from the park district in Concord to camp out on Punkatasset Hill which is on the side of the Concord Bridge where the embattled farmers stood, therefore forcing President Ford and the official committee to hold the commemoration service on the side where the British stood.

They made a big play on that, saying that today's Tories were standing exactly where the Tories stood in 1775.

This publication was also in the center of Common Sense. This has pictures and I think you will probably like to have a copy of this. It has all the pictures of what took place at the PBC demonstration at Concord.

It was an enclosure in Common Sense. I can put it together with the Common Sense that it belongs to so that you will have the date on it.

Mr. SCHULTZ. These are materials that were provided to you?

Mrs. WALTON. They were provided to me by the PBC.

Also, the Boston Globe. I picked up this publication—the Boston Globe, dated April 13, 1975—when I was in Boston just after that meeting. Inside there is a featured article entitled “What Dare We Dream,” by Jeremy Rifkin. It was inside a special magazine insert captioned “The Unfinished Revolution.”

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark the previous exhibit entitled “Common Sense” and the enclosures thereto as exhibit No. 21, and the Jeremy Rifkin article as exhibit No. 22.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit Nos. 21 and 22 and will be found on pp. 204 and 209 app. B.]

Are you aware of any other demonstrations that participants of the PBC engaged in?

Mrs. WALTON. They have had various small demonstrations, yes. Common Sense publications are full of pictures of demonstrations and activities of the PBC across the Nation. In Chicago—again commemorating the Boston Tea Party—I have newspaper clippings of the event.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Did any of these demonstrations result in property damage or personal injury?

Mrs. WALTON. There was property damage in Concord, a great deal of it. They left Punkatasset Hill in the worst kind of a mess.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there any PBC literature which would indicate that they are fostering or encouraging this type of activity?

Mrs. WALTON. They are very careful in their rhetoric to seem to not foster this, because one of the things that they were told by international Marxists was that they were too militant in their actions and too obviously Marxist in their rhetoric. That is why they would have to develop this new patriotic movement in order to identify with the American people.

Now they tell people in the demonstrations to wear costumes of that period, to use lots of red, white, and blue bunting, to not be overly militant or overly Marxist in their rhetoric, and to be very careful about this.

But to young people, idealistically inclined and enthusiastic, as Gus Hall said with their enthusiasm and their militancy, they could very easily take this rhetoric and interpret it as meaning to create a more violent atmosphere in a demonstration. The potential of a violent demonstration is there.

Mr. SCHULTZ. As we know from the 1960's the militant action of some of the groups actually deterred the recruiting of members. There is a diminishing return.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I am just wondering if they subliminally advocate or allow or countenance aggressive revolutionary activities, or whether they really shy away from them. Or do they make no comment about them but tolerate them?

Mrs. WALTON. I think the latter. I think that they will shy away from it, but will tolerate it. If it develops they will tolerate it.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Martin.

Mr. MARTIN. Mrs. Walton, you said that the PBC was told by international Marxists that they were being too militant and that they didn't identify sufficiently with the American people.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. I think it would be helpful if you could be a bit more specific. What international Marxists told what people?

Mrs. WALTON. That is brought out in the first exhibits, in the open letter to the American Left and the article in the Chicago Tribune lists some of the people that were at that meeting in 1969. According to John Rossen, he and the other Americans were told by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese delegates that they fail to identify with the national traditions of the American people.

Mr. SHORT. Mrs. Walton, do you have any additional information concerning demonstrations participated in or fostered by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes; there was one in Chicago in 1974 and I am going to quote from the Chicago Daily News, an article from Monday, December 16, 1974, wherein they stated the 201st anniversary of the Boston Tea Party was observed Monday in Lincoln Park by members of the PBC.

They had this commemoration at the gravesite of David Kennison who was the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party. The stone had a dedication on it from the Daughters of the American Revolution. The bronze plaque was stolen and the PBC—it was John Rossen—contacted the regent of the David Kennison Chapter of DAR, in Oak Park and asked if they would work with the PBC and restore this plaque and join with them in a celebration.

I found out about this, fortunately, in time to stop the DAR from working with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

They quote in here, John Rossen—they refer to him as a Westside businessman and member of the PBC—said the Chicago Park District has been notified of the vandalism, but has done nothing to replace the plaque.

Then in the Sunday Booster, which is a Lerner Newspaper serving the Lincoln-Belmont and various areas in Chicago, Saturday and Sunday December 21, 22, 1974, there is a picture of Rev. Iberus Hacker and a handful of other members of the PBC, headquartered at Liberty Hall, 2440 North Lincoln, marking the 201st anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, Monday, December 16.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can you further identify Rev. Iberus Hacker?

Mrs. WALTON. Reverend Iberus Hacker is head of a Chicago Conference on Hunger and Malnutrition. He is the chairman. He has what he calls an Open Pantry, located in Liberty Hall at 2440 Lincoln Way. This is the building owned by John Rossen.

Rev. Iberus Hacker has been identified as a member of the PBC and has been identified as working with John Rossen.

I have been told that he has applied for Federal funds for his Open Pantry. I do not know whether these Federal funds have been received.

Mr. SCHULTZ. His Open Pantry function is not connected directly with the Peoples Bicentennial?

Mrs. WALTON. No; it is not connected directly with that. It is housed in the same building as the PBC, the building owned by John Rossen.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

Mrs. WALTON. A Hard Times Picnic was held Monday Sept. 1, 1975, at Bughouse Square in Chicago. Two of the principal speakers and leaders of this affair were John Rossen and Rev. Iberus Hacker. The cosponsors of the Hard Times Picnic were the American Issues Forum, the Chicago Conference on Hunger and Malnutrition, Chicago Welfare Rights Organization, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and the Rainbow Coalition.

I am going to identify the Rainbow Coalition as a branch of SDS. SDS split up and they split into several branches—groups—the Weathermen, RYM-2, and Rainbow Coalition was another.

This is a document from Elmhurst College, October 4—I do not have the year on it. I believe it was about 1970. The Rainbow Coalition has been kept going apparently by the PBC and Rev. Iberus Hacker.

Those were the groups that sponsored this Hard Times Labor Day Picnic.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will identify the Rainbow Coalition advertisement as exhibit No. 23.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 23 and will be found on p. 214, app. B.]

The article from the Sunday Booster will be marked as exhibit No. 24, for identification.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 24 and will be found on p. 215, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. The PBC also had a demonstration the 2d and 3d of August, 1975, when the Freedom Train visited Chicago. I do have—these are documents that were put out by the PBC and they state, "Protest the Freedom Train Ripoff—General Motors invested \$1 million while laying off workers. Kraft Foods invested \$1 million while raising their prices at the supermarket. Pepsi Cola also came off with a \$1 million tax writeoff to bring you the Freedom Train. Another great corporate ripoff, coming to Navy Pier from July 28 to August 3."

"The PBC will protest this commercialization of our 200th anniversary, this 'Buy Centennial.' Join us at a planning meeting Thursday, July 24, 7:30 p.m."

I do know someone who attended that meeting and it was conducted by John Rossen at 2440 North Lincoln.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are these documents identified on their face as being from the PBC?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, they are.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

We will mark those Exhibits 25 and 26.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit Nos. 25 and 26 and will be found on pp. 215 and 216, app. B.]

Mrs. WALTON. This is another demonstration that was held in Chicago. This is taken from the Chicago Daily News dated Friday, October 31, 1975. Vet-Amnesty Vigil, November 11.

Veterans for Peace [Veterans for Peace has been cited as a Communist Party front] will hold an all day vigil outside the Federal Building, 219 South Dearborn, on Veteran's Day, November 11, to urge amnesty for Vietnam War Resisters.

Joining in the effort will be the Chicago PBC, the Chicago Peace Council [which has been cited in a House Internal Security Committee Report as being a Communist Party front] and Women for Peace.

On the WBBM, 10 p.m. news, on October 6, 1975, I heard Leroy Wollins, who is head of Veterans for Peace state that they were co-sponsoring this Vietnam Amnesty Vigil with the PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark that document as exhibit No. 27.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 27, and will be found on p. 216, app. B.]

Has the PBC developed any other organizations under their auspices that were originally suggested by the Johnny Applesseed Movement?

Mrs. WALTON. Indeed they have. Three that were proposed by the Johnny Applesseed Movement have been developed by the PBC. One is the Committees of Correspondence. Another is Daughters and Sons of Liberty. The third is their DAR (II), Descendants of the American Revolution, which was formed on July 4, 1975. The PBC states that this organization is to offset the Daughters of the American Revolution who wrongfully, in their words, "masquerade as the ideological heirs to the Revolutionary firebrands that fought the American Revolution." They claim their DAR will be dedicated to revolutionary change in our lifetime (Common Sense vol. 3, No. 1). As an amusing sidelight the telephone number for the PBC in Chicago is DAR 1976.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What other methods or tools does the PBC utilize to get across their message?

Mrs. WALTON. According to the PBC, they have at least 52 PBC chapters across the country. They have a TV series with actors such as George Burns and Jon Voight. This series is produced for the PBC by the Public Advertising Council, 1516 Westwood Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif., and it is called The Voices of 1976. It is aired by 145 TV stations. Their radio series, by the same name, is aired by 980 stations.

The PBC has a speakers bureau and I know they have sent speakers out in Illinois.

They state they have a feature service that supplies to 14,000 general and specialized media publications and journals.

Then, of course, they have all the commercial books, published by Simon & Schuster and Bantam Books. As I said these are sold in leading book stores nationwide and are in many public libraries. (Common Sense vol. 2, No. 4, September-October 1974, p. 7, and a flyer recently distributed by the PBC, Washington, D.C.)

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are you aware or do you have any knowledge of any difficulties which confronted the Peoples Bicentennial Commission with regard to other groups or organizations who planned or, in fact, engaged in Bicentennial activities?

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, the Communist Party of the United States on Sunday, June 29, 1975, proposed holding what they called a Peoples Bicentennial Festival to be held in the International Amphitheatre in Chicago.

The first letter that I have in regard to this meeting was dated May 22, 1975, and it was an invitation to attend this Peoples Bicentennial Festival.

I had a further letter dated June 18, 1975, from the Communist Party, giving me what they said was exciting developments of the Peoples Bicentennial Festival.

Mr. SCHULTZ. When you identify the letter as being from the Communist Party, does the letterhead actually state that?

Mrs. WALTON. It states on the top of the letter, "Communist Party, USA. The Communist Party Peoples Bicentennial Festival Committee. Jack Kling, cochairman. Ishmael Flory, cochairman." It is signed by both of them.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. Proceed.

Mrs. WALTON. On May 17, 1975, I had further communication from the Communist Party stating that the Chicago Transit Authority rejected their advertisements for the huge Peoples Bicentennial Festival and they refused to have these posters put up in the Chicago Transit buses.

They were picketed. The Chicago Transit Authority was picketed by the Peoples Bicentennial Festival Committee.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The PBC picketed in favor of the Chicago Transit Authority allowing—

Mrs. WALTON. Not the PBC. It was the Communist Party Bicentennial Festival Committee, not the PBC. They picketed the Chicago Transit Authority because they did not allow them to have their posters announcing this Peoples Bicentennial Festival put on the buses in the Chicago area.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What resulted from this picketing?

Mrs. WALTON. They were not allowed to put signs up in the buses.

The Communist Party delegates, led by Ishmael Flory, who is the chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, met with Tom Buck, the public affairs manager for the Chicago Transit Authority. I don't have the date of that meeting. They were told by Mr. Buck that the CTA was free to accept or reject whatever advertising it wanted regardless of what the 1st and 14th amendments to the U.S. Constitution might say about free speech and equal protection of the law.

The CTA is a publicly owned corporation although most of its multimillion dollar debt is owed to the First National Bank.

This is the Communist Party putting out this information of the meeting with Mr. Buck.

Ishmael Flory then declared, following an attempted meeting with Chicago Transit Commission administrative assistant Bernie Ford, that the committee was looking into legal action to secure its rights.

A quote from Ishmael Flory: "Several attorneys are eager to take this case and force the CTA to respect the U.S. Bill of Rights."

The next communication that I have from the Communist Party is dated June 16, 1975, in which they enclosed information on the Peoples Bicentennial Festival and it was mailed to me from Sylvia Kushner, who is the executive director of the Chicago Peace Council and identified as a CPUSA member, and stamped from her apartment address which is 4240 North Clarendon Avenue, Apartment 91, Chicago, Ill.

It was also signed by Richard Criley and Father William Hogan of the Alliance to End Repression in Chicago. Criley has also been identified as a Communist.

Now in the Chicago Tribune dated Thursday, June 26, 1975, there is an article titled "Suit Forces Name Change of Communist Rally." "The Communist Party, USA, changed the name Wednesday, of its national convention windup rally here on Sunday from Peoples Bicentennial Festival to Mass Celebration of the Bicentennial."

On the Tuesday prior to that the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, a nonprofit group based in Washington, filed suit in Federal District

Court in Washington, seeking to stop the Party from using the name Peoples Bicentennial.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will mark the Chicago Tribune article as exhibit No. 27A.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 27A and will be found on p. 216, app. B.]

What result came out of the lawsuit that was filed?

Mrs. WALTON. The result that came out of the lawsuit was that the Communist Party, on the Wednesday prior to their Sunday festival dropped the name The Peoples Bicentennial Festival and changed it to read "A Mass Celebration of the Bicentennial."

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mrs. Walton, based on your studies of revolutionary organizations and the documents, many of which you have provided here, do you come to some conclusion as to the nature of this action?

Mrs. WALTON. The conclusion that I have come to, and this is my conclusion based on my study, is that this was a smokescreen thrown up by John Rossen and the PBC to clear the PBC of any Communist Party ties.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Subsequent to that time do you have any additional information or are you aware of any ties which discount and in fact support your conclusions?

Mrs. WALTON. The Communist Party in September, the Communist Party through their youth arm, the Young Workers Liberation League, developed last September 1975, an organization called the Illinois Coalition for Youth, Jobs and Education and they sent me a letter pertaining to this and calling for a massive demonstration in Springfield, a lobby and rally for youth—jobs and education.

That rally did take place in Springfield.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Springfield, Ill.?

Mrs. WALTON. Springfield, Ill.; yes.

The letter was signed by a member of the Young Workers Liberation League and also a member of the student government of Northern Illinois University, a member of the student government, president of Eastern Illinois University, and a member of—someone representing the Central YMCA College in Chicago.

On January 26, 1976, I received a letter from the Youth Rights Bicentennial Festival, National Committee, which is part of this Coalition for Youth Jobs and Education.

In this they state that there will be festivals, youth festivals, demanding that youth have the right "to earn, learn, and live" that this is the revolutionary heritage that we must continue today.

They state these festivals will be an integral part of making 1976 a Peoples Bicentennial Year. Again, the Communist Party is using the word "People's Bicentennial."

The first of these Youth Rights Bicentennial Festival meetings was held at the Pick Congress Hotel, in Chicago, on Saturday, February 7. There will be additional meetings. One of the principal speakers at that meeting was Henry Winston who is the national chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

Mr. SCHULTZ. So it is your conclusion then that the Communist Party itself or front groups associated with it, such as the YWLL, is not entirely divorced from the activities of the PBC?

Mrs. WALTON. That is my conclusion. I am basing part of that conclusion on John Rossen's background and long-time activity with the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Short, do you have some questions?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Walton, do you have any knowledge that the PBC has been accepted as the official Bicentennial adviser to the National Council of Churches?

Mrs. WALTON. I don't have any official evidence of this, with the exception of the publication that is put out by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission entitled "The Light in the Steeple." It is published by the Ecumenical Task Force on the Religious Observance of the Nation's Bicentennial.

On the front page it lists the men who comprise this ecumenical task force. The chairman is Everett Francis, who is the public affairs officer for the executive council of the Episcopal Church.

The secretary of the task force is Dean M. Kelly, Religious and Civil Liberty, National Council of Churches. He is also the editor of this publication.

The editorial committee consists of Dieter Hessel who is the editor of Trends magazine, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

J. Elliott Corbett, church government relations, board of church and society, United Methodist Church, and Isaac Rottenberg, program interpretation, Reformed Church in America.

I have been informed that this has been distributed to the churches, to ministers and priests, and is being used as a guideline to Bicentennial observances in the churches.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let us identify that as exhibit No. 28. Continue please Mr. Short.

[The document referred to was marked as exhibit No. 28, and will be found on p. 217, app. B.]

Mr. SHORT. Mrs. Walton, when a concerned citizen has questions that they would like answered about the PBC, and they contact the official American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, what type of response do they get? Is it a correct and fully informative response? Give us your opinion.

Mrs. WALTON. Not only in my opinion, but I am going to take a personal instance because I wrote to Mr. John Warner, who is Chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The reply I received was completely neutral and lacking in information.

I had been informed that he had invited Jeremy Rifkin, who heads up the PBC, to a planning session for the Bicentennial. I sent him background information on the PBC, and I received a letter from him dated May 7, 1975, providing me with some of the background of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration.

Then he makes this statement:

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission which was established long before this new administration, is one of many organizations springing up across the United States in response to the particular needs and desires of our diverse peoples.

Under Public Law 93-179, Congress authorized the administration to pass judgment on Bicentennial programs which are submitted to us for official recognition.

Since the Peoples Bicentennial Commission has not made any such request, we have not officially reviewed any of their activities.

In general, this organization, as well as all others participating in the Bicentennial, may publicly express their views freely, consistent with the Constitutional guarantees provided all of us.

In the end, the people of the United States, quite properly will make the ultimate choice from among the many Bicentennial themes being advanced.

I feel that this is almost an endorsement of the PBC, and I also feel that if the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration had been screening the PBC material, they would have realized that they were developing their educational program and ARBA could have developed a counteraction, a counterprogram for the schools to study our Bicentennial.

I feel that they have failed very miserably in this area.

Mr. SHORT. I think it is of interest to note that in Mr. Warner's reply to you, the statement was made that ARBA was authorized by Congress to pass judgment on Bicentennial programs which are submitted to them for official recognition. He goes on to say that since the PBC has not made a request of that nature, ARBA has not officially reviewed any of their activities.

I would like to point out that the subcommittee has documents which were provided by ARBA which show that though technically speaking there may not have been a request for official recognition, ARBA was more than aware of the PBC at least as far back as the first part of 1972.

In support of this I would offer the following documents. First a letter dated April 23, 1972, from Deborah Lawrence of the PBC to David Mahoney of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission requesting under the Freedom of Information Act, copies of transcripts of meetings held by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission beginning in October 1971.

Next a memorandum dated March 31, 1972, to the Director from the General Counsel of ARBC outlining the considerations of the request and recommending among other things, that the transcripts be reviewed in order to isolate questionable material or as he states, "That which could be embarrassing or that which comes within any of the exemptions of the Act."

A letter from Mr. Leonard Garment of the White House dated April 3, 1972, to Jack LeVant, urging ARBC to be as forthcoming as possible with respect to the request by PBC and further advising enforcement of the law respecting the use of the Bicentennial logo. The PBC had apparently been using the logo without proper authorization.

A letter dated April 4, 1972, from, ARBC to the PBC requesting discontinuance of the logo.

A letter dated April 6, 1972, from the PBC to ARBC requesting formal criteria and application forms for use of the logo and also requesting a list of all groups having received approval to use the logo.

A letter in response dated April 19, 1972, advising PBC of authorized logo users.

A letter dated April 18, 1972, to PBC advising them of the availability of transcripts.

And a copy of a letter dated June 7, 1972, from PBC to ARBC. This letter is in response to the National Bicentennial Program

Criteria concerning the use of the Bicentennial logo. The PBC launched an attack on ARBC and criticized them in such manner as saying "your criteria is confusing and poorly defined, and we have been completely at a loss as to how to go about complying with it. We would appreciate your response to our questions as soon as possible so that we may completely understand what we have to do."

The correspondence continues in this manner at least until the latter part of 1972. It would, therefore, seem rather unrealistic that ARBA continues to respond to inquires concerning the PBC by stating that ARBA has not officially reviewed any of their activities. I think the word "officially" has been taken a bit too far in this particular case.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you. We will mark those as exhibits—let's see, what was the last number, 28? These will be exhibit Nos. 29 to 36, respectively.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 29 to 36 and will be found on pp. 219-228, app. B.]

Mr. SHORT. Let me ask this, Mrs. Walton. Do you feel it is too late? Is 1976 the only year that is going to be available to the PBC to promote their activity?

Mrs. WALTON. No, it isn't. The PBC states, as do other Bicentennial organizations, that they are celebrating the Bicentennial for a 10-year period up to the Bicentennial observance of when our Constitution was signed into law which would be 1987. That would be the 200th Commemoration of the signing of our Constitution.

Mr. SHORT. In view of that, what recommendations do you have to make?

Mrs. WALTON. I would recommend that the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, if they can put the staff together, very quickly come up with a good educational program on the Bicentennial and distribute this to all schools.

I have a list of books for recommended reading which were given to me.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Martin, do you have a question?

Mr. MARTIN. Have organizations like the American Historical Association which are concerned in a general way, with the observance of the Bicentennial—have they taken any stand on the PBC material?

Mrs. WALTON. I don't know what stand the American Historical Association has taken, but the National Trust for Historic Preservation recommends the material of the PBC. I wrote to them, because in their Preservation News, as a matter of fact, they recommend that you buy "America's Birthday" and they tell you where to buy it, from the PBC, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

Also, in their official publication dated July 19, 1974, they recommend that for more information you contact not only ARBA, but the PBC, again the address, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

In response to my letter dated March 4, 1975, they said "Thank you for your letter concerning the Bicentennial and the efforts of the PBC. Indeed, there was material about the PBC in the July and November issues of Preservation News which are enclosed. I have marked the appropriate stories, including the address of the group."

It is signed Carlton Knight III, assistant editor, Preservation News.

Mr. SHORT. I might add that in some cases the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, in responding to requests for infor-

mation about the PBC, has advised people that they could obtain PBC literature by writing to the national office, whose address they then provided.

Mrs. WALTON. Yes, they have.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What is the basis for your statement, Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. Again, the subcommittee has documents to this effect, and as I previously stated, these documents were obtained from ARBA.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you describe those documents?

Mr. SHORT. Yes. In reference to the point I just made, I would like to offer a letter dated October 25, 1974, from Ms. Darlene C. Ziolkowski, in which she requested advice on how she could obtain a copy of "America's Birthday" by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. Attached to this letter is the reply from Mr. Ted Lopatkiewicz, Office of Communications, American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. In this reply Mr. Lopatkiewicz states, "As per your request for America's Birthday, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is one of the many private Bicentennial organizations. You may find the book in question in any bookstore. However, if you have problems locating a copy, contact the PBC at the address below and they may be able to send you one.

Peoples Bicentennial Commission
1346 Connecticut Ave. NW.
Room 1025
Washington, D.C., 20036."

You will note, this letter is dated 1974, so, again ARBA is still refusing to say anything that might indicate that it had any reservations, let alone serious doubts, about the PBC. In fact, their failure to indicate any reservations plus their cooperative attitude in providing information on how to obtain PBC literature, might well lead an unsuspecting correspondent to believe that ARBA actually approves of PBC.

Mr. SCHULTZ. They will be marked as exhibit Nos. 37 and 38.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit Nos. 37 and 38 and will be found on pp. 229 and 230, app. B.]

The CHAIRMAN. Any additional questions?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. MARTIN. I have none, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SHORT. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. None, Sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In my opening remarks, in describing the purpose of the subcommittee's hearings, I stated we planned to peel back the patriotic veneer of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission for the purpose of examining and laying before the Congress and the public facts by which the legitimacy of the organization's publicly stated goals and objectives and the integrity of their spokesmen might be evaluated.

We do appreciate your appearance here today. I think that you have made a valuable contribution to our efforts to present to the public, and the Congress, facts by which such an evaluation can be objectively made. If that's all, we will adjourn.

[Whereupon, at 1:08 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX A

EXHIBIT No. 1

(Referred to on p. 3)

[From New American Movement, Nov.—Dec. 1971]

BICENTENNIAL

(By Jeremy Rifkin)

(Jeremy Rifkin founded the Citizens Committee of Inquiry which sponsored war crimes tribunals in Washington, D.C. and is now working on the People's Bicentennial.)

The New Left must be willing to meet people where they are at rather than where they would like them to be. Millions of Americans are aware, for the first time, of the fact that many of America's economic, social, and political institutions are performing in ways that undermine the revolutionary ideals and principles to which the nation purports to be dedicated. But for many Americans the principles—if not the language enunciated in the Port Huron statement of 1962 and the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1963 and the Russell War Crimes Tribunal of 1967 are only now just beginning to make sense. If the New Left hopes to engage this new consciousness and give it positive direction through political struggle, it must first take a long hard look at itself and what it represents.

The left movement's character has become increasingly strange and at times even frightening to many Americans. Most people perceive little or nothing in common with the New Left. At present, the New Left has found no way of dealing with this fear and misunderstanding, since it has abandoned or rejected much of the heritage and most of the symbols to which the great majority of American people can respond.

The left's rejection of the American experience is due, in part, to its failure to understand that the American legacy is at once both reactionary and revolutionary.

Our revolutionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such great Americans as Thomas Paine, Benjamin Rush, Sam Adams, Henry Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. DuBois, Mark Twain, and A. J. Muste, and the movements they inspired or led—derive from the principle of the inherent unity and fraternity of all mankind.

These aspirations have led to a set of beliefs that forms the revolutionary aspect of the American experience—human equality; respect for the judgement of the common man; distrust of those who command positions of power and privilege; allegiance to freedom of expression and the right of self-determination; cooperative enterprise; government of the people, by the people, for the people; conscience above property and institutions; sympathetic interest in the new, the untried, the unexplored; equality of opportunity, confidence in the ability of the people to create a more just and humane world; faith in the brotherhood of all mankind.

Our reactionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such Americans as Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John D. Rockefeller—come from the principle that hostility and war, the survival of the fittest and to hell with the rest—the public be damned—constitute the natural condition of man. This principle is the basis of a set of beliefs that forms the reactionary aspect of the American experience—the sacred value of private property; the ruthlessly competitive spirit as the motivating force for self-fulfillment; the authoritarian family; material accumulation as a measure of man's achievement on earth.

The crisis of American beliefs lies in the increasing polarization of both the revolutionary and reactionary elements in the American legacy.

The escalating political and economic crisis does not alter the basic positive truths of the American heritage. On the contrary, it would be impossible to point out the contradictions in the American system—to expose the exploitation

and dehumanization at all levels of American life—without in some way appealing to the revolutionary beliefs and ideals with which so many Americans identify.

The growing crisis has brought into question the more reactionary aspects of the American tradition. Those beliefs which reinforce our economic system and which have, for so long, provided a rationalization for the individual's role within that system are under unprecedented attack.

The new awareness that this country is in the midst of a grave crisis—a realization which millions of Americans have acquired in recent years—can lead to a mass-based revolutionary struggle if the movement will discard its self-imposed ideological isolation and begin to reidentify with the revolutionary principles and beliefs of the American heritage.

At this critical stage in American history, it makes no sense for the New left to allow the defenders of the system the advantage of presenting themselves as the true heirs and defenders of the American revolutionary tradition. Instead, the revolutionary heritage must be used as a tactical weapon to isolate the existing institutions and those in power by constantly focusing public attention on their inability to translate our revolutionary dreams into reality.

THE BICENTENNIAL CAMPAIGN

The Federal government and the nation's business community has launched a five-year multi-million dollar campaign leading up to the "Spirit of '76" and to promote the words and deeds of the Founding Fathers. The left must take this up as a challenge and turn it into a campaign designed to create a mass revolutionary consciousness in tune with the revolutionary legacy of 1776.

Understanding the revolutionary currents and movements that have influenced American life can also help those of us already involved in political struggle in developing a revolutionary perspective that is germane for America. Past struggles in America, such as the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements, and the farmer and labor insurgencies, cannot be expected to provide a blue-print for revolution in the 1970's, but they can tell us much about American behavior and the American character. We cannot build a contemporary revolution without an acute awareness of ourselves as a people, as citizens of a nation born in revolution.

A genuine understanding of revolutionary ideals is what links Thomas Paine, Sam Adams, and Benjamin Rush, and the American people, with Lenin, Mao, Che, and the struggles of all oppressed people in the world. Not until the masses of Americans begin to re-identify with these principles and develop their own revolutionary struggle will they be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people. Solidarity comes from understanding the collective nature of our separate struggles and the cry for humanity that is shared by all.

Without confidence in our revolutionary heritage, deteriorating economic and social conditions are liable to lead to an increased sense of hopelessness and fear, and a defense of the most reactionary aspects of the American ideology—with appeals to national honor, duty, courage, and vigilance in protection of the mother country—as the American people make a desperate attempt to hold onto what is familiar in their everyday life.

Our first step must be to find out who we are and how to build on the base erected in the revolution of 1776 and refurbished in the successive dramas of change that characterize the most affirmative periods of American history.

The black movement had to rediscover the positive aspects of its own heritage in order to build an identity that would give it confidence in its ability to initiate action, sustain discipline, and win support from the black community. The white movement must do the same. Confidence in our ability to maintain discipline and to develop a long range revolutionary perspective that is neither rigid nor authoritarian must come from an understanding of who we are; and most of what we are has to do with our unique American heritage. Such an understanding will bring together the existing factions and groupings within the New Left community itself and help us reach out to the great mass of American people.

SETTING UP PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSIONS

Each state has established an official Bicentennial Commission to coordinate activities and programs between now and 1976. NAM chapters could research the methods for selection of the commissions and expose the patronage and non-representative nature of the boards; ie. too few youths, blacks, women, native Americans on the commissions.

NAM could also petition for appointments to the commissions and present detailed proposals for state wide bicentennial activities.

Before or after the exposes and petitioning NAM chapters could establish a Peoples Bicentennial Commission on the state or local level and engage community people, unions, civic organizations, academic and professional people, grade school, high school, and college students, in Bicentennial programs and activities. Peoples Bicentennial Commissions can offer a focus for involving large numbers of people, publicizing NAM programs, and recruiting people into local chapters.

PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

NAM chapters could put out a state or local Bicentennial newsletter or paper which would examine the American experience within the contest of radical programs and demands. Regional histories of farmer, labor, and women's struggles could be used to forge community identification with NAM programs and goals.

NAM chapters could put together a radical calendar and journal depicting historic moments in peoples struggles in the state and include within it an outline of NAM programs and goals. These publications could be distributed free and on a daily basis at county and state fairs, state parks, monuments, the state capitol, and other sites where people tour and vacation. This offers a good opportunity to reach thousands of people—especially grade school and high school students—with NAM programs and peoples Bicentennial activities. Peoples Bicentennial posters, buttons, bumper stickers, etc. could also be used in a similar fashion.

NAM chapters could present detailed proposals for Peoples Bicentennial study programs in the grade and high schools. Emphasis should be placed on the contradiction between revolutionary and reactionary beliefs of the American legacy and on the contemporary examination of those contradictions within the local community—to learn first hand about capitalist exploitation. Students could also integrate revolutionary study programs with field trips into the community and discussion sessions with NAM and other radical community projects on the theme of revolutionary parallels 1776–1976.

NAM's Peoples Bicentennial could commission plays on revolutionary moments in American history to tour schools, civic organizations, unions, community groups, and GI projects. Again this offers an opportunity to reach new audiences. Plays could be followed by discussion sessions on community and national problems and NAM programs for change.

Peoples Bicentennial Commissions could sponsor art exhibits, poetry readings, essay contests, and music festivals with a peoples Bicentennial motif.

Resolutions could be introduced in city councils and in state legislatures on setting aside days for observance of historic moments in regional struggles; legislation calling for the renaming of streets, buildings, and parks can also be introduced. This is a good way to open up controversy and do political education in the community and the state around the true meaning of the American radical tradition.

Aside from engaging large numbers of people for the first time—who might not feel comfortable relating directly to NAM, the People's Commissions provide a unique forum for mass media exposure over the next four years. This mechanism could be used to raise political awareness and to promote NAM and other radical activities and demands.

A FINAL NOTE

The thing to remember is this. The Government and big business community are going ahead with the most massive propaganda campaign in this country's history over the next four years. Their Bicentennial campaign will attempt to ignore the revolutionary ideals and programs that have inspired periodic grass roots struggles and rather concentrate on the reactionary beliefs that reinforce the capitalist system and its political institutions. If we do not respond, we might find ourselves, increasingly isolated and ultimately a target for their chauvinist appeals. If we take the offensive, as outlined here, we can move millions of people in a revolutionary direction during the Bicentennial era by continuing to focus attention on the un-American character of our economic and political leaders and the institutions they represent.

FIRST NATIONAL NAM MEETING

[From New American Movement, Nov.-Dec. 1971]

CHICAGO

The first national meeting of the New American Movement was held in Chicago October 9-11. Up to 75 delegates and observers from 25 cities participated. The meeting laid the basis for a Thanksgiving conference on program in Chicago. The political principles, program, and structure of the organization were discussed; and although many things were left unresolved and differences remained on a number of issues, the general spirit was one of cooperation and seeking to find solutions acceptable to all. The following summarizes the results of the meeting:

PRINCIPLES

Debate centered on what sort of organization NAM was to be, including its relation to the women's and non-white movements. It was the consensus of the group that NAM will attempt to become a mass organization as opposed to a cadre or sect group. In addition, it was agreed that we should focus on organizing working people, broadly defined. We will encourage work in a variety of ways, including community, institutional, and factory work, and will not at this time favor one area over another. It was also generally agreed that programs, rather than highly developed political lines, would be the distinguishing characteristic of NAM.

It was felt that certain minimum principles were necessary which would include a large number of people while at the same time distinguishing NAM from liberal reform groups. The body passed a six point motion which attempted to set down these guidelines. In summary, the motion stated that:

1. We recognize the existence of a ruling class which runs America for its own benefit.
2. NAM is committed to democratic socialism, which was defined as a society characterized by economic, racial, and sexual equality; by collective ownership and democratic control of the means of production; by the right to organize independent political parties and independent trade unions, and by the freedom to strike; by freedom of speech, freedom to demonstrate, and freedom of press.
3. We distinguish a socialist society, defined in this way, from both welfare capitalism in England and Scandinavia, and from existing societies that call themselves socialist.
4. The transition to socialism will require struggle.
5. Working people will be central to that struggle.
6. The liberation of women and non-white groups must be incorporated into every programmatic area.

These principles were felt both to summarize the existing document and to guide the drafting of a shorter, more simply worded version.

There was strong sentiment on both sides of the question of whether NAM should say, in effect, "This is a socialist organization," or should describe what it means by socialism and then say, "Some of us use the word 'socialism' for the society just described." Those arguing for the first approach felt that unless NAM was up front about socialism, it would become little more than a reform group. Those opposed, while generally considering themselves socialists, felt that using the word would make it much more difficult to reach the kinds of constituencies NAM is attempting to organize. People both for and against the use of the word "socialism" felt that we should state the content of our political belief. Everyone agreed that, whether explicitly socialist or not, NAM programs, literature and general organizational style must avoid, wherever possible, rhetoric which would isolate us or be unintelligible to the average person. To this end, the body mandated a committee to write a shorter version of the original NAM document in a style adapted to mass distribution. People elected to this committee were:

Diana Adams (Cleveland, Ohio), Jeremy Rifkin (Washington, D.C.), Jane Slaughter of the national staff, Karen Whitman (Baltimore, Md.), Michael Lerner (Berkeley, Calif.), Alice Lynd (Chicago, Ill.), Harry Boyte (Chapel Hill, N.C.).

This committee plans to have the basic document written by October 23.

WOMEN'S & NON-WHITE MOVENTS

The relationship of NAM to women and the women's movement was discussed at a women's caucus and by the general body. It was felt that the position of women should be considered in relation to every programmatic area, as opposed to dealing with women's issues in isolation. Thus, instead of having a program area "on women", NAM will attempt to take into account the special position of women in regards to any program area such as health the economy, etc. In addition, the meeting made clear that NAM, in no way, wanted to be placed in competition with the independent women's movement. Where the women's movement is weak or nonexistent, NAM may be more involved in women's issues than in cities like Chicago where the Women's Union is in a better position to confront issues which primarily affect women. The following resolution was passed:

"NAM recognizes the necessity of autonomous women's organizations and will encourage programs which can form alliances with such groups in a conscious effort to relate socialism and feminism, realizing that one cannot exist without the other."

Internally, the meeting voted that until a permanent structure is adopted, at least 50% of all leadership bodies should be composed of women. This decision was implemented in the election of the committee to draft a basic document and of the National Interim Committee.

The relation of NAM to non-white groups was discussed at some length and it was decided that NAM would, in the long run, seek to become a multi-racial organization. At the same time, we were aware that for the time being, most non-white people would relate to NAM through our programs and through coalitions NAM would seek with non-white groups. The following resolution was passed:

"NAM, is an organization of working people, consciously projects itself as multi-racial in character. It recognizes white racism as a key obstacle to unity and hence places programmatic and educational priority on developing in a multi-racial direction. It also will actively seek alliances with, and recognizes the necessity of, existing non-white organizations."

Marjorie Fields, a member of the National Interim Committee, was asked to make contact with women's organizations and non-white groups on a national level, and NAM chapters and pre-chapters were asked to do the same thing locally.

PROGRAM

Almost half of the meeting time was devoted to discussion of possible NAM programs, which will be the central focus of the organization. Presentations were made for programs in the following areas:

- response to Nixon's new economic policy
- taxation
- industrial health and safety
- prisons
- the Bicentennial

It was decided to set up task forces in these and other areas. In addition to the areas just listed, members of the meeting volunteered for task forces in the areas of:

- community organizing
- campus organizing
- elections
- the military
- war and imperialism
- farmers and food
- child care
- anti-corporate organizing such as the Honeywell Project
- ecology and environment
- media
- transportation
- housing

The responsibility of these task forces is to prepare detailed program proposals for workshops at the Thanksgiving conference. Martha Williams, a member of the National Interim Committee, was asked to coordinate and consolidate programs and task forces.

The meeting selected five areas which it thought most likely to become NAM national priority programs. These were:

- response to Nixon's new economic policy including taxation
- industrial health and safety
- ecology and environment
- child care
- law and order, including prisons and courts

It should be noted that these choices are subject to the will of the conference and that there will be workshops in all the areas mentioned above.

STRUCTURE—CHAPTERS

The structural discussion centered on how to make NAM a democratic and responsible organization, as well as a more general exploration of the forms most likely to attract working people to the organization. It was decided that chapters should be the basis of the organization and that chapters determine their membership as they see fit within the general principles of NAM. Chapters can be based on locale, place of work, or on common interest, and it should be understood that a number of NAM chapters can develop in a city (as opposed to one large city-wide grouping). To achieve full chapter status, a group should have a minimum of 10 members, although this will be somewhat flexible during these early stages of NAM when the distinction between chapter people and people intending to form chapters is still fluid. The National Interim Committee was empowered to approve the credentials of chapters and pre-chapters wishing to be represented at the Thanksgiving conference. It was also empowered to remove from chapter status a chapter which comes to be dominated by a group whose conduct is inconsistent with the principles and programs of NAM, or with democratic norms of behavior within NAM.

Leadership

On the question of national leadership, it was generally felt that NAM should try to include a large proportion of people who were involved in local organizing as well as good regional representation. In addition, the concept of general membership referendums on crucial questions was discussed as a way of avoiding over-reliance on conferences, and as a way to make the organization more open to participants who work and are tied to a specific locale.

A temporary National Interim Committee was elected to carry on business between now and the Thanksgiving conference. Those elected were:

Lynn North (Ann Arbor, Mich.), Harry Boyte (Chapel Hill, N.C.), Martha Williams (Washington D.C.), Harold Henderson (Peoria, Ill.), Marjorie Fields (New York City), Staughton Lynd (Chicago, Ill.), Diana Adams (Cleveland, Ohio), Frank Speltz (Davenport, Iowa).

The National Interim Committee was empowered to hire a field staff coordinator, a national staff, a convention coordinator, and travelers. Chip Marshall of Seattle was chosen field staff coordinator, and Frank Speltz will be one of the coordinators of the conference. At present, travelers in the field and the approximate area they will be covering are:

Frank Blumer, Northwest, Michael Lerner, California, Randy Bregman, Midwest, Lynn North and Jane Slaughter, South, Jeremy Rifkin, Northeast, Chip Marshall, Southwest, Mountain and Plains States.

The meeting also designated Cleveland as the site for a temporary national office, and picked Cicely Nichols of New York City and her chapter to edit a periodic internal education bulletin. The NAM newspaper will continue to be put out from Berkeley with Theirrie Cook as editor.

NAM will hold a national program conference in Chicago (this may be changed—see conference announcement in the newspaper) Nov. 25-19. The function of the conference will be to develop several national NAM programs, as well as providing a place where people, doing similar types of organizing around the country, can come in contact with one another. This conference will be a *program* conference. Any structure set up will be temporary. Permanent structure and adoption of a constitution and documents will not be decided finally until the spring when NAM will have its founding convention.

The heart of the conference will be the workshops from whose reports several national priorities will be selected by vote of the delegates.

Admission to the conference will be by application or invitation. Those wishing to attend should write the national office in Cleveland prior to the conference asking for either delegate or observer status. Anyone presently in a NAM chapter, or anyone in a pre-chapter organizing group, is eligible for delegate status.

Any member of a chapter or pre-chapter organizing group may attend the conference or chapters may delegate up to five votes to an individual on behalf of chapter members unable to attend.

Individuals who are in general agreement with NAM are also welcome to attend, but if they want delegate status, they must apply in advance. The National Interim Committee will determine whether an individual receives delegate or observer status.

The National Interim Committee will meet in Cleveland on Nov. 7. A tentative agenda for the conference will be developed at that meeting and circulated in advance to all NAM chapters, pre-chapters, and interested individuals. Programmatic proposals will appear in the internal discussion bulletin and be circulated in the same way.

EXHIBIT No. 2

(Referred to on p. 4)

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 15, 1975]

THE SPIRIT OF (19)76; IS IT A BICENTENNIAL OR A BUY-CENTENNIAL?

* * * * *

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS MAY LEAD TO A \$925 SWORD OR TO AN "UNCLE SAMWICH"

(By Gail Bronson)

The buy-centennial has begun.

Penn Dairies of Lancaster, Pa., is churning out ice-cream goodies like "Paul Revere's Rounds," "Red Coats" and an "Uncle Samwich." Springs Mills in South Carolina is weaving linens with Revolutionary graphics. Advance Manufacturing, Orlando, Fla., is selling red, white and blue lawn chairs. Lenox Inc., the chinaware firm, is marketing commemorative plates. Mitche Co., LaJolla, Calif., is hustling place mats with American designs.

For \$15, if you turn up on its "Who's Who" mailing list, the American Bicentennial Research Institute of Dallas ("not affiliated with the U.S. government") will send you a "beautiful parchment certificate" authenticating your inclusion in its "Library of Human Resources."

Furniture makers are awash in American, private mints in endless streams of commemorative medals, and publishers in books about colonial America.

The deluge of bicentennial products has been encouraged partly by official commissions, including the U.S.'s American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA). Such groups are supplementing their limited budgets by licensing businessmen to market "official" bicentennial items. For 4% to 5% of sales, ARBA gives licensees the use of its star-shaped logotype. By the end of the summer, ARBA expects to have raised about \$3 million in fees from some 100 companies.

Not surprisingly, such commercialism has produced a backlash. "Commercialism will turn the bicentennial celebration into a farce," says a state bicentennial official.

"It's only natural that businessmen are pursuing free enterprise in the course of celebrating the bicentennial," says Richard Wagner, executive director of the Wisconsin bicentennial commission. "Some of the founding fathers, like John Hancock, were the biggest smugglers around. The question is whether the government should give special benediction through licensing of products which gives the items an inflated value in the public view."

Other officials defend licensing. "The American public expects to be able to buy products commemorating the bicentennial," says John Warner, director of ARBA. A Georgia official says, "We were worried about a buy-centennial at first, but now we're stuck for funds. If someone is going to make a buck on this, it's worthwhile for us to be part of it, too."

Many corporate bicentennial efforts appear to be aimed at promoting goodwill instead of profits. General Motors, Kraft Foods, Arco, Prudential Insurance and PepsiCo each have contributed \$1 million to underwrite the capital costs of an "American Freedom Train" that will visit more than 80 cities over the next 21 months. It will carry and exhibit more than 500 documents and artifacts ranging from Paul Revere's saddle bags to Joe DiMaggio's bat. The train has attracted some criticism for its alleged historic irrelevance and its \$2 admission fee. Revenues are expected to finance \$13 million in operating costs.

J.C. Penny Co., whose chairman, Donald Seibert, is a music buff, is paying \$1.5 million to distribute sheet music of early American songs to high school and college bands. Henry Nave, chairman of Mack Truck and a veteran Boy Scout official, is financing a recording of patriotic songs for commercial distribution. Profits will go to the Boy Scouts. "The songs are really stirring," Mr. Nave says. "It should really be a hit record."

American Express Co. is sponsoring a head-to-toe cleanup of the Statue of Liberty. IBM gave \$500,000 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for an exhibit on "The World of Franklin and Jefferson," which got favorable reviews when it was previewed abroad. Raytheon is orchestrating a \$1 million multimedia exhibit in Boston dealing with the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Some bicentennial officials would like big companies to do more. New York has a long list of projects that need business backing, but a bicentennial official says, "Everybody wants to do something visible like clean the Statue of Liberty."

Television is giving some corporate bicentennial celebrants visibility. Shell Oil is shelling out \$9.3 million for 732 "bicentennial minutes," one-minute vignettes from American history, on CBS-TV. Xerox, 3M and Gulf Oil, among others, are sponsoring historical specials. The American Bankers Association is co-sponsoring a \$1-million bicentennial series to get the ABA's "institutional image across to the upper demographic people."

Individual notions about taste and quality seem to motivate some buy-centennial criticism. Consumer products are frowned on most. "Red, white and blue lawn chairs are just another means of commercialism," says Edward McColgan, executive director of the Massachusetts commission. "Red, white and blue chairs are totally irrelevant to 1976, and I doubt that the founding fathers would have considered them relevant."

The U.S. Bicentennial Society in Richmond, Va., was organized to counter what it considers tasteless commercialism by turning out high-quality reproductions of early American goods. The society's trustees include Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morrison and Alistair Cooke of public television's "America" series. The society's offerings hardly seem aimed at the typical descendant of colonial America's sturdy yeomanry. They range from a reproduction of George Washington's sword at \$925 to an early-American Royal Copenhagen tea service at \$5,000.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission, a private activist group, eschews commercial products altogether. Through groups like the the National Campfire Girls and the National Council of Churches, it distributes literature aimed at reacquainting Americans with social, economic and political issues in the Revolutionary era that still exist today.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission seems motivated by an old-fashioned egalitarianism. It urges high school students, for example, to organize to eliminate school "tracking"—placing fast-learning and slower-learning students in different programs—and even to restructure ROTC classes according to Revolutionary military principles. Some Revolutionary units elected their own officers.

EXHIBIT No. 3

(Referred to on p. 5)

[From U.S. News & World Report, Mar. 24, 1975]

"The Government Bicentennial Is Very Shallow"

(Interview with Jeremy Rifkin, Co-Director, People's Bicentennial Commission. Mr. Rifkin, 30, has been associated with the People's Bicentennial Commission in Washington, D.C., since the Commission's founding. An economist, he is the author of a new book, "Common Sense II".)

Question: Mr. Rifkin, what's right and what's wrong with the Bicentennial as it is proceeding now?

Answer: There are really two Bicentennials going on in the country, and I think one of them has the right approach and one of them has the wrong approach.

On the one side, there's the Bicentennial which is reflected by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and the major corporations that are working with it. It's a Bicentennial with a form, but without any substance whatsoever. The Government Bicentennial is a very shallow, superficial kind of approach to what our Bicentennial era could be all about.

I keep going back to the original congressional legislation that established the Bicentennial, and that legislation was very clear. It, in effect, said the Bicentennial was to be a time to reaffirm the revolutionary principles that founded this nation, and a time to apply those principles to American life.

The White House Bicentennial Administration is neither reaffirming nor applying those principles, because, in reality, to reaffirm and apply those principles today would be to act in the same kind of revolutionary spirit as our founding fathers and mothers did 200 years ago when they faced issues as severe in import to their lives as we face today.

The White House and the major corporations are unwilling to do that. I think their Bicentennial is very much a Tory—conservative—Bicentennial.

There's another whole Bicentennial going on, and it doesn't always take the label "Bicentennial." It's a movement, a psychology. There's a real desire to find out what this country is all about, to look back at our history at the founding of this republic. There's a real need on the part of people to recommit themselves to the revolutionary principles that we started off with 200 years ago. We need these principles as a guide for our lives in the third century of the republic.

The Bicentennial we're talking about is a new social force in this country that will take up the banner that Sam Adams and Patrick Henry led into battle 200 years ago—a movement that will challenge unwarranted concentrations of financial and political power and restore the dignity of the individual.

Question. Exactly what is the People's Bicentennial Commission?

Answer. The People's Bicentennial Commission was formed three and a half years ago. We're a nonprofit organization. We felt there had to be a positive, constructive alternative to the White House Bicentennial on a national level that could help develop programs and ideas for a meaningful Bicentennial. We have a very specific goal in mind—helping to shape a new patriotic movement in this country.

We are involved in educational and social-action programs. On the educational side, we provide material development for many major institutions. For example, we developed, with the National Council of Churches, the first church guide to Bicentennial observance. There are 65,000 churches using that guide right now.

We put out our own materials, such as organizing guides—everything from the history of the American Revolution to how to organize an oral-visual project in your high school. Those guides and materials and programs are being used by thousands of school boards in the country as well as local Kiwanis Clubs, auxiliaries of the VFW [Veterans of Foreign Wars], activist groups, P-TA's and libraries.

There are also 984 commercial radio stations and 145 TV stations using our materials.

Furthermore, we have seven commercial books coming out this year—ranging from scholarly books on the Revolution to a book called "Common Sense II," which compares today's giant corporations to King George III and the monarchy.

We have a theater company full time, centered out of Johnson City, Tenn. We also have local People's Bicentennial Commissions that are affiliated with us in 25 States.

Question. How do you finance all this?

Answer. We have a very limited budget. Our budget last year was \$200,000. All of our staff here is on subsistence salaries of \$85 a week before taxes.

We finance it through \$10 memberships. People join the People's Bicentennial Commission. They write to us in Washington, D.C., and they receive a full kit of our materials and a year's subscription to our magazine, *Common Sense*. They use these materials in their own community organizations and in their families and schools. It's a membership organization. We also get revenue from the sale of our materials and royalties.

Question. What would you like to have the Government do that it's not doing in its official Bicentennial programing?

Answer. I don't think the Government Bicentennial Administration can do what we think has to be done in the country, because we're celebrating a revolution.

We're celebrating a period of time 200 years ago that has many parallels today. If you look at the issues of 200 years ago, it reads like the front pages of today's newspapers—the issues of rising unemployment, galloping inflation and a rich, entrenched aristocracy that was frustrating the average working people in this country. There was a multinational corporation, the East India Company, which was pillaging the continent and abusing people's rights. There were corrupt politicians in the highest offices of the land.

The Government Bicentennial Administration in many ways represents the same kind of political and financial aristocracy that we fought a revolution against 200 years ago.

Question. Some critics say the People's Bicentennial Commission is too radical. Are some of your programs too extreme for general acceptance?

Answer. Some of our programs are too extreme for the bureaucrats and politicians at the White House and here in Washington, and they're certainly too extreme for some of American's wealthiest families and giant corporations.

But as to whether they're too extreme for the rest of the population, I let our own record stand for itself. We have support from all over the country by the once-silent majority. We have support from many, many levels—including small businessmen, labor, lower-management people, students and others.

Thousands of schools, churches, fraternal organizations, Bicentennial commissions and city councils all over the United States are using our material. That shows how widespread our support is.

Question. Is there anything significant coming out of the Bicentennial?

Answer. Yes. It's making people realize that every individual has to make an active commitment to working for democratic participation at the workplace as well as in government—as our forefathers and mothers did 200 years ago.

Today our job as we go across the country is to encourage hundreds and thousands of new leaders—people who have the guts to stand up for their country and the principles this country was founded on. People are learning to challenge corruption, abuses of power and concentrations of wealth as people did in the Revolution.

By 1976, we would like to see leaders emerging on the "10-most-admired list" who are in the mold of Sam Adams or Patrick Henry. That would make the Bicentennial truly worthwhile.

EXHIBIT No. 4

(Referred to on p. 7)

[From the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 24, 1975]

SEEING ONLY RED FOR THE BICENTENNIAL

(By Bob Wiedrich)

John Rossen, the former downstate Communist organizer who now denies party membership, is doing his best to see to it that Americans see only red during their red, white and blue Bicentennial celebration.

Rossen, now 65 years old, is keeping a low profile with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission [P.B.C.], a non-profit, tax-exempt organization of the radical Left that appears dedicated to throwing the nation's 200th anniversary up for grabs.

The over-the-hill Leftist, who once promoted Josef Stalin's fortunes in the United States during the 1950s, but now says he has rejected Stalinism, Marxism, and Maoism, picketed the American Freedom Train on its opening day here while belting antiestablishment slogans over a bullhorn from beneath a tricornered hat.

Rossen's efforts would have been ludicrous were it not for the background of radicalism against which they were staged. For to date, the P.B.C. and its retreat activist leadership of the turbulent 1960s have mostly devoted their efforts to disrupting legitimately conceived patriotic Bicentennial observances.

So Rossen's sophomoric attack on the Freedom Train and its priceless lode of 500 historic artifacts, while ignored by most spectators, carried a message more ominous than was evident.

Altho organized in Washington, D.C., in 1971, the P.B.C. didn't take the field with overt disruptive acts until last April when a hooligan brigade of its supporters tossed a juvenile beer party on the banks of the Concord River in an attempt to drown out President Ford's address with catcalls and obscenities.

For the most part, the crowd was composed of teen-agers reenacting the now hackneyed "guerrilla theater" of the Students for a Democratic Society-Weatherman days in the guise of red, white, and blue bunting.

But their infringement on the right of free speech was an insult to the brave and embattled Americans who stood their ground against British redcoats on that same sacred spot 200 years earlier so that the adolescent jerks of the P.B.C. could do their thing.

Rossen denies having had a hand in founding the P.B.C. and its strident demands for a revolution to abolish corporations during the Bicentennial year.

He says he signed up with the P.B.C. in 1971, but describes himself as "just a member." He admits, tho, he is a steering committee member of the Illinois P.B.C. which has filed incorporation papers in Springfield to also qualify as a tax-exempt, non-profit group.

Rossen angrily dismisses as "fairy tales of the Right" statements by Rep. Richard Ichord [D., Mo.], House Internal Security Committee chairman, that Rossen originated the concept of P.B.C. here in 1969 with pamphlets calling for a new revolution based on Marxism and American nationalism.

"I reject Marxism and Stalinism and Maoism," Rossen declared in an interview. "I've abandoned any ideas that were purely Marxist."

Then he telephoned us a few minutes later to suggest that a check with the Communist Party, U.S.A., would definitely cleanse him of any red taint.

"They're calling me a bourgeoisie nationalist and a nationalist chauvinist because I am promoting the Bicentennial," Rossen reported. He reminded us the P.B.C. had filed a law suit against the Communist Party during its recent convention here for trying to use the label, "Peoples Bicentennial," in connection with its convention.

But he conveniently neglected to point out the P.B.C. has panicked for fear the hint of such an affiliation might drive off some of the foundations supporting the group.

Jeremy Rifkin, a P.B.C. founder and former Chicagoan allied with antiwar causes during the Viet Nam era, reports the group is sustained by grants and profits it makes from selling its Bicentennial materials to such organizations as the National Council of Churches, the Campfire Girls, and the National YMCA.

For the record, Rossen has been executive director of the Chicago Council for American Soviet Friendship; chairman of the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Chicago when Fidel was first proclaiming Communism in the Caribbean; and has invoked the 5th Amendment before congressional subcommittees probing internal security. In 1950, the Communist publication Illinois Worker identified Rossen as a "downstate organizer for the Communist Party, who works out of East St. Louis."

These are labels Rossen now ducks as he quietly goes about promoting his version of America's 200th birthday, wrapped in the flag of a self-proclaimed crusade against the inequities that he blames on big business.

However, for an aging activist child of the Bicentennial, he sure loves that tax-exempt status not even the oppressed workingman enjoys, much less the capitalist corporations he attacks.

EXHIBIT NO. 5
(Referred to on p. 8)

[From Guardian, May 3, 1969]

—for revolutionary inspiration and guidance—

the CHINESE have had their **LITTLE RED BOOK**—
and now **AMERICAN** radicals have their own
LITTLE RED, WHITE & BLUE BOOK!

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*From *Gene Debs* and *Bill Haywood* to *Helen Keller* and *C. Wright Mills!*

*From *Richard Daley* (?) to *Rennie Davis!*

An inspiring selection of gems of revolutionary quotes from famous Americans!

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EXHIBIT No. 6
(Referred to on p. 9)

[From the New Patriot, Mar.-Apr. 1971]

THE NEW PATRIOT

Vol. 1 No. 4 "The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American revolution. On the March-Apr. 1971 contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed." Benjamin Rush, 1787 ★★★ 25¢

HOW NIXON & THE PENTAGON TURN BLOOD INTO OIL PROFITS IN INDO-CHINA



OUR APOLOGIES

Dear Readers:

This issue of the NEW PATRIOT is two months late. The delay was due to changes of staff and format. All subscriptions will be extended.

The current issue of the Evergreen Review has an article on "Revolutionary Nationalism and the American Left," by Johnny (Appleseed) Rossen. It should be of great interest to NEW PATRIOT readers.

EDITORIAL: PAY'TRIOT POWELL

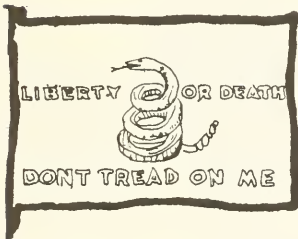
Several million dollars in loot accumulated by Illinois's late Secretary of State, Paul Powell, has been discovered in cash hidden away in shoe boxes, in certificates of deposit, and in other highly-negotiable forms; insiders say that additional millions in hard cash were made off with by his cronies during the 24 hours in which his death was kept secret while mysterious figures removed boxes and files from his offices.

Powell enjoyed a reputation as one of the biggest crooks in the history of Illinois politics (and that is no mean distinction). Though his connections with racketeering and race-track interests were widely publicized, he was shrewd and slippery enough to stay out of jail and in "public office" for several decades.

But Powell's most-remarkable characteristic was his Super-pay-triotism. A super-hawk on Vietnam, a fire-spouting, flag-waving, red-baiting American Legionnaire, he was a close buddy of fellow Democrat Richard J. Daley, and a pay-triotic darling of the Chicago Tribune, who along with others shed red, white, and blue tears at the passing of this super-crook.

But Powell is not the only proof of the old adage that the flag is the last refuge of a scoundrel. American history of the last half-century is replete with crooks who have wrapped themselves in the flag. (Remember J. Parnell Thomas, one-time head of HUAC?) This is true desecration of the flag and high treason to the American people, and this is why decent Americans must fight to restore the true meaning to the word "patriotism" and to the words "public service".

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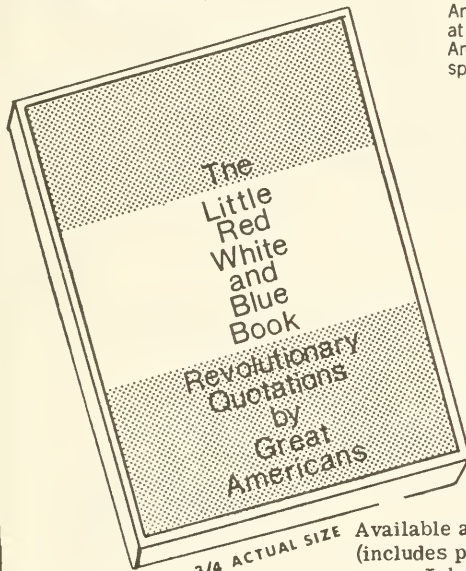
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—From the Foreword

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[From the New Patriot, Mar.-Apr. 1971]

The Editor Responds—Marxism, Its Limitations

(By John Rossen)

Many of my radical friends have raised the same point you have: that "analogies (with 1776) can be pushed too far, because many (of the 1776 revolutionaries) compromised on the slavery issue. . . ." One could add to this that they also failed on the issue of genocide against American Indians. Or that they failed to raise the question of a classless society (socialism). But as revolutionary socialists committed to the scientific revolutionary methodology, we have to look at the early American revolutionaries in the context of the times they lived in. Tom Paine, Sam Adams, Ben Rush, and the rest of the radical wing of 1776 were the most-advanced revolutionaries of their time, formulating revolutionary ideas which have remained potent to this day. They laid down a revolutionary tradition which we can and must use as the basis for a restructuring of American society in ways they could not envision.

Unfortunately my radical friends who would not tolerate the slightest departure from revolutionary virtue on the part of Tom Paine or Tom Jefferson are not as demanding of Karl Marx, who on occasion used formulations that would today be labeled racist, sexist, imperialist, and national-chauvinist.

I note that you use the terms "Marxist" and "Marxist analysis". I would say that for a revolutionary socialist in the Twentieth Century to label himself a "Marxist" or "Marxist-Leninist" is as ridiculous as for a modern physicist to call himself a Newtonian or for a modern biologist to call himself a Darwinian. Marx laid the sturdy foundations for the scientific revolutionary-socialist methodology, and for any modern revolutionary to ignore those foundations would be as stupid as for a physicist to ignore the findings of Isaac Newton. But neither can a modern revolutionary limit himself to the findings of Marx. That is why I use the expression "scientific revolutionary methodology" rather than the expression "Marxism".

The problem with most of those who call themselves Marxists today is that they accept Marxism as a dogma and not as a scientific tool, a revolutionary methodology which is constantly being refined, added to, improved on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the last century and a quarter.

Marx made his analysis of capitalism on the basis of a first-hand study of the Western European capitalist systems. And he constantly warned his critics (and his followers) that the conclusions he reached as a result of his analysis must never be used "as a super-historical model universally applicable to every and all social systems. . . ." He continually exhorted revolutionaries to "look at the world with new-born eyes", to be audacious and innovative in their theory and practice.

The traditional Marxist groupings in the United States have for nearly a century ignored these exhortations of Marx; instead of applying the revolutionary methodology to the unique realities of American society, they have agonized over an impossible task: trying to fit American reality into what they call "Marxist analysis". And so they end up with economism (gotta work only in the trade unions), or tailism and defeatism (can't even think about a revolution until the working class becomes fully class conscious and the unions become revolutionary—and we have to be patient because that may take another forty or fifty years).

EXHIBIT No. 7
(Referred to on p.10)

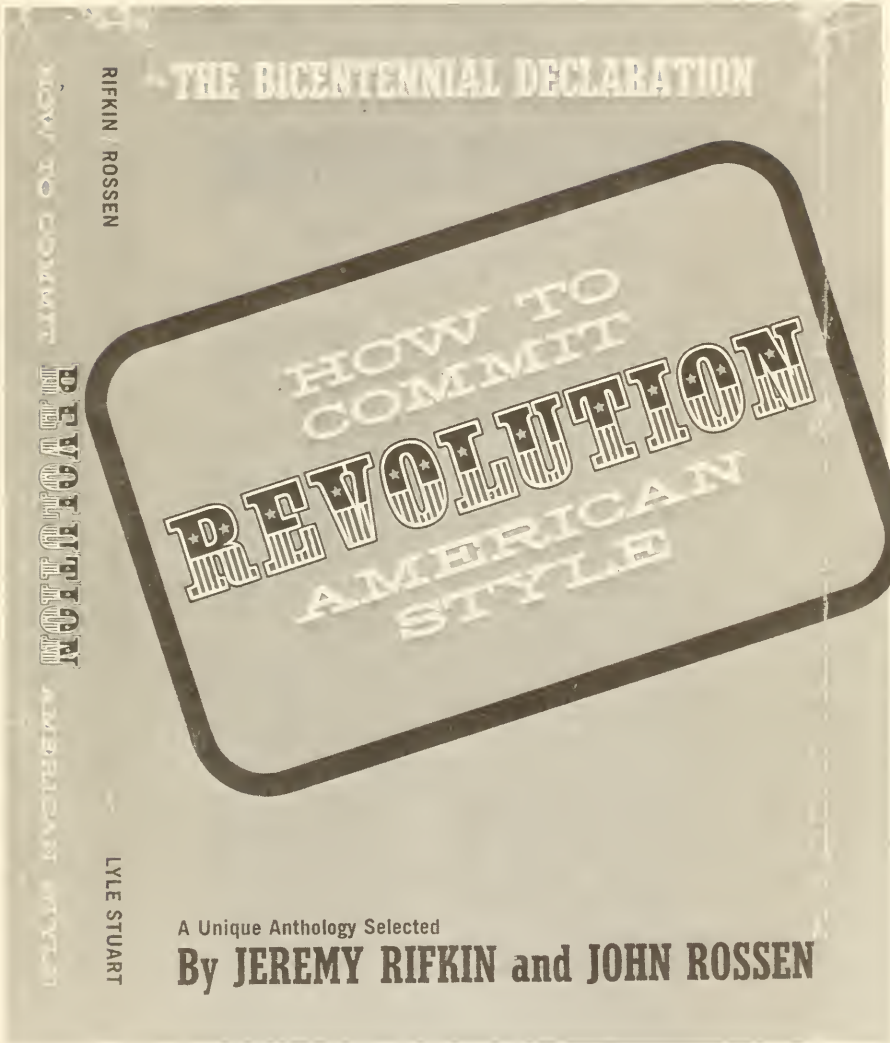


Bill Peltz, 3d from the left; Jeremy Rifkin, 4th from the left; John Rossen, 5th from the left.



Rossen's van.

EXHIBIT No. 8
(Referred to on p. 11)



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AMERICAN
STYLE

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On July 4, 1976—two hundred years after the Declaration of Independence by a “ragtag and bobtail” band of revolutionaries—the United States of America will climax its “American Revolution Bicentennial Observance.”

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(continued on back flap)

(continued from front flap)

Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen to "provide inspiration to spark a revolution."

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- To build a revolutionary identity, Jeremy Rifkin in "The Red, White and Blue Left" calls for a new home-grown revolutionary orientation "sensitive to the unique American legacy and committed to the fulfillment of the American dream."

- In "Revolutionary Nationalism and the American Left," John Rossen urges that a successful movement for change in America must take place within the context of revolutionary nationalism.

- In "How to Commit Revolution in Corporate America," G. William Domhoff outlines a series of practical proposals for American revolutionaries.

How to Commit Revolution American Style is not a manual for countering the Bicentennial campaign. It is an extraordinary "how-to" book for a period that may include dissent, repression, crisis, violence, a mass revolutionary movement, and "the greatest single peacetime public-opinion mobilization effort in our nation's history."

JEREMY RIFKIN grew up in a working-class neighborhood in the South Side of Chicago. He attended the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was president of his graduating class in 1967, and he received a Master's Degree in International Affairs from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, in 1968.

He has been active in New Left politics since 1966, when he helped organize student opposition to germ-war research projects at the University of Pennsylvania.

He is presently a national coordinator with the People's Bicentennial Commission.

JOHN ROSSEN has been active in left-wing politics for over thirty years. He is the author of **The Little Red, White, and Blue Book: Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans.**

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EXHIBIT No. 9

(Referred to on p. 15)

[From Book-of-the-Month Club News, April 1976]

A CONVERSATION WITH PAGE SMITH

(By Jack Fincher)

A hulking, hawk-faced figure in fleece-trimmed corduroy coat and cap, Page Smith materializes out of a foggy Santa Cruz, California, morning trailing the gobble of turkeys. Gentleman farmer? Most certainly. Also maverick writer pursuing his own revolution against the academic tradition that says you can't take a scholarly step without leaving a footnote.

He led me into his study, a rustic wood outbuilding choked with books and hung with the paintings, sculptures, tie-dyes, and fur-and-feather fetishes of his artist wife, Eloise, and their four grown children. They are the creators in the family, he says. "I think the creative level of the historian is actually very low." He laughs. "When my son was young he brought a friend in, pointed to the shelves and said, 'These are the books my father writes his books from.'"

There is truth in his son's words. Smith says that he has never taken as much as one card of notes. He writes "books, not chapters," from start to finish, typing long quotes directly from the voluminous reading that attracts him, setting down digressions as they occur and later gluing everything together where it seems to belong. His enjoyment of such unbuttoned sentiments as his son's must be all the more galling to academic historians because Smith's scholastic credentials are impeccably eggheaded. He took his undergraduate degree at Dartmouth, got his Ph.D. at Harvard under Samuel Eliot Morison, taught history at UCLA, and was the very first provost at the University of California's visionary Santa Cruz campus. It was a post he later resigned in protest against the publish-or-perish demands of modern academe. Smith himself, happily, has never been plagued with that problem. He has written ten volumes in twice as many years, on everything from the history of history and women to the nature of towns and chickens.

Eloise Smith left us with coffee, English muffins and honey, and our conversation began.

JF: *What's the critical difference between your narrative approach and the academic?*

PS: All my work is discovery, not recording. I don't believe in objectivity. You bring your preconceptions. I believe in sympathy and compassion and understanding, in attachment rather than detachment. To me discipline is passion, caring enough about the thing to discover the order in it.

Most academics are obsessed with the analytical, the interpretive, the expository. They've gone wrong in thinking their mission is to explain things, in believing that if you collect all the data the data will speak to you. Which is obviously ridiculous. It's predicated on the premise that all these little monographic experiments are going to add up to truth some day. They're not. They're going to add up to a lot of little monographs.

JF: *Doesn't the academic concept of historical distance lend, if not enchantment, perspective?*

PS: That's another snobbery. The best history of the American Revolution was written by people who were in it. That's why I like to use the analogy of time as a mountain. When you're up on top—200 years away—the academic historian says you can look back down the years and see things as they really were. I say the situation is more like an archaeological dig. The past lies buried under the mountain; the accumulation of intervening experience distorts your view. You have to sink a shaft down to the stratum you want to study and reconstruct what happened out of the remnants and shards.

JF: *And once you get to that point, what?*

PS: Contrary to popular misconception, there is an absolutely staggering amount of material from the Revolution. John Adams said if you read a lifetime you couldn't cover it. But I believe it's a fallacy to assume you have to read everything in order to understand something. You could still misunderstand it. Some one thing an obscure person says can outweigh masses of "important" material.

Often the power of the original fact is so great you're awed by it. As Charles Francis Adams said when his grandfather, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson both died on the same day—the Fourth of July, 1826—there is nothing so eloquent as fact. Incidentally, my editor called to ask if I knew how many pages my book

runs in final form. I whimsically guessed 1776. She said, no, 1976. I'm a believer in synchronicity, serendipity, chance. History is full of those. They should play as important a role in research as they seem to play in life.

EXHIBIT No. 10

(Referred to on p. 18)

[From An Introduction to the Peoples Bicentennial Commission]

A Nationwide Citizen Organization Dedicated to Restoring the Democratic Principles that Shaped the Birth of this Republic

From now until 1983, we Americans will celebrate the Bicentennial of the greatest event of our history—the American Revolution. How we choose to commemorate the founding of our nation will shape the lives of generations yet to come. Will we be content with fireworks and plastic liberty bells? Or will we use the anniversary of the Revolution as a time to rededicate ourselves and our country to the sacred ideals our ancestors fought for 200 years ago?

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission is a non-profit, public foundation founded in the belief that it is time to reaffirm the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the American Revolution. Today, we face economic and political crises as great as those of 1776. Like our ancestors, we must meet the challenge to our democratic birthrights. We must dedicate ourselves to a new patriotism—one that calls for allegiance to the revolutionary, democratic principles that launched our first national rebellion to tyranny.

PBCs around the country are actively working toward this new patriotism by taking direct action on issues of local and national importance.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission in Washington, D.C., as the only active nationwide bicentennial commission, is working with a number of major institutions in providing constructive, citizen-involvement programs for our 200th birthday. Working under contract with the National Council of Churches, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission developed a guide to the religious principles of the American Revolution. Over 40,000 copies of this pamphlet—"The Light in the Steeple"—have been sent to denominations around the country, where they serve both as sermon suggestions for ministers and discussion topics for church groups.

PBC has also developed a four-year program for the largest day-care organization in the nation—The National Day Care and Child Development Council of America. The grass-roots, door-to-door campaign, "Birthday Parties are for Kids," aims at enlisting 10,000,000 parents into a day-care lobby to press for quality, community-controlled day-care by 1976.

PBC is currently consulting with the Campfire Girls, YMCA, and other national youth organizations in developing meaningful programs for young people during the Bicentennial years.

EXHIBIT No. 11

(Referred to on p. 19)

[From Student and Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial]

As the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution nears, we the students of ———— High School pledge ourselves to reaffirm and live the revolutionary principles and ideals that founded this country. As students, it is clear to us that our education today is run on the same basis as King George ran his empire—inequality, arbitrary regulations and lack of personal freedom. Therefore:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all people are created Equal, that they are entitled to an education, and that the purpose of this education is to secure for them the inalienable rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness; to secure these rights, education must be designed with the full participation of students; and that when education no longer meets these requirements, students have a right, and a duty, to participate in changing the educational system, so that it *will* meet these needs and adhere to the principles that founded this country.

The history of our present education is a history of repeated injuries and abuses of our rights, all having the object of making students conform, pitting one student against another, separating the teacher from the student, and channelling us into pre-determined slots in society. To prove this, let Facts be listed in our favor:

As students, we are forbidden the basic rights that are fundamental to this country—among these, freedom of press, speech, assembly and thought.

As students, we are denied any meaningful decision making as to what our education and classes will be like.

As students, we are at the mercy of the whims of teachers and administrators, none of whom we have had any part in hiring, and none of whom we are allowed to call for dismissal when there is good cause.

As students, we are at the mercy of arbitrary rules and regulations, none of which we have a part in forming.

As students, we are divided and segregated according to artificial categories we do not believe in. Women are separated from men when they are forced to take home economics classes and men are required to take shop. Students of non-middle class background are tracked into non-college preparatory courses because they score poorly on I.Q. tests that are based on the values of the middle class.

As students, we are forced to compete, rather than allowed to participate cooperatively and in the spirit of the common good. Students are told they are “cheating” and “only hurting themselves” when they help each other; students are told they are “model pupils” and “good citizens” when they participate in a cut-throat manner.

Therefore, we, the Students of _____ High School, endorse and present this Declaration to the school and our community, and declare that students are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent human beings, fully participating in and shaping their education. We pledge to each other that, having stated and endorsed these grievances, we commit ourselves, as the founders of America did, to right these wrongs, to take control of our lives and our education, and, as patriots proclaimed in 1776, to “use every method in our power to secure our rights.”

EXHIBIT No. 12

(Referred to on p. 20)

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IN CONGRESS JULY 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them

to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purposes of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known role of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of con-

sanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE, THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

EXHIBIT No. 13

(Referred to on p. 26)

July 24, 1972.

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. George E. Lang.

Subject: People's American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

Because there seems to be so many questions being asked various members of the Commission about the People's American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, I wanted you to be aware of my involvement with them.

Some time ago, a young woman who had worked here about two years ago and is now with the Youth Grants Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities called and asked me if I would mind looking at a Bicentennial proposal which they had received. I said I would be glad to and when it arrived discovered that it was a grant application submitted by the People's ARBC to the National Endowment. I reviewed it, found it a solid package and discussed it with Bill Butler and Lynn Carroll. The latter discussed it with Mr. LeVant and the final result was a letter of support. (The letter from me was addressed to Mr. Tashdinian and a copy is enclosed, as is a copy of their grant application.)

About the same time we received a letter from Debby Lawrence of the People's ARBC raising questions about the National Bicentennial Program Criteria and saying that they were having difficulties filling it out. It was decided that I should answer the letter which was cleared of course by Bill Butler, Lynn Carroll and Gene Skora. The letter says that we stand ready to assist them in filling out the Criteria, as indeed we are ready to assist anyone. It also explains some of the basic principles about the Criteria.

All of this material has been forwarded on to the Heritage section which will review their proposal should they decide to seek Commission recognition for their project. However, because of my initial involvement in the project I wanted you to be fully aware of it and to have the opportunity to review both my letters and their grant application. I do believe that they are going to get the grant also.

MARTHA JANE SHAY,
Program Officer.

Enclosures.

EXHIBIT No. 14

(Referred to on p. 26)

July 11, 1972.

Ms. DEBORAH W. LAWRENCE,
Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Ms. LAWRENCE: I am most apologetic for the delay in responding to your letter. I am sorry too that you are having difficulty with the Program Criteria. While I hope that I can answer some of your questions and allay your concerns, part of the responsibility of the Program Development Staff of the Commission is to assist groups in filling out the Program Criteria. We would certainly be glad to help you in any way we can and I hope you will feel free to call on us.

Since we received your letter, we have also had the opportunity to review your preliminary grant request to the National Endowment for the Humanities. Basically, the kind of information which the Humanities requests in its forms is the same as that which we look for. We are concerned about the relationship of the project to the goals of the Bicentennial, about the need for the activity, about the organizational capability, and the capacity of the organization to achieve its objectives. In an effort to reduce the correspondence that inevitably seems to result in a process of this kind, we attempted to formulate more specific questions about each of these general categories to insure that the data we needed was submitted and that the sponsor did not expend extra efforts in assembling information which was not of concern to us. Because the Program Criteria are intended to apply across the board to all kinds of programs, we are aware that some of the questions are less pertinent to some kinds of projects but we do attempt to assess each program based on a common set of data. In addition, some of the questions are designed to help us monitor the general development of the Bicentennial so that we can adjust our efforts to see to it that all citizens, in every state and locale, and activities under each of the three Bicentennial themes are included in a balanced, thoughtful, national program.

The questions we raise are, in fact, similar to those listed on page #5 of Youth grants information brochure and, in my view, the data you submitted for that grant request is in general sufficient to respond to our Program Criteria. I would add too that we do not care what form the information comes in so long as the pertinent information is provided. Therefore, if you wish to seek Commission recognition for your Revolutionary War Research project, a copy of the materials you submitted to the Endowment would probably satisfy our basic information needs. We would have to go over it more carefully to see if any additional data was needed and will be happy to do so if you wish to seek Official Recognition for this project.

One final point, like the National Endowment for the Humanities, we are concerned about projects. We do not accord Official Recognition to organizations or individuals; rather we take action only on the projects themselves. Our aim is to make objective not subjective assessments. In response to your immediate question, your intended plan and procedures and the capability of the personnel to carry out the project as described in your preliminary grant application convey no apparent reason to question the integrity of the project leadership, adherence to professional standards, or seriousness of purpose. Decisions concerning the merits of an individual project, however, are made by an advisory panel, when appropriate, and by a Commission committee. The above describes the general parameter within which we make such determinations and the staff stands ready to assist any interested individual, group, or organization in preparing its material for submission for appropriate Commission action. If you are interested in seeking Official Recognition, please let us know how we can assist you. In the meantime, I again apologize for the tardiness of this response and hope that I have been able to answer some of your questions.

Sincerely,

MARTHA JANE SHAY,
Senior Program Officer.

EXHIBIT No. 15

(Referred to on p. 26)

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES,
Washington, D.C., May 31.

DEAR JANIE: Enclosed is the proposal from the People's Bicentennial Commission. I greatly appreciate your doing me this favor and telling us if this is the sort of activity ARBC would like to see young people engaged in. The Endowment is very interested in Bicentennial projects and we in Youthgrants are attempting to define our activities in this area.

I've also put in our Youthgrant brochure and poster in case you run into any zippy youths with good ideas.

Thanks again, I'll call next week, and maybe you'll let me take you to lunch. It would be really nice to see you again.

Peace.

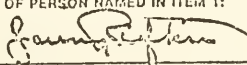
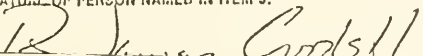
NANCY MOSES.

EXHIBIT NO. 16

(Referred to on p. 26)

NEH/OPA-72-1

Form approved OMB No. 1218-R0030

<p>YOUTHGRANTS IN THE HUMANITIES National Endowment for the Humanities Washington, D.C. 20506 Telephone (202) 382-5996 APPLICATION FACE SHEET—Page 1</p>	<p>DATE RECEIVED MAR 1 1972</p>	<p>LOG NUMBER H- 7354</p>
<p>2. INSTITUTION (name & address) The Youth Project/Peoples Bicentennial Commission 1346 Connecticut Ave, NW, Room 1021 Washington, D.C. 30036</p>	<p>1. PROJECT DIRECTOR Name: Jeremy R. Rifkin Current address: 1346 Connecticut Ave, NW, Room 1021 Washington, D.C. 20036 Dates: all year Telephone: (202) 833-9121 Permanent address:</p>	
<p>3. AUTHORIZING OFFICIAL (name & title) James Goodell, Director The Youth Project Telephone: (202) 338-5721 (Person named here must sign item 11)</p>	<p>Dates: Telephone: ()</p>	
<p>4. PAYEE (name & title of person) The Youth Project/Peoples Bicentennial Commission 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007 Telephone: (202) 338-5721</p>		
<p>5. PERSONS OTHER THAN PROJECT DIRECTOR WHO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH NEH ABOUT PROJECT None</p>	<p>6. BUDGET REQUEST Requested of NEH (1) Outright \$7,210 (2) Gifts plus Matching \$ --- (3) TOTAL requested \$7,210</p>	
<p>7. IF THIS IS A RENEWAL REQUEST LIST PREVIOUS GRANT NUMBER(S) None</p>	<p>8. DATES OF REQUESTED GRANT PERIOD From: June 1, 1972 To: September 1, 1972</p>	
<p>9. PROJECT TITLE Revolutionary War Research Project</p>		
<p>10. SIGNATURE OF PERSON NAMED IN ITEM 1: </p>	<p>DATE:</p>	
<p>11. SIGNATURE OF PERSON NAMED IN ITEM 3: </p>	<p>DATE: 8 March 1972</p>	

YOUTHGRANTS APPLICATION FACE SHEET—Page 2 (Project Summary)		LOG NUMBER H-
12. INSTITUTION Youth Project/Peoples Bicentennial Commission		13. PROJECT DIRECTOR (name): Jeremy R. Rifkin Date of birth: 1/26/45
14. PROJECT TITLE Revolutionary War Research Project		
15. BUDGET		16. DATES OF REQUESTED GRANT PERIOD
Requested of NEH		From: June 1, 1972
(1) Outright	\$ 7,210 1	To: September 1, 1972
(2) Gifts Plus Matching	\$ - 2	
(3) TOTAL requested of NEH	\$ 7,210 3	
Cost-sharing or other funding	\$ - 4	
TOTAL Project cost	\$ 7,210 5	
17. ABSTRACT		
<p><u>Purpose and significance:</u> To research, assemble, and disseminate, to workers and students, historical information on the lives and roles of working people during the Revolutionary War period with emphasis on the ideas and events that shaped the formation of the early republic. <u>Plan of Work:</u> A project coordinator and 5 researchers will read, study and take notes on the 101 volumes of "Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution" published by the Arno Publishing Company, a subsidiary of the New York Times, and other source material, in order to research the role of working people in the Revolutionary War Period. The material will be compiled into articles, primary essays and bibliographies and disseminated to University, high school and union publications. <u>Use of Funds:</u> Summer Salaries (\$5,760), office equipment (\$940), Travel (\$510).</p>		
(Reserved for NEH Use)		

A PROPOSAL TO RESEARCH, ASSEMBLE, AND
DISSEMINATE, TO WORKERS AND STUDENTS,
HISTORICAL INFORMATION ON THE LIVES
AND ROLES OF WORKING PEOPLE DURING THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD WITH EMPHASIS
ON THE IDEAS AND EVENTS THAT SHAPED
THE FORMATION OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

I. The Need

The activist youth movement in the 1960s concentrated much of its energy on attempting to get American institutions to live up to the humanist aspects of American ideology. Now, ten years later, this movement has been fragmented into a constellation of factions whose ideological perspectives, slogans, tactical formats, and heroes are borrowed largely from European and Asian revolutionary struggles.

Why have so many young people rejected their own American heritage? The emerging activist youth movement of the 1960s was not prepared for the overwhelming succession of events that was to sweep the nation during that turbulent decade. The black revolution, race riots, political assassinations, Vietnam, pollution, campus confrontations, drugs, and a host of other developments intensified the youth community's sense of urgency in dealing with American institutions. Impatience and frustration mounted as young people found themselves more often reacting to, rather than initiating, the course of political events. The contradiction between American ideals and practice became more visible and pronounced for young people with each successive political confrontation.

Many young people became overwhelmed by the disparity between what Americans professed to believe in on the one hand, and social reality on the other. Outraged by this dichotomy, young people began to conclude that the gap between performance and principle was attributable to the hypocritical, deceitful, dishonest, and evil character of parents, political leaders, the American people, and, by association, American history and ideology.

A great many young people broke entirely with their American heritage because they failed to grasp a basic historical contradiction--that American ideology is at once both positive and negative. Consequently, what started as a movement to make institutions live up to the humanist part of the American dream transformed itself into a rejection of the dream itself.

The Youth Project/People's Bicentennial Commission

Revolutionary War Research proposal is designed to rekindle the positive humanist traditions of America among young people. Reinforcing humanist ideals is essential because it provides continuity with the heritage of the past. This identification is necessary to create an atmosphere of confidence among young people in their ability to shape the future, to explore and enter into unfamiliar areas of experience.

Understanding the humanist currents and movements of our Revolutionary War Period can help young people to develop a future perspective that is germane for Americans.

Confidence in our ability to develop a long-range humanist perspective must come from an understanding of who we are; and much of what we are has to do with the humanist ideals to which our Founding Fathers dedicated their lives.

II. Goal

To provide historical information on the lives and roles of working people during the Revolutionary War Period, with emphasis on the ideas and events that shaped the formation of the early Republic. A knowledge of the ideas and attitudes of working people during the founding of our country can help us better understand the formation of American values and their relationship to the problems facing us today.

III. Objectives

A. To use the 101 volumes of "Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution" published by the Arno Publishing Company, a subsidiary of the New York Times, and other source material, in order to research the role of working people in the Revolutionary Period.

B. To compile packets of important quotations, articles, primary essays, and bibliographies from the Arno series.

C. To disseminate information and materials through the People's Bicentennial Feature Service to university, high school, and union publications.

IV. Procedures

A. Research

1. Select five researchers.

2. Select persons who are familiar with the subject area to act as consultants to the researchers.

3. Have researchers read, study, and take notes on the 101 volumes of the Revolutionary War Period with emphasis on the formation of political, economic, and social values.

B. Compilation of Information

1. Compile primary essays, quotations, articles, and bibliographies which reflect the experiences of working people during the American Revolution.

2. Utilize the Bicentennial staff for the mechanics of compilation.

C. Dissemination

Distribute information through the People's Bicentennial Feature Service to high school and college newspapers, trade union publications, newspapers (establishment and underground), TV and radio stations, and professional publications. The service will be free to subscribers.

V. Staff

A. A Project Director

B. Five researchers--all will be under age 30 and will have an academic background in the area they are studying.

C. A minimum of two consultants--these will be people who have an academic background in the Revolutionary War Period. Consultants will work closely with researchers and will meet with them on a regular basis to go over notes, discuss topics and check accuracy.

VI. Responsibilities of Project Director

A. See that finances are handled correctly.

B. Select consultants and researchers.

C. Check on progress of researchers.

VII. Responsibilities of Researchers

A. Become familiar with area of research.

B. Compile all relevant material.

C. Check on accuracy of research with consultants and other experts in the field.

D. Boil down material for use in articles, essays, and bibliographies.

VIII. Responsibilities of Consultants

A. Provide names to researchers of other experts in their field of study.

B. Meet with researchers regularly to discuss information and other problems they may face in the process of research.

C. Review drafts of essays and boiled down material for accuracy.

IX. Responsibilities of Bicentennial Staff

A. Do layout work and editing for material dissemination.

B. Check on accuracy of final drafts.

C. Make arrangements for printing.

D. Disseminate through People's Bicentennial Feature Service.

E. Setup arrangements at historical sites for distribution.

X. Time Line for Research

Research--reading and taking notes--and compilation of the material for articles, essays, and bibliographies, will take approximately three months.

XI. Time Line for Distribution

Distribution of material will begin two weeks after the completion of research and compilation. Packets will be sent out through the feature service on a bi-monthly basis for 6 months.

	<u>Requested of NEH</u>	<u>Project Total</u>
1. <u>Salaries:</u>		
Project Director, Jeremy Rifkin, 12 weeks @ \$80/wk	\$ 960	\$ 960
Five Researchers 12 weeks @ \$80/wk	4,800	<u>4,800</u> \$5,760
2. <u>Office Equipment</u>		
3 typewriters @ \$60/mo.-- 3 typewriters for 12 weeks	180	180
12 weeks office rent @ \$120 per month	360	360
Office Supplies	160	160
Telephone @ \$30/mo.	90	90
Xeroxing @ \$50/mo.	150	<u>150</u> 940
2. <u>Travel Expenses</u>		
Between libraries in Philadelphia, Boston, New York City, and Washington to cross- check Arno material with other primary source material	<u>510</u>	<u>510</u>
Grand Totals	<u>\$7,210</u>	<u>\$7,210</u>

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Jeremy Rifkin
 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
 Room 1021
 Washington, D.C. 20036

Born: 1/26/45
 Denver, Colorado

(202) 833-9121

- 1967 B.S., Economics, Wharton School of Finance & Commerce,
 University of Pennsylvania
1. President of Graduating Class
 2. Selected by Administration and Trustees as
 Outstanding Male Undergraduate for 1967
- 1968 M.A., International Affairs, Fletcher School of Law
 and Diplomacy, Tufts University
- 1969 VISTA Volunteer, Bedford Stuyvesant and East Harlem,
 New York
- 1970-
 1971 Citizens Commission of Inquiry: A public interest
 research group concerned with American policy in
 Asia. Staff Coordinator
- 1971-
 1972 Peoples Bicentennial Commission: Staff Coordinator

As a staff coordinator of the People's Bicentennial Commission, Mr. Rifkin has spent over four months talking with groups ranging from the American Studies Association, to townhall meetings in New England on the topic of the founding of our nation and the development of humanist values in American society. His academic background and work experience are varied and relate closely to the project outlined.

REFERENCES

Mary Wilson
High School Information Service
1010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C.

Debby Lawrence
6509 Marjory Lane
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
(301) 229-2362

Erwin Knoll
4202 River Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 966-0977

EXHIBIT No. 17
(Referred to on p. 26)

June 30, 1972.

Mr. ARMEN TASHDINIAN,
National Endowment for the Humanities,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TASHDINIAN: The Director has had the opportunity to review the proposed Revolutionary War Research Project of the People's Bicentennial Commission and I would like to pass along to you our hope that you will be able to support the project. We find it to be in tune with the basic goals of the Bicentennial commemoration and of particular interest to us in view of the Commission's long standing interest in encouraging young people to become involved in the planning, the development and the operation of Bicentennial activities.

As you undoubtedly know, one of our major guidelines calls for the Bicentennial to be used as a time to review and reaffirm the basic principles on which the country was founded and to explore our two hundred years of growth and development. Certainly an exploration of the "Lives and roles of working people during the Revolutionary War period with emphasis on the ideas and events that shaped the formation of the early republic" constitutes an important aspect and a major contribution to a full and thoughtful review.

We are most pleased, therefore, to have the opportunity to command this project and its potential for forwarding the goals of the Bicentennial commemoration.

I hope too that the Youthgrants Division of the National Endowment will be able to encourage more young people to undertake thoughtful and meaningful Bicentennial projects.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

MARTHA JANE SHAY,
Senior Program Officer.

EXHIBIT No. 18
(Referred to on p. 26)

National Committee for a
CITIZENS' COMMISSION of INQUIRY
on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam

156 Fifth Avenue • Rm. 1005 • New York, N. Y. 10010 • (212) 533-2734

STAFF

Jerry Harkin, Nat'l. Coordinator
Tou Esmog, Nat'l. Coordinator
Mike Uhl, Vet. Coordinator, At Large
Peter Martensen, Vet. Coordinator, West Coast
Bill Johnson, Vet. Coordinator, East Coast
Jesy Samuels, Vet. Coordinator, Canada

SPONSORS

Gayd Dellinger
Benjamin Spock
Jackie Foster
Richard Falk
Tony Randall
Richard Fernandez
Osie Davis
Robert J. Lilton
Hon. Ernest Gruening
Seward Meacham
Vanessa Redgrave
Balfour Brickner

NATIONAL VETERANS' INQUIRY INTO WAR CRIMES!

A YEAR-END REPORT

Over two and one-half million GI's have returned home from the Vietnam war. They are going back to their jobs, their studies and their families. Yet, for twelve months of their lives, many have been compelled to be executioners of inhuman policies in Indo-China. To know this truth, one need only ask a combat veteran his opinion of the My Lai massacre. His tendency to defend the men of the Calley platoon stems from his knowledge that policies and strategies employed by the military leaders in Vietnam inevitably lead to massacres.

Since its formation following the disclosure of the My Lai massacre in November, 1969, the Citizens' Commission has conducted hearings with Vietnam veterans in 13 cities. We are now presenting a National Veterans' Inquiry into War Crimes at the Dupont Plaza Hotel, Embassy Room, Dupont Circle, Washington, D. C. on December 1, 2, 3, 1970. This inquiry will be conducted in defense of all Indo-China war veterans: those who died there and those who returned home injured--physically and mentally.

All of the veterans testifying are honorably discharged and will provide detailed, eye-witness accounts of war crimes committed by their units--listing dates, locations and units involved. The testimony of over 100 veterans will be presented during the three days of hearings. More than 50 of these veterans will present their testimony in person. Some of this testimony has been previously disclosed at Commissions in 13 U. S. cities. The presentation will coincide with the trial of Lt. Calley at Fort Benning, Georgia.

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Demis Mora, Expt. 1000, Three vet. organizer Howard Levy, M.D., U.S. Servicemen's Fund; JESSE Andy Stepp, American Servicemen's Union; Donald Duncan, USF, M. Agent for a Democratic Military Jan Crumb, Vietnam Vets Against the War Susan Schnall, USSF; Ron Wolin, Veterans for Peace in Vietnam; Hank York City, Noam Chomsky, Professor of Linguistics, MIT; Fred Cohn, Lawyer; Bill Davidson, Professor of Physics, Haverford College; Tom Nation, M.I. Liaison Director; Douglas Dowd, Professor of Economics, Cornell; New National Mobilization Committee; Don Fred Playwright; Eugene D. Genovese, Chairman, National Lawyers Guild; Dick Gregory, Phil Hutchings, Walter Mary Kaufman, U.S. Nuremberg Tribunal Staff; Ken Der Spiegel, Editor, Ramparts; Helen Lamont, Emergency Fund Director; Committee Paul Lauter, Reed's New University; Coleman Julius Lester, Author; Conrad Lynn, Author; Herbert Magidson, Business, Liaison for Peace; Chairman, Individuals Against the Crime of Silence; Floyd McKissick; Joanna Misnik, National Mobilization Committee; John Moran, Professor of Philosophy, Manhattan College; J. B. Neilands, Professor of Education, New York University; Marko G. Crane Paley, Professor of English, Cornell; Max Primack, New National Mobilization Committee; Mark Saceroff, Professor of Education, New York University; Ralph Schoriman, Professor of Education, Cornell; T. G. Wilson, Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild; Melvin L. Wulf, Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild; Eric Seitz, Executive Secretary, National Lawyers Guild; Maxwell Gessmar, Author; Rabbi Abraham Feinberg

EXHIBIT NO. 19
(Referred to on p. 26)

National Committee for a
CITIZENS' COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam

150 Fifth Avenue • Rm. 10J5 • New York, N. Y. 10010 • (212) 553-2734

STAFF

Jeremy Rifkin, Nat. Coordinator
Tod Ensign, Nat. Coordinator
Mike Uhl, Vet. Coordinator - At Large
Peter Mathiesen, Vet. Coordinator - West Coast
Rob Johnson, Vet. Coordinator - East Coast
Jerry Samuck, Vet. Coordinator, Canada

November 20, 1970

SPONSORS

David DeFinger
Benjamin Swack
Jane Fenna
Richard Fulk
Tony Rainalt
Richard Fernandez
Oss Davis
Robert J. Lifton
Hon. Ernest Gruening
Seward Weichman
Vanessa Rectorave
Ballour Brickner

For Monday a.m. release:

Further info contact:

Jeremy Rifkin at (202) 737-8600

Tod Ensign (or)

ACTIVE-DUTY OFFICERS WILL ACT AS INTERROGATORS AT
NATIONAL WAR CRIMES HEARINGS

On Monday, Nov. 23, 1970 at 12:15 p.m. at the Statler-Hilton, Pan American Room, 16th & K St., 1st Lieutenant Louis P. Font, First U.S. Army (West Point graduate) and other active-duty Officers will announce their endorsement of, and intention to attend the National Veterans Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes on December 1, 2, 3, 1970 in Washington, D. C. to ascertain whether they will prefer charges against U.S. Generals for their use of war crimes policy in Vietnam.

Lt. Font and the other officers will make public their plans to attend the three-day hearing as part of the formal interrogation panel.

Upon completion of the three-day inquiry, these active-duty Officers plan to announce their conclusions regarding legal responsibility for war crimes policy.

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Dennis Moran, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Howard Levy, 221 E. 11th St., New York, N.Y. 10003; Andy Stapp, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Donald Duncan, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Michael Jan Grumb, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Susan Schnall, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Ron Volin, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; York City's Noam Chomsky, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Fred Cohn, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Bill Davidson, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Steven Fink, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Douglas Dowd, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Phil Hutchings, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Dan Ford, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Eugene D. Gombosi, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Dick Gregory, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Mary Kaufman, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Sylvia Kashner, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Roger Chassid, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Paul Lauter, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Julius Lester, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Conrad Lynn, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Herbert Magidson, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Charles Wright, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Floyd M. Kossick, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; John Mangan, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; J. B. Neillands, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Grace Bailey, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Max Frumkin, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Mark Saccoff, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; University's Ralph Schoenman, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Secretary General, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Jerry Johnson, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; T. G. Wilson, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Medical Committee, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Melvin I. Wall, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Eric Smitz, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Maxwell Grossman, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, 1000 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10019.

EXHIBIT No. 20

(Referred to on p. 28)

[From the Guardian, Dec. 15, 1971]

NAM SETS NEW LEFT PROGRAM

(By Patty Lee Parmalee)

Davenport, Iowa.

In this "middle America" small town some 350 self-styled socialists of several varieties met over Thanksgiving weekend to agree on a national program for an organization that does not yet officially exist.

The New American Movement (NAM) will not have its founding convention until June, but it already has chapters in most major cities and in many small towns and appears to be growing rapidly. The Thanksgiving conference was intended to unify the chapters not just around the document (written last spring by three Seattle Conspiracy members) that spread the idea of forming a mass organization to "put socialism on the agenda in the '70s," but also around a common national program. The hope is that work on this program would—in the next six months—help to transform the class makeup of participants so that the founding conference would have fewer ex-student radicals and more workers.

Who are the workers?

Though the necessity of organizing primarily among the working class was a foregone conclusion for everyone present, there was much discussion of who comprises the working class. Some felt it presumptuous to advise workers from the side, others insisted they were themselves workers now, though they had until recently been students.

In fact, if delegates at the conference are typical of chapter makeup, NAM does seem to be primarily an off-campus, grown-up SDS, most of whose members are in fact working people though their origins are in the intelligentsia. Perhaps the one area of total agreement among NAM members is that they want to organize around issues which affect the majority of Americans including themselves, rather than conceiving of themselves as "outside" agitators.

Beyond the consensus that they want to build a majority movement of working people that will project socialism as the alternative to the present American system, there is little unanimity on questions of ideology among the present NAM constituency. It seems unlikely that all the people gathered in Davenport could remain the same group very long unless it is consciously a united front organization.

Probably the prevailing politics and tone of the conference were set by old SDSers who never felt at home in the sects and splinters that SDS dissolved into. But there were also many younger people, new to the movement and very anti-authoritarian. There was an older libertarian left representation, as well as a strong "Americanist" contingent that wants to emphasize the American revolutionary tradition to the exclusion of all things "foreign" (such as Marxism, or solidarity with third-world liberation struggles).

Some delegates came from radical pacifist, resistance and religious backgrounds. Some, such as the International Socialists (IS), who sent many delegates and observers to try to influence the fledgling mass organization's politics, the Sojourner Truth Organization, a Marxist-Leninist collective from Chicago, and the National Caucus of Labor Committees, brought extensive political position papers and organizing experience. The Progressive Labor Party (PL) was excluded, on the basis of what was termed the past destructive effects of its attempts to recruit from mass organizations.

Just as varied as their backgrounds were the delegates' definitions of socialism. In fact, at a previous smaller meeting in Chicago there had been a serious debate on whether to use the word at all since workers, it was asserted, might react negatively to it at first. At the Davenport conference there was clearly no more question about the use of the word socialism, but its definition will be a thorny problem for some time to come, possibly eventually leading to self-exclusion by some members.

There is a strong tendency (including the authors of the original NAM document) to define socialism as a utopia which no country has yet been able to achieve, but which it is assumed the U.S. will achieve because of its more advanced economic base. Terms like "decentralization," "humanism," "libertarian," and "democratic control" dominated what theoretical discussion there was. But since this was a program conference, potentially divisive questions of theory were tabled.

It was clear, however, from the votes on priority programs that the majority of delegates had perhaps no theoretical understanding but at least sympathies to the left of NAM's originators. One of the three national priority programs chosen was on war and imperialism. It came out of a workshop of some 40-50 people who sharply criticized an "anti-anti-imperialist" bias in previous NAM documents, viewing the tendency in correcting mistakes of the past (such as tailism to third world struggles) to go too far in the opposite direction, such as verging on national chauvinism. The program on war and imperialism, approved as a priority by a large majority of the whole conference, includes support for national liberation struggles and socialist countries, promotion of the PRG 7-point program as the basis for ending the Vietnam war and a mandate to chapters to include the war in their organizing efforts.

Major program on economics

The other two priority programs chosen reflect the seriousness of delegates about doing nuts and bolts organizing among workers. One is an 8-point response to "Nixonomics"—clearly expected by everyone present to be the major NAM program nationwide—and the other outlines methods of anti-corporate activity and occupational health and safety organizing.

Most of the conference was spent in workshops hammering out programs, and the economy workshop attracted by far the most participants. After defeating an IS proposal that NAM attempt to coordinate rank-and-file work groups nationwide (criticized by others as both overambitious and arrogant), the workshop approved a program including the following points: education on Marxist economics, support for strikes, opposition to economic discrimination against women, struggles against tax, rent and price increases, campaigns against cut-backs in social services, struggle for daycare centers and a plan to form "people's councils" for working people to demand the right to control the economy.

The idea behind this extensive economic program is that NAM will project itself as the national mass organization that is doing something about Nixon's attack on working people, and will simultaneously raise the issue of the socialist alternative with groups it works with. Whether in fact chapters of an as yet unorganized organization have the wherewithal to implement even a tiny part of the program in the next six months remains to be seen.

Less ambitious and more concrete is the third priority—anticorporate organizing and occupational health and safety. Occupational safety was recommended as a way for radicals to relate directly to the workplace while linking up struggles at the national level. Anti-corporate organizing includes propaganda activities such as war crimes tribunals against corporations.

In addition to these three programs that are recommended for all chapters to work on, program suggestions came out of workshops on an impressive variety of other subjects: community organizing, campus organizing, elections, a "people's revolutionary bicentennial," health, justice and law, labor, media, youth liberation and farmers. Again it is questionable whether an organization representing so many diverse interests can hold together.

Fuzzy strategies

NAM is, at the moment, composed of people whose exact strategy for the revolution is either fuzzy or conflicting. But they seem to know what their tactics are for today: the overwhelming impression they give is one of having left all desire to shock or confront the people back in the last decade somewhere. They seem to be willing to work where the people are to bring about a kind of respectability for their ideas of socialism.

It remains to be seen whether contradictions arising out of its original manifesto can be settled. For instance, although the document criticizes the cult of anti-leadership as a mistake of the past, it projects a vision of totally anti-authoritarian socialism which tends to encourage just those anarchistic elements who resist the slightest centralization or authority in an organization.

White chauvinism indicated

Although the document pays lip-service to coordination with minority movements in the U.S., it speaks consistently from the point of view of a white movement, which the Davenport meeting showed it overwhelmingly to be. A more concerted effort will have to be made to relate with black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Indian movements as well as with workers if the inherent possibility of white chauvinism in the "love America's revolutionary traditions" position is to be avoided.

The question of exactly what role women will play within NAM was left undecided: they got 7 out of 13 members of the national interim committee, but they did not decide whether to have a national women's caucus or caucuses within each program and chapter.

Eventually, the new organization will have to confront the contradictions in its present position that "democratic socialism" means the right to strike and the right to form opposition parties and that no country has achieved what NAM would call "socialism." (The meeting implied that existing socialist countries are run by bureaucracies that exploit the workers rather than allowing workers' control.)

EXHIBIT No. 21

(Referred to on p. 32)

[From *Capitalk* (Girl Scout Council of the Nation's Capital), Apr. 1975]

BICENTENNIAL NOTES

(1) The people's Bicentennial Commission has materials available for groups. Their introductory packet of materials is free. A kit of Bicentennial materials, including a subscription to *Common Sense* costs \$10.00. Their most recent publication is *America's Birthday: A Planning and Activity Guide for Citizens' Participation During the Bicentennial Year*. The book is published by Simon & Shuster for \$3.95. The PBC address is 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

EXHIBIT No. 22

(Referred to on p. 33)

[From the *Washington Post*, Jan. 21, 1976]

BUSY INDEPENDENCE DAY PROJECTED FOR THE MALL

(By Margot Hornblower)

The People's Bicentennial Commission, a Washington-based group that calls for a second American revolution to overthrow big business, says it expects to attract 250,000 people to a protest rally here July 4.

The rally, billed in a PBC newsletter as "the largest economic rally in American history," is scheduled to take place between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. on the West lawn of the Capitol and on the Mall between 1st and 7th Streets NW.

"We're going to have one busy, busy day," said Art Lamb, special events chief at the National Park Service. Lamb said he would give PBC a permit for the Mall area. The permit for the Capitol is pending before Congress' Joint Committee on the Bicentennial.

Also scheduled for the Mall on July 4 is the opening of the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum at 7th Street and the annual Folklife Festival around the Reflecting Pool.

PBC says its rally will feature "prominent speakers and entertainers protesting the giant corporations and demanding fundamental changes in our economic system."

"Two hundred years ago, King George was the target," said PBC spokesman Jeremy Rifkin. "This time it is the multinational corporations." He predicted the rally would be "a real spiritual experience."

The group is engaged in a 650,000-piece mail campaign soliciting funds and inviting people to join the "movement for economic democracy," advocating employee control of American companies and a redistribution of wealth.

The mailing invites Americans to come to the Capitol on July 4 "to begin the Second American Revolution . . . Declare your economic independence from ITT, GM and Exxon . . . Send a message to Wall Street . . . Rededicate yourself to the democratic principles of 1776."

The invitation is almost identical to that issued to the PBC rally of April 18 in Concord, Mass. which attracted a youthful crowd of about 30,000. While it was billed as an all-night political demonstration, most of those who attended spent the time drinking beer, smoking marijuana and listening to music rather than protesting.

After the rally, when President Ford spoke at ceremonies commemorating "the shot heard round the world" several hundred rowdy youths heckled him, shouting obscenities. There were no arrests, however.

Lamb said yesterday that PBC organizer Ted Howard had assured him the July 4 rally would be "a peaceful demonstration."

"They seem like a pretty reasonable group," Lamb said, adding that "the police will be prepared for the worst, but we hope everything goes all right."

In their permit application to the Park Service PBC said there would be folk music, not rock music like that of last year's Human Kindness Day here in which 600 people complained of assaults and robberies by roving bands of black youths.

The speakers will be "nationally known representatives of the labor movement, the consumer and environmental movements," the application said. PBC will provide 500 marshals for the event and its own sound equipment and clean-up crew, Lamb said.

Smithsonian officials said they do not expect the rally to interfere with the Air and Space Museum opening or the Folklife Festival, which attracted more than 100,000 people last July 4.

Happy Birthday USA, a group sponsored by Washington business leaders, plans to begin its July 4 fireworks display at 9 p.m. between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument.

EXHIBIT No. 23

(Referred to on p. 35)

THE "PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION" SPEAKS

. . . to the American public

(In book, AMERICA'S BIRTHDAY, pub. by Simon & Schuster, 1974)

A genuine understanding of American democratic ideals is what links the American people with the struggles of all oppressed people in the world. Indeed, the American Revolution has stood as an example for the revolutions of the Third World. Not until the majority of Americans begin to re-identify with our democratic principles and develop our own revolutionary struggle will we be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people. Solidarity comes from understanding the collective nature of our separate struggles and the cry for humanity that is shared by all.

An accurate analysis of the American spirit must take into account the fact that the American legacy is at once both authoritarian and democratic.

Our democratic beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such great Americans as Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Thoreau, Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Davy Crockett, John Brown, Sojourner Truth, Horace Mann, Lucy Stone, Mark Twain, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. Du Bois and A. J. Muste—derive from the principle of the inherent unity and amity of all mankind. These aspirations have led to a set of beliefs that forms the democratic aspect of the American experience: human equality; respect for the judgment of the common people; distrust of those who occupy positions of power and privilege.

Our authoritarian beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such Americans as Alexander Hamilton, Jay Gould, John D. Rockefeller and H. L. Hunt—come from the principle that hostility and war and the survival of the fittest constitute the natural condition of man. This principle is the basis of a set of beliefs that forms the authoritarian aspect of the American experience; that promotes private property as a value more sacred than human rights, a ruthlessly competitive spirit as the means for self-fulfillment and material accumulation as a measure of man's achievement on earth.

. . . to fellow leftists

(In article, "Bicentennial," pub. in underground newspaper NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT, Nov., 1971)

A genuine understanding of revolutionary ideals is what links Thomas Paine, Sam Adams, and Benjamin Rush, and the American people, with Lenin, Mao, Che, and the struggles of all oppressed people in the world. Not until the masses of Americans begin to re-identify with these principles and develop their own revolutionary struggle will they be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people. Solidarity comes from understanding the collective nature of our separate struggles and the cry for humanity that is shared by all.

The left's rejection of the American experience is due, in part, to its failure to understand that the American legacy is at once both reactionary and revolutionary.

Our revolutionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such great Americans as Thomas Paine, Benjamin Rush, Sam Adams, Henry Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. DuBoise, Mark Twain, and A. J. Muste, and the movements they inspired or led—derive from the principle of the inherent unity and fraternity of all mankind.

These aspirations have led to a set of beliefs that forms the revolutionary aspect of the American experience—human equality; respect for the judgment of the common man; distrust of those who command positions of power and privilege.

Our reactionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such Americans as Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John D. Rockefeller—come from the principle that hostility and war, the survival of the fittest and to hell with the rest—the public be damned—constitute the natural condition of man. This principle is the basis of a set of beliefs that forms the reactionary aspect of the American experience—the sacred value of private property; the ruthlessly competitive spirit as the motivating force for self-fulfillment; the authoritarian family; material accumulation as a measure of man's achievement on earth.

[The following exhibits relating to PBC's July 4 demonstrations in Washington, were submitted by Mr. Watson subsequent to his testimony. They were ordered into the record by the Chairman.]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

To Mark The 200th Anniversary of Capitalism:

THE PBC ANNOUNCES "CAMPAIGN CORPORATE EXPOSURE"
WHICH WILL REACH DIRECTLY INTO THE HOMES OF
AMERICA'S TOP 8,000 CORPORATE FAMILIES

To mark the 200th Anniversary of capitalism (Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations was published 200 years ago this month), PBC is launching "Campaign Corporate Exposure" which will reach directly into the living rooms of America's top 8,000 corporate families.

Over the next 40 days each of America's most prominent corporate families will be receiving a series of personal tape recorded communiques and letters detailing their involvement in big business policies that are threatening the economic survival of millions of hardworking Americans and undermining the democratic foundations of our Republic.

Our first communication, a tape recorded message concerning the recent wave of corporate scandals and criminal activity, has already been sent out to the private home addresses of American's most prominent business families (see enclosed transcript of the messages).

This unprecedented communication effort is aimed directly at the families of America's top business leaders because we believe that the family itself is the basic social unit that must take on the responsibility of confronting and dealing with the criminal and abusive policies that our Nation's business leaders are involved in.

We are calling on the wives and children of America's top business leaders to begin a frank and open discussion, in their own homes, of the immoral and amoral behavior of America's financial leaders.

For too long America's corporate elite has been shielded from public exposure and scrutiny even though they often exercise greater control over the affairs of our communities and Nation than elected officials. While the "free" press continues to treat politicians as public figures whose lives can be openly examined, it virtually ignores the lives of America's financial rulers. There is no reason to allow this double standard to exist.

THEREFORE, THE PBC IS MAKING AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS THE NAMES AND HOME ADDRESSES OF PROMINENT BUSINESS LEADERS IN EVERY COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTRY. IF YOU WOULD LIKE THE LISTINGS OF KEY BUSINESS LEADERS IN YOUR AREA, PLEASE LET US KNOW AND WE WILL FORWARD THE LIST TO YOU.

The PBC believes that if corporate leaders can come directly into the homes of millions of Americans each day through their TV and Radio advertising and programming and in a thousand and one other ways invade our personal lives, then we have every right, under the First Amendment, to communicate directly with their homes and families as well.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Jeremy Rifkin
Ted Howard
(202) 833-9121



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

Dear Friend:

We are communicating with you because your husband is one of the top business leaders in the country. For that reason, we think you should listen carefully to what we have to say.

No doubt you are aware of the recent revelations of widespread corruption and criminality in the corporate boardrooms. It started with the Water-gate Investigations when 17 major American corporations were forced to admit illegal campaign contributions and payoffs. But that was merely the tip of the iceberg. During the past three years, corporate scandals have reached epic proportions. ITT was discovered to have worked for the overthrow of the democratically elected government in Chile. Scores of American multinational corporations have been implicated by the Justice Department, the SEC and the Treasury Department in scandals involving hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes, kickbacks and payoffs in this country and abroad. Lockheed has already admitted paying out \$202 million; Northrop, \$30 million; Exxon, \$27 million; Tenneco, \$12 million. Investigators maintain that before the scandals subside, hundreds of American corporations will be exposed for similar practices.

This unprecedented crime epidemic has led one SEC official to remark, "We now see corporate misdeeds being carried on in business to an extent that is sickening."

We think these corporate scandals put a special responsibility on your family to ask some probing questions of your husband because its no longer possible to argue that the rampant corporate criminality represents merely isolated incidents or the aberrational behavior of a few perverted individuals. In fact, a recent survey by the prestigious Conference Board found that half the executives surveyed said they would not hesitate to make the same kind of payoffs if they felt it would help their company make a sale.

Have you ever asked your husband which half of the survey he falls in? Have you ever asked him if he or his colleagues or his firm have been involved in criminal activity? Would your husband inform the authorities if he was aware of illegal conduct among his friends and associates? Would you inform the authorities if you uncovered such information?

For too long our Nation has applied a double standard of Justice on questions of corporate crime vs. street crime. The American people should no longer allow business leaders to hide under the veil of the corporation when it comes to the proper administration of Justice.

We are deeply concerned over the criminal rampage that major corporate leaders have embarked on. The new ethic of business immorality is poisoning the social fabric of our country and it must be stopped before it pervades every aspect of our life and turns us into a Nation of cutthroats and thieves.

The Government is doing little or nothing to prosecute criminality in the corporate boardrooms. The politicians are virtually silent about the matter. The courts show little inclination to do more than slap a few wrists at best, or, at worst, turn away from the problem altogether.

This leaves the responsibility up to you. Why? Because moral conduct starts with the family unit. You and your family should be taking the necessary steps now to make sure your own house is in order, spiritually and morally.

Isn't it time to start discussing the issues we've raised in this communication openly with your husband and family? What better time to begin than when your husband comes home this evening for dinner?

In the Spirit of '76,

Peoples Bicentennial Commission

[Transcript (excerpt) of tape recording sent by PBC to wives of corporate executives]

DEAR FRIEND: We are communicating with you because your husband is one of the top business leaders in the Country. For that reason we think you should listen carefully to what we have to say. No doubt you are aware of the recent revelations of large spread corruption and criminality in the corporate board rooms. It started with the Watergate investigations when 17 major American corporations were forced to admit illegal campaign contributions and payoffs. But, that was merely the tip of the iceberg. During the past three years, corporate scandals have reached epic proportions. ITT was discovered to have worked for the overthrow of the democratic re-elected government in Chile. Scores of American multi-National corporations have been implicated by the Justice Department, the FCC, and the Treasury Department, in scandals involving hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes, kickbacks and payoffs in this country and abroad. Lockheed has already admitted paying out \$202,000,000.00, Northrop \$30,000,000.00, Exxon \$27,000,000.00, and Tenaco \$12,000,000.00. Investigators maintain that before the scandals subside, hundreds of American corporations will be exposed for similar practices. This unprecedented crime epidemic has led one FCC official to remark, "We now see corporate misdeeds being carried on in business to an extent that it is sickening." We say these corporate scandals put a special responsibility on your family to ask some probing questions of your husband because it is no longer possible to argue that the rapid corporate criminality represents merely isolated incidents for the aberrational behavior of a few perverted individuals. In fact, a recent survey by the prestigious Conference Board found that over half the executive survey said that they would not hesitate to make the same kind of payoff if they felt it would help their company make a sale. Have you ever asked your husband which half of that survey he falls in? Have you ever asked him if he or his colleagues or his firm have ever been involved in criminal activity? Would your husband inform the authorities if he was aware of the illegal conduct among his own friends and associates? Would you inform the authorities if you uncovered such information? For too long our Nation has applied a double standard of justice on questions of corporate crime versus street crime. The American people should no longer allow business leaders to hide under the veil of the corporation when it comes to the proper administration of justice. We are deeply concerned over the criminal rampage that major corporation leaders have embarked on. The new ethic of business immorality is poisoning the social fabric of our country and it must be stopped before it pervades every aspect of our life and turns us into a nation of cut throats and thieves. The government is doing little or nothing to prosecute criminality in the corporate board rooms. The politicians are virtually silent about the matter. The courts show little inclination to do more than slap a few wrists at best, or at worst, turn away from the problem altogether. This leaves the responsibility up to you. Why? Because moral conduct starts with the family unit. You and your family should be taking the necessary steps now to make sure that your own house is in order, spiritually and morally. Isn't it time to start discussing the issues we raised in this communication openly with your husband and your family? What better time to begin than when your husband comes home this evening for dinner? In the spirit of 76, we are

THE PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION.



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

April 9, 1976

Dear Mrs.

The PBC is offering \$25,000 in cash to anyone who can provide us with concrete information that leads directly to the arrest, prosecution, conviction and imprisonment of a chief executive officer of one of America's Fortune 500 corporations for criminal activity relating to corporate operations..

In addition, this week, we have sent personal letters to over 10,000 secretaries who work for major corporate executives and 13,000 journalists across the country, extending the same offer of \$25,000 in cash. This offer will extend through July 4, 1976.

If you have any further questions, or would like to provide us with information that you think is relevant, please drop us a line at PBC, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

In the spirit of '76,

The Peoples Bicentennial
Commission

**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

"CAMPAIGN CORPORATE EXPOSURE", PART 2:

PBC SENDS OUT ITS SECOND COMMUNICATION TO THE
FAMILIES OF AMERICA'S 8,000 TOP BUSINESS LEADERS.

Over 8,000 leading corporate families received the second in a series of personal communications at their home addresses this week. Following up on the first message that dealt with corporate scandals, criminal activity, and family responsibility, this newest communique discusses tax loopholes for the rich, the great disparity in wealth in America and the effects of industrial pollution on the lives of millions of Americans. (See enclosed facsimile of the letters sent.)

Again, we have called upon the wives and children of America's business leaders to begin discussing the issues raised in the letter with their husbands and friends. We believe that questions of morality and good citizenship begin with the basic family unit. Therefore, we are urging the families of America's business leaders to focus their attention on some of the fundamental economic issues that effect their own position, status and relationship with that of the rest of the families living in America.

We are also once again calling upon the working press to exercise their responsibility to the public by applying the same standards of rigorous investigation and public reporting to corporate leaders as they do with elected officials and other prominent Americans.

Certainly, enough evidence has been amassed over recent years to suggest that our Nation's business leaders help shape, and often determine, basic decisions that effect the general public. From the front cover stories in TIME and NEWSWEEK detailing corporate scandals and criminality, to hearings before major Congressional Committees concerning the power exercised by corporate leaders and wealthy families, to the investigations by the Treasury Department, Justice Department and the SEC on influence-peddling by major corporate lobbyists, it is no longer possible to argue, with a straight face, that America's business leaders are still not to be treated as public figures. They are public figures because what they do effects the general public.

Therefore, the "free" press has an obligation to hold these people up to the same light of public scrutiny and accountability as they do with other public figures.

AGAIN, THE PBC IS MAKING AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS THE NAMES AND HOME ADDRESSES OF PROMINENT BUSINESS LEADERS IN EVERY COMMUNITY IN THE COUNTRY. IF YOU WOULD LIKE THE LISTINGS OF KEY BUSINESS FAMILIES IN YOUR AREA, PLEASE LET US KNOW AND WE WILL FORWARD THE LIST TO YOU.

As we stated in the first release on "Campaign Corporate Exposure," PBC believes that if corporate leaders can come directly into the homes of millions of Americans each day through their TV and Radio advertising and programming and in a thousand and one other ways invade our personal lives, then we have every right, under the First Amendment, to communicate directly with their homes and families as well.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Jeremy Rifkin
Ted Howard
Call Toll Free 800-424-1130



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

March 30, 1976

Dear Mrs.

We hope your family has begun to discuss some of the questions regarding corporate immorality that we raised in our last communication to you.

As you probably know, the extent of corporate abuse of power goes well beyond the question of strictly illegal activity.

Today, 200 giant corporations already own over two-thirds of the manufacturing assets of the country. Heading up these corporate empires are a small group of nameless, faceless men who have amassed enough power to virtually dominate American life, from the aisles of the supermarket to the halls of Congress.

Your husband is a part of this small privileged business elite. That puts a special responsibility on you and your family to speak up against corporate policies that result in price-fixing, induced unemployment, environmental destruction, excessive profiteering, unfair distribution of wealth and other abuses.

After all, you should remember that families like yours benefit the most from the policies pursued by America's giant corporations. At the same time millions of other hardworking Americans are the tragic victims of such policies. Just stop for a moment to consider the facts.

Most Americans spend two and a half hours of their eight hour working day just to pay taxes, while 160,000 of America's wealthiest business families escaped paying an average of \$45,662 each in taxes last year (according to a recent Treasury Department study) by taking advantage of special loopholes written into the law for their benefit. Why don't you ask your husband whether he benefits from such loopholes?

While one per cent of the families in this country own 43% of the private wealth of the nation, 60% of the working families are forced to live on under \$10,700 a year for a family of four with both parents working. Take a look around your home and think about how luxuriously you live and then compare it with how the average family in America must live. According to a recent survey, the average family will own a toaster that will last for 33 years, a refrigerator and range that will last for 17 years, a vacuum cleaner that will last for 14 years, and a TV set that will last for 10 years. On this typical family budget, the husband will buy a two year old car and keep it for four years. He will buy one year-round suit every four years and one top coat every eight and a half years. On his budget, he can afford to take his wife out to a movie four times a year. His two children are each allowed one movie per month. A total of \$2.54 per person, per month is allowed for admission to all other events, from football and baseball games to plays or concerts. The family budget

allows nothing whatsoever for savings. How would you like your family to have to get along on that kind of budget?

Then there is the question of the healthy environment that families like yours can afford to live and vacation in, compared to the unsanitary and dangerous conditions that many inner city working families are subjected to. Many Americans are exposed to environmental pollutants that can cause prolonged or terminal illness and a shortening of life expectancy merely because the giant corporations refuse to spend the additional funds necessary to stop their own industrial pollution of the environment. When top business leaders consciously refuse to initiate such safeguards because of the expense involved, their greed and concern for profit directly benefit families like yours, while directly injuring the health and safety of millions of others.

Industrial pollution doesn't just happen. It's a result of policies initiated by corporate leaders who control the basic decisions concerning manufacturing and production in this country. Have you considered asking your husband (or finding out for yourself) if his firm or those with whom he does business, are in any way involved with policies that result in health hazards to the community?

We hope you and your family will question your husband on these issues we have raised as well as do your own investigating into some of the concerns that we have presented.

All of us are responsible for our fellow human beings. But an even greater responsibility applies to families who are among the "privileged" financial elite of our country. For you benefit most from the present economic policies that govern our society.

We hope you will think about all of this very carefully, and that you will continue to discuss it with your family. If you would like some additional information relating to the issues we have raised or would just like to chat, please drop us a line. We'd be glad to talk with you.

In the spirit of '76,

Peoples Bicentennial Commission

APPENDIX B

EXHIBIT No. 1

(Referred to on p. 43)

March 28, 1974.

PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
c/o Liberty Hall,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR FRIENDS: Some weeks ago I wrote and told you I was interested in your commission and wanted more information as to how one can become more involved in Bicentennial activities.

Also, as I plan to be in Washington in the not too distant future how do I get in touch with your people there?

Hope I get an answer from this letter and I thank you in advance for sending me information.

Sincerely,

(127)

EXHIBIT No. 1A
(Referred to on p. 43)



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

MIDWEST OFFICE

~~1307 S. Wabash Avenue 5th Fl.~~
Chicago, Illinois, 60605 2440 N. LINCOLN

(312) ~~341-1530~~ 14

371-4710

April 9, 1974

Dear [REDACTED]

It seems we never received your first letter, so I'm glad you wrote again. I'm sorry for the delay. Your letter didn't have your phone number, so I would have called you. I also spent nearly 3 weeks in the hospital, & since I am the only staff person it's set things back.

I'm sending you a few things from PBC, and I hope you will join & receive all the materials.

April 23rd, at 7:30 P.M. we are holding a meeting of people interested in PBC; they will represent a large cross-section of people from different areas & organizations. Jeremy Ripkin from D.C. will be there. You might want to come & we could meet and talk about on-going activities.

In the spirit of D. 76

Revolutionary Alternatives for the Bicentennial Years

Jean Baister, D.P.

EXHIBIT NO. 2
(Referred to on p. 43)

**an
open letter
to the
american
left**

For the next few years, two most urgent questions for the American Left will be: 1) how to parry the thrust of the fascist danger and 2) how to get started on the AMERICAN road to socialism.

Some three decades ago, Sinclair Lewis, in "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE!" warned that not only CAN fascism happen, but when it does it will come wrapped in the American flag and the trappings of patriotism. Incipient fascism uses this approach everywhere with varying measures of success.

In the United States the new thrust of fascism is of course in part a response to the rising tide of struggle and resistance by growing numbers of Americans—in the first instance the rebellion of Black America and the growing militancy of the student and anti-war movements. But it is also attributable in no small part to mistakes and shortcomings of the American Left over a period of four or five decades.

For nearly half a century (since the passing of Eugene Victor Debs) American radicals have permitted the fascists and the reactionaries to pre-empt the mantle of patriotism, the trappings and terminology of nationalism; to hide and distort revolutionary American history and tradition; to paint false pictures of American heroes. Meanwhile radicals preached social change and revolution to our people in terms and tongues alien to America. For a long time it was Russian; then more recently Chinese; and most recently Cuban Spanish! Result: the fascists and reactionaries were handed the brush with which to smear revolutionary ideas of social change as foreign, alien, un-American. Worse still, it put radicals on the defensive and made them feel alien to their own land and people. Little wonder that a year or so ago when a delegation of American radicals met with representatives of the DRV and NLF in Bratislava, they were told: "The problem with you American friends is that you have not yet found your identity; you do not identify with the American people...."!

NATIONALISM AS A REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

In the Twenties and Thirties, theoreticians of the world radical movement performed a heroic service in defining and analyzing nationalism and its role as a revolutionary force in this century. Nationalism has since proved itself to be an immensely powerful, nay, irresistible force in the formerly colonial countries.

But what of nationalism in older nations, in capitalist-imperialist countries? Must it of necessity be chauvinist and reactionary? Or is there still a national interest in these countries that cuts across class lines; that unites large sectors of two or more classes; and that is consistently ignored, or threatened and subverted, by the international-minded imperialists who have no flag but the dollar sign and no loyalties except to their bank accounts?

In view of what is happening now in Africa, Scotland, Wales, Quebec, Czechoslovakia (!), and—above all for us—Puerto Rico and Black America, the least one can say is that the problem of nationalism certainly deserves much further study and attention from radicals.

Yet the average American radical winces when he hears the term "nationalism", because he has come to accept the imperialist establishment's DEFINITION of that term; and he is apt to dismiss the fiery political documents of the American Revolution as "written by the bourgeoisie (or by slave-owners)" (which of course misses the point completely!).

AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION

If one accepts the proposition that there is an AMERICAN road to socialism, that no social revolution can be "transplanted" or "grafted" onto American society, then it is clear that the humanist-socialist transformation of society in the United States can come only as an unfolding of the unique history and the unique experiences of the American nation, as a further development and flowering of the great American Revolution of 1776. 1776 WAS NOT simply an event begun and ended in the Eighteenth Century. The sparks struck 193 years ago are to this very day lighting revolutionary fires, as national liberation movements around the world take 1776 as their model. And the Democratic Republic of Vietnam incorporated most of the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence in its Constitution. Isn't it time those sparks struck a few fires in the thinking of American radicals? Surely the slogan "A Hundred, Two Hundred BOSTON TEA PARTIES!" should have more meaning for us than parroting "Two, Three Vietnams!"

If American radicals need examples, they can look to two of the world's most revolutionary regimes, those of North Vietnam and Cuba, both of which preach the IDENTITY of their present socialist revolutions with their struggles for independence. In October 1968, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the first uprising against Spain, Fidel Castro declared: "There is only ONE Cuban Revolution, and it began in 1868, and we are carrying it on today!"

Is it possible that there is only ONE American Revolution, that it began in 1776, and that in 1969 Americans have the revolutionary task of bringing THAT revolution up to date? American radicals, who are really American and really radical, MUST accept the proposition that Twentieth Century Americanism IS humanist-socialism. And that as American radicals, they are the sons and daughters not of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Fidel, or Che, but of Paine, Adams, Attucks, Jefferson, Wedemeyer, Turner, Lincoln, Debs, Haywood, Hill, Einstein, Steinmetz, the Rosenbergs, and Malcolm X.

PATRIOTISM AND CLASS

If there IS a national interest in the United States that must be defended against betrayal by the imperialist establishment, then of course the WORKING CLASS and poor farmers must of necessity be the best defenders of that national interest — just as the workers and peasants are the best defenders of the national interest in the formerly colonial countries fighting for their independence.

And in the U.S., the Black people who constitute a nation within our nation, the Puerto Rican people who are our colonials, Mexican-Americans and American Indians, and large sectors of the alienated intellectuals, students, professionals, and even small entrepreneurs...all are natural allies of the working class and poor farmers.

BLACK AMERICA AND NATIONALISM

Black America has found its road to liberation in revolutionary Black Nationalism. It has correctly rejected the slogan of integration now, recognizing that there can be no integration between entities as unequal as Black America and white America, that eventual integration can come only when the Black Nation has achieved the full flowering of its culture, its nationhood and dignity. Here too, the Black working class is becoming more and more aware of the special role it must play in the movement for Black Liberation.

Similarly, the (white) American nation can merge with and become part of a liberated world community only when it has cast off its own oppressors and gone through the period of the flowering of its own revolutionary nationalism that parallels that chosen by its Black brothers.

A revival and up-dating of the "Spirit of '76" by the American Left and a revamping of Left theory and practice in terms of that spirit would not only defeat the fascist danger, but would create the conditions for an OFFENSIVE by the Left that would speed the day of the arrival of the American people at the next milestone in their history...a humanist-socialist society.

And far from being chauvinist, or even narrowly nationalist, this revived American spirit would identify with the great humanist rebellion now shaking the world both Communist and capitalist...the great rebellion of students, clergymen, intellectuals, workers, and great masses of others against dehumanized and oppressive institutions.



The above ideas presented for your consideration in such rambling, fragmented, and unscholarly fashion are not the product of a socialist scholar, but of one whose only claim for consideration is an abiding faith in revolutionary ideas and in the American people, and some forty years of radical activity, mostly as an agitator. If with this effort he has turned to agitating the Left instead of non-Left Americans, it is out of the terrible sense of frustration many of us have experienced in the past ten or fifteen years. Maybe the only merit to the presentation of these ideas is that they badly need to be demolished. Anyone interested enough to do the demolition, or to participate in discussions of the possible usefulness of such ideas, or possible organization of a bulletin or periodical to promote them, is invited to communicate with Johnny Appleseed.

POSTOFFICE BOX 50393
CICERO, ILLINOIS 60650

Johnny Appleseed

This paper was distributed at a Convocation:
Bellarmine School of Theology - 330 So. Lincoln Way
Aurora (see file on subject) Oct. 4, 1969

EXHIBIT NO. 3
(Referred to on p. 44)

ONE, TWO, THREE ... MANY SDS's (A Symposium)

"Meetings also should not go on too long." —Chairman Mao

I More Mao Than Thou
— Paul Glusman

**II Hand-Me-Down Marxism
And The New Left**
— David Horowitz

III New Left: Old Traps
— Todd Gitlin

MORE MAO THAN THOU

THE CHICAGO COLISEUM is what the creator of the word "dank" had in mind. A cave in the soot brick of South Wabash Avenue, its bare cement walls enclose a constantly unpleasant, humid atmosphere appropriate to the roller derbies and wrestling matches which the coliseum normally hosts. Naked light bulbs suspended from a high ceiling reveal cracked paint, rusted pipes and a once painted frieze hanging from a dark, encompassing balcony.

Here, the only place in the Midwest that would have them, delegates from hundreds of chapters of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met for the organization's ninth annual convention. When it was over and the smoke had cleared, there were two groups of equal size, each denouncing the other and claiming to be the "real" SDS.

Since the uprising at Columbia University in April of last year, SDS has gained prominence as the largest and most militant nationally-based left student group in the country. In the last year, the hottest in history for the nation's campuses, the 70,000-member organization has played a major and highly visible role in campus protests against complicity with the war in Viet-Nam and in actions aimed at opening universities to excluded third world youth.

Yet SDS was not the entire movement. In fact it wasn't even the largest part of the movement. Blacks, chicanos, and other third world groups have played much larger and riskier roles than has SDS. In many parts of the country the whites who were involved in the anti-war and draft resistance movements were in no way affiliated with SDS. The demonstrations around the Democratic Party Convention last year were organized without the participation of SDS, although some members did join in at the last minute.

But SDS is a prime target of the reaction. Senator McClellan's Permanent Investigations Subcommittee conducted a public investigation of the organization and identified "leading" members around the nation; Attorney General Mitchell has announced his own investigation. All over the country SDS members face jail sentences for political actions. In Chicago, the National Office (NO) was raided on the pretense of a fire alarm. When no fire was found, police ransacked the place and arrested everyone there on charges of "interfering with an officer." The convention itself had to be postponed two weeks when campus after campus turned down requests for the use of their facilities. SDS is on the nation's shit list.

Finally, the National Office was able to rent the Chicago Coliseum, five blocks away from last summer's battle in front of the Hilton. There, faced with all kinds of questions and problems concerning repression and the direction SDS would take for the next year, the various factions got together and threw Red Books at each other.

What wasn't discussed in Chicago was much more relevant than what was. No one spoke to the realities. No one tried to analyze the crisis of American imperialism, currently threatened by liberation struggles abroad and by its own deft destruction of the American Dream at home. The increasing militarization of the country was ignored. No one presented a perspective on how the movement would function in a police state. The economic condition of the nation—inflation, tight

money and a surtax falling on those least able to afford it—was never discussed.

Finally, mundane questions like: "How can SDS keep from isolating itself on the nation's campuses?" "How can it relate to returning Viet-Nam war veterans?" and "How should it approach resistance people, pacifists and other less militant movement people?" were not only unanswered, but unasked. Women's Liberation, the role of students, the role of workers, the Black Panther Party, and the anti-war movement, when discussed, were used as weapons in the final ideological showdown between the two main factions—the Progressive Labor Party and the National Office—or as afterthoughts.

FROM ITS BIRTH, SDS HAS BEEN a wide-open organization, excluding no one, holding to no fixed ideology or "line," and not binding local chapters to a national policy. SDS's openness has led to its free-swinging image. It burst on the scene in 1960—bright, new and full of hope. Left, but not saddled with the sterile Stalinism of the Old Left, SDS projected the qualities of an organization which would frame its revolutionary theory according to American experience and would be much more likely to succeed in America than would a left run from the Kremlin.

After nine years, though, things have become much more serious, and the left needs more than just looseness. SDS has become engaged in some major fights, and members are taking considerable risks in a country where building a park is a capital offense. Members want an organization behind them with discipline and an idea of where it is going. SDS has not provided this; in some areas it has served as little more than a debating society.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL), on the other hand, is a disciplined Marxist-Leninist organization run on democratic-centralist principles. PLers claim to be Maoists and revolutionary communists. In 1966, after its attempt to build a mass anti-war organization (the May 2nd Movement) was called off, PL began to work within already existing SDS chapters. To facilitate this, they set up a front group, the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA). Their purpose was to influence SDS policy and to recruit cadre for the party.

For a variety of reasons, the WSA appealed to a number of SDSers. To students who were looking for a militant, disciplined organization, who were tired of hassling and squabbling with fellow leftists, who generally saw a need to relate to the working class or who wanted all questions of ideology answered for them at the outset, PL was a welcome influence. As a result, WSA drew many SDSers from places like Harvard, Boston, Yale, New York, Berkeley and San Francisco State.

PL considers itself to be the most advanced revolutionary communist party anywhere in the world. This means they've got all of the answers, and anyone who has even a slight disagreement with them is either a "racist" or an "anti-communist." The NLF is "selling out" the Vietnamese people and the U.S. anti-war movement by negotiating with the U.S. All nationalism is reactionary. The Black Panther Party is nationalist; therefore, it is reactionary. The Panthers' breakfast for children program is bourgeois reformism because the food is "donated" by capitalists. Open admission demands of third

world groups should be opposed because going to college will make third world people less revolutionary. Most PLers, however, go to college themselves.

The "line" on nationalism came down only a few months ago. At San Francisco State, PL had labeled anyone who dared criticize the Third World Liberation Front strike demands in any way as "racist." But when the word came that the line had changed, PL turned around and denounced more than half the TWLF demands. PL has bitterly attacked SDS support for third world actions at Queens College, CCNY and Columbia. At Berkeley, PL denounced the People's Park effort as a bourgeois grab for privilege, stealing free parking space from the workers.

PL did bring the question of the working class into SDS, an addition which the SDS National Office at first welcomed. PL's perspective sharpened debate. But as PL's strength grew, and as it interfered with SDS's actions around the country, the NO began to view it as a real threat. Instead of attacking PL on the basis of its practice, however, the National Officers tried to prove that *they* were the real leftists. The NO became more Maoist than PL. In two years SDS went from discussions of anti-draft unions to pseudo-Maoist debates on the right of the black colony to secede after the revolution!

S THE NATIONAL OFFICE formed the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), which promptly split into two RYMs and presented the convention with two instant theories, mostly taken from thin air. Although the two positions got at bits of reality here and there, their main purpose was to engage and defeat PL in fierce ideological combat.

RYM 1, led by Inter-organizational Secretary Bernadine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers and several others, presented a resolution entitled, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." (They didn't credit Bob Dylan.) You didn't need a weatherman, but you needed super-human stamina to read through the ten thousand words of left-cliche prose, and you still wouldn't know which way the wind was blowing unless you left the coliseum to check. Then you'd have to stand in line to be searched on your way back in.

The "weatherman" proposal begins with a quote from Lin Piao which states that the main contradiction in the world is between imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. The main battles, the proposal argues, will be outside our borders. We, as revolutionaries, should see ourselves as part of the world proletariat, their representatives, a fifth column within the U.S. The older white workers are too bought-off to play a vanguard role. (Besides, they are only a drop in the bucket in the world scheme.) The youth are less bought-off, and should be organized in support of third world movements. Much of the proposal is an answer to PL; much is infantile Marxism. Some, however, is good in that it relates to young people; but even then it speaks only of youth acting in support of, or "tailing" behind, movements of others.

*The RYM 2 proposal immediately appeals to the reader because it is shorter than "weatherman." Backed by SDS National Secretary Michael Klonsky and Marv Treiger of the Revolutionary Union (RU), a Bay Area Maoist group, it also has the advantage of speaking to practice. It proposes a revitalization of the anti-war movement, new efforts to reach the industrial proletariat, and a new level of militancy in the movement. But RYM 2, like "weatherman" and PL, sees only

an auxiliary role for young people.

The proposals themselves, although hardly works of revolutionary art, were on a much higher level than was the floor debate. Most of the interchange was grim chanting, as if invoking the patron saint of one's faction would serve to win over the other faction.

PL would chant: "Mao, Mao, Mao-tse Tung," to which the RYM people would grimly reply: "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh." It was deadly serious business, with both sides waving Red Books in the air and pounding chairs on the cement floor to accent the chants. When not chanting "Mao," PL was always smashing something, "Smash Racism," "Smash Revisionism," and "Smash Opportunism" were among their favorites.

One of the first crucial votes was on the question of the agenda. It was important only in that it showed the relative strength of the PL-WSA faction in the convention. The NO didn't limit its efforts against PL to ideological struggle. It also tried manipulation, which is not so horrible in itself, but the manipulation attempted was so blatant that it drove people into PL's arms. PL responded by charging that it was "persecuted" and denied free speech. (PL usually opposes free speech, which is "liberal.") The convention turned out only a little less democratic than the 1968 Democratic Convention

The NO denied PL the use of New Left Notes to publish its resolutions, and denied them the use of the SDS mimeo to put out leaflets. The chairman and security squad were both loyal to the National Office.

The NO's agenda proposed that most of the time be taken up by panels—a plan which would enable them to put forth a coherent RYM line, while limiting the PL speakers. PL proposed a counter-agenda with fewer panels and more workshops. (Workshops were more democratic.) Klonsky replied that workshops gave each of 80 different sects a chance at the innocent new members who couldn't look after themselves and was booted. The PL agenda won. Panic set in. Suddenly the differences between "weatherman" and RYM 2 vanished. PL, the arch-enemy, had won its first vote.

Later the NO won a vote (by nine people out of 1100) to let a RYM member who had worked with the Red Guard in China speak to the body. At this point, John Levin, a 6'5", 250-pound PLer from S.F. State, got up to the mike and accused the RYM 2 speaker of having been kicked out of the Red Guard for cowardice. RYM people stood up, waved the Red Book, banged chairs on the ground and chanted: "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, Dare to struggle, Dare to win." A comrade walked up to Levin and whispered, "Do the one about the red flag against the red flag, John." Levin waited until the noise level dropped; then, dramatically pointing at the Ohio-Michigan group which had led the chanting, stated solemnly, "Chairman Mao teaches that there are those among us who would wave the Red Book to oppose the Red Book!" Cheers of "Mao" went up from the PL section.

This sort of thing took up three days—the shouting, the rhetoric, a few near fist fights and the bitter, nearly equal division of SDS into two groups which clearly hated each other so much that they could not work together.

Once I walked outside to get something to eat at a nearby snack bar. A worker (a real worker!), potentially sympathetic to the movement, sat down next to me and asked me what was going on in the convention. He had read about the fight in the newspapers, but couldn't understand it. What could I

RYM 2 - part of Rainbow Coalition (see PBC labor day)
Bay Area R.U. See Red Papers

say? I mumbled something, and managed to change the subject. It was a different world—the real one outside—from the one SDS had constructed inside the coliseum, blocked off by cement and security guards.

FINALLY, AFTER THREE DAYS, the split came. It was during a debate over a resolution on racism. Illinois Panther Defense Minister Bobby Rush had asked for and received permission to speak. He denounced PL and, in a somewhat arrogant intrusion into the affairs of SDS, practically demanded its expulsion. (Earlier a Panther had been booed when he made some remarks about "pussy power" and said that women had a strategic position in the revolution—on their backs.) Rush was booed; PLer Jeff Gordon took the mike and denounced the NO for manipulating the Panthers into coming on stage. That was hardly likely; the manipulation had been the other way around.

The chanting then grew to a frenzied level. Mark Rudd stood up and asked for an adjournment. "We've degenerated to faction fighting, shouting slogans, and chanting. No one's mind is being changed and no real discussion can take place. We [the NO] have approached the situation badly and made many mistakes. We need time to talk things over among ourselves." But the crowd was out for blood and voted down the adjournment, two to one.

Then Bernadine Dohrn led a confused walk-out. At first perhaps a quarter of the crowd followed her. Then it became clear that one had to choose sides and that to remain was to side with PL. Eventually, half the people went into another wing of the coliseum. Though nobody knew it yet, SDS was "ousting" PL. Just like Trotsky ousted Stalin.

The splitters met as a group and in caucuses for 24 hours. Freed from the necessity of unity-in-the-face-of-PL, the factions flowered. Some independents didn't like the NO or RYMs any better than PL. This included the Independent Socialist Club which can't relate to Mao (or any successful revolutionary), and SDS groups such as Boston, Brooklyn, Madison, S. F., State Joe Hill Caucus, Berkeley and Stanford. All had been involved in significant actions during the year and didn't see how any of the theories being expounded related to the real world. All but Stanford faced strong PL chapters in their areas and were in favor of dealing with PL on the basis of its practice, and not its adherence to abstract principles. But this was only a quarter of the splitters. The majority was in the "weatherman" group, whose nucleus was in the Ohio and Michigan regions, geographically close to the convention and the National Office.

On Saturday night the body passed a motion by Bill Ayers of Michigan that PL be excluded because it didn't support the NLF, North Viet-Nam, North Korea, Cuba, China, and (yes!) Albania—also because it didn't support black and third world movements in the U.S. The motion expelled PL, not because of its actual sabotaging of local SDS projects, but because of its positions on what, to Americans, are largely abstract questions. Now anyone who doesn't support Albania is out of SDS! Some people in the convention undoubtedly had never even heard of Albania.

Later that night, the convention met as a unit for the last time. The splitters stood up in the aisles, separated by the security squad from the PL-WSAers. Bernadine Dohrn read the resolution expelling PL and was booed by the PLers. "Shame, Shame, Shame," they chanted, pointing at Bernadine. No one took the obvious cue to identify the source of PL's politics and chant, "Guilt! Guilt! Guilt!" at them.

The RYM people then walked out, to find that their tires had been slashed (by the workers?). Meanwhile Jeff Gordon announced to the PL-WSA crowd, "We've just taken over the most important organization in America!" This might be true, but the only ones left to be taken over were themselves. They then walked out to find that the vandals hadn't appreciated the subtlety of the debate and had slashed their tires too.

On Sunday, the splitters again met separately. A statement of principles was submitted which, while agreeable to both RYMs, was totally unreadable. It supported revolutionary movements and armed struggle within and outside the U.S., condemned male chauvinism and anti-communism, and called for socialism. It didn't have the excuse of being an internal document; phrased in Maoist jargon, it would have gone out as the official statement of SDS. In one of the most hopeful actions of the convention the delegates refused to pass the resolution with only two hours debate.

Finally, as delegates were already leaving, something real was discussed—but almost as an afterthought. SDS, which had too long ignored the anti-war movement (after practically starting it with the 1965 march on Washington), called for an anti-war, pro-NLF demonstration to coincide with the Chicago Eight trial. It was the first national action called by SDS in four years. Mark Rudd (who describes himself as a "symbol of the movement") was elected National Secretary, Jeff Jones is the new Inter-organizational Secretary and Bill Ayers is educational secretary, completing a "weatherman" sweep of national offices.

THERE ARE THINGS HAPPENING in the United States in 1969 that Marx didn't foresee in 1869, that Lenin didn't deal with in 1917 and that Mao didn't predict in 1949. So why are their works the ultimate and final authority in our revolution?

As the pressure mounts in the movement and people seek the easiest path, there is a tendency to slip into dogma—abstract, unintelligible, and obscure—as opposed to theory deduced from concrete conditions and applicable in real programs. Theory should serve to expand the base of the movement, to make it more relevant, militant and effective in actual practice. It should not be formed to score points off someone less "pure." Such internal faction fights can derail the movement and insulate it in a false world.

SDS—all of it: PL and both RYMs—left out any mention of white youth as a revolutionary force for themselves. Yet, among whites, that is what is happening. Why should they be only a tail on someone else's movement, a white auxiliary to the Black Panthers? One would think the Panthers would prefer allies who are in it for themselves and not guilt-ridden successors to the civil rights liberals who left when things got hot. Moreover, if I want to suffer for my guilt, I'll join the Catholic Church. Most young people in the movement are in it for themselves; otherwise they wouldn't be risking long jail terms and—as in the People's Park struggle—getting shot.

RYM may have some potential now that it no longer needs to be artificially banded together around a forced ideology in order to defeat PL. There is a chance that a genuine youth movement can be built. It won't be if RYM continues in the direction it recently took in an NYU post-convention battle with PL (rocks thrown, a fire hose used, ten wounded, police called in to restore order). Such actions, if they become the norm in left politics, will only isolate the left in a shell of its own creation, and will never succeed in building a movement whose militancy is directed against the real enemy.

* Son of President of Commonwealth Edison Thomas Ayers
Home is Glen Ellyn, Ill.

HAND-ME-DOWN MARXISM AND THE NEW LEFT

THE RAFTERS OF THE CHICAGO COLISEUM had hardly ceased to reverberate with the chants of the rival factions, when the ghost of Karl Marx was being heaped with blame for the SDS debacle. "Alas," mourned establishment pundits in ill-concealed triumph, "the New Left has finally gone the primrose way of the Old. Marxism has at last cursed it with factional wars and historical irrelevance. The apostles of ultra-democratic revolution and 'power to the people' (the most incendiary notion in the modern world) have shown themselves ready, if inept, practitioners of the art of political manipulation. The idol-smashing revolutionary vanguard has again been revealed as a latter-day religious cult prostrating itself before patron saints and overseas meccas, while suppressing the heresy of thought with mind-gluing incantations from holy scriptures. R.I.P."

But the smug obituaries are, to say the least, premature. The "movement" is first of all larger than any of its organizations. The virility of the New Left, the sheer vitality of its actions and the deep, deep roots of its culture of rebellion will surely bypass the martinets of any bible-toting, icon-worshipping elite, should such a group seek to impose its Law—whether from the closeted cells of a Maoist sect or through the once open forum of SDS. For the time being at least, this is still the revolution that can't be taken over.

Nonetheless, the still unfolding fate of SDS—until now the central organization of (white) student struggle—cannot remain a matter of indifference to the radical movement from which it draws its strength and which it, in turn, inspires. Too much of the tried and tested leadership, too much of the best and most militant energies of the left are caught up in the current enthrallment of SDS for the outcome not to have significance for the movement as a whole.

What is at the source of SDS's descent into a politics at once so claustrophobic and incomprehensible as to virtually insure the isolation and defeat of those who adopt it? A politics so antagonistic to the imaginative, open spirit and creative action that has informed and powered the New Left since its emergence from the ashes of the Old a decade ago? (The present vanguard seems to have forgotten that the New Left had to midwife its own birth precisely because the old line toying, Lenin/Stalin/Mao-quoting vanguard had finally encased itself in a sectarian, sterile solitude where it had only its own self-righteousness for company.)

One can readily appreciate why liberals would rush to attribute the difficulties of America's New Left (and the demise of the Old) to "Marxism." Liberalism's Great American Celebration of the Fifties has all but disappeared in the Great American Disintegration of the Sixties. The bankruptcy of the liberal world view has become more and more self-evident with each new stage of the social crisis. Who can still put credence in the basic tenets of the postwar liberal faith: the essential harmony and pluralistic democracy of America's "affluent" society, the alleged solution of the fundamental problems of the industrial revolution, the end of class-based struggle and its revolutionary ideologies? If the new generation has absorbed one lesson, it has been that of the vacuity of liberal analysis, the hypocrisy of liberal preachment and the

collusion of liberal practice in the imperialist and racist world system of U.S. corporate capital.

How lucid Marxism—with its focus on the inequities and irrationalities of the status quo—now looks in comparison to the soothing obfuscations of the liberal mind. For what is Marxism but the recognition of the class pivot of history and the class basis of social oppression, coupled with a clear commitment to one side of the social struggle: the side of the oppressed against their oppressors? Far from being a handicap, the discovery of Marxism by the movement has put within its grasp the possibility of becoming a serious revolutionary force for the first time. A long-range perspective on real social forces (not illusory promises, superficial harmonies and surface stabilities) is essential to the development and success of any movement for social change and transformation, and it is Marxism above all other ideologies that has shown itself capable of providing such a perspective for the capitalist era.

But there is Marxism and there is Marxism. A Marxism which is developed in a concrete social context; which is flexible, open, and unafraid to re-think its revolutionary perspectives according to specific conditions; and which fashions its language as a means of communication, analysis and mobilization, rather than employing it merely as ritualistic invocation, can be just the powerful instrument that a revolutionary movement requires.

But there is also Marxism of the hand-me-down variety, where an ideological perspective and vocabulary developed in a different epoch or a different political-cultural environment is transposed whole and adopted as an all-embracing wisdom. This attempt to don the ideological cloth of the victims of imperialism and their vanguard may satisfy many egos and assuage much guilt, but it doesn't help to build radical constituencies and revolutionary forces in the United States. Yet such a direction appears to be developing in SDS, where both major factions at the Chicago convention spoke in the language of Maoism and put forth a Maoist model of the world revolutionary process as their own.

The self-styled Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of SDS would do well to remember that the New Left grew out of two bankruptcies—not just liberalism, but old-line Marxism as well. The failure of Marxist (or Marxist-Leninist, or Marxist-Trotskyist) vanguard parties to build revolutionary movements in the advanced capitalist countries is an historic fact that no revolutionary can afford to ignore. The "Marxist-Leninist" groups which exist in these countries have either isolated themselves as sterile sects, or transformed themselves into basically reformist organizations like the Italian and French Communist parties. A careful analysis of these failures will show that hand-me-down Marxism and overseas mecca-watching played a significant role in each.

CAN MAOISM, THE NEW VOGUE IN SDS ideology, itself provide a reliable guide to the causes of the impasse in Western revolutionary Marxism? There is little reason to think so. According to Maoist theory, the key to all contemporary developments in the international revolutionary movement is Khrushchev's denunciation of

Stalin in 1956, which marks the emergence of "modern revisionism" and its doctrines of "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful transition" to socialism (in certain "favorable" circumstances). But the historical record shows that the reformism of the Western Communist parties (not to mention most of those in the Third World) predates Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin by at least two and probably three decades, as does the promulgation of the so-called "modern revisionist" doctrine of peaceful coexistence between the systems.

Of course, this is not merely a case of error in historical interpretation on the part of the Chinese. The fact is that the Chinese Communist Party, in order to pursue its ideological struggle with the Kremlin, has deliberately re-written the history of even its own movement to obscure the role of Stalin both in obstructing the Chinese Revolution and in transforming the Communist parties in Europe and elsewhere into reformist organizations.

A theory such as Maoism, in which the answers to key questions are based on the re-writing of history, can hardly provide a sound guide to revolutionary practice in the long run. Sooner or later the manipulation of facts will lead to a gap which cannot be bridged by administrative measures and historical legerdemain. Perhaps the gap will not be as large as that which developed in the Stalin era and which discredited and disoriented a whole revolutionary generation in the West. However, the very existence of the gap will prove crippling to a party which tries to build a revolutionary program across it, for *truth* is a basic weapon in the revolutionary arsenal just as the ability to grasp real social relationships and forces is its greatest strength. A revolutionary movement thrives on truth just as surely as a ruling class lives by deception.

The penchant for ideological manipulation is not peculiarly Chinese. To some extent, any revolutionary party which achieves power in an underdeveloped country must itself become a ruling stratum. The problems of industrialization, education and democratization (including the liberation of internal nationalities) still lie before it, and it must deal with these problems in the face of encirclement and armed hostility from imperialist forces. Moreover, the urban proletariat in such a country is itself so underdeveloped as to be incapable of providing the leadership prescribed for it in the classic Marxist conception. Historically, therefore, the revolutionary party has tended to substitute itself for the revolutionary classes and, as a consequence, to resort to the techniques of manipulation and deception reminiscent of (but by no means equivalent to) the techniques used by the ruling classes of old. (The practice tends to vary: in some revolutionary countries, like Cuba, the level of revolutionary candor has been extraordinarily high; in others such as Russia, the reverse has been true.) In any event, because of these distortions, the attempt to transplant uncritically such revolutionary ideologies into the revolutionary movement in the United States serves to weaken the movement in a profound way.

A further element of distortion in the official ideologies of underdeveloped revolutionary regimes is introduced by the contradictions arising from the conservative character of the nation-state itself, a factor which has received little attention from Marxist theoreticians to date. Thus China's support for the reactionary military dictatorship in Pakistan (and its silence during the repression of working-class strikes and student demonstrations after the fall of Ayub Khan) may be understandable from the point of view of the state interests of China and the diplomatic support it received from the Ayub regime; but from the point of view of the international

revolutionary movement, which Peking aspires to lead, it can only be seen in a very different light.

These are not academic points. The "weatherman" statement of the majority faction in the new SDS leadership (non-PI) is built around the strategic concept of "people's war" as laid down by China's Lin Piao. The concept envisages a united people's front of third world liberation forces encircling the principal metropolis of imperialism—the United States. The concept is derived from China's own revolution, which was fought as a national war of liberation against the Japanese and progressed from its peasant base in the countryside to the towns.

The inadequacy of such a concept for a world characterized by uneven levels of development in which nationalism and its offspring, the nation-state, are still vital historical factors needs no emphasis. One has only to look at the contradiction between China's policy and Pakistan's revolution, or even more obviously at the Sino-Soviet split (neither the Soviet Union nor the Sino-Soviet split receives any mention in the 15,000-word global analysis called "weatherman") to see how abstract and unrealistic such a projection can be.

No doubt, a consistent perspective in the Maoist vein can still be constructed by ignoring the tensions between revolutionary policy and *raison d'état*, and by assigning the Soviet Union to the imperialist camp (a ploy which makes a mirage both of the arms race between Russia and the U.S. and of their military support for opposing sides in revolutionary struggles such as in Viet-Nam and Cuba). There are obviously more things on revolutionary earth than are dreamt of in Maoist and "weatherman" philosophy; things, moreover, which a revolutionary movement ignores at its peril.

The main consequence so far of SDS's new-found orientation is its essentially fifth-column mentality and its largely negative vision of revolution in its home environment. It is not surprising that Lin Piao and the Chinese should see the struggle against U.S. imperialism in negative terms (get off our backs), but the transposition of this attitude to the supposed revolutionary vanguard inside the imperialist powers renders it self-defeating, not to say absurd. Thus the "weatherman" program in effect proposes approaching American workers with the argument that everything they possess is plundered from the Third World (a false proposition in any case: it is the imperialists and not the workers who benefit from imperialism), and that a revolution should be made in this country so that they can give it back.

No revolution was ever built on a negative vision. Moreover, there is no reason even to attempt to build the American revolution as a negative act, a program of social demolition. At a time when the industrial engine has reached a point in its development where it opens up a vista of material plenty and free time (i.e., freedom) for all, America's imperialist system saddles its people and all mankind with militarism, war, pollution, deprivation, exploitation, racism and repression. America now possesses the means to a humane, liveable, democratic future for all its citizens, but only if they are ready to seize the means of production and overthrow the system which dominates their lives just as surely as it dominates the lives of those in the Third World who suffer under its aggression and rule. That is the revolutionary foundation and the internationalist bond as well. It is certainly true that the liberation of the Third World will hasten the liberation of the U.S. But it is no less true that the American revolution is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is the insight that was missing in Chicago; let us hope that it returns to SDS before long. ●●

NEW LEFT: OLD TRAPS

THE NEW LEFT OF THE SIXTIES was specifically of the American Sixties. It was born in action and vision—action to create a decently responsible life in the 20th century; vision to recover the nation's soul from the bankrupt imitative leftism and the end-of-ideology liberalism of the gray Fifties. Instead of the soapbox harangue, patient everyday work *with* people; instead of frozen hierarchy, organization by real contributions, participation, democracy. "Put your body on the line" and "let the people decide" were rallying cries from the Mississippi Delta to Berkeley and the Newark ghetto. New generations, born into affluence and cynicism, rattling around in the hollowness of the American Century, learned that the world was in revolution and that American power was finally the enemy of all dreams, discovered that blacks wanted out of their chains and felt unself-conscious in demanding that the society conform to their vision of a civilization beyond scarcity and in beginning to be that vision (traces of it at least), themselves.

The Good Old Days weren't all that good, although people did seem to care more about each other then. The New Left

was elitist, narrowly built on the education acquired in the hated but elite educational factory itself. It was self-righteous and vague enough in its rhetoric to see the slogans of Port Huron and the Free Speech Movement co-opted by the Peace Corps and the university pacification programs; it was tentative at a time when everything began to cry for clear explanations.

The New Left had to discard its lingering illusions of American flexibility with every broken black body, butchered Vietnamese and broken white head. The radical disappointment with which we began the decade, the bitter discovery that America had defaulted on her own liberal promises, had to yield to something that felt like a revolutionary imperative. Suddenly, in the middle of the decade there was a mass resistance—resistance against the war, against the war university, against white supremacy. Finally, whether in so many words or not, against capitalism itself, against class society and the empire which are its logical outgrowths. The very success of that mass resistance—a dead end against its own limits—has thrown the movement for a loop. The young radicals, increasingly the radical young, driven from all

the institutions of control and management, had to make a new life, necessarily a life of political opposition, out there in the space between institutions.

The interface between "hippies" and "politicals" melted into a new creature: the hairy, anarchic, activist, implacable, creatively desperate "street person" whose life conditions admit no chance of reform solutions, who says with his actions: "Your schools, your offices, your shops, your Army have vomited me up, and now your cops come to mop me up, but you can't take from me the only place you have left me, the place where I live and breathe my being, the base from which I launch my assault on your barbarism; *I will fight.*" He is a new creature living in a new political culture; he feels like a nigger and the coercive powers-that-be treat him like one.

Through all this, from Stop the Draft Week to Chicago, the movement felt its strength in the streets. But precisely at the moment it discovered its strength, it also comprehended its weakness. Although it grew numerically as a social force, including high school kids and soldiers as well as "students" and "drop-outs," and became recognizable, even to the universal sign of the flashed "V," it was still painfully far from even the shadow of revolutionary change. Not only that; at the peak of its energy it was

more brutally attacked by the police, the courts, the entire repressive apparatus, than ever before. Moreover, first-hand encounters with Vietnamese and Cubans made imperialism and its Third World opposition concrete. The stakes of success or failure had never seemed so fatefully present.

In this sequence, most sharply at the time of the Chicago battles, an inescapable choice presented itself: Either the post-scarcity left would comprehend its own unprecedented identity as a social force, elaborate that identity into a vision and program for the campus and the youth ghettos, and use its reality as a strength from which to encounter anticolonial and working-class energy and to devise common approaches—or it would turn from its identity, throw the vision out with the narrowness of the class base, and seek an historically prepackaged version of revolution in which students and déclassé intellectuals are strictly appendages or tutors to the "real" social forces. Either it would take itself seriously as a visionary force, conscious of post-scarcity potentials with revolutionary and democratic goals, or it would buy clarity on the cheap, taking refuge in mirror-models of the underdeveloped socialisms of Russia and the Third World. Either it would accept the awesome risk of finding new paths—or it would walk the beaten trails, pugna-

ble and sad. A grave choice where the stakes are immense; but the pounding pressure of the state leaves no time for placid reflection.

Since Chicago, there has been a fundamental failure of nerve throughout the white movement which is too widespread to be pinned on any agency, individual, or faction. We could obsess ourselves infinitely with the horror stories of this collective failure: assuming you are the revolution if you say so; getting to like the taste of the word "dictatorship" (of the proletariat, over the proletariat, over anyone); getting so pleased with being correct that you don't like being corrected; substituting rhetoric and slogans for analysis and appeals; kicking your friends as practice for your enemies. It is easier to obscure the real achievements of the past year (and it is again progress which is the property of no faction): the dozens of militant campus movements; the broaching of questions of class within the movement itself; the self-direction of a Women's Liberation movement which refuses to be pigeonholed; the development of the movement's own institutions, including the underground press, Newsreel, communes; the explosion of energy in the high schools and the stirrings in the working-class junior colleges; the identification of the enemy as the global imperialist system. But make no mistake.

Most of that growth, numerical and political, is an enormous tribute to what Marxists call the objective conditions; much of the rest, like the weight of a tumor, is canceled out by the attending pathologies.

Fortunately, this impossible society creates the left faster than the organized left can destroy itself. Little question about it—regardless of the fate of the left, all signs are that the monster will continue to sap itself of its own strength, keep itself off-balance. It will lose the loyalty of students, blacks and other colonized minorities by failing to meet their most elemental needs. Soldiers will continue to desert, blacks to revolt, white students to reject the withering carrot and fight the big stick, millions of others to look, at least, for ways to make sense of the madness. Even deprived of its revolutionary scapegoats, this society will disrupt itself.

At the same time, the society digs the foundations of the police state. Not only the police, but all the skilled and privileged whites who are squeezed to finance the failures of capitalism, all those forced to occupy the front lines of racism while the Rockefellers and Cliffords are secure in their bunkers—they are the shock

troops for a desperate system. Whether the left can survive is finally a question of whether it can inject its dreams so deeply into the lifestream of the society that millions of people across class and race lines will fight to vindicate the revolutionary promise. Right now it is a question of whether the living consciousness that a new world is possible—free of material misery, hierarchy, useless work—can encounter the more traditional needs of the rest of the American people and the rest of the world, without abandoning its integrity. For underneath the new pre-packaged, clenched-teeth optimism complete with symbols, language, heroes, and unquestioning allegiances is a fundamental despair about this country, whether it can make or even deserves its own revolution.

But that revolution, if fought with an international sensibility, would be the best contribution we could make to the rest of the world. If the wealth that America loots from the Third World and wastes (on arms, packaging, trivial work, etc.) were liberated, how much of the economic pressure could be taken off the Third World, whose own best energies are now absorbed in the struggle for brute industrialization? How might the continents now entering history be

spared the agonies of primitive capital accumulation? There are no answers yet because we have not asked urgently, because we have been satisfied to try to tie down American troops on domestic battlefronts—to break the will of the Leviathan by depriving it of the loyalty of its work force, its managerial apprentices, its reluctant soldiers and its literal children. Good, but not enough.

The left must be *conscious* of its visionary prerogative as well as its privilege; it must find ways of working on the other side of both hope and despair because there is no other way to live and because Americans must be confronted with the practicality of a new way of life. It must make models of that life, like People's Park, while at the same time explaining itself and constantly probing outward from its roots in the middle classes. It must be patient while urgent, and it must do all this without transforming itself into a scatter of "vanguards," each defined by its imperious distance from the Americans for whom at least one piece of the world revolution is to be made.

Plainly there is much more to be said. But the old civil rights song said the important thing: "Keep your eyes on the prize. Hold on." ●

Cws Hall's "Shock Troops"

PAUL GLUSMAN is an activist at the University of California at Berkeley and was a leader in the recent People's Park struggle.

DAVID HOROWITZ is the author of *Empire and Revolution*, Random House, 1969.

TODD GITLIN was president of SDS in 1963 - 64. His book (with Nanci Hollander), *Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago*, will be published by Harper and Row this winter.

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EXHIBIT No. 4
(Referred to on p. 44)

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FOR A PARTY OF THE PERMANENT AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The American people need a new political party. Not a "third" or "fourth" party that would simply compete for reform with the other electoral parties of the imperialist establishment. Not an "Anti-monopoly Peoples Front," or a "United Front for Peace and Democracy" that would serve as a "transmission belt" (read: Happy Hunting Ground) for sterile and irrelevant messianic sects of the Old Left.

Rather, a revolutionary mass party, a first party of the American people, based on, reviving and bringing up to date the revolutionary spirit and traditions of our people and our country. A party that would give expression to the permanent and continuing character of the struggle that has marked American history for nearly two centuries, with the masses of poor, exploited and dispossessed Americans on the side of human rights, and the class of parasites and exploiters on the side of property rights.

The new party would lead all honest and patriotic Americans in revolutionary struggle against the alien, internationalized, fascist imperialist establishment that has besmirched the name of America; that is using the oppressed youth and the public wealth of our country to drown in blood the heroic aspirations of

* ERA (3)

people to a pride in and an understanding of their great revolutionary history and traditions, and lead the way to the next historic milestones in the American Revolutionary path, the establishment of a humanist-socialist commonwealth of the United States.

While international in outlook, and while supporting actively the struggles of brother peoples everywhere in the world for national liberation and social revolution, the new Party should not align itself with any of the competing camps of world revolutionary movements.

At home, it would work in close political association with the fraternal parties of Puerto Rican and Black American brothers struggling for their national liberation against our common enemy, the imperialist establishment.

The new Party should unite many diverse elements of the American people: in the first place, the working men and women of our land, the millions of impoverished Americans in the urban centers and in the rural communities; the oppressed minorities of our country: in addition to Blacks and Puerto Ricans—American Indians, Appalachian people, Mexican-Americans, students, young intellectuals and professionals, including growing numbers of galvanized clergy and religious people, and women of all classes seeking the liberation of their sex which can come only with the transformation of American society.

The Party structure should be such as to permit several levels of participation in activity, from a simple minimal membership involving no more than agreement with Party principles and the program, and subscription to one of its publications, to full time cadre.

Internally, the Party should set up all the necessary safeguards to insure democratic control by its membership, and to avoid any possibility of the emergence of vested institutional interests. Above all, the new Party should have as a major and continuing task the raising of the revolutionary consciousness of its members to ever greater heights and the transformation of its members and supporters into the new Humanist Socialist Man and Woman.

peoples around the world who want only to follow in the footsteps of our own revolution of 1776; that rules by force, fraud and lies, that has stolen the wealth that belongs to the American people, and keeps one of every seven Americans in inhuman conditions of misery and poverty, that, contrary to hallowed American tradition, is turning our country into a garrison state, an establishment that is replacing human values everywhere in society, and especially in culture and in science and education with the dollar sign, with the aim of turning our land into a super machine for grinding profits out of the sweat, hunger and frustration of the American people; in short, an establishment that blocks and hinders the development of American society to a new, higher stage, a society of humanist socialism.

What should be some of the characteristics of such a new Revolutionary Party? It should be a mass party, and not simply the party of an activist elite. It should be anti-authoritarian, but disciplined. It should participate in electoral activity as a revolutionary tactic, and not as an end-in-itself. It should lead masses of Americans in daily struggles against the oppressor and dehumanized institutions of the establishment; it should educate the American

*I) See "National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People"

Sounds like Saul Alinsky! *See Ecumenical Institute GUARDIAN MARCH 15, 1969 / 21
+ "Light In The Steeple" (2)

EXHIBIT No. 5

(Referred to on p. 44)

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 24, 1970]

U.S. STUDY HEAD LINKED TO VIET CONG

(By Ronald Koziol)

A federal grant of \$193,313 has been made to an educational project directed by a man who attended a communist-sponsored conference of Viet Cong sympathizers in Czechoslovakia in 1967.

THE TRIBUNE has learned that the director, Christopher Jencks of Cambridge, Mass., was among 41 persons who attended the conference in September, 1967, and later publicly criticized the United States government.

Others who attended the conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, were David Dellinger and Tom Hayden, both convicted last week by a federal jury for their roles in the Democratic national convention week disorders here.

Testimony Is Told

In testimony last June before the House permanent investigations subcommittee, an undercover agent reported that, "The Americans were hand picked by Dave Dellinger and one of the requirements was that they be sympathetic toward the National Liberation Front [Viet Cong]."

Jencks will direct a nine-month study of the feasibility of the government giving vouchers to poor parents to help finance the education of their children.

The government grant was made to the Center for the Study of Public Policy in Cambridge, Mass., by the office of economic opportunity.

In December, THE TRIBUNE disclosed that the Student Health organization, which has supported communist efforts in Viet Nam, received more than a million dollars in federal funds to conduct health surveys for the department of health, education, and welfare.

The disclosures touched off congressional demands for a thoro, probe of HEW grants. The inquiry, ordered by Robert Finch, HEW secretary, is still under way.

Hoover Takes Roles

The meeting in Bratislava attended by Jencks has drawn the attention of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Hoover said that the delegates to the meetings were furnished free lodging and meals but were required to pay their own transportation expenses.

Hoover's report notes:

"They were thoroly briefed by Dellinger well in advance of their departure and were instructed to be prepared to give reports and participate in discussions on various topics, including the anti-war, student, and civil rights movements.

"Dellinger told the delegates that the purpose of the conference was to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Viet Nam and their supporters in the United States, and that the delegates were chosen on the basis of their experience in radical activity."

Articles Are Written

The FBI director said that Jencks wrote articles on the conference which appeared in issues of the New Republic magazine.

"Jencks asserted that the majority of those from the United States at the conference were young and in the New Left," Hoover said. He said that they all saw the war as an inevitable by-product of a sickness in the American system which could only be cured by radical political remedies.

"According to Jencks, the common bond between the new left and the N. L. F. is not a common dream or a common experience, but a common enemy: the United States government, the system, the establishment. The young radicals admiration for the N. L. F. stems from the feeling that the N. L. F. is resisting the enemy successfully, whereas they are not."

The Center for the Study of Public Policy in Cambridge is an offshoot of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington and was launched last year with the help of Jencks. Among those on the staff for the Institute for Policy Studies is Arthur Waskow, a member of the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam.

"New Mobe" has been responsible for planning demonstrations at the Chicago Democratic convention, President Nixon's inauguration, and the Nov. 14 moratorium in Washington.

Jeneks also was a committee member active in the organization of The New Party. The group was formed in 1968 in Washington to build a "new political base for all those alienated by the political status quo."

EXHIBIT No. 6

(Referred to on p. 45)

THE NEW PATRIOT

Vol. 1 - No. 2
Sept. - Oct. 1970

"The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed."
Benjamin Rush, 1787

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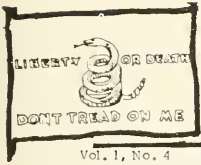
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Vol. 1, No. 4
Dec. 1975-Jan. 1976

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Benjamin Rush, 1787

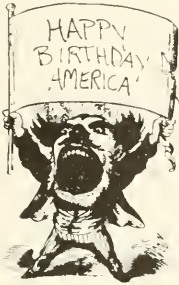
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January 23 7:30 PM "Will We Celebrate the Bicentennial by Repealing the Bill of Rights?" Hear about Nixon's Criminal Code: Senate Bill One. Richard Criley, Executive Director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and Midwest Director of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation will speak at Liberty Hall.



The New Patriot, the newspaper formerly put out by Johnny Appleseed Patriotic Publications, will be resumed by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission of Chicago and Johnny Appleseed. The Chicago Patriot is hereby discontinued. Subscribers will receive instead The New Patriot with its large colorful format of 20-30 pages. \$3.50 is our special rate for early subscribers to The New Patriot in January.

NOTE TO OUR READERS:

EXHIBIT No. 8

(Referred to on p. 45)

[From World Magazine, Feb. 28, 1970]

(This is the Speech made by Gus Hall, general Secretary of the Communist Party, at the founding convention of the Young Workers Liberation League, in Chicago, Feb. 8, 1970)

Chicago needs no defense, as the industrial heartland of these United States. But I would not want you to get a wrong impression. The smoke, smog and fog is generally bad in Chicago. But during the past days it has been at its worst. The reason for this especially foul condition is that the air has not yet cleared up from the two-day visit by the worst polluter of our environment, the dispenser of political trash from Washington.

This founding convention is truly a great event. One gets a feeling of history being made. It is an occasion of revolutionary renewal. The composition of the delegates is just great. There is no organization on the left, right or the middle that could gather this kind of a convention. Therefore, it is indeed a real privilege to be here and take part in your deliberations.

I have the honor to extend to you our Party's congratulations, warm greetings and our pledge of full support. Comrade Winston wanted very much to be here—but because of pressing matters he could not make it—so he asked me to extend to you his very warm and enthusiastic greetings and congratulations.

I think Comrade (Jarvis) Tyner in his report has placed the questions very well. The discussion has further deepened and clarified many questions. All in all, this is the beginning of something big.

The most powerful physical force known to science is the controlled, chain reaction, release of nuclear energy. The initial spark that sets off the chain reaction is not the biggest, but it is a most crucial explosion. Your convention has been such a blast. You have set off a chain reaction, releasing an all-powerful revolutionary force. This social thermonuclear force will grow and intensify. It is the only force that can. It is the only force that will cleanse the human environment of the corruption and pollution of capitalist exploitation, racism and wars.

You are making history—revolutionary history. There are many kinds of historic events. Some explode on to the scene and disappear. You have made history because you have set off a chain reaction that will change the course of human events. To control nuclear power one must know the laws of motion of this power. To direct and to develop a revolutionary social power one must know the laws of motion of human society. One must have a science of revolution. Marxism-Leninism is such a science. It is the science, it is the truth that opens up the path to freedom: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom from oppression, exploitation, racism and wars.

In all struggles for social progress—especially during explosive events—the youth are the shock troops. They provide the ranks with boldness, militancy and enthusiasm. But like all sectors, they need leadership with advanced ideas. So you have now established an advanced leadership headquarters post for these shock troops.

Not Karl Marx or Lenin, but history, the laws of capitalist development, have assigned the working class the major task of being the main force in raising civilization to the next rung on the ladder of progress. It is the gravedigger of capitalism.

In any struggle the link between the shock troops and the main body is crucial. Here in Chicago you have now established the guarantees for such a link—a link between the youth movement and the working class. Your organization will recruit into your ranks the best of the workingclass youth—black and white—the best of the students, the best of the farm youth. You have set your course on a workingclass orientation, you have set up a workingclass leadership for the shock troops. You are making an indispensable contribution to the class struggle, to human progress.

Capitalist oppression and exploitation is universal. But in each country capitalism creates some special national forms. U.S. capitalism is no exception. Besides exploiting some 80 million as wage slaves, there are some 40 million—mostly workers—who are victims of a special system of oppression and exploitation. They are 25 million black Americans, 8 million Chicanos, the millions of Puerto Ricans, American Indians and other minorities. This system of racist oppression

is rooted in the oppression of black Americans. The oppression is a many-sided system—it is economic, political, physical and social. It is police terror, it is planned murder and assassination, as is the case in the nationally directed plan to murder the leaders of the Black Panther Party. But the glue that keeps this special system of oppression together is the ideology of racism, based on concepts of white superiority.

It is clear, the unity between the victims of class exploitation and the victims of this special oppression is a decisive matter. We cannot win against either oppression without such a unity, without which the chain reaction will also sputter.

You have accepted the challenge of creating such unity amongst the youth. You have accepted the task of burning out the influence, of racism in the white sector of the shock troops. This will be a major contribution to our quality of life. It is a difficult struggle—but we can—we will win.

No man or struggle is an island unto itself. You have here created the instrument that will bridge the gap between the movement and struggles of our youth and the youth of other lands. Your socialist aims, your science of Marxism-Leninism creates a unique ideological and class brotherhood with the Communist-revolutionary youth of the world. Your basic anti imperialist outlook creates a bond of kinship with the fighting anti imperialist youth the world over. You will bring out the sense of oneness with the youth of America, Asia, and Africa. Your workingclass internationalism is going to add a new dimension to the youth movement in the U.S.A.

It's a two-way street. You will give and you will get from such global relationships. The people of Vietnam judge our internationalism not on the basis of what we say, but what we do about ending U.S. aggression there. This is the acid test of our workingclass internationalism.

We can win. We can earn our friendship with the people of the world by our deeds in fighting against the oppressive, exploiting policy and practices of U.S. imperialism. We are with those in the world who say, "Yankee Oppressors, Go Home!"

You have established more than another youth organization. For the youth of the United States you have established a new point of reference. They now have a workingclass, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist point of reference. Thousands will join your ranks, but millions will compute their political course by relating it to the Marxist-Leninist point of reference. You will create a workingclass youth field of gravity around you. You will lift the ceiling of revolutionary visibility. You have been able to set off an explosive chain reaction because you have adopted a science of revolution as your guiding principle. Marxism-Leninism is the only tested and proven science of revolution. It is a hard fact of life that anyone who seriously wants to fight capitalism must study this science.

In a basic sense, science is a study of what makes things tick—the laws of motion. Science studies the laws of motion in order to use its objective power to change reality. Marxism-Leninism is a study of what makes human society tick in order to use society's objective motion, its laws, its inherent power, to change reality. It is a study of the laws that give rise to economic and political currents and processes and contradictions within capitalism in order to use them to strengthen the revolutionary current.

This study is not an academic matter. Its sole purpose is to initiate actions, to improve on actions, to increase the weight of the blows against capitalism. In Marxism-Leninism—science and practice—theory and action are not separate components. Each Marxist-Leninist is a thinker and an activist.

Let us see how this comes out in life.

We, like many others, are fighters for reforms—higher wages, against all practices of discrimination and segregation, electoral reforms, voting rights, housing, day care centers, etc. But we are the most effective fighters for reforms because we are revolutionaries—not reformists. Reformists tend to ask—to ask for something they believe belongs to the holder. Revolutionaries demand because they believe it all belongs to those who produced it. Under capitalism the holders are the non-producers. Reformists tend to compromise and unnecessarily conciliate. Revolutionaries believe that concessions—even the biggest—are only the beginning. Reformists seek for "justice," "fairness" or "rights" on the side of the exploiters.

Revolutionaries see no "justice," "fairness" or "rights" on the side of exploitation for profits.

When reformists win a concession they take a breather. A revolutionary must have the next action planned out before a concession is won. The capitalist class takes no "breathers." The working class has no choice but to fight without let up.

A reformist will use the concession to smooth over class relations. A Marxist-Leninist will point out: we won the concession because of our strength. It does not do away with the class struggle. A reformist sees "good" employers and "bad" employers. A revolutionary only sees the class that oppresses and exploits.

This revolutionary concept of reforms flows from our understanding of the laws of a class society. It is a class struggle approach to reforms.

We, like many other Americans, are against racism. Many see the moral unjustness of racist practices. We welcome this—it is helpful, but it is not enough. From times before the Bible, people have spoken about the brotherhood of man—as a moral precept. It obviously has not been enough. Marxism-Leninism exposes the roots of racism. It does not accept the concept that racism, chauvinism, is an inherent, inborn, hapless characteristic of sections of human society. It exposes its class roots—that it is an instrument of exploitation—a system for extra profits.

The moral, intellectual understanding of racism by white workers will be on firmer soil when they understand that it is a weapon of their class enemy, it is a weapon against themselves. This is the path to convincing white workers that their self-interest—their class interests—demand a struggle against all forms of racism. What we do to give this concept life is the test of our sincerity, of our understanding of the centrality of black and white unity—the historic crucialness of the black liberation movement.

Tactics is closely related to the question of science. How to get to where you are going is influenced by whether you know where you want to go. An outlook for a revolutionary change influences one's tactical orientation. In Marxist-Leninist terms, tactics is a word meaning how to move people into struggle based on their understanding of their own self-interests. How to move the struggles to the next stage. That must be the test of all tactics—how do they move people into struggle?

It therefore determines the relationship between an advanced revolutionary sector and the masses to whom you are giving leadership. If your tactics do not measure up, you are left by the wayside. You are separated from the main body. You are not leading. If your tactics are such that the people are not ready for them, you are also separated. You cannot lead if you are separated—whether you are ahead or behind. A tactic that breaks the bond between the advanced detachment and the masses is not revolutionary no matter how it sounds. One's revolutionariness is measured by one's ability to organize and mobilize masses.

While in struggle one must keep a sharp eye on the tactics of the enemy. For ten months last year the F.B.I. was directly involved in dynamiting public buildings. This included the bombing of a Federal building in New York City. The man on the F.B.I. payroll was the key man in the small group arrested. He was arrested while he and another man were on their way to bomb some U.S. army trucks. Thus for 10 months the F.B.I. not only knew about but was involved in getting the dynamite and picking the buildings to be bombed. They knew days in advance which building was to be bombed. Their man was doing it. They let these bombings go on till a few days before the November 15th peace march. They dropped "leads" to the press and T.V. that it was the peace movement that was bombing the buildings. One must ask—why? Is it not clear that the reason was provocation? The reason was to alienate people from the movement to end the aggression in Vietnam. The plan was to alienate people with tactics they were not ready for.

The F.B.I. agent pleaded guilty, but was not indicted. He is back on the street. He has gone back to the ultra-right fascist organizations who are responsible for bombing workers' and peoples organizations offices and meeting halls. That's where the F.B.I. recruited him in the first place!

There are other laws of tactics. One must never unnecessarily signal one's punches to the enemy. One must never boast to the enemy of what one is going to do. One must never threaten to use tactics whose time has not come. It results only in one thing: that masses who are not ready to back up such tactics become alienated. There is a time and a place for all tactical seasons.

The most dangerous foe is one that can smile while he is readying himself to give you a haymaker.

Leadership means winning the confidence of masses. People will place their confidence in organizations and leaders they feel consider their best interests paramount. They will place their confidence in leaders they feel will find a path

to victory, who will not panic or be co-opted, who will meet any crises, but who will not lead them like the 600 into the Valley of Death.

In the class struggle the lives and livelihood of people are on the line. From their leaders they want militancy and responsibility.

In the movement there has been some discussion about the use of guns, and the willingness to use guns. I agree with those who say it is a tactical question. Like all tactical questions it must be measured by how it affects masses in struggle. It seems to me that whether the people have guns in their homes is not the issue. I think most Americans do. Also, the right of self defense is not the issue here. As police brutality increases the right of self defense will grow in importance. But the advocacy of the slogan "Picking up the gun" is another matter.

At this stage of struggle what would be the result of such a tactical slogan? What would be the effect on the masses? Would it get a response from the people? I don't think so. Would it in fact result in a self defense? I do not think so. It would result only in individual actions, if any.

Would it be a tactic that would alienate those who are moving into struggle? I think it would.

In an explosive period like this, this reality could change, and so tactics would change. But for all those reasons it is not a correct tactical concept for today's reality. It would not advance the struggle. It would not result in a self defense.

Timing is a critical factor in any action. I want to congratulate you on your timing in calling this founding convention. Your initiative shows you have grasped an important element of Marxism-Leninism. You studied present-day reality. You drew the right conclusions. This is the time for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization. Millions of youth are questioning and rejecting the values and sets of priorities created by U.S. capitalism. They are not yet rejecting capitalism, however, because they do not yet clearly see the connection between the values they reject and capitalism. But it is of great importance that the values they reject are not general human values, but those related to exploitation for private profit. They are rebelling against priorities that have no room for human considerations. They are rejecting wars of imperialist aggression, they are rejecting racism for their moral ugliness, but increasingly they are turned off because wars and racism are instruments of exploitation. This is the base for the growing source of anti-imperialism.

These are important shifts in the mass patterns of thought. So, more than the genius of any one of us, it is this new objective reality that has given birth to this historic founding convention. We are using the power that arises from the contradictions of capitalism to build revolutionary power.

There are dabblers and there are professionals in every field of science. Your commitment will be measured by how professional you become as Marxist-Leninists. You have given birth to a revolutionary instrument. The mettle of this organization will be tested in the struggles of today. You will be ready for the revolutionary events of tomorrow only if you are an active element in the struggles of today. You must become a factor in every area of struggle. You must give direction, you must give a class content to all struggle. And you must bring into the youth movement a revolutionary spirit. You must be the activator, the energizer within the youth movement.

In today's reality a Marxist-Leninist youth organization need not be narrow or small. Don't be selfish. Don't keep this science of sciences to yourselves. Share it with the millions.

Social progress is being propelled by a worldwide revolutionary process. It is sweeping capitalism before it—root and branch. The question before mankind is not whether socialism. In a basic sense it is not even how socialism. The only unanswered question is how soon.

This founding convention has helped with the answer to this question. We can tell the Fords, Rockefellers, Morgans, Hoovers and Nixons, it is sooner than you think.

Common Sense

VOL. 4,

PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

NO. 1

*The Common
Sense Campaign*

**ARE YOU
TIRED OF BEING
PLAYED FOR
A SUCKER
EVERY FOUR
YEARS?**

JULY 4

JULY 4 — The 200th anniversary of the American Revolution

JULY 4 — A time to begin the Second American Revolution

JULY 4 — Declare your economic independence from ITT, GM & Exxon

JULY 4 — Send a message to Wall Street

JULY 4 — Rededicate yourself to the democratic principles of 1776

JULY 4 — ^{U.S.}Join the movement for economic democracy

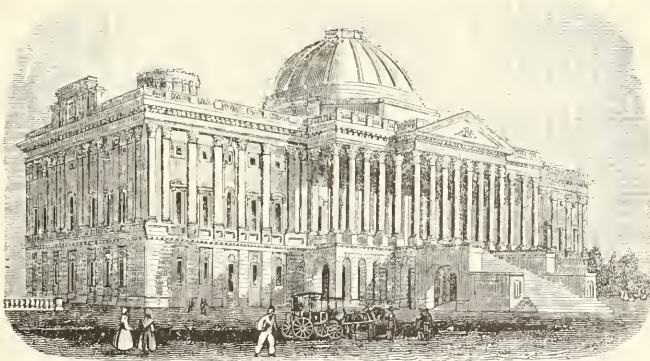
JULY 4 — Join the Peoples Bicentennial Commission at the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

JULY 4 — Join prominent speakers and entertainers in pledging your "life, fortune and sacred honor" to a new America

JULY 4 — Join 250,000 new patriots for the largest economic rally in American history

JULY 4 — Make some history of your own

JULY 4 — Be there!

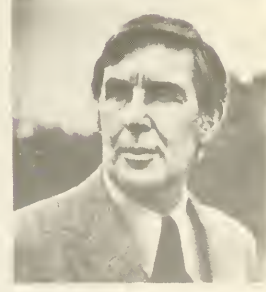


WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Common Sense Campaign
for a Democratic Economy

**ARE YOU
TIRED OF BEING
PLAYED FOR
A SUCKER
EVERY FOUR
YEARS?**

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission
Washington, D.C. 200036



After 200 years, is this the best we can do?

Look at these men. All of them want to be President of the United States. Each of them wants your vote.

Between now and election day, each of them will pour a fortune into high-powered public relations campaigns to convince us that he's the man for the job. They'll be kissing our babies, shaking our hands and making us promises.

Each one says that he's the friend of the working man and woman. Baloney!

Do any of these candidates know what it feels like to be laid off? Or to be unable to meet next month's mortgage payment?

Do they know what it's like to work 40 hours a week in a boring and degrading job and still not have enough money to buy groceries for their families, or new clothes for the kids?

The plain truth is that we're being played for suckers again. Every four years, the candidates trot out with their promises. Once they're elected, they only deliver headaches.

This year, the promises are about the economy. Every candidate has a pet solution to end the current crisis. Everything from a dose of trustbusting and closing a few loopholes to more subsidies for Big Business and less government regulation.

If those ideas sound familiar, they should. They're pulled from the same bag of tricks that brought this nation to the brink of economic ruin in the first place.

They haven't worked in the past and they won't work in the future.

You don't have to be an expert to know that there's something fundamentally wrong with our economic system today. Over eight million of us are unemployed. Inflation continues to skyrocket because muscle-bound monopolies set prices as high as they want. Our nation's great cities are being turned into industrial ghost towns as multi-national corporations flee America for cheaper labor and higher profits abroad. Corporations and wealthy families pay token taxes while the rest of us get soaked.

Still, the Presidential candidates offer bandaid reforms for our gaping economic wounds.

We think it's time to apply some Common Sense to the problems facing the American economy.

We think it's time to put the candidates on notice. We're fed up with worn out cliches and endless chatter from a cast of Tweedledee and Tweedledum candidates. We want some action.

If you've finally learned your lesson about candidates who speak up for the little guy on election day, and then sign up on the Big Boys' team after the votes are counted, join us.

We're the Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy.

The Declaration of Economic Independence

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the economic bonds which have tied them to another, a decent respect for the opinions of humankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all people are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, economic institutions are instituted among people, deriving their just power from the consent of the citizens; that whenever any economic system becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new economic system, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that economic systems long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience has shown that people are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such economic institutions and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffering of the American People, and such is now the necessity which compels us to alter our former economic system. The History of the present giant corporations is a History of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let the facts be submitted to a candid World.

America's Giant Corporations have seized control over the great land and resources of our country.

They have systematically destroyed thousands of small businesses and forced millions of Americans to become wage serfs for the wealthy owners.

They have formed shared monopolies in virtually every major retail and wholesale industry, forcing millions of consumers to pay higher and higher prices for goods and services they cannot do without; these monopoly practices being the primary cause of runaway inflation.

They have forced millions of Americans into unemployment lines by systematically closing down their American plants and moving their business operations abroad so they can hire cheaper labor and reap still greater profits for their owners.

In the name of profit, they have expropriated billions of dollars of wealth produced by the working women and men of this country.

The Giant Corporations have

Followed a policy of industrial negligence which kills 14,000 workers and permanently disables 900,000 more every year.

They have manufactured unsafe products that kill 30,000 and permanently disable 110,000 Americans each year.

They have used the energy crisis in order to double the price of fuel and make record gains in profit.

They have sold American wheat to the Russian Government, forcing a sharp rise in the cost of bread and other wheat products to the American consumer.

They have turned our Nation into a weapons factory, wasting valuable labor and resources that could be utilized for basic human needs.

They have fomented tensions and conflicts between races, sexes and ethnic groups in their arbitrary and discriminatory employment practices.

They have pillaged the resources, exploited the peoples, and systematically intervened in the domestic affairs of other nations in order to profit their corporate treasuries.

The Giant Corporations have subverted the Constitution of the United

States and the principle of Government of, by, and for the people. By illegally financing their own candidates for local, state and national office.

By placing their own supporters in key government commissions and regulatory agencies.

By using massive lobbying operations to virtually dictate the legislative direction of the State and Federal Governments, including the decisions on how our tax money is to be allocated.

It is these same corporate giants

That profess the strongest attachment to self-reliance, while pocketing billions of dollars of our tax money in the form of Government subsidies and special favors.

That profess their commitment to preserving their country's future, while systematically destroying our natural environment.

That herald the virtues of personal responsibility and accountability, while engaging in wholesale crime under the protection of their corporate charters.

America's giant corporations have issued a death sentence against the individual human spirit.

By forcing millions of Americans to perform mindless functions eight hours per day inside the corporate machine.

By rewarding obedience, conformity, and dependency—and penalizing creative thinking, criticism, and independent judgment.

The Corporate Giants have violated our sacred rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

By denying us adequate access to the means to sustain life.

By severely limiting our opportunities to choose the kind of work life we would like to lead.

By denying us a range of work choices that are potentially self-fulfilling and rewarding.

The corporations have created and perpetuated a small hereditary aristocracy, with wealth and power unrivaled in the annals of recorded history.

The Corporate System has proven itself to be grossly inefficient and wasteful, while the Corporate owners and managers have proven themselves to be incompetent to make prudent decisions that effect the economic well-being of the American people.

In their obsession with profits, their lust for absolute domination over the life of this Nation, and their total disregard for the American people, Corporate owners and managers have plunged our country into its present state of economic chaos, destroyed the lives of millions of families, and threatened the very survival of the Republic.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. An economic system, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define an absolute tyranny, is unfit to claim the loyalty and allegiance of a free and democratic people.

We, therefore, the Citizens of the United States of America, hereby call for the abolition of these giant institutions of tyranny and the establishment of new economic enterprises with new laws and safeguards to provide for the equal and democratic participation of all American Citizens in the economic decisions that effect the well-being of our families, our communities, and our Nation. In furtherance of our joint hopes and aspirations, and mindful of the lessons of History, we steadfastly adhere to the general principle that a democratic Republic can only exist to the extent that economic decision-making power is broadly exercised by the people and not delegated to a few. Such is the necessity which compels us to act in support of decentralized economic enterprises, with ownership and control being shared jointly by the workers in the plants and by the local communities in which they operate—with similar patterns of shared representative control being exercised on a regional and National level to insure the smooth and efficient coordination of all economic operations. For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Washington, DC, 20036

THE STUDENT

MOBILIZER

5¢

Volume 3, No. 11
November 20, 1970**High School Bill of Rights**

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE ALL RIGHTS ENUMERATED IN THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND ALL OTHER AMENDMENTS AND THOSE ESTABLISHED BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

Freedom of Political Activity

STUDENTS HAVE THE FULL FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

1. Students may form political and social organizations in the school, including those which champion unpopular causes and the expression of the political and social views of the organization.
2. Students have the right to full use of school facilities—bulletin boards, auditoriums, public address systems, mimeo facilities to advertise their ideas and activities that take place inside and outside the high schools.
3. Students have the right to plan and carry out forums, assemblies, seminars and other school programs in order to expand the educational process. These are to be chosen by the students. Speakers chosen by students may not be rejected by administration or faculty.

Students have the rights to distribute any leaflets, pamphlets, and political material inside and outside the school and school grounds without authorization of the principal or members of the school administration of the Board of Education.

5. Students have the right to wear any symbols, their political beliefs, such as buttons, emblems, and style of dress which express their opinions.
6. Students have the right to blouse their own method of expressing their beliefs and to refrain from saluting the flag or from attending any assemblies which they so desire.
7. Students have the right to strike.

THIS DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, 15 E. 17th ST., N.Y.C. 10003. (212) 675-6925

photo by howard petrick

Freedom of Speech and Press

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

1. Student publications must be controlled by the students and may in no way be censored by the administration or faculty. Editing will be done by the student editors. Any student organization has the right to have access to the school newspaper to advertise its ideas and activities.
2. Student publications (newspapers and magazines) which are not "official" school publications are to be treated with the same rights as (1) above with full use of school facilities to produce and distribute them.

Due Process

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO DUE PROCESS.

1. Students have the right to a fair hearing which includes representation by counsel, with the right to question witnesses prior to any disciplinary actions. The hearing shall conform to all present laws pertaining to court procedure.
2. Students may not in any way be penalized by administration or faculty for any political or moral beliefs which they have or upon which they act.
3. Students have the right to receive annually upon the opening of school a publication setting forth all the rules and regulations to which students are subject. This publication shall contain a statement of student rights.
4. Students and parents have the right to see their personal files at any time.
5. Students have the right to appeal any decision on a disciplinary action with a transcript of the trial provided by the school administration.

6. Students have the right to help determine their curriculum and evaluate their teachers.
7. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex.
8. The tracking system shall be abolished.

Free Elections

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO END HIGH SCHOOL COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR MACHINE.

1. The student body has the right to be free from the presence of surveillance of federal agencies not directly involved in the educational process.
2. There shall be an end to all military programs like ROTC in the schools and to all military recruiting in the high schools.
3. There shall be an end to the use of police to settle disputes within the schools.

No War Machine

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE ELECTIONS IN THE SCHOOLS.

Students shall have the right to use any school election for any office. There shall be no and military administration requirements and screening of candidates.

2. All students in the school shall have the right to vote. Scheduling of elections shall occur at a time when all students are present during regular school hours.
3. All candidates shall have the right to use a full campaign with full use of school facilities to freely advertise their full election platform.

EXHIBIT No. 11

(Referred to on p. 53)

[From the Militant, Feb. 27, 1970]

THE SMC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

(By Harry Ring)

CLEVELAND.—A spring program of intensive antiwar activity culminating in massive demonstrations April 15 was approved by the Student Mobilization Committee conference here Feb. 14-15.

It was the biggest, broadest most democratic gathering of the antiwar movement yet and support for a program of mass action to win immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam was decisive.

There were 3,469 people who formally registered for the conference, and committee representatives estimate there were actually close to 4,000 present. They converged on Case Western Reserve University from 39 states and the District of Columbia. There was representation from some 300 college and university campuses and a hundred high schools.

Every shading of antiwar and radical opinion was represented and just about every known radical political grouping was in attendance. Decisions were arrived at after extensive discussion marked by the full observance of the rules of debate.

“... despite the emotional fervor with which most of the students embraced their ideas,” the Feb. 16 *Cleveland Press* reported, “an almost overwhelming democracy prevailed. Nearly everyone who wished got a chance to speak.”

The conference had before it a mass of differing proposals, some of which stood in clear counterposition to one another, and others whose nuances were rather murky. Yet the single issue on which the conference focused was the continuing need for mass action in the streets to mobilize the broadest number of Americans in opposition to the war. Offered a variety of alternatives to this, the delegates in their great majority opted decisively for the course of mass action.

The turnout for the conference definitively established that the SMC is the student wing of the antiwar movement. This was attested to as well by the extensive media coverage, the messages received from around the world, and by the greetings delivered at the conference by other sections of the movement.

Among those who brought greetings to the conference were Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Sid Peek, cochairman of the New Mobe; David Hawk of the Moratorium; and Jeff Shero of the Conspiracy. Pvt. Joe Miles, a founder of GI's United who has been exiled by the brass to a base in Alaska, was able to make the trip to Cleveland and was among those greeting the conference.

There was also a rousing speech of greeting by Dick Gregory who participated in the conference's plenary session and Third World workshop.

The central action proposal before the body was presented by SMC executive secretary Carol Lipman. She proposed that the SMC tie in with the slated April 13-19 week of antiwar activity projected by both the Moratorium and New Mobe, as well as with their previously selected date of April 15 for mass demonstrations throughout the country.

This proposal was presented as part of an integrated program of SMC campus activity around such key issues as opposition to the draft and an end to campus complicity with the war, coupled with a major high school organizing drive and a systematic effort to relate to GIs, Third World and women's liberation forces so as to involve them in the fight against the war.

A heterogeneous grouping of individuals and political tendencies sought to establish a common front to defeat or significantly amend this proposal, a caucus variously referred to as the “Independent” caucus, the “Independent Radical” caucus and the “Independent and Radical” caucus sought to establish itself as the rallying center of the opposition to the Lipman proposal. It was difficult to ascertain precisely what groups the caucus embraced as allegiances shifted throughout the conference. The largest turnout for a meeting of the caucus was about 400.

Among the groups considering themselves in opposition were the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the International Socialists, the Workers League, Youth Against War and Fascism, the National Caucus of Labor Committees,

and the recently created Communist Party youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League. Also present were the American Servicemen's Union, Gay Liberation Front, Youth International Party, and the John Brown caucus, an anarchist group.

Some of these groups sought to relate to the Radical Caucus but found it difficult to agree on a common program or conference strategy. The central issue that seemed to bind them together was opposition to the Young Socialist Alliance, the largest of the organized tendencies present and a vigorous partisan of the mass action proposal.

Apparently adapting to the pressure of the strong conference sentiment for the mass action approach, the various opposition groups sought finally to present their particular proposals as supplementary to it, although some of their programs were patently inconsistent with this.

An example was the opposition's generally common emphasis on civil disobedience as a means of opposing the draft as counterposed to mass action to abolish it.

(The conference rejected the proposal to commit the SMC to civil disobedience. Instead, it reaffirmed SMC's previous position of favoring mass action to abolish the draft with local groups free to conduct antidraft activity of their choosing.)

The oppositionists found themselves in additional difficulty in that while they tended to agree on a multi-issue approach for the antiwar movement, they could not agree among themselves on what the issues should be. Some favored proposals which they felt would give SMC activity a greater anti-imperialist content, while others favored escalating the rhetoric to make the SMC what they deem to be an anti-imperialist organization. Others favored action of an undefined nature to end what they see as white and/or male supremacy in the antiwar movement. Still others said the key is to get the organized labor movement not to support the antiwar movement but to lead it. One group felt SMC should become a political party.

In a futile, last-minute effort to block the Carol Lipman mass action proposal, at the moment of voting a number of these groups announced they were combining their various proposals.

Those who participated in this gambit were the Radical Caucus, RYM, YAWF, and a group calling itself the Grass Roots Community Coalition. While their combined proposal was presented as a counter-motion to Carol Lipman's, they were literally unable to explain to the body what the combined proposal was.

For many, it was quite an education in unprincipled politics to see the dismal outcome of an attempt to subordinate political differences for the sake of an organizational bloc against another political grouping.

Lacking a thought-out program, a number of the oppositionists also resorted to a concerted campaign of redbaiting against the YSA and attempted to rally opposition to the mass action motion on the basis that it was a "YSA proposal."

EXHIBIT No. 11A
(Referred to on p. 53)



STUDENT RIGHTS HANDBOOK

FOR NEW YORK CITY

Student Rights Project
NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011
Phone: 924-7800

HOW TO START A HIGH SCHOOL UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER



**A Youth Liberation
Pamphlet**

POSTERS

Mini-posters (9" x12") in three colors; put them up everywhere. One says "School is not healthy for children and other living things." The other has a short parable. Indicate how many of each. Two for 25 cents or 10 for.....\$1.00

T-SHIRTS

High quality t-shirts silk-screened to resemble the School Zone - Watch Out for Children road signs. But instead of two children looking both ways, there's a silhouette of a youth aiming a rifle. Indicate size; Small, Medium, Large or Extra Large. Indicate color preference: Gold, lt. blue, turquoise or lt. purple.....\$2.00

To Order

Send check, money order, stamps, cash, etc. to:

YOUTH LIBERATION
2007 Washtenaw Ave.
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Make checks payable to Youth Liberation



KIM IL SUNG

"Whatever the adversity we should protect our mimeographs and other printing equipment and materials even at the risk of life..."

COMRADE KIM IL SUNG, the leader of the 40 million Korean people.

EXHIBIT NO. 13
(Referred to on p. 54)



**Youth
Liberation**

**an
introduction**

Why Have Youth Liberation?

If you're under 18, you probably already have a good idea what Youth Liberation is about. It was started, in 1971, because we wanted to work toward solutions to the special problems that young people face simply because of their age. At the same time, we want to see our entire society restructured into a more humane arrangement, so that young people will want to be a part of it.

The legal discrimination facing young people is the most clear-cut. State laws vary slightly, but generally if you are below a certain age you cannot:

- * Leave home without your parents' permission, or live on your own even with your parents' permission;
- * Decide how you want to spend your time — in every state except Mississippi you must go to school until a certain age;
- * See certain movies;
- * Stay out past certain "curfew" hours;
- * Drive a car, no matter how qualified you are;
- * Be assured of a jury trial, even if you face the possibility of several years of imprisonment;
- * Get a job and be economically independent;
- * Vote for the people who make all these laws that affect you, or run for public office.

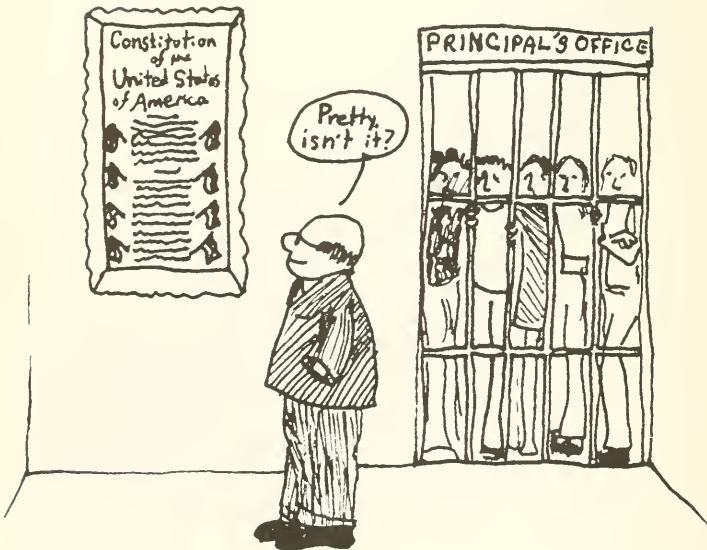
Less obvious than legal oppression, but just as frustrating, is the general attitude that we call ageism. It means many adults feel they're smarter, wiser, and more capable than young people, and that therefore they should tell you what to do — "for your own good." If you're young, it means that your ideas and your feelings are likely to be ignored or not taken seriously — "Oh, she'll grow out of it," or

“It’s just puppy love, isn’t it cute?” Your parents, having “better judgement,” can tell you not to see certain friends, forbid you to get certain mail, and generally run your life. as they think they ought to.

Out of all this grows forced dependence. Because you can’t work, you have to depend on your parents for housing, food, and spending money. Because you can’t drive (and public transportation is usually a mess) you have to badger your parents for a ride. You may like things that way. But maybe you’re fed up with it; if so, we want to work with you to get it changed.

Understanding the Overall Problem

Young people, though, aren’t the only ones who face special problems in this society. Old people, stereotyped as senile and worthless, face many similar difficulties. So do women, gays, third world people, the poor, those who are handicapped, and many others. The solution, we believe,



lies in first studying the present system so that we can understand the roots of discrimination and oppression, and why so many people feel purposeless. Then, we need to redesign that structure.

In fact, we are convinced that our society will *have* to be restructured before the problems that we've discussed can be solved. To work only for equal rights **with** adults, within the present social structure, would be both unsatisfactory and unrealistic. Unsatisfactory, because a 14-year-old on a hierarchically-controlled, dehumanizing assembly line is as bad off as a 44-year-old working there. Unrealistic, because in the present society, where the young *must* be prepared for dull and alienating jobs, there is no room for the idea of free, equal, inquiring young people to become a reality.

How We Can Help You

To work for these changes, Youth Liberation was formed. We have done organizing locally, and also have several activities to help young people in other areas who are working for the same goals.

A YOUTH LIBERATION MAGAZINE

One of our programs is publishing FPS—a magazine of young people's liberation. It comes out every month with articles about aspects of organizing young people, young people's struggles across the country, and other important issues, as well as articles trying to analyze the oppression facing young people. Four issues each year are devoted specifically to schooling and education in America. General subscriptions cost \$10 a year, or \$18 for two years, but for people under 18 it's only \$6 per year.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL UNDERGROUND PAPERS

CHIPS, the Cooperative Highschool Independent Press Syndicate, is a service we provide

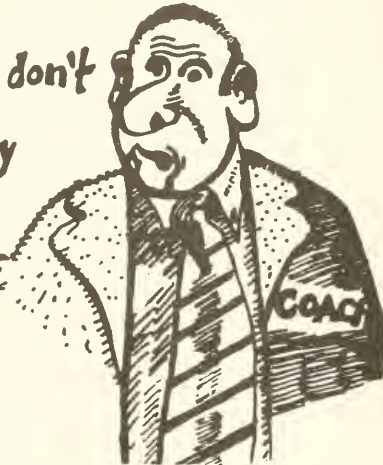
for independent and underground youth newspapers. It's goal is to let you see copies of papers that other young people are putting out, from which you can reprint articles, get ideas for stories and layout, and find general encouragement. To participate, just send us 50 copies of each issue of your paper (fewer if you can't afford that many). When we get them, we'll send you a packet of papers from other areas.

ORGANIZING TOOLS

To help young people who are trying to do organizing, we've put some of our materials together in a Youth Liberation Organizing Kit. It contains four of our pamphlets (including Student and Youth Organizing and How to Start a High School Underground Paper), five sample high school underground papers, three mini-posters, and two sample copies of FPS—a magazine of young people's liberation. It's available from us for \$3. (Our prices are guides: if you are young or on a limited income, send what you can; if you are employed, we hope you can send extra.)

For a complete literature list (if one isn't enclosed) or information, write to: Youth Liberation
2007 Washtenaw Ave.
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104

Lissen
kids... I don't
wanna
catch any
of you
reading
this stuff
!



FPS SUBSCRIPTION

A subscription to *FPS: a magazine of young people's liberation* (12 issues per year)

One year	\$10
Two years	18
Three years	24

(Special rate for people under 18 years of age: \$6 per year)

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS

<i>Student and Youth Organizing</i> (92 pages)	\$.65
<i>Major Court Decisions</i> <i>Young People and the Law</i> (formerly <i>Major Court Decisions Regarding</i> <i>the Rights of Students and Youth;</i> 32 pages)50
<i>How to Start a High School</i> <i>Underground Newspaper</i> (16 pp)35
<i>Teaching and Rebellion at Union</i> <i>Springs</i> (26 pages)35
<i>White House Conference on</i> <i>Youth</i> (42 pages)50
<i>Selected Reprints</i> (about 10 articles from old issues of FPS)50
<i>How to Research the Power Structure</i> <i>of Your Secondary School</i>	1.00
<i>Youth Liberation – News, Politics</i> <i>and Survival Information</i> (written by Ann Arbor Youth Liberation; published by Times Change Press)	1.35

SAMPLE PACKET

of twelve high school underground papers	\$.15.00
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EXHIBIT No. 14
(Referred to on p. 54)



SELECTED REPRINTS


EXHIBIT No. 15
(Referred to on p. 55)



HIGH SCHOOL ACTION

VOL. 1 NO. 3

DEC., 1973 JAN., 1974

HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM 

High School Students: Support Striking Farmworkers

By Milwaukee High School YAWF

The United Farmworkers Union (UFWA) is faced with that same necessity--to help put food on striking the grape and lettuce fields in California. They their family's table. We must show our outrage at the want job security, better wages, and control of deadly conditions that farmworkers and poor people across the pesticides which kill and cripple so many of them. All country are forced to live in. they want is the right to decent living conditions for

During our high school year, many of us work for minimum wages. You can imagine what it is like for Sentry, a Milwaukee food store, laughed at the UFWA's reasonable request; that Sentry pledge to carry only lettuce and grapes with the UFWA label. farmworkers who have to feed their families on this for These greedy chain store owners think nothing of raising prices and robbing us of our hard-earned money. They don't see anything wrong with people a lifetime. Usually, the pay is so lousy and living costs starving, as long as they don't speak out. But poor and to work to supplement family incomes. Many youth of working people across the country have spoken! poor and working families right here in Milwaukee are BOYCOTT LETTUCE & GRAPES!

Don't Let Uncle Sam Get YOU!

By Ken Oxtoby

New York City H.S. YAWF

"Today's Army. A meaningful alternative for young people." alternative it is; but meaningful to High School students it is not.

Or so goes the title of a 46 page, color photographed brochure, put out by the United States Army's Advertising and Information Dept. It is directed to High School Seniors as a tactic for recruiting in the most fascist arm of the American Imperialist machine. An It tries to show happy, smiling, contented High School students turning into happy, smiling, contented GI's, that both school and the Army are pleasant, actually quite a lot of fun, and therefore, that the one continued on page 2

* Marxist organization

Page 2

Army;

continued

should follow the other. Now, think to yourselves, though; have you ever been happy, smiley, or content at school? And if you know anybody who was ever in the Army, ask him if the Army was ever any fun for him. He will probably tell you that they, the officers, attempted to turn him into a killing animal and slave, willing to do their bidding and go out and kill anybody they wanted to have killed, including fellow Americans.

The officers and Dis (Drill

Instructors) either turn the men into slaves; or, if the person refuses to go along with this senseless brutality, ruin his chances in civilian life to live any kind of decent life. And while the troops are not being sent to kill in places like Vietnam and Cambodia, the brass hats in the Pentagon are thinking of loads of other ways to use young men as cannon fodder.

We are even being threatened with a resumption of the draft if there aren't enough enlistees into the armed forces. But High School youth, who will be the ones facing the prospect of the draft, do not want to go out

and kill innocent people 1000 or 10,000 miles away so Standard Oil or some other company can make loads of profits off our blood. We say:

End the use of Youth as Imperialist Tools!



Detroit Teachers Strike

By Keith Pavlik & Anita Cowan

On Sept 5th, the Detroit

Federation of Teachers decided to strike; primarily for a cost of living increase, besides other demands. If a victory was clinched, they stood to win their first raise in 3 years.

School was started as scheduled on Sept 5th, but was dismissed after just one hour. It was interesting the way different people responded to the strike in different cities. In Highland Park, a very working class and poor city, the parents barricaded in the negotiators, supporting the strike and pressuring the school board. In Madison Hgts., a well off suburb, the parents picketed the union hall against the teachers.

This points up the class nature of the strike, and the rising solidarity of working and oppressed people to struggle and win against many odds.

The Detroit Board of Education brought suit, against the DFT and their president, Mary

Detroit H.S. YAWF

Riordan, in Detroit Circuit Court. Judge William Foley ordered the teachers back in the classrooms, but the teachers refused to do so. As a result, Foley found them in contempt of court, fined the union \$11,000 per day the strike continued, and fined Ms. Riordan \$4,000 per day. Eventually, the fined totaled over 1 million dollars.

After a six week strike, the teachers went back to work, but with mixed emotions, some feeling they had been sold out on a compromise dropping all demands except the raise and that the board not collect the fines. Others were overwhelmed. The teachers have been back to work, but they still haven't seen their pay hike. Not only are they being forced to work on Saturdays, but the board whelched on the bargain and is fining each teacher \$300.

Defend the Rights of all Working People!

Letters to Action!

Brothers and Sisters,

Down here in the damn hole called Grace High, the system is fucked up. It would be ok if they got rid of certain teachers. So far this year I have been kicked out of one class; the class was algebra. I went down to the principal's office and had a little discussion with him about the teacher.

Well, after an hour we worked it out so I wouldn't lose a credit. Things went good until last Friday. Two of my friends, Smokey and Joe; we got caught sluffing. Man, the Student Counsellor was pissed off at us. He said, "God, Beckstead, if I hear of you sluffing again, I'll screw you up good." Those were his exact words.

Now they are trying to get me for having cigarettes on school property. They are watching me close, but i'm not worrying.

Peace,

Ken Beckstead

Grace High, Grace, Idaho

Nov 12, 1973

Free the Houston 12

On Oct. 9, the Houston branch of Youth Against War & Fascism, held a demonstration against the Mideast War against the Arab people; which was brutally attacked by the Houston cops.

Twelve people were arrested; 4 Anglos and 8 Chicanos; all of whom were badly beaten by the cops-at the demo site, on the way to the station, at the station and at a warehouse. All had to be hospitalized. All 12 were charged with "aggravated assault on police officers", while 5 were charged with "assault on a police officer with attempt to kill". And this on a demo that was numerically small, unarmed, and preparing to leave!

In a city that is not only racistly anti-Black and anti-Chicano, but also anti-Jewish and anti-progressive, the assault on the demonstration has much wider implications than would at first seem. It is an attempt to wipe out the entire progressive movement in Houston, which is spearheaded by YAWF.

When asked why they participated in a demonstration against a war in the Mideast on the show "Mexican-American Dialogue", Alex Rodriguez, one of the defendants, explained the work done by him and YAWF in the Chicano community in support of the Farah pants boycott, the Farmworkers boycott on lettuce and grapes, and against police brutality. Only a week before, a demo was held against police harassment in the Chicano community, at which the cops were able to do anything against. It is felt this is one reason why the beatings were so brutal.

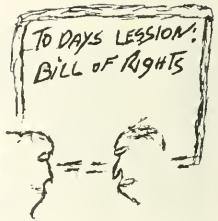


Feminism and Marxism

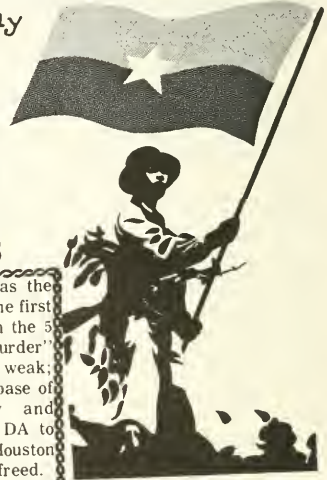
by
Dorothy
Ballan

- Woman in History
- Woman Today
- Why Women's Liberation needs Marxism

Order From:
H.S. YAWF
46 W. 21 St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10010



... "Funny they should teach that here. They don't let us talk together, gather in the halls, or say anything against the administration."



Long Live The Heroic
Struggles of The
Vietnamese, Loatian,
& Cambodian
Peoples!

All twelve, now known as the Houston 12, are out on bail. The first trials start on Feb. 25, when the 5 charged with "attempted murder" go on trial. But the case is so weak; and the support of a broad base of the Houston community and nationwide, has forced the DA to give in on many points. The Houston 12 are innocent and will be freed. The case is helping to build solidarity and togetherness in the struggle against U.S. imperialism among workers and students. For more information, contact: The Houston 12 Defense Committee at 3520 Moore St., Houston, Texas 77009.

SPEAK OUT! WE WANT TO HEAR FROM YOU

HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM is an organization which has actively struggled around such issues as the Vietnam war, cops in our schools, support of Black liberation, prison rebellions, and many others. We were the first organization to demonstrate against the Vietnam War in 1962.

ACTION is the national publication of H.S. YAWF. We want ACTION to become the voice of students.

If you would like more information about H.S. YAWF, or would like to distribute ACTION at your school, contact us at;

National Headquarters 46 West 21 Street
H.S. YAWF New York, New York

H.S. YAWF OFFICES NATIONWIDE

150 East Juneau Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

824 Washington Ave.
Wilmington, Delaware

542 S. Dearborn Rm. 309
Chicago, Illinois

P.O. Box 08141
Detroit, Mich.

171 State St.
Rochester, New York

P.O. Box 2576
Cleveland, Ohio

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

SCHOOL _____

- Please send me more information.
- I would like _____ copies of ACTION to distribute.

What Every Student Should Know

By Robert Pauls

High School oppression is an old story. It goes back to the earliest days of schools intended for working class children. In the early 19th century, public schools became more prevalent than ever before, but were still out of reach of most of the people. And that's probably just as well. Corporal punishment was used quite frequently; as a matter of fact, almost always, even for the simplest offense (so called offense, that is). The corporal punishment would sometimes take very severe forms, such as whippings and beatings.

But today, the school system is more subtle. Instead of beating you yourselves, they will send a letter home to your parents and let them do it for them. That, or they will try to make you stay after school. Although all these little tricks are mean, the meanest of all is to fail you for something you should have passed. There is very little that can be done about something like that, because your parents will probably believe the school and the teacher involved and not you. Even if they believe you were failed for other than academic reasons, they'll probably say that you deserve it for speaking out against the school. And when they do believe you and want to do something about it, they will be told by the school that the teacher involved knows best about such things, and in any case, that there is nothing that can be done about it and that it will straighten itself out next year. But don't worry about it, it won't.

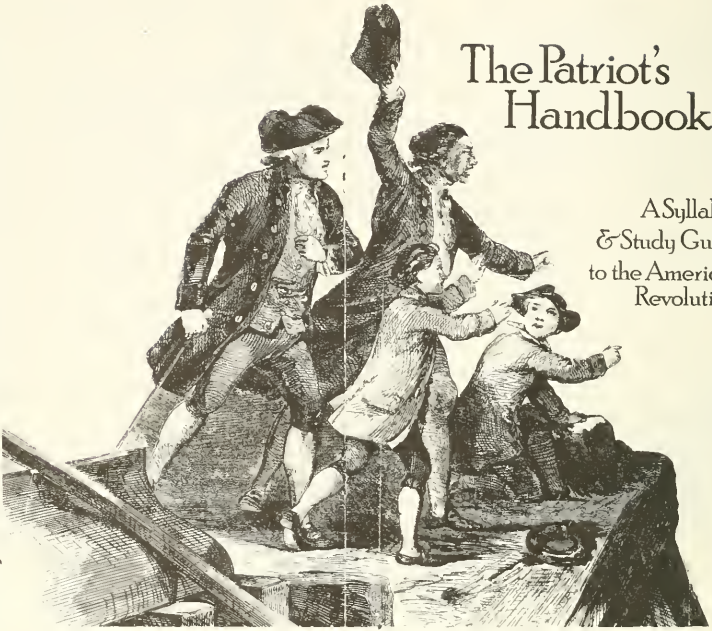
I wrote this to tell that the school system does not deal with you in a fair and honest way and never has. So there is no reason why you should deal fairly with it. It's important to work together in student action committees. They can hurt one student, but they can't bust the whole school.

*Theme: Our School
Going to our school is an education in itself which is not to be confused with actually getting an education.*



EXHIBIT NO. 16
(Referred to on p. 58)

Peoples Bicentennial Commission



The Patriot's Handbook

A Syllabus
& Study Guide
to the American
Revolution.



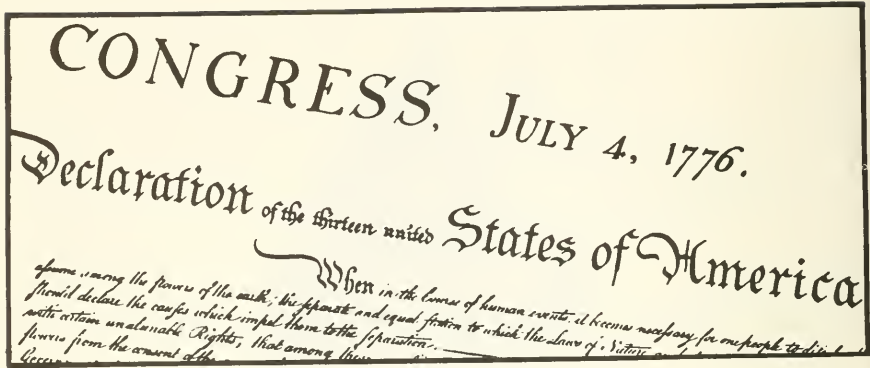
THE PATRIOT'S HANDBOOK

A Syllabus and Study Guide
to the American Revolution

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Peoples Bicentennial Commission
Washington, D.C. 20036



WHAT ARE WE CELEBRATING DURING THE BICENTENNIAL YEARS?

The American War is over, but this is far from the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, only the first act of the great drama is at a close.

Benjamin Rush, 1787

On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress unanimously approved the Declaration of Independence, and with that vote, the American Revolution began. It was into the Declaration that our founders placed, for all the world to see, their vision of the principles upon which a democratic government must be founded:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

To our ancestors, the Declaration of Independence was much more than a mere philosophical statement set down on parchment. The patriots of 1776 saw the Declaration as a prescription for action — action aimed ultimately at establishing a system of true economic, social and political democracy in this nation. In the name of the Declaration, American rebels not only waged war against King George III and the British empire, but also against wealthy aristocrats in this country who preferred monarchs and riches to government of, by and for the people.

It is the Declaration of Independence, and the democratic principles of the American Revolution, that we Americans are commemorating during the Bicentennial years. Yet, how many of us are even familiar enough with our founding document to endorse its radical democratic philosophy? Not many, according to a recent survey conducted by a reporter for the Associated Press:

MIAMI (July 4, AP) — Only one person out of fifty approached on Miami Streets by a reporter agreed to sign a typed copy of the Declaration of Independence. (PBC copy?)

Two called it "Commie junk," one threatened to call the police, and another warned: "Be careful who you show that kind of anti-government stuff to, buddy."

Comments from those who took the trouble to read the first three paragraphs:

"This is the work of a raver."

"Somebody ought to tell the FBI about this sort of rubbish."

"Meaningless."

"The boss'll have to read this before I can let you put it in the shop window. But politically, I can tell you he don't lean that way. He's a Republican."



Two centuries ago, Americans committed their "lives, fortunes and sacred honors" to the ideals of the Declaration. Today, we scarcely know anything about our founding document, or the people, events and principles that shaped the birth of this nation.

This Syllabus and Study Guide is designed to help acquaint Americans with the principles that launched our first national rebellion to economic and political injustice. Only by re-examining and reaffirming the democratic vision that founded this nation, can we observe a meaningful Bicentennial. And only by seeking our own roots can we arm ourselves, as our ancestors did, with the only sure weapon against the tyrants of our own day — the power and strength that a knowledge of fundamental democratic principles gives.

As Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, wrote almost two hundred years ago:

History, by apprising us of the past, will enable us to judge of the future; it will avail us of the experiences of other times; it will enable us to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views.



SOME NEW APPROACHES TO LOOKING AT AMERICAN HISTORY

Nearly a half century after he signed the Declaration of Independence, an aged John Adams wrote Thomas Jefferson, "Who shall write the history of the American Revolution? Who can write it? Who will ever be able to write it?"

Were Adams alive today, he might look around him at the thousands upon thousands of accounts of the Revolution — the textbooks, the biographies, the scholarly monographs and the collections of correspondence, the military, social and narrative histories — and ask a different question. "Who," he might wonder, "shall *read* the history of the American Revolution? Who *can* read it? Who will *ever* be able to read it?"

The truth is, that in the last two centuries, the events of the American Revolution have been hashed and rehashed, analyzed, synthesized and sanitized to no end. And after all of it, what do most of us know about the Revolution that founded this nation? How have the millions upon millions of words served to help *us* — the proverbial man and woman in the street — to better understand the original purpose and vision of America? The answer, of course, is that all of the words and books have done very little to give us a better sense of ourselves and our country. With libraries full of historical scholarship at our disposal, few of us know anything of substance about our past.

The fault, of course, lies partly at our own feet. But more importantly, blame must be affixed to the professional historical community. Simply put, most of us know so little about the American past because very little history is written with us, the non-academics, in mind. In 200 years, history has moved from a subject of popular concern and debate to the jealously guarded pursuit of scholars, theoreticians and professionals.

These academic historians have preempted the past, the American Revolution along with the rest of it; they have locked it up in monographs and scholarly treatises and made it inaccessible to the ordinary citizen. They have performed a kind of prefrontal lobotomy on the general public and removed a substantial part of our historical awareness. In short, historians, with their plodding and endless pursuit of "objective" facts to fit into their neatly defined "scientific" framework, have killed history. Dead as a door-nail.

But now with the Bicentennial of the American Revolution upon us, we have, in a sense, one last chance to resurrect history and return it to the average citizen of America. And that, fortunately, is exactly what is beginning to happen across the country, as "amateur historians" — those of us with no formal historical training or professional scholarship under our belts — work to reclaim the American past and put its lessons back to work in our own lifetimes.

In Santa Barbara, California, in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, in Oneonta, New York, and in dozens of other communities across the country, small, informal groups meet weekly to discuss the Revolutionary Era. These people are not professional historians. Some attend high school or college. Others are members of church groups who meet to socialize and trace the history of religious thought in America. Many are men and women who hold down jobs during the day, and get together on occasional evenings to re-examine the American past and present. They all share in common an interest in the lessons of other times, and a commitment to put those lessons to work today.

These amateurs are developing a new approach to looking into our heritage that is considerably removed from both the boring superficiality of most school-taught, textbook history and the scholarly mumbo-jumbo of the Ivy League PhDs. The new sense of history they are forging is important for us all.

Amateur historians believe that there is no reason for history to be a dry and boring subject. In fact, there is a richness and power to the workings of history that can rival any novel or movie. Just think how the events of Watergate, one of the most important moments in our own lifetime, will look to future generations — the sleuthing and probing of Woodward and Bernstein; the tales of deceit and intrigue the Nixon tapes contain; the battles between the Executive and the Legislative and Judicial branches of government. Is there any reason to believe that equally fascinating events didn't take place 200 years ago when Americans were moving toward Revolution, the greatest break from the established order that a people can make?

Amateur historians believe that amateurs can interpret history as well as professionals, if not better. The American Revolution wasn't fought by professionals, but by hundreds of thousands of common citizens who were fed up with the undemocratic power wielded by King George. Why then shouldn't the common citizen of our day be fully qualified to study and interpret that history?

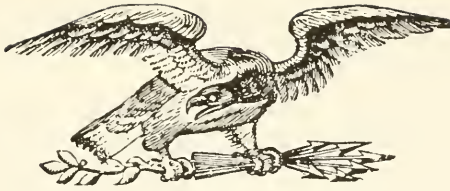
Amateur historians believe that history can teach us about the present. Professional historians try to limit the impact of historical events to the time they took place, but the world as we know it is the sum total of all past historical occurrences. The fact that Americans fought a Revolution against economic and political power concentrated into the hands of a few, has as much meaning to the America of the 1970s as it had to the America of the 1770s.

Amateur historians realize that our founding fathers and mothers were not gods, neither were they perfect human beings. Like all of us, the Americans of the 18th century had their flaws and inconsistencies. The important thing for our generation is to recognize the relevance of the ideals and democratic vision of our founders for our country today. If they failed to accomplish all that we would have liked, then it is our duty to take up the task of completing their unfinished business.

Amateur historians believe that "history" is not confined to the events of the past. None of us who lived through two years of Watergate scandals can doubt that historic events occur in our own lives. What we often forget is that we are not neutral observers in the history of our own time. History is not a football game where we have the luxury of sitting on the sidelines and watching two teams slug it out. Our choice is simple — to be dragged along by events, or to work to shape and change them in ways that seem most in keeping with the democratic hopes of our ancestors. That is really the lesson of the American Revolution.

Amateur historians are not afraid to draw parallels between the events and concerns of another age and those of our own. Professional historians stay away from making any kind of comparisons because they are worried that their "academic credentials" will suffer if they make history relevant to our time. Of course, drawing parallels should not be done lightly. But can anyone doubt that when Sam Adams, looking around him at the rich and powerful of his day, said "Let us disappoint the men who are raising themselves upon the ruin of this country," he was speaking as much to our generation as to his own?

These are just some of the lessons that amateur historians all over the country are beginning to learn. Beneath it all, is a belief that the study of history should mean a deepening and extension of our understanding of the contemporary world. And there is no better place, no more appropriate event in modern history, with which to begin this resurrection of American history than with the American Revolution.



EIGHT BASIC BOOKS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

With thousands upon thousands of books written on the American Revolution, the natural first question for the amateur historian is, "Where do I start?"

To help point a direction, we've selected eight books that serve as a jumping off point for a look into the Revolution. We suggest that you begin with these eight, and then go on to the more specialized areas of interest that are contained in this syllabus.

THE SPIRIT OF '76, ed. by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, Harper & Row, 1967.

"Primary sources" — the documents, letters, pamphlets, speeches, newspapers and broadsides actually written during the 1760s and '70s — are a historian's most valuable materials. Uninterpreted by the biases and views of later historians, primary sources allow the participants in the Revolution to speak for themselves. *The Spirit of '76*, a collection of hundreds of these valuable original documents, is an essential work on the American Revolution. Included in this well-indexed and easy-to-use book are items both cultural and political — Tory and Patriot ballads; observations on the impact of the Revolution on medicine; comments by leading patriots on profits and profiteering policies of wealthy merchants; proclamations by King George III, and much more. The book is nearly 1300 pages long, but don't let it scare you off.

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, ed. by Samuel Eliot Morison, Oxford University Press, 1965.

Like the Commager and Morris collection, this is primary material from the Revolution, but it is far heavier fare. Contained in this volume are the basic political and philosophical documents of the Revolutionary years — the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Bill of Rights, the State Constitution of Pennsylvania, etc. The early years of the Republic immediately following the Revolution are also represented in excerpts of the most important debates of the Constitutional Convention, the Constitution itself, and materials relating to Shay's Rebellion. Some of these documents aren't easy reading by today's standards, but they deserve study and discussion as representatives of the radical philosophy that founded the United States.

PRIVATE YANKEE DOODLE, *being a narrative of some of the adventures, dangers, and sufferings of a Revolutionary soldier, Joseph Plumb Martin, ed. by George F. Scheer, Little Brown, 1962.*

Private Yankee Doodle, another primary source, is one of the most entertaining and informative accounts penned by a participant in the American Revolution. Joseph Martin joined the American Revolutionary Army at the age of 16, right after the first outbreak of fighting at Lexington and Concord, and like many American patriots, he stuck it through for seven long years. His story, written many years after the war when he was an old man in his 90s, is the finest first-hand account of the military side of the Revolution from a private soldier's point of view. In his simple, moving (and often times humorous) fashion, Martin reveals all of the human emotions of a young man in battle, and in passages like the following, shows us that the American Revolution was no party for the common man who fought it:

"How many times have I had to lie down like a dumb animal in the field, and bear 'the pelting of the pitiless storm,' cruel enough in warm weather, but how much more so in the heart of winter. Could I have had the benefit of a little fire, it would have been deemed a luxury. But when snow or rain would fall so heavy that it was impossible to keep a spark of fire alive, to have to weather out along, wet, cold tedious night in the depth of winter, with scarcely clothes enough to keep one from freezing instantly, how discouraging it must be, I leave to my reader to judge."

THE SPIRIT OF '76, *Carl Becker, A.M. Kelly, 1966.*

In 1926, on the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, historian Carl Becker was asked to deliver a lecture on "The Spirit of '76." Turning his back on the orthodox style of lecture, Becker instead developed a semi-fictional, but totally believable tale of a New York family, the Wynkoops, who lived through the important events of the 1760s and '70s. In just 50 pages, Becker, through the use of this family, shows that "The Spirit of '76" is really nothing more than the story of plain, ordinary people caught up in history-making times, trying to come to grips with new principles and events that may change their lives and the world around them. As the Wynkoop family shows, the decisions in a revolutionary age are seldom easy, but a choice must eventually be made.

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, *John C. Miller, Stanford University Press, 1957.*

If you want one single work by a contemporary historian that gives an overview of the American Revolution, this is it. Miller traces the development of the Revolution from its uncertain beginnings in the 1760s to its culmination in the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Particularly interesting is the last chapter, "The American Revolution as a Democratic

Movement," which details the domestic conflict between conservative and radical patriots around the issues of economic, political and social democracy.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT, *J. Franklin Jameson, Princeton University Press, 1967.*

In the early 1920s, historians generally regarded the American Revolution as simply an independence movement; few saw it as a democratic social movement that transformed and revolutionized society within America. Then in 1925, Professor J. Franklin Jameson, one of America's eminent historians, delivered a series of four lectures at Princeton University that changed the course of historical interpretation. In the lectures, Jameson argued persuasively that,

"The stream of revolution, once started, could not be confined within narrow banks, but spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspirations were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces thus set loose. The relations of social classes to each other, the institution of slavery, the system of land-holding, the course of business, the forms and spirit of the intellectual and religious life, all felt the transforming hand of revolution . . ."

THE STAMP ACT CRISIS, *Edmund Morgan and Helen Morgan, Collier Books, 1963.*

Although the Stamp Act was approved by Parliament more than a decade before the American Revolution began, the protests and outrage that greeted it in the colonies set the stage for the events of later years. This vivid account of those protests, the first inter-colonial demonstrations in our history, is fast-reading and entertaining. Of special interest is the story of the smoldering conflict within the patriot ranks as leaders and demonstrators clashed over political and tactical questions in their efforts to force repeal of the tax.

VOICES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, *Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Bantam Books, 1974.*

Voices of the American Revolution is just that; a collection of over 500 quotations from our founding fathers and mothers. Here the founders speak out for themselves on the major issues of importance in a democracy — banks and corporations, women's rights, foreign affairs, freedom of the press, taxes, education, and over twenty other subjects. Preceding the quotes is a brief essay on the Declaration of Independence — how it came to be written down, what it has to say about basic human rights and the relationship of government to the individual, and how its radical principles were put to use, both here and abroad.



BOOKS FOR YOUNG READERS

The books in this section come highly recommended to us from young and old alike as of particular value to young readers of American History.

There is a wide variety of books on the Revolution in this list — novels, first-hand accounts, biographies, tales of spies, soldiers, working men and women, statesmen — virtually everything but that bane of history, the textbook.

And by the way, if you don't consider yourself a "young person" anymore, don't get scared off by this section. Many of the books are in other parts of the syllabus, and besides, you're only as old, or as young, as you think.

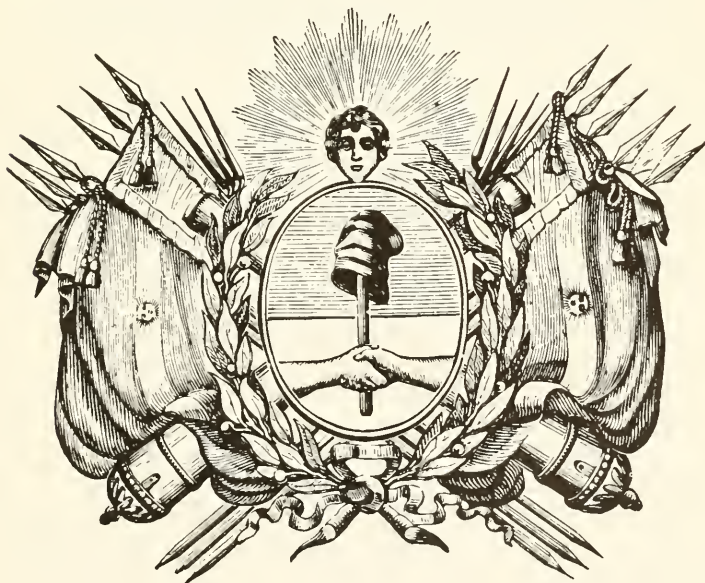
Women in Eighteenth-Century America, Mary S. Benson, Kennikat Press, 1966.

John Adams and the American Revolution, Catherine Drinker Bowen, Little Brown, 1950.

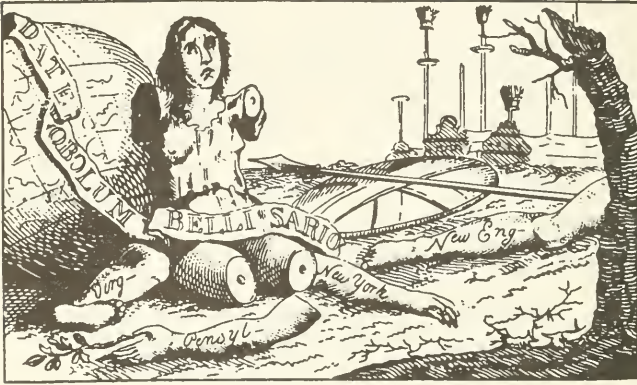
Look to the Mountain, Le Grand Cannon, H. Holt & Co., 1942.

The Spirit of '76, Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, Harper & Row, 1967.

- Drums Along the Mohawk*, Walter Edmonds, Little Brown, 1937.
- Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*, Esther Forbes, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942.
- Johnny Tremaine*, Esther Forbes, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945.
- The Adventures of Christopher Hawkins*, Christopher Hawkins, New York Times, 1968.
- Private Yankee Doodle; being a narrative of some of the adventures, dangers, and sufferings of a Revolutionary soldier*. Joseph Plumb Martin, ed. by George F. Scheer, Little Brown, 1962.
- Rag, Tag and Bobtail: The Story of the Continental Army*, Lynn Montross, Barnes and Noble, 1967.
- The Negro in the American Revolution*, Benjamin Quarles, University of North Carolina Press, 1961.
- Colonists in Bondage; White Servitude and Convict Labor in America*, Abbot Smith, University of North Carolina Press, 1947.
- The American Revolution*, George Otto Trevelyan, D. McKay Co., 1964.
- The Secret History of the American Revolution*, Carl Van Doren, A.M. Kelly, 1973.
- The Great Rehearsal; the story of the making and ratifying of the Constitution*, Carl Van Doren, Viking Press, 1948.
- Mutiny in January*, Carl Van Doren, A.M. Kelly, 1973.
- Sally Wister's Journal*, Sarah Wister, New York Times, 1969.



MAGNA Britannia: her Colonies REDUC'D



THE COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

From their first days in the “New World” in the early 1600s, European colonists began to slowly change from their relatives on the other side of the Atlantic. Separated by 3000 miles of water from the Old World — a considerable distance in those days — the colonists who came here were forced to modify old institutions and values to meet the needs of their lives in America. In addition, many of these early settlers were the outcasts of Europe — radicals, religious dissenters, the poor and criminals. This section explores the early development of what one observer of the 1700s called, “This new man, this American.”

Errand into the Wilderness, Perry Miller, Belknap Press, 1956.

The Puritans, Perry Miller, Doubleday, 1956.

The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England, Samuel Eliot Morison, New York University Press, 1956.

Colonists in Bondage; White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, Abbot Smith, University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

Gentleman Freeholders; Political Practices in Washington's Virginia, Charles S. Sydnor, University of North Carolina Press, 1952.

The Peaceable Kingdom; New England Towns in the Eighteenth-Century, Michael Zuckerman, Knopf, 1970.

The Colonial Era, Herbert Aptheker, International Publishers, 1966.



THE BRITISH BACKGROUND

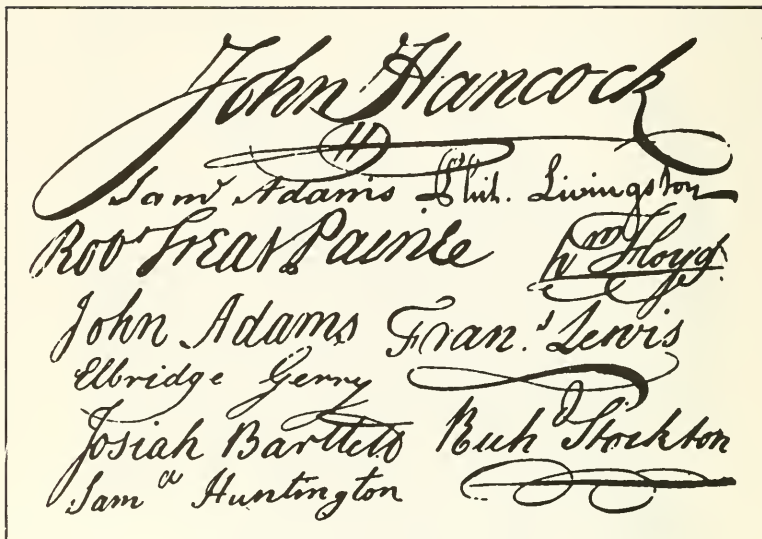
As Americans came to grips with the issues that launched the Revolution, their relatives in England were debating among themselves the merits of the American case. British society was torn. Wealthy aristocrats and government officials, for the most part, supported the King and his policies. Others, notably John Wilkes, the Mayor of London, and his poor constituents, resorted to extreme measures in favor of the Americans. This section explores these conflicts.

British Opinion and the American Revolution, Dora Mae Clark, Yale University Press, 1930.

Preliminaries of the American Revolution as Seen in the English Press, Fred J. Hinkhouse, Octagon Books, 1969.

A History of England in the Eighteenth-Century, William Lecky, AMS Press, 1968.

Origins of the American Revolution, John C. Miller, Stanford University Press, 1957.



OUR FOUNDING RADICALS — THEIR STRATEGY AND PHILOSOPHY

The names of Thomas Jefferson, Abigail Adams, Tom Paine, Ben Franklin, Mercy Warren and others are well known to our generation. Today, we call these men and women the "Founding Fathers and Mothers," but who were these people, and what did they stand for? This section explores these questions by examining the radical philosophy that propelled America into Revolution, as well as the strategy and tactics that the founders used to turn their philosophy into a program for action and change.

Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, Bernard Bailyn, Belknap Press, 1967.

Pamphlets of the American Revolution, Bernard Bailyn, Balknap Press, 1965.

The Lamp of Experience, Trevor Colburn, University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation, Charles McIlwain, Macmillan, 1923.

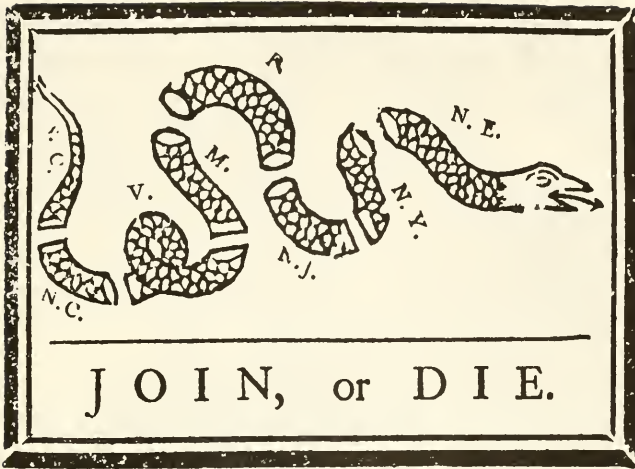
Sam Adams, John C. Miller, Belknap Press, 1936.

Chronicles of the American Revolution, Hezekiah Niles, University Press, 1965.

Tracts of the American Revolution, Merrill Jensen, Bobbs-Merrill, 1967.

The Declaration of Independence, Carl Becker, P. Smith, 1933.

Common Sense and other Political Writings, Thomas Paine, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953.



DEVELOPING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

In 1760, George III was proclaimed King of England and Ruler of the British Empire, an empire that included the thirteen colonies in America. Within 15 years of his accession to the throne, King George had managed to so thoroughly antagonize Americans that a full-fledged Revolutionary movement had taken root throughout the colonies.

From its earliest demands that Americans should enjoy the same rights and liberties as Englishmen, the revolutionary movement climaxed in the establishment of the United States as a new nation dedicated to democratic government, equality of all people, and Revolution throughout the world. This section traces that 15 year development, and the milestone events along the way.

The Coming of the Revolution, Lawrence Gipson, Harpers, 1954.

From Resistance to Revolution, Pauline Maier, Knopf, 1972.

Founding of a Nation, Merrill Jensen, Oxford University Press, 1968.

The History of the American Revolution, David Ramsay, Russell & Russell, 1968.

Toward Lexington, John Sly, Princeton University, 1965.

The Eve of the Revolution, Carl Becker, Yale University Press, 1921.

The Boston Tea Party, Benjamin Labaree, Oxford University Press, 1964.

The Stamp Act Crisis, Edmund Morgan and Helen Morgan, Collier Books, 1963.

Seedtime of the Republic, Clinton Rossiter, Harcourt Brace, 1953.

The Boston Massacre, Hiller Zobel, W.W. Norton, 1970.



THE AMERICAN TORY

Not all Americans in 1776 were patriots. Far from it. Tens of thousands of Americans considered themselves loyal subjects of King George, and did everything in their power to stop the coming Revolution. Because of their support for the monarchy, and their hatred for democracy, these Tories lost much in the Revolution. The large land-holdings of many were confiscated, broken up and distributed among the patriots. Thousands were forced into exile. Others were tarred and feathered, boycotted and jailed for their activity.

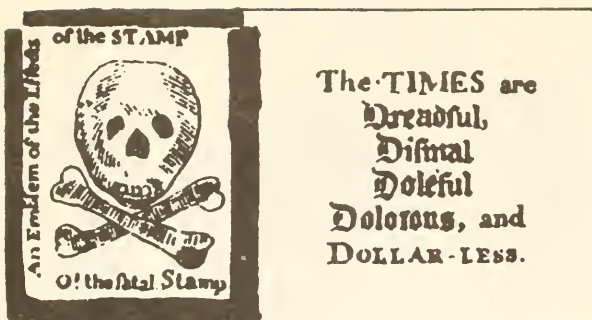
Who were the Tories? What did they believe in? How well organized were they? And what made them side with King George instead of the rebels? These questions are explored in this section.

Democratic-Republican Societies, Eugene Link, Columbia University Press, 1942.

The American Tory, William H. Nelson, Oxford University Press, 1961.

Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion, Peter Oliver, Stanford University Press, 1961.

The Loyalists in the American Revolution, C.H. Van Tyne, P. Smith, 1929.



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

There were two major thrusts to the American Revolution. One, of course, was the struggle for independence that was waged against King George and the British Empire. The other was what Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, had in mind when he wrote in 1787, "The American War is over, but this is far from the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, only the first act of the great drama is at a close."

Rush, Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine and many other Americans were determined that the Revolution would not stop with the separation of the United States from England. They demanded that the democratic principles of the Revolutionary years be applied with equal force here at home. Concentrations of power and wealth, these patriots argued, was undemocratic whether in the hands of the King of England or the wealthy landholders and merchants of America. This section explores the issues of Economic Democracy and political power.

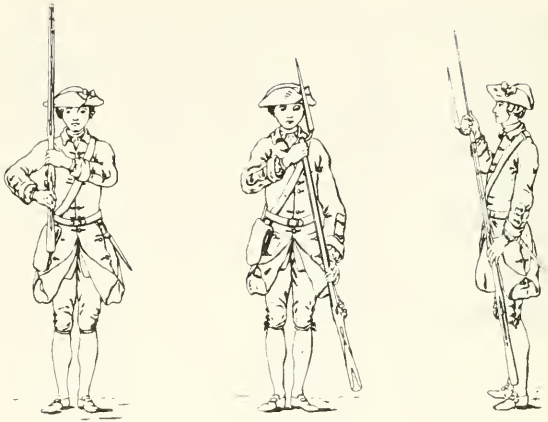
The American Revolution, Herbert Aptheker, International Publishers, 1960.

The Sons of Liberty in New York, H.B. Dawson, Arno Press, 1969.

Laboring and Dependent Classes in America, Marcus Jernegan, Ungar, 1960.

Government and Labor in Early America, Richard B. Morris, Harpers Torchbook, 1965.

The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, Arthur Schlesinger, Columbia University Press, 1918.



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE MILITARY

For over seven years, Americans shouldered arms against the troops of King George III. This army, under the command of General George Washington, was the first ever established by Americans, and the task was one of the most difficult and crucial the patriots faced.

This section looks into the early views of Americans toward the army, a subject of great controversy in the 18th century when any professional military force was distrusted by private citizens and seen as a danger to the civil authority. Also explored are the military strategies, battles and campaigns of the Revolution.

The American Rebellion, Sir Henry Clinton, Yale University Press, 1954.

George Washington in the American Revolution, James Flexner, Little Brown, 1968.

The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas, Henry Lee, Quadrangle Books, 1962.

Rag, Tag and Bobtail: The Story of the Continental Army, Lynn Montross, Barnes and Noble, 1967.

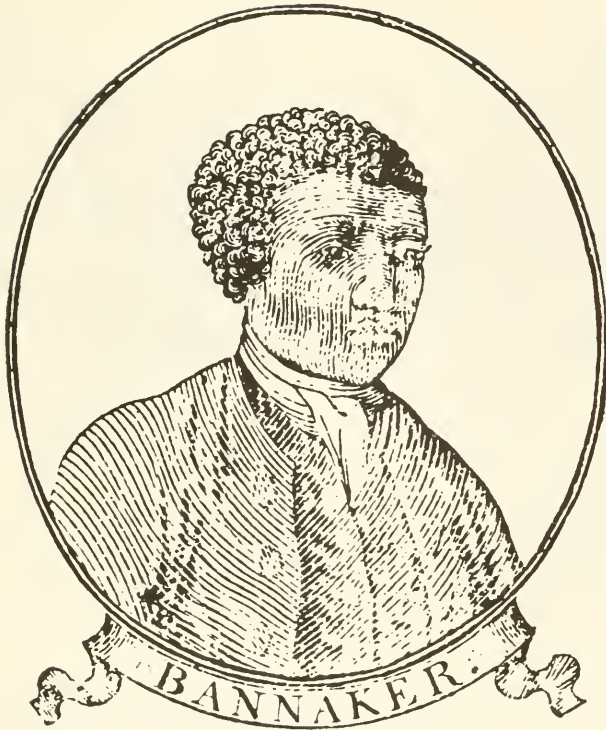
The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War, Charles Stedman, New York Times, 1969.

The American Revolution, George Otto Trevelyan, D. McKay Co., 1964.

The Voices of '76, Richard B. Wheeler, Harper and Row, 1972.

Battles of the American Revolution, Henry Beebe Carrington, New York Times, 1968.

Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865, Marcus Cunliffe, Little Brown, 1968.



BLACKS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Much of the history of the American Revolution, like other periods out of our past, has been neglected, forgotten, or lost. The role of Black people during the Revolution is such a case. For black men and women, most of whom were enslaved during the Revolution, the key issues at stake were freedom and the end of slavery. Many blacks, taking the words of the Declaration of Independence to heart — “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . .” — fought on the side of the patriots. Other blacks fought in the King’s army, hoping that if the Redcoats won, they would be freed in gratitude. This section examines the role of Black Americans during the Revolution — as soldiers, writers, spies, clergy, free men and women and slaves.

The Negro in the American Revolution, Herbert Aptheker, International Publishers, 1940.

The Negro in Colonial New England, L.J. Greene, Kennikat Press, 1966.

The Negro in the American Revolution, Benjamin Quarles, University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution, Sidney Kaplan & the Smithsonian Institution, New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1973.



WOMEN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Though seldom given credit, women played as active a role in the waging of the Revolution as did men. Before the outbreak of fighting, women formed Daughters of Liberty organizations to promote boycotts of taxed British goods. During the war, some women were spies, others took up arms, and many more successfully managed farms and businesses while their husbands served in the army.

At the same time, there was a growing awareness among women of issues we today call "women's liberation." Abigail Adams for instance, wrote her husband John (then a delegate to the Continental Congress), that "If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation." This section explores the lives of colonial women, the participation of women in the patriot cause, and the implications of the Revolutionary philosophy to the role of women in society.

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies, Julia Cherry Spruill, Norton, 1972.

Colonial Dames and Good Wives, Alice Morse Earle, Ungar, 1962.

Customs and Fashions in Old New England, Alice Morse Earle, Corner House Publishers, 1969.

Familiar Letters of John Adams and Abigail Adams, during the American Revolution, ed. Charles Francis Adams, Books for Libraries Press, 1970.

Correspondence Between John Adams and Mercy Warren, ed. C.F. Adams, Arno Press, 1972.

Sally Wister's Journal, Sarah Wister, New York Times, 1969.

The Women of '76, Sally Smith Booth, Hastings House Publishers, 1973.



THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Long before white people came to America from Europe, Indian tribes inhabited North America. From the first, colonists viewed and treated these Native Americans paradoxically. Impressed with the Indians' outlook toward property, life, nature and spiritual matters, colonists came to see the Indian as a "noble savage" more in tune with the world than the "civilized" European. At the same time, Europeans demanded that the Indians change their ways, adopt the Christian God, and in general become more like themselves. These conflicts inevitably led to mutual distrust and misunderstanding, and eventually to the breaking of treaties and armed attacks. This section explores these antagonisms, as well as the role played by Indians, both on the side of the British and the Americans, during the Revolution.

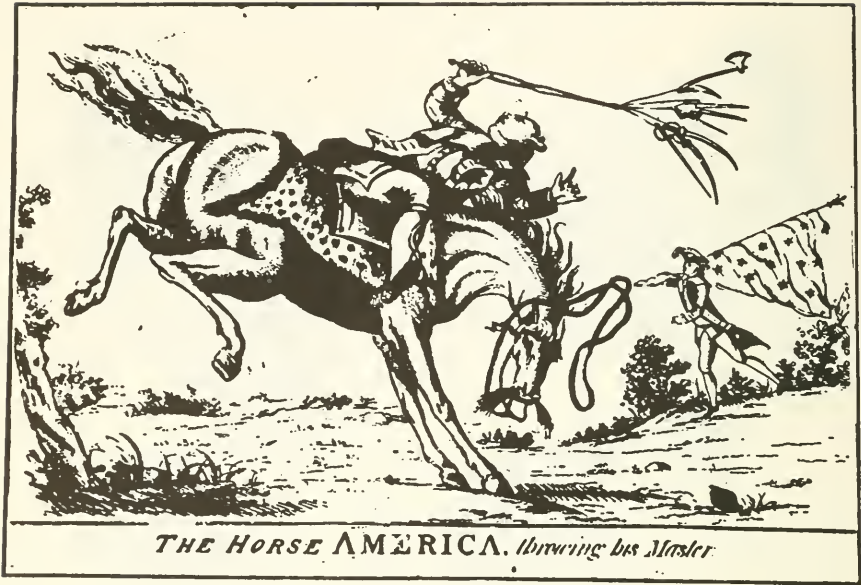
History of the American Indian, James Adair, Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968.

The Indian and the White Man, Wilcomb Washburn, NY U. Press, 1964.

The Iroquois in the American Revolution, Barbara Graymont, Syracuse University Press, 1972.

The Southern Indian during the American Revolution, James H. O'Donnell, U. of Tennessee Press, 1973.

The Colonial Legacy, ed. by Lawrence Leder, Harper and Row, 1973. Vol. 3, an Introduction to James Adair, by Washburn, pgs. 91-120.



DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

During the Revolution, the Continental Congress sought financial and military aid from France and other European countries in the battle against the massive British Empire. As the fighting came to a close, American diplomats conducted lengthy negotiations with English representatives in an effort to reach a peace settlement. After the Revolution, America was heralded as the leader of the world-wide democratic movement, and American representatives actively attempted to spread the Revolution outside of the United States. All three aspects of our early diplomatic and foreign policy efforts are explored here.

The Diplomacy of the American Revolution, Samuel Bemis, D. Appleton-Century, 1935.

English Whiggism and the American Revolution, George H. Guttridge, University of California Press, 1942.

The Peacemakers, Richard B. Morris, Harper and Row, 1965.

John Adams, V. II, Page Smith, Doubleday, 1962.

The Life and Major Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. by Philip S. Foner, Citadel Press, 1974.



DEBATE: WAS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION A SOCIAL MOVEMENT?

Since 1776, there have been nearly as many interpretations of the American Revolution as there were historians to write them. Some historians claim that the American Revolution wasn't a "real" revolution like those of France, Russia or China. These historians argue that our Revolution was primarily an "independence" movement that transferred power from an elite in England to an elite in the United States. Another school of historians point to the social and economic reforms that were launched in the 1770s to prove that the American Revolution was the real thing.

This section explores these, and other, interpretations of the American Revolution.

The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, J. Franklin Jameson, Princeton University Press, 1926.

The American Revolution: Two Centuries of Interpretation, Edmund Morgan, ed., Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, Esmond Wright, ed., Quadrangle Books, 1966.

Voices of the American Revolution, Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Bantam Books, 1974.



The Peoples Bicentennial Commission publishes material on the American Revolution and the Bicentennial. PBC publications include guides to: "Community Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial;" "Student and Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial;" religious participation in the Bicentennial; and a special youth activity guide for the Bicentennial. All four guides contain scores of program ideas, activities, suggestions, as well as historical material about the Revolution and its implications for today. Also included in the kit are study guides, a quote book from the founding mothers and fathers, an American History magazine, and posters and buttons. The complete PBC kit, along with a one year's subscription to the PBC magazine, "Common Sense," costs \$10.00. Write to the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Washington, D.C. 20036.

COMMON SENSE II Q2033 * \$1.25 * A BANTAM BOOK

COMMON SENSE II

BY THE PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

TOM PAINE'S COMMON SENSE SPARKED THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 200 YEARS AGO. THIS BOOK SOUNDS THE ALARM AGAINST TODAY'S TYRANTS, THE GIANT CORPORATIONS.

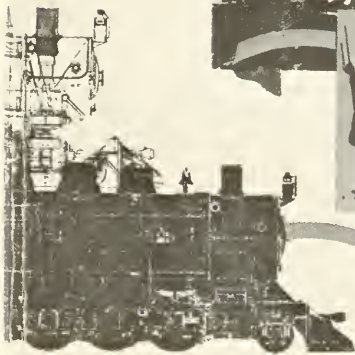


EXHIBIT No. 19
(Referred to on p. 62)

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS



OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

112 NORTH BRYAN, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA, 47401

TEL. NO. 631-27711

March 12, 1975

Mrs. William C. Walton
1105 North Irving Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois 60187

Dear Mrs. Walton:

I enclose a recent issue of our Newsletter which includes two announcements about materials that are available on the bicentennial. These are the film on George III and the items that can be obtained from the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. I assume that you are writing to the Bicentennial Administration in Washington.

Let me suggest that you also contact Professor Richard Morris who is chairman of the Committee on the Bicentennial of the American Historical Association. Professor Morris' address is 605 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City 10027.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Richard S. Kirkendall". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "R" and "K".

Richard S. Kirkendall
Executive Secretary

Enclosure
RSK:ms

EXHIBIT No. 19A

(Referred to on p. 62)

[From Organization of American Historians Newsletter, January 1975]

PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL STUDY GUIDE

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission has produced a complete Bicentennial display package of books on the American Revolution, "In the Minds and Hearts of the People." The display is especially suited to library and school use. It contains eight large posters based on quotes from the founding fathers and mothers, 30 reproductions of the Revolutionary era, engravings, captions, and headlines describing the major events and themes of the American Revolution, and a syllabus and study guide developed by Dr. Page Smith, Senior Staff Historian and a Bancroft Award-winning author. The display package can be ordered from the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 for \$20.

Common Sense

VOL 2, No. 1

PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

JANUARY, 1974



photo by LNS

INSIDE: Boston Oil Party; Patriots vs Tories

Common Sense

VOL. 3,

PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

NO. 2



JOIN THE MIDNIGHT RIDE TO

THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF

CONCORD

"THE SHOTS HEARD ROUND THE WORLD"

BRIDGES!

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PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION
(617) 247-1851, 490 BEACON ST., BOSTON, MASS.

APRIL 19, 1975



Bicentennial Pomp and Circumstance Puts in an Appearance on April 19



photo by Richard Luops



photo by J Berndt



photo by Steve Geovans



BE PREPARED TO MAKE HISTORY!



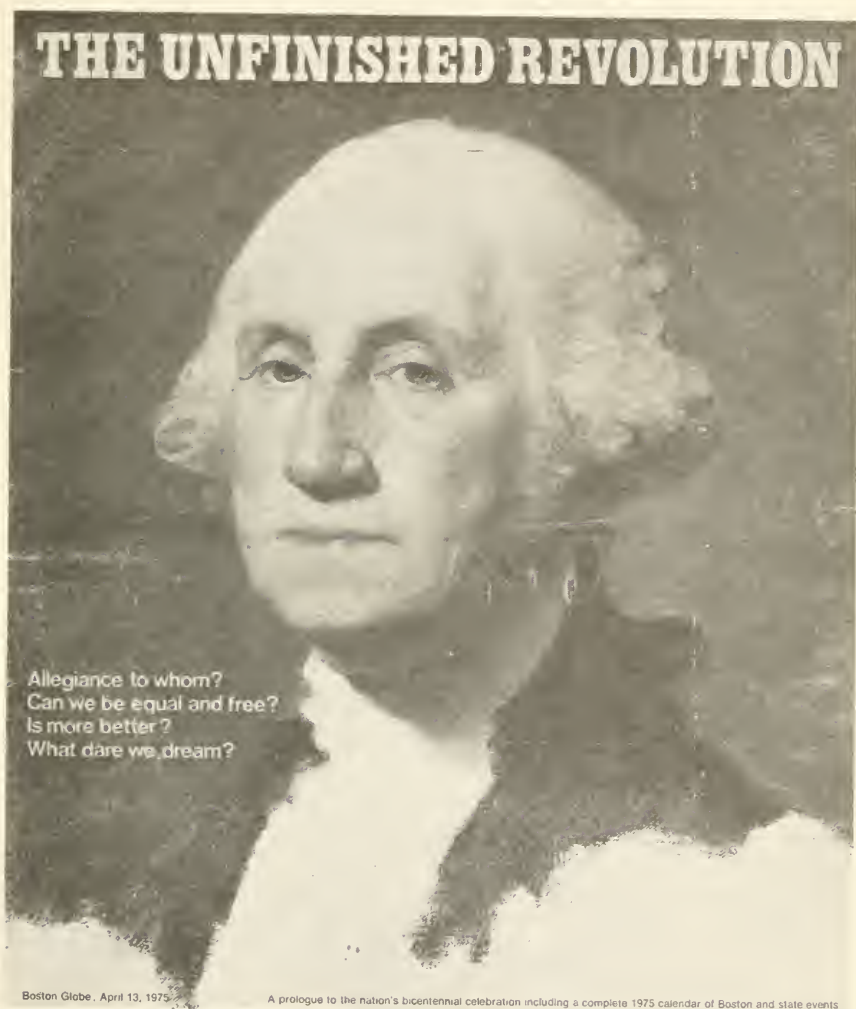
"The people
should never rise
without doing something
to be remembered."

John Adams.



The Peoples Bicentennial Commission

(Referred to on p. 64)



[From the Boston Globe, Apr. 13, 1975]

WHAT DARE WE DREAM?

(By Jeremy Rifkin)

We always paid our taxes, supported our families and stood by our country in good times and bad. We always believed that hard work would pay off. We never took charity. If we didn't have everything we wanted, at least we had everything we needed to make ends meet.

Now we watch helplessly as our hard-earned savings are devoured by skyrocketing food bills and medical costs. We sit up late at night wondering if we will be able to meet our next mortgage payment. We look on in disbelief as our friends and neighbors lose their jobs and are forced into unemployment lines.

We sense an eerie mood of desperation as those around us are moved from hope to cynicism, from self-reliance to dependency, from commitment to escape, from moral purpose to expediency.

We are no longer sure of what to believe in and who to trust. We know that something very wrong is happening in our country, but aren't quite sure what it is. We feel as if a conspiracy has eaten its way into the soul of America and is threatening to destroy the spiritual life of our nation. We are afraid and angry and want desperately to act . . .

Ironically, the mood of America on the eve of our bicentennial is strikingly similar to the mood felt throughout the 13 colonies in 1775. Like us, the colonists were ensnared in an unfolding series of crises that had already spanned nearly a decade.

If the patriots of the 1770s could take a look at America in the 1970s, they'd be stunned. The burning issues of 200 years ago read like the front page of today's newspapers. Back then, a handful of trouble-makers we now call patriots pointed an accusing finger at the monarchy. Today, millions of Americans are beginning to turn an accusing finger once again—this time at the giant corporations. Like the monarchy, these corporate giants have succeeded in concentrating an extraordinary amount of economic and political power in the hands of a few and have undermined our basic rights as workers, consumers and citizens. Consider the facts:

Today's giant business corporations claim possession of vast amounts of economic wealth far in excess of any monarchy that ever existed. The 200 largest business corporations, alone, control two-thirds of all of the manufacturing assets in the United States. As a matter of fact, 36 out of the 100 largest money powers (measured by GNP or gross sales) in the world today are no longer even countries. They are American corporations.

The great majority of us work for these corporate institutions. Even so, the American worker is not the primary beneficiary of corporate productivity. The main objective of the corporation is to make profit for its stockholders. Yet, only 1 percent of the population of this country own 72 percent of all the stock. Over 85 percent of the American people don't even own a single share of stock—we simply can't afford it.

It's no wonder that seven out of every 10 working Americans feel increased corporate productivity would benefit wealthy stockholders and management more than themselves. Their feelings are justified. America's super-rich now own 43 percent of the private wealth of the nation and they are getting richer by the day. Given the nature of the corporate institutions, there is simply no way the American worker can ever come out on top because that privileged position is held by a small stockholding aristocracy.

Meanwhile, America's corporate giants have forced hundreds of thousands of small businesses out of the marketplace and have formed "shared" monopolies in virtually every major wholesale and retail market. These monopolies fix prices at arbitrarily high levels, reaping windfall profits, while the American consumer is being taken for a ride to the poor house.

Even while millions of Americans face the prospect of indefinite layoffs and months or even years of unemployment, the big business moguls feel perfectly justified in moving their plant operations abroad so that they can hire cheaper foreign labor and reap still greater profits for their wealthy stockholders.

These same giant corporations dominate the political decision-making process by placing their executives and supporters in key electoral and appointed governmental positions. Through massive lobbies and the support of hand-picked legislators, the corporations divide up our tax money through government subsidies, contracts and other special favors. According to a 1972 Harris poll, 69 percent of the people agree with the statement that large corporations have a great deal of influence in Washington. Only 7 percent believe that the average citizen has comparable access to government decision-making.

The giant corporation is the most important governing institution in our lives. We spend half of our waking hours under its rules and jurisdiction. For most of us, it is the "only" government that we will be intimately associated with on a daily basis for the majority of our life. Yet, it is a government where democratic principles and God-given rights have no place whatsoever. The corporation is not designed to maximize rights, but rather to maximize profits. We never think of GM, Exxon or ITT as institutions whose basic purpose is to promote human values. In the corporate world there are no considerations of heart and soul, of God, and conscience, but only of expansion and contraction, victory and defeat, profit and loss.

Anyone that works inside the giant business corporation knows that it is an authoritarian environment designed to domesticate the human mind and anesthetize personal initiative, creative thinking and independent judgment—qualities essential to the preservation of our God-given rights.

Every day these giant bureaucratic prisons drain us of that special and unique energy that was to be our trademark and destiny as a people. We used to believe that we were each captains of our fate and masters of our souls. We are now foot soldiers in the corporate armies. We used to believe that great concentrations of wealth and power were subversive to the proper functioning of the democratic process and general welfare of society. Now we accept a government and an economy dominated by a powerful legion of corporate monarchs.

Why do we Americans allow ourselves to remain silent in the face of this obvious and humiliating reality? We know the truth of our situation. We sense that something is fundamentally wrong with the way our economy is organized. We realize that all of the piecemeal proposals presently being debated are but temporary stopgaps and offer no clearcut solution for the future survival of our country. We know that time is running out for America but we are simply unable to imagine a workable alternative to the present corporate system.

How many times have we heard it said: the giant corporations will always be here. They are a fact of life and we must accept it. This was the same psychological problem that faced the colonists 200 years ago. Many of them could not imagine a world without a monarchy. In their minds, monarchy was a fact of life, something beyond their control that was always there and could never be challenged, much less replaced. It took a simple corset maker named Thomas Paine to point out what centuries of blind obedience to the crown had covered up; the simple truth that monarchy was not divinely inspired. It was merely a set of rules which people had made to govern social relationships. People make institutions, and people can change them. Sounds fairly self-evident, doesn't it? But is it as self-evident in relation to the giant business corporation. Although we don't really believe that GM, Exxon and ITT are divinely inspired, we nonetheless ascribe to them a certain mystic bigger-than-life quality. The simple fact is that the corporate system is just a set of rules for bringing people and resources together to make and distribute goods and services.

What is becoming more obvious is that these rules are controlled by a few (top management) to benefit a few (the wealthy stockholders). Meanwhile, 99 percent of the American people are shortchanged every day, as workers and consumers are treated like second-class citizens at the workplace, in the community and in the halls of government.

Two hundred years ago our founders were faced with the choice of continuing to live under a set of rules (the monarchy) that was unfair and oppressive, or replacing it with a new order. They chose to abolish monarchy and to establish a representative democracy.

Their intent was simple and direct. Citizens from each community would be elected to office by their neighbors. These officials would be called "public servants" for the simple reason that they were to carry out the will of those who elected them. These public servants were given authority to make decisions and shape policies in those areas where such authority was granted by the citizenry. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights prescribed the limits of such authority and the Courts interpreted any violation of those limits.

This same democratic approach can just as easily be applied to the economic life of our nation today. There is no reason why the citizenry can't democratically participate in the very offices and factories in which we work. There is no reason why the citizenry can't determine broad economic policy decisions and prescribe the priorities of goods and services to be produced. There is no reason why the citizenry can't replace corporate management that is accountable to the stockholders with elected management that is accountable to the people. There is no reason why the citizenry can't replace profit that now goes to a small minority of privileged stockholders with profit that goes to the workers and consumers in the form of higher wages and lower prices. There is no reason why we can't use the technological know-how at our disposal to begin decentralizing giant economic institutions into local and regional units small enough to promote real democratic control as well as real economic efficiency.

Some, no doubt, will consider all of this a laughable suggestion. On the contrary, it is the present circumstances that we find ourselves in that is truly laughable. For, is there any other word that can better illustrate the absurd fact that millions of us are herded through life like mindless sheep by a minute handful of people and institutions.

Is it laughable to inquire why David Rockefeller makes a greater income in one day than the average worker makes in 12 months?

Is it laughable to inquire why, if we are all created equal, a very few babies are born into fantastic wealth and splendor complete with the power and privileges extended to royal nobility?

Is it laughable to inquire why the vast property of America belongs to a few individuals and institutions and not to the people?

Is it laughable to inquire why the average employee must work two and a half hours of an eight-hour work day just to pay government taxes, while multimillionaires like David Rockefeller pay almost NO taxes at all?

Is it laughable to inquire why "our" government rewards large corporations and wealthy individuals with \$51.5 billion annually in the form of tax loopholes, credits and incentives while providing only \$10 billion per year in public assistance to the poor?

It's laughable alright and the joke's on us for remaining passive in the midst of the abuses we are forced to endure under the present corporate system.

Of course, the apologists for the corporate system will argue that a democratic economy is an unworkable utopian pipe dream, and that would destroy the individual's incentive to be productive, that it would result in administrative inefficiency, and that it would place power in the hands of incompetent decision makers. Yet, they conveniently forget to mention two things. First, that all three of these arguments best sum up the present state of the corporate system itself. And second, that economic democracy has proven successful time and time again in actual practice.

Democratically owned and controlled economic institutions already exist in scattered communities across the nation. Municipally controlled utilities, democratically controlled factories, consumer controlled cooperatives and citizen controlled community development corporations are functioning right now as successful and effective institutions and their numbers are growing rapidly every year. These democratic institutions exist because plain ordinary people have believed in the democratic process and had the will and resolve to put those beliefs into practice.

Even some of America's largest corporations, including Procter and Gamble, General Foods, Corning Glass, Texas Instruments, Monsanto and Pittsburgh Plate Glass have, in some plants, abandoned classic bureaucratic techniques of organization in favor of direct democratic control of production by employees. This radical departure from authoritarian top down management of workers control has been instituted not out of any sense of unrestrained idealism, but rather out of practical necessity. Very simply, the owners and managers of these corporations have found that after an initial period of job retraining and confidence building, workers are often more competent to make basic decisions on how goods and services are to be produced, and that democratic decision-making promotes worker incentives and increased efficiency.

In case after case where employees have been allowed to take over basic decision-making operations previously exercised by management and owners, the results have been startling. Yet, these model experiments continue to remain the best kept secret in American life today. Corporations, while pleased with the increased financial benefits accruing from worker control, are, at the same time, alarmed about its implications. They are justified in their concerns. The hard, cold statistical results of these experiments in economic democracy threaten the very basis of our corporate economy. After all, what would happen if millions of working Americans became aware of the phenomenal success of these experiments in economic democracy? It wouldn't take much time for people to put two and two together; i.e., if workers are better equipped than top management and owners to make decisions on *how* goods and services are to be produced, then why aren't we just as equipped to decide *what* should be produced and *who* should benefit.

The first step in democratizing the economy is to bring the question out of the basement and into the full light of public discussion and debate.

The people have a right to know the statistical results of experiments in democratizing economic institutions here in the United States as well as in Western Europe. As more and more Americans become aware of the success of these experiments in advancing productivity and individual incentive, it is virtually certain that a public clamor for increased implementation will develop among workers in every industrial sector of the country, especially when such experiments are contrasted with the present corporate system, riddled with unemployment, runaway inflation and seemingly uncontrollable fiscal dislocations and instabilities.

In America, nothing succeeds like success. Informing the public that, in case after case, corporate management has been simply unable to compete successfully with democratic management will, undoubtedly, hasten the pressure for greater democratization.

Moving beyond this point to full democratization will require the passage and implementation of new laws to complete the transition from a corporate to a democratic economy.

In pursuing new economic legislation, it is important to remember that there is no magic or mystery to economic democracy. Economic systems are nothing more than man-made rules to organize people and resources to produce and distribute goods and services. There are, however, real problems and issues that have to be dealt with in making a transition from a corporate economy to a democratic one.

The important thing is that we not be frightened into inaction simply because we do not already hold all the specific answers to all the specific questions that will have to be dealt with. There simply is no way to charter the specific details of our economic future in advance. Those who demand a complete picture of the future will never be the ones to shape it. Tomorrow will belong to those of us who are willing to follow an instinct, to express a feeling, to pursue a dream and to choose a course. Commitment is ultimately based on faith in a vision one has for oneself and society and not on dispassionate calculations and reams of facts and figures. How much do we need to know, to know what we want? We want to participate in decisions that affect our life. We want to live without fear. We want to feel that what we do and who we are has meaning for ourselves and those we care for. We want to count for something and we want to know that there is a reason for our being alive.

We should remember that delegates to our second Continental Congress in 1776 brought with them many more questions than solutions. During the course of that convention and the years that followed, a host of specific proposals were presented for debate and there were occasional doubts as to whether a workable plan for American Nationhood could be adopted at all. Even at the close of the historic Constitutional Convention of 1787 many questions were still left unanswered. Yet, in the course of several years of careful deliberation and experimentation, a future course was chartered that provided a sound road map for nearly 200 years of Nationhood.

Our generation of Americans is faced with the same opportunity and challenge. We need to charter a revised road map that adheres to the same general principle that our founders pursued: the principle that decisionmaking power must be broadly exercised by the people, and not be delegated to a few. Most important, we must insure that the present centralized and authoritative control exercised by corporate money men is not simply replaced with an equally centralized and authoritative control exercised by bureaucrats and elected officials in Washington, D.C.

Many of us have yet to come to grips with the hard reality of our situation: that our economic salvation depends on our joining together to challenge the stranglehold that the giant corporations now exert over the affairs of our nation.

If we are to save our families from economic ruin and our country from a complete collapse, we must begin now to build a new movement for the democratic restructuring of the economy of the United States of America.

Certain moments in history call for extraordinary energy, strength and commitment. In such periods average people burst forth from the obscurity of everyday life to imprint an indelible stamp on the pages of history. John Adams was a lawyer, Tom Paine was a corset maker, Ben Franklin a printer, Abigail Adams a housewife. Our founders lived in perilous times that called for great deeds and great people. They answered the call and they succeeded.

Now we are being called forth to resurrect that same democratic spirit that propelled our founders to greatness.

Let the skeptics side with Goliath in this contest. Let the theoreticians chatter on about every nuance and detail of the matter at hand. Let the cowards wrap themselves up in feeble diversions. And let the defenders and apologists of the corporate system remain smug and contemptuous on their plastic thrones.

The Challenge is clear, the moment is now.

A thousand voices from our past call us to act for our future and the future of our country.

Who will take up the banner of liberty and freedom that Adams, Paine and Jefferson led into battle nearly 200 years ago?

If Sam Adams were alive today, he would say to our generation: "I believe that no people ever groaned under the yoke of slavery but what they deserved it . . . the truth is, all might be free if they valued freedom and defended it as they ought. Is it possible that millions could be enslaved by a few, which is a notorious fact, if all possessed an independent spirit?"

That spirit is ours to grab hold of and live by. All of the power and authority of the corporate empire is of little consequence when matched against the will and resolve of a patriotic movement dedicated to restoring the dignity of the human family.

The words of Ben Franklin ring out loud and clear as our nation embarks on the 200th birthday of the opening of the American Revolution:

"We must all hang together or most assuredly we will all hang separately."

EXHIBIT No. 23

(Referred to on p. 66)

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RAINBOW
COALITION
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OCT. 4
2:00 P.M.

SPEAKERS: BLACK PANTHER
: YOUNG LORDS
: RYM II

Elmhurst College
Chapel
(basement)



The oppressed Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and White people have joined together as one in a RAINBOW COALITION, in the common cause of liberation from the power structure that controls the so called United States of America.

ALL POWER TO
THE PEOPLE!

EXHIBIT No. 24

(Referred to on p. 66)

[From The Sunday Booster, Aug. 30-31, 1975]

Activist Groups to Hold Picnic

A Labor Day picnic sponsored by a coalition of social action groups will be held at Washington Square, Clark and Walton, from 2 to 6 p.m. Monday, Sept. 1.

According to the Rev. Ibero Hacker, the picnic's co-chairman and president of the Rainbow Coalition, 2440 N. Lincoln, the program will include "speeches, music, fried chicken and watermelon."

Heading the list of speakers, Hacker added, will be newspaper columnist Mike Lavelle, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, WBBM-TV's Bill Kurtis, Chicago Police Dept. Sgt. Charles Glass, Ald. Dick Simpson (44th), State Rep. John Merlo (D-12th), Hilda Frontany of the Lake View Latin American Coalition, and David Martinez of the United Farm Workers.

Entertainment will be provided by folksingers Jo Mapes, Art Thieme and Mike Lieber and country-western singer John Barnett who appeared in the film "Nashville."

Hacker said the public is encouraged to bring covered dishes to the picnic, "but come anyway even if you don't have anything to bring."

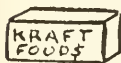
Hacker said the Labor Day picnic was organized to help focus on the problems of unemployment and inflation and is being sponsored by the American Issues Forum, Chicago Conference on Hunger and Malnutrition, Chicago Welfare Rights Organization, Peoples Bicentennial Commission and the Rainbow Coalition.

EXHIBIT No. 25

(Referred to on p. 66)

PROTEST THE FREEDOM TRAIN RIP-OFF

General Motors invested \$1,000,000 (tax write-off) while laying off workers....



Kraft Foods invested \$1,000,000 (tax write-off) while raising their prices at the supermarket....



Pepsi-cola also came up with \$1,000,000 (tax write-off)....

TO BRING YOU THE "FREEDOM TRAIN"
ANOTHER GREAT CORPORATE RIP-OFF!...

Coming to Navy Pier from July 28 to August 3

- They expect thousands of Chicagoans to pay \$2.00 each to see their own Declaration of Independence and spend the 15 minute tour listening to a saccharin version of 200 years of "progress."

- They expect you to spend your money buying T-shirts, pennants, mugs and other trivia bearing the trade mark of the train.

The PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION will protest this commercialization of our 200th anniversary....this BUY-centennial.

Join us at a planning meeting: Thursday, July 24th 10, 7:30 p.m.

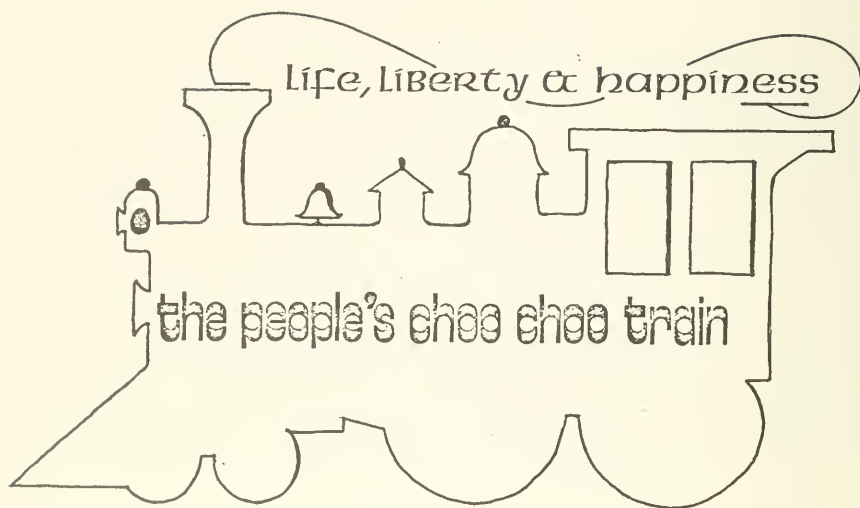
At: Liberty Hall

2440 N. Lincoln Ave.

Call: 327-1976 for information.

EXHIBIT No. 26

(Referred to on p. 66)



PROTEST THE FREEDOM TRAIN

The Freedom Train at Navy Pier is a Corporate Rip-off of our Revolutionary Heritage. Join the Peoples Bicentennial Commission Saturday and Sunday afternoon, the 2nd and 3rd of August in a demonstration. Call 327-1976, Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Liberty Hall, 2440 North Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Il. 60614

EXHIBIT No. 27

(Referred to on p. 67)

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 31, 1975]

Viet Amnesty Vigil November 11

Veterans For Peace will hold an all-day vigil outside the Federal Building, 219 S. Dearborn, on Veterans Day, Nov. 11, to urge amnesty for Vietnam War resisters.

Joining the effort will be the Chicago People's Bicentennial Commission, Chicago Peace Council and Women for Peace. The groups also will urge amnesty for resisters with bad conduct military discharges.

EXHIBIT No. 27A

(Referred to on p. 69)

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 26, 1975]

Suit Forces Name Change of Communist Rally

(By Alan Merridew)

The Communist Party U.S.A. changed the name Wednesday of its national convention windup rally here on Sunday from "People's Bicentennial Festival" to "Mass Celebration of the Bicentennial."

On Tuesday, the People's Bicentennial Commission [P. B. C.], a nonprofit group based in Washington, filed suit in Federal District Court in Washington seeking to stop the party from using the name "People's Bicentennial Festival."

Party and P. B. C. lawyers negotiated by telephone between New York, Washington, and Chicago Tuesday night and Wednesday.

Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, announced the name change at a press conference Wednesday afternoon in the Ambassador West Hotel.

The party's 21st national convention will be held at the hotel Thursday thru Sunday with 700 delegates expected to attend. The rally is scheduled for the International Amphitheater.

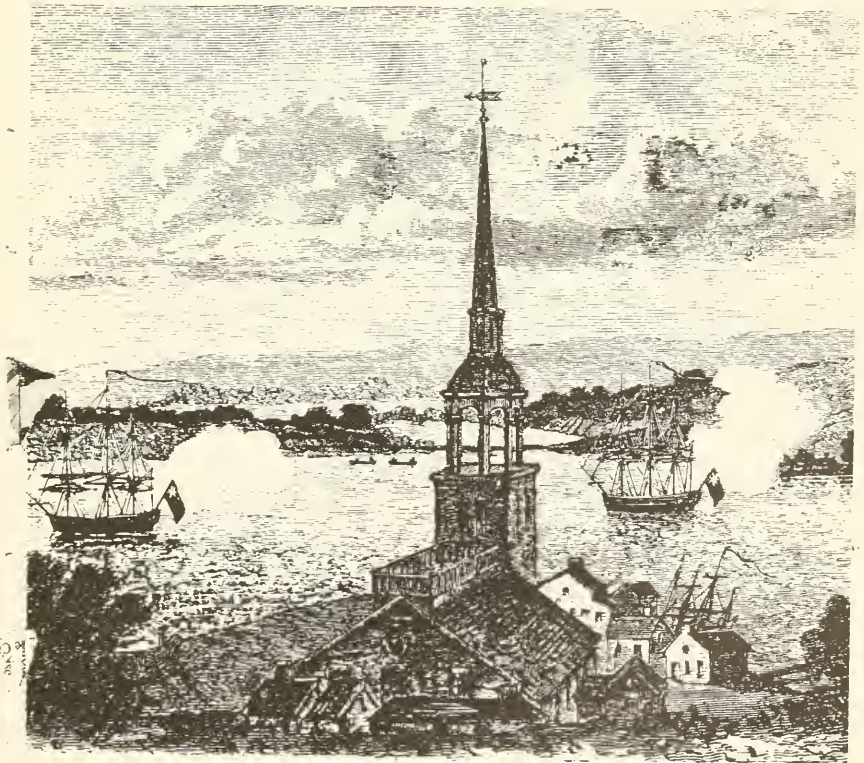
The 8,000-member P. B. C. was founded in 1972 by former Chicagoan Jeremy Rifkin. It has attacked big corporations and Wall Streeters—"today's Tories"—for commercializing the American Revolution Bicentennial; prepared school and college programs; and authored books from a populist point of view.

EXHIBIT No. 28

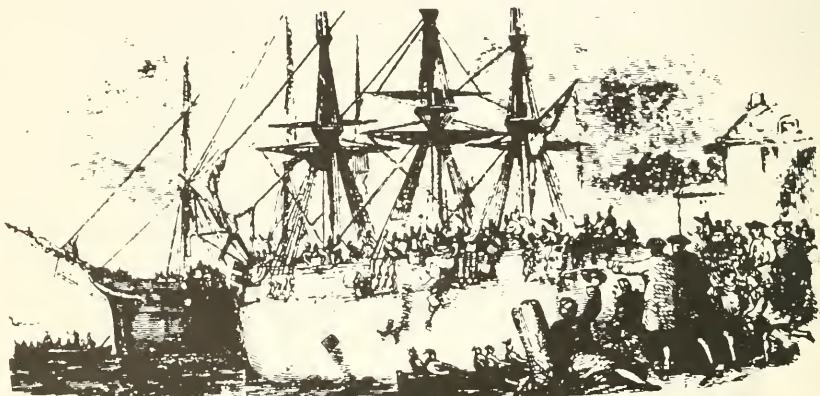
(Referred to on p. 70)

THE LIGHT IN THE STEEPLE

Religion & The American Revolution



Published by the Ecumenical Task Force on the Religious Observance of the
Nation's Bicentennial



The Bicentennial Anniversary of the American Revolution will occur in 1976. It is not too soon to begin to consider how churches and church people can become involved in an appropriate observance of the nation's 200th birthday.

Religion was a dynamic ingredient in the nation's beginnings. Some of its contributions are well known. Others have been neglected in our elementary history books. This publication is designed to help people discover or recall the importance of religious convictions, experiences and institutions in the revolutionary era.

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission suggested the need for this resource and under contract to the Task Force, contributed the general concepts and substantial portion of the content. Peoples Bicentennial Commission also prepared the layout and printed the

publication.

This compilation has been developed by the Ecumenical Task Force on the Religious Observance of the Nation's Bicentennial, which is composed of national denominational program executives and others and is staffed by the National Council of Churches.

The Task Force has designed this resource to cover only a few aspects of the American Revolution. It does not portray even the religious aspect with scholarly precision, but sketches the main trends with broad strokes.

It is the work of many hands and does not necessarily represent the official views of the National Council of Churches or the participating denominations, but is published by the Editorial Committee of the Task Force.

Chairman of the Ecumenical Task Force
Secretary of the Task Force & Editor of this Publication
Editorial Committee

Everett Francis

Dean M. Kelley

Dieter Hessel

J. Elliot Corbett

Isaac Rottenberg

Editorial Associates: Alan Fisher and Robert G. White

Public Affairs Officer, Executive Council of the Episcopal Church

Religious and Civil Liberty, National Council of Churches

Editor, Trends Magazine, United Presbyterian Church in the USA

Church-Government Relations, Board of Church & Society, United Methodist Church

Program Interpretation, Reformed Church in America

Additional copies may be ordered from the

* Department of Publication Services
Room 552
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

100 copies \$8.60 prepaid, \$9.60 billed.

50 copies \$4.50 prepaid, \$5.50 billed.

20 copies \$2.75 prepaid, \$4.00 billed.

* Ecumenical Institute

EXHIBIT NO. 29
(Referred to on p. 72)



1776-1976

Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. 20036 - Room 1021
(202) 833-9121 (212) 242-7440

March 23, 1972

Mr. David J. Mahoney
Chairman
American Revolution
Bicentennial Commission
736 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20076

AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION
2

Dear Mr. Mahoney:

In accordance with our privileges under the Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552) requiring Federal Agencies to allow examination of government documents affecting the public and not kept secret for reasons of national security, we request the opportunity to examine the following documents:

Transcripts of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission Meetings held: October 7, 1971
December 10, 1971
February 21, 1972

Transcripts of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission Executive Committee Meetings held:
January 27, 1972
March 21, 1972

Transcripts of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission Communication Committee Meetings held:
December 11, 1971
March 22, 1972

We are aware that at each of these meetings so called "Public Members" participated. ARBC's enabling legislation states these members were appointed to represent the public. However, since no meetings of the ARBC or any of its committees are open to the public, we feel we are unable to properly perform our duties as citizens if we are unable to read the transcripts of the above meetings and thus begin to evaluate the performance of the members on the ARBC purporting to represent us.

Under the Recommendation of The Administrative Conference of the United States, we look forward to receiving these records within ten (10) days of your receipt of this request. We appreciate your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Deborah Lawrence

Deborah Lawrence

cc: HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

EXHIBIT No. 30
(Referred to on p. 72)

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. LeVANT, Director

FROM : Eugene J. Skora, General Counsel

SUBJECT: Request for Transcripts of ARBC Commission and Committee Meetings

As you know, the Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission has requested the opportunity to examine transcripts of the three most recent full Commission meetings, the last two Executive Committee meetings, and the last two Communications Committee meetings. This request was made pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act.

I discussed the request with Mr. Robert Saloschin of the Office of the Legal Counsel, Department of Justice (Pat Collins' office). Mr. Saloschin is the Chairman of an Attorney General's Committee which must be consulted by a Federal Agency prior to a final denial of documents requested under the Act.

The following considerations evolved from our meeting:

1. ARBC is most probably subject to the Act. The Act applies to all Executive Agencies. The only possible basis for claiming exclusion would be the fact that there are Congressional and Judiciary representatives on the Commission.
2. The mere fact that the meetings in question were closed to the public does not make the transcripts exempt from disclosure.

Under the Act, Agency records must be available for examination and copying unless they come within one of nine specific exemptions.

Insofar as the full Commission transcripts are concerned, there are portions which do not fall within specific exemption of the Act and must be disclosed.

- 2 -

Exemptions are provided by the Act for trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from any person, and privileged or confidential; inter-agency or intra-agency memoranda or letters which would not be available by law to a private party in litigation with the Agency -- i.e., internal opinions and communications; personnel and medical files, and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute an invasion of privacy; materials specifically exempted from disclosure by statute; certain internal procedures -- i.e., instructions for spot audits; and records specifically required by Executive Order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy.

Those portions of the full Commission meeting transcripts not falling within the above must be made available for review.

3. Probably much of the transcripts of the Executive Committee meetings may be exempted as internal communications, opinions and recommendations.
4. A large part of the transcripts of the Communications Committee are most likely exempted under the act on the same basis as Number 3 (above) -- i.e., internal communications, opinions and recommendations.
5. Notwithstanding the above comments, there are court decisions which distinguish between documents which are internal opinions or recommendations and those which are statements of fact. In some instances, where the material was severable, factual data was required to be severed from internal opinions and recommendations and made available under the Act.
6. While the Freedom of Information Act provides exemptions for certain categories of records, the intent of the Act and the attitude of the Department of Justice is in favor of disclosure except where there are cogent reasons to the contrary.
7. Normally the Attorney General's Committee is consulted only when a final denial of a request is to be made under a prior discussion. In the case of ARDC, we have established no procedures for such steps as preliminary denial, appeal, and final denial. The denial of any records represents a final denial ~~and thus should be reviewed by the Committee.~~ The Committee can be convened within a matter of days.

- 3 -

INTERIM RESPONSE

I recommend that we submit an interim response to the Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission along the lines of the attached.

I further recommend that the seven transcripts be reviewed to isolate questionable material -- i.e., that which could be embarrassing or that which comes within any of the exemptions of the Act.

Such material should then be reviewed by the Director and/or the Chairman and a decision made on its availability to the applicants.

If at that time the judgment is made to deny any portion of the requested material, it can be reviewed by the Attorney General's Committee.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Hall
Dr. Carroll
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Buser
Capt. Allendorfer

bcc: ARBC files / chron
Skora files

drafted: EJSkora:jam:3/31/72

EXHIBIT NO. 31
(Referred to on p. 72)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1972

Dear Jack:

In response to your memorandum of March 29 concerning the request of the People's American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission, I have these comments:

With respect to transcripts, I urge the Commission to be as forthcoming as the law will permit about making these available. Few things irritate the Congress or the public more than the denial -- or the appearance of denial -- of information to the public when there is no very obvious reason why the information should be held back. I would hold back as little as possible, consistent only with advice from the responsible officials in the Department of Justice. In the future if you and Dave are concerned about the privilege of Commission meetings, you may want to operate without transcripts; they may be convenient to your staff but they are an invitation to the invasion of that privilege.

Concerning the logo, I would be much more stringent. The law is so very clear on this point that you and Dave could well be criticized if you do not move to enforce it. Perhaps your first enforcement action should be a letter from your staff to Miss Lawrence pointing out the provisions of the law and asking for cease and desist, but if they persist, I think you owe it to the many other organizations which will abide by your rules to make the rules uniform.

Sincerely,



Leonard Garment

Mr. Jack LeVANT
Director
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission
736 Jackson Place NW.
Washington, D. C. 20276

EXHIBIT NO. 32
(Referred to on p. 72)



AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

736 JACKSON PLACE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20276

April 4, 1972

DAVID J. MAHONEY
CHAIRMAN

HOBART LEWIS
VICE-CHAIRMAN

~~M. L. SPECTOR~~
~~EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR~~

Ms. Deborah Lawrence
Peoples American Revolutionary
Bi-Centennial Commission
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.-Room 1021
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Lawrence:

It has come to my attention that the letterhead of the Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission bears the symbol adopted by the ARBC as the official symbol of the Bicentennial.

You may not be aware that exclusive rights in this symbol are vested in the ARBC pursuant to Public Law 91-528, approved December 7, 1970. On March 27, 1971, a notification of the adoption of this symbol was published in the Federal Register, as required by the above law.

No one may use this symbol without the written authorization of the ARBC. Inasmuch as the Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission does not have such authorization for use of this symbol, we request that you discontinue its use.

Sincerely,

Eugene J. Skora
General Counsel

Enclosure

EXHIBIT NO. 34
(Referred to on p. 72)

April 19, 1972

NOTE: Messrs. Dobal and
Buser cleared letter by
telephone.

per amr

Ms. Deborah W. Lawrence
Peoples American Revolutionary
Bi-Centennial Commission
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.-Room 1021
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Lawrence:

I refer to your letter of April 6, 1972 regarding the
ARBC logo.

The only authorization for use of the logo to date (other
than use in news media) has been awarded to programs and
activities "recognized" by ARBC as being in furtherance
of the national Bicentennial program. These are the
City of Niagara Falls, the Denver Olympics, Mount Rushmore
and the sickle cell anemia program of the National Medical
Association. A copy of the ARBC criteria, "The National
Bicentennial Program Criteria," is enclosed.

Sincerely,

/s/ Eugene J. Skora

Eugene J. Skora
General Counsel

Enclosure

bcc:

Mr. Dobal
Mr. Buser
Capt. Allendorfer
Mr. Skora
ARBC file/chron
Summary

ARBC: EJSkora: amr 4/18/72

EXHIBIT No. 36
(Referred to on p. 72)



Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission

1776-1976

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. 20036 - Room 1021

(202) 833-9121 (212) 242-7440

REC'D DIRECTOR'S

JUN 9 1972

OFFICE

FWD TO Shora

June 7, 1972

AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
BI-CENTENNIAL
COMMISSION

JUN 9 3 25 PM '72

Mr. Jack LeVANT
Director
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission
736 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20276

Dear Mr. LeVANT:

In reference to our use of the so-called ARBC Logo, we have several question pertaining to the official National Bicentennial Program Criteria which we received from your office.

One section of your basic criteria states "DOES THE ACTIVITY CONTRIBUTE TO A REVIEW AND REAFFIRMATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE NATION WAS FOUNDED AND TO A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF OUR HERITAGE AND OUR COMMON PURPOSES?" Your interpretation of this statement is "Has the activity been conceived in adherence to professional standards and acceptable interpretations of these principles and this new understanding?" You further define the two underlined phrases as "Professional standards relate to those established or adhered to by recognized associations or distinguished individual authorities or practioners. Acceptable interpretations are those which are originated by an individual of standing or recognized by a school of thought which, by virtue of the integrity of its leadership or the numbers of its followers, can be said to have important backing."

What does all this mean? What, in fact, are professional standards? What or who are the recognized associations or distinguished individual authorities or practioners? Who in your organization takes the responsibility for judging "the integrity of its ('an individual of standing or a school of thought') leadership" or for deciding how many "followers" there must be before such an individual or school of thought "can be said to have important backing?" Are you saying that because an individual does not have a following which is considered large enough, by the judgement of you or someone on your staff, his programs or plans will be rejected?

Your criteria is confusing and poorly defined, and we have been completely at a loss as to how to go about complying with it. We would appreciate your response to our questions as soon as possible so that we may completely understand what we have to do.

In the Spirit of '76,

Deborah W. Lawrence

EXHIBIT NO. 37
(Referred to on p. 73)

October 25, 1974
19975 Holiday Rd.
Grosse Pte. Woods,
Mich. 48236

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask if I may be put on the ARBA's mailing list to receive the free monthly and weekly reports, "Bicentennial Bulletin", and "Bicentennial Times."

I would also like to know where I may obtain a copy of America's Birthday by the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

Thank you,

Darlene C. Ziolkowski

(Ms.) Darlene C. Ziolkowski

EXHIBIT NO. 38
(Referred to on p. 73)

December 5, 1974

Darlene C. Ziolkowski
19975 Holiday Road
Grosse Pointe Woods, Michigan 48236

Dear Ms. Ziolkowski:

Enclosed you will find general information on the Bicentennial celebration. This includes an application to be put on our mailing list. Once on the list, you will receive the Bicentennial Times monthly. There is, of course, no charge.

As per your request for America's Birthday; the People's Bicentennial Commission is one of many private Bicentennial organizations. You may find the book in question in any bookstore. However, if you have problems locating a copy, contact the PBC at the address below and they may be able to send you one.

People's Bicentennial Commission
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Room 1025
Washington, D.C. 20036

Thank you for interest in our nation's Bicentennial.

Sincerely,

Ted Lopatkiewicz
Office of Communications

Enclosures

cc: ARBA File/Chron
TRLOPATKIEWICZ/tr1/12-5-74
Hold

[The following exhibits relating to PBC's July 4 demonstrations in Washington, were submitted by Mrs. Walton subsequent to her testimony. They were ordered into the record by the Chairman.]



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION
ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR JULY 4
CELEBRATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

"INDEPENDENCE FROM BIG BUSINESS"
AND "DEMOCRACY FOR THE ECONOMY"
TO BE MAJOR THEMES

The PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION will hold a July 4th gathering on the steps of the Capitol - Washington, D.C.

The rally will call for a rebirth of the democratic promise of social, political and economic justice set forth in the Declaration of Independence by challenging the power of big business and special interests.

The PBC celebration will begin at sunrise with a commemoration service honoring the men and women who for two hundred years have dedicated their lives to America's democratic principles - from the American Revolution through the Abolition, Women's and Peace Movements to the Civil Rights campaigns and Labor struggles.

A march will be held after the service from the Jefferson Memorial to the Capitol Building where the major portion of the day's activities will be held.

Nationally known spokespeople from each major interest and issue area - consumer, environmental, labor, women, third world, education, et al - will speak to the general economic theme from the perspective of their particular area of concern. We are inviting prominent actors, entertainers and others to join us in blending the economic theme into the historical context of America's Revolutionary traditions.

Among the speakers who will be featured are:

- * DR BARRY COMMONER - leading environmentalist
- * ED SADLOWSKI - pres. of the largest steelworkers local in U.S.
- * CAROLE TUCKER-FOREMAN - director, Consumer Federation of America
- * KARL HESS - community activist and organizer
- * FLO KENNEDY - founder of the Feminist Party
- * JONATHAN KOZOL - author and revolutionary educator
- * EQBAL AHMED - authority on Third World Revolution
- * PHIL FONER - leading American Labor historian
- * NICK JOHNSON - former FCC commissioner
- * SID LENS - author, historian and labor organizer
- * SAM LOVEJOY - critic of nuclear power

For More Information, Contact
Jeremy Rifkin, Ted Howard (800) 424-1130



ON JULY 1st, 2nd, AND 3rd, OVER 150,000
PATRIOTS WILL CARAVAN TO WASHINGTON, D. C.

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On July 4th, 150,000-250,000 patriots will gather at the U.S. Capitol Building to rededicate themselves to the founding principles, and raising the call for economic democracy.

On the preceding days, July 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, literally tens of thousands of cars will set out for Washington, D.C. from every section of the country.

PBC is encouraging groups of individuals, organizations, and the local PBCs to form car caravans to come to this historic event. You can do it too. Just get together with family, friends and area activists, and pool expenses and cars. Already, hundreds are being formed in virtually every section of the country. Not only is this helping get folks to the July 4th rally, it does so with a spirit of unity and purpose. -

But even more can happen on the road.

PBC is designating special Patriots Caravan Routes from every section of the country. These special routes (see map) will allow all the local caravans and individuals to feed into the main cross-country routes to Washington, D.C....continually building larger and larger caravans as everyone rolls toward Washington.

Formal coordination of these groupings will not be attempted - indeed, the idea will be to head out on the highway with your own group of cars, marked with home-made, bright yellow "Don't Tread on Me" antenna flags. These flags will be the identifiers for those heading for the D.C. rally

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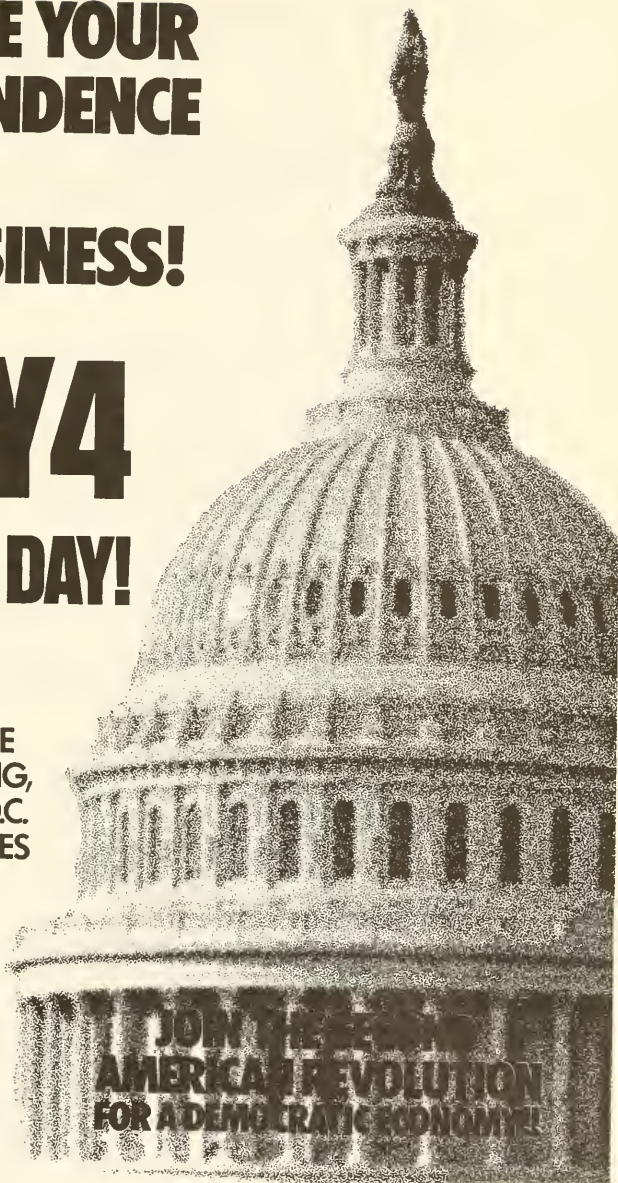
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1776-1976

**The American
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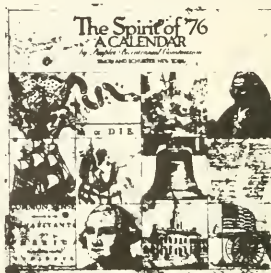
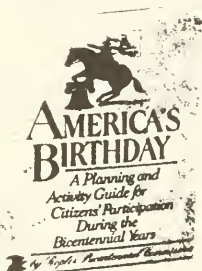
America's Birthday (Simon and Schuster, \$3.95)

America's Birthday may be the only book to come along that is dedicated to Sam Adams and Tom Paine, and like these revolutionaries, the modern authors want to shake up their readers. A readable, challenging and handsomely illustrated and designed book.

New York Times

*This volume is, first of all, a handsome piece of work, replete with inspiring, amusing, or instructive graphics from the Revolutionary Era. But it is much more a study guide, an organizing manual, a persuasive tract with many practical suggestions for community organizations, churches, schools and college—all designed to help create "a new movement to reclaim the democratic ideals upon which this nation was founded." Not recommended for Tories.

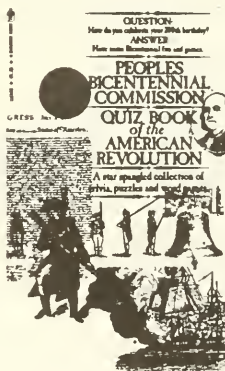
The Progressive



The Spirit of '76: A Calendar (Simon and Schuster, \$3.95)

The Spirit of '76: A Calendar is much more than just a . . . to tell the days of the week and month by. It is a history of the American Revolution, its causes, the people who made it possible, its development and its consummation. It is rare indeed that a calendar is good for browsing in as this one is.

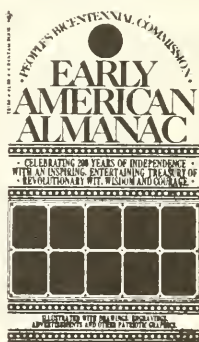
*Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.*



PBC Quizbook of the American Revolution (Bantam Books, \$1.25)

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- Month-by-month Bicentennial Calendar
- A Revolutionary Alphabet
- An Eye-witness Account of the Boston Tea Party
- Recipe for Raisin Wine

The Red, White, and Blue LEFT

JEREMY RIFKIN

The prevailing wisdom that radicalism in America, especially among the young, is moribund rests on appearance, not reality. The absence of televised confrontation, the waywardness of coverage by the news media, and the presence of factional strife among the Left—all these have created the impression that the Left has shrunk to ineffectual griping about the system and the establishment. In our judgment this impression is false. The Left has entered a period of reflection and planning. One of the most significant developments is the emergence of a group of young radicals whose radicalism is home-grown. They find their inspiration in the radical idealism of the American Revolution. They reject classical Marxism and other importations in favor of social and economic analysis that fits the American scene. They are committed to a new democratic focus in these Bicentennial Years—the years between now and the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Among the spokesmen for this movement is Jeremy Rifkin. He has been a coordinator of the Citizens Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes, which conducted veterans' hearings in cities throughout the United States, culminating in Congressional hearings last spring. He is now serving the Peoples American Revolutionary Bi-Centennial Commission and the New American Movement. The Commission is working with individuals and groups to plan and carry out alternatives to the Government's official bicentennial observances.

—THE EDITORS

The American war is over, but this is far from the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed.

—BENJAMIN RUSH (1787)

AS THE Revolution of 1776 was launched by the ringing language of grievances against the British Crown, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, so today unmet grievances against our governmental, economic, and social institutions compel us to launch a new struggle to recapture control over our lives: the next act in the drama of the American Revolution.

Consider that today:

- The hunger, misery, and despair of thirty million Americans are met with silence.
- The frustration and bitterness of millions of working people, who see the fruits of their exhaustive labor syphoned off into the coffers of the very rich, are ignored.

- Two hundred huge corporations dominate the American economy and the Government, manipulate the tax structure to their advantage, and engineer the very patterns of American life.

- Our environment is being destroyed by these corporations and by the mass consumption they induce in the interest of profit and expediency.

- Subtle, and not so subtle, forms of coercion and intimidation continue to mock our Bill of Rights and bar the way to the people's full expression of their opinions. These acts of suppression and coercion are employed to deny the expression of unorthodox or creative thought, thus locking us into a condition of uniformity, obedience, and passivity.

- The Government's policy of genocide in Southeast Asia and its economic, political, and military exploitation throughout the world go on in the face of overwhelming opposition by the American people.

- The terrifying specter of nuclear holocaust hangs

over all of us as our leaders play out military fantasies of another age.

- The questions of racial and sexual exploitation, the neglect of old people, inadequate housing and health care, population congestion, chronic unemployment, urban decay, rural poverty, rising crime rates, anachronistic educational institutions, cumbersome bureaucratic mismanagement, political corruption and incompetence, and a host of other urgent problems that threaten our very survival, go unanswered.

- Our need as human beings to find meaning and value in our lives and to explore freely our relationship to all that is eternal and of the spirit is cruelly extinguished by the oppressive environment in which we live.

These, in briefest outline, are among today's major assaults on the constitutional mandates conceived by the Founding Fathers to "promote the general welfare."

During the past year, President Nixon, one eye cocked on the election of 1972 and the other on the political dividends to be harvested from the approach of the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence in 1976, proclaimed his new American Revolution. An examination of his "revolutionary program" revealed a bit of tinkering and a lot of patching—the whole wrapped up in a package of meaningless rhetoric. To be true to its revolutionary origins, the new American Revolution must not be a revolution in rhetoric, as President Nixon and the leaders of both political parties are advocating, but rather a revolution in fact. The new American Revolution must bring about fundamental changes in our social, economic, and political institutions. It must advocate and be prepared to implement solutions to the grievances that now go unredressed by our present American system.

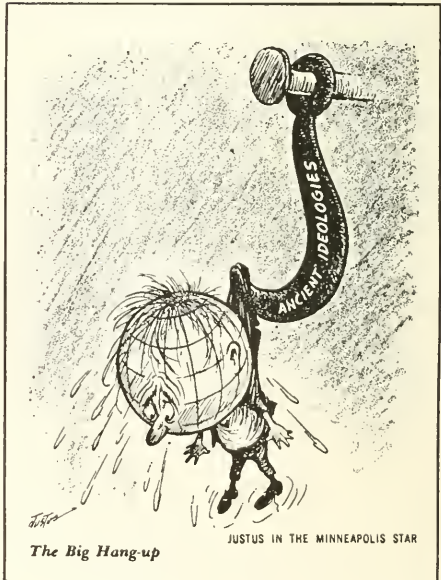
The clear need for revolution does not guarantee it will happen. As the political and economic crisis deepens in America, the present balance in numbers between those who believe that the root cause of our growing crisis is institutional and those who still believe that it is the fault of "Communists" and other "alien" and "subversive" forces is likely to shift dramatically toward one pole or the other. Such a shift would bring with it either demands for fundamental change or vehement repression to uphold the status quo.

For the American Left to develop a strategy that can win popular support for programs that answer present grievances, it must first gain a clear understanding of the role which the American heritage plays in the formation of the American people's political attitudes and behavior. With such an understanding, our heritage can contribute to building consciousness and promote programs and demands in the spirit of the American revolutionary tradition.

The American heritage embodies a set of principles

or ideals which provides the great mass of people with a unique social identity. It is a statement of our beliefs—what we stand for and to what we dedicate ourselves as a people. We give our loyalty and allegiance to political and economic institutions which we regard as consistent with our collective beliefs and capable of translating promises into reality. An accurate analysis of the American spirit must take into account the fact that the American legacy is at once both reactionary and revolutionary.

Our revolutionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such great Americans as Thomas Paine, Benjamin Rush, Sam Adams, Henry Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. DuBois, Mark Twain, and A. J. Muste, and the movements they inspired or led—derive from the principle of the inherent unity and fraternity of all mankind. These aspirations have led to a set of beliefs that forms the revolutionary aspect of the American experience—human equality; respect for the judgment of the common man; distrust of those who command positions of power and privilege; allegiance to freedom of expression and the right to self-determination; cooperative enterprise; government of the people, by the people, for the people; conscience above property and institutions; sympathetic interest in the new, the untried, the unexplored; equality of opportunity; confidence in the



ability of the people to create a more just and humane world; faith in the brotherhood of all mankind.

Our reactionary beliefs—popularized through the words and deeds of such Americans as Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John D. Rockefeller—come from the principle that hostility and war, the survival of the fittest and to hell with the rest—the public be damned—constitute the natural condition of man. This principle is the basis of a set of beliefs that forms the reactionary aspect of the American experience—the sacred value of private property; the ruthlessly competitive spirit as the motivating force for self-fulfillment; the authoritarian family; material accumulation as a measure of man's achievement on earth.

The crisis of American beliefs lies in the increasing polarization of both the revolutionary and reactionary elements in the American legacy.

The escalating political and economic crisis does not alter the basic positive truths of the American heritage. On the contrary, it would be impossible to point out the contradictions in the American system—to expose the exploitation and dehumanization at all levels of American life—without in some way appealing to the revolutionary beliefs and ideals with which so many Americans identify.

The growing crisis has brought into question the more reactionary aspects of the American tradition. Those beliefs which reinforce our economic system and which have, for so long, provided a rationalization for the individual's role within that system are under unprecedented attack.

The bureaucracy and technology of our capitalist economy have increasingly forced the average worker into the role of a small and insignificant cog in a vast, dehumanized production cycle. In the past, this process was tolerated and even accepted with varying degrees of enthusiasm for several reasons, all embedded within the American ideology. Implicit in the process was acceptance of the contradictory myth that one's economic and social role within the capitalist system was essential to the common good, to the ultimate realization of the more revolutionary collective aspects of the American ideology, which means, as George Orwell might have put it, that a man can be free only if he is a slave. This contradictory myth is now being challenged on several levels. For example:

MATERIAL ACCUMULATION

For many years, emphasis on material accumulation and economic security seemed to balance the negative effects and meaninglessness of one's own role in the economy. Yet within the last decade the rise in the numbers of middle-class families has—for many—been accompanied by a reduction in the psychic value of material accumulation as an end in itself. The decline in the psychic value of material possession has served to reinforce the feeling that one's automated position in the production process was largely insignificant and meaningless.

THE FAMILY

Though his economic position offered little in the way of recognition or status, the average working adult could, in the past, still take refuge in his position of unquestioned importance within the family.

This is no longer the case, for a great many middle-class children and young adults have begun to reject the structure and authority of the family unit, as well as the role and values of their parents in the economic process. A significant portion of the youth community has come to attack and ridicule the entire set of assumptions upon which the average American adult has rationalized and justified his own existence within the family and society—including the concept of material accumulation, the notion of postponed gratification, the work ethic, competition, filial gratitude for parental sacrifice, and pre-marital chastity.

THE WORK ETHIC

Political and economic events of the past decade have forced the middle class into a painful re-examination of the work ethic—the concept that work is ennobling in itself, no matter what it produces and what toll it takes from the worker. By exposing the tragic state of affairs within America in recent years, the forces of change have seriously damaged the myth that all capitalist production is socially valuable, and, with it the individual's own justification for his economic contribution to society.

MAN AND TECHNOLOGY

Science and technology have been viewed, for the most part, as the means for man's salvation from the oppression of the physical world. The validity of technological "progress" as our "most important product" is now being challenged. Loss of faith in technology as a practical means for attaining total fulfillment, fear of its increasing control over human life, and its dehumanizing effects on the human species and the natural environment—these have led to a resurgence of religious fanaticism, drug culture, and back-to-the-earth movements, especially among the sons and daughters of the middle and upper middle classes—the chief beneficiaries of the technological society.

NATIONAL OMNIPOTENCE

For Americans more than for most peoples, the nation state has always stood for greatness untarnished by the humiliation of military defeat or surrender. Never having suffered defeat at the hands of another nation, Americans have come to accept "greatness" as a way of life. It follows that defeat is unthinkable and un-American. We never lose, we have assured ourselves, because we are never wrong. Other nations might seek conquest and empire and, therefore, de-

serve humiliation and defeat. The United States seeks only freedom and democracy for all nations and, therefore, must always triumph.

In the past, Americans have found personal significance and self-confidence in identifying with the greatness of the nation. Today, after seven years of bearing witness to America's genocidal policy in Southeast Asia, of knowing (but not accepting for some time) that our cause was without honor, and, finally, of realizing that the United States might be defeated by a small country fighting for its independence, most Americans feel bewildered and confused. Consequently, they are beginning to question the very values and institutions which for so long were regarded as invincible and sacred.

For many Americans, this constitutes a grave crisis of confidence. The State, as the ultimate extension of their own being, has been stricken with impotence in the international arena at the very moment when its domestic institutions are proving themselves incapable of coping with the demands for change at home.

The traumatic change in American attitude from one of hope and progress to one of pessimism and retrogression is analyzed in two recent polls conducted by the Gallup and Roper organizations. Typical of many surveys of public opinion was this finding of the Gallup Poll: "Forty-seven per cent of the American people believe that unrest is likely to lead to a real breakdown in this country. Traditional optimism about the nation's steady progress has faltered. The average American feels that the United States has slid back over the past few years."

The average American feels stripped of his identity: He feels increasingly isolated and powerless in a world that seems to have lost all meaning and purpose.

THE NEW LEFT

The New Left movement of the 1960s was born out of this "crisis in meaning." In its celebrated Port Huron Statement of 1962, Students for a Democratic Society put it this way: "A new Left must transform modern complexity into issues that can be understood and felt close-up by every human being. It must give form to the feelings of helplessness and indifference so that people may see the political, social, and economic sources of their private troubles and organize to change society."

The New Left started as a movement to force American institutions to live up to the revolutionary aspects of American ideology. Now, ten years later, the movement has been fragmented into a constellation of factions whose ideological perspectives, slogans, tactical formats, and heroes are borrowed largely from European and Asian revolutionary struggles.

Why has the New Left rejected its own revolutionary American heritage? The emerging Left of the 1960s was not prepared for the overwhelming succession of events that was to sweep the nation during that turbu-



lent decade. The black revolution, race riots, political assassinations, Vietnam, pollution, campus confrontations, drugs, and a host of other developments intensified the movement's sense of urgency in dealing with American institutions. Impatience and frustration mounted as the movement found itself more often reacting to rather than initiating the course of political events. The contradiction between American ideals and practice became more visible and pronounced for the New Left with each successive political confrontation.

Conditioned by a Judeo-Christian sense of morality—to believe that man is the master of his fate and the captain of his soul, that he makes conscious decisions between good and evil on the basis of some absolute moral premise—the New Left became overwhelmed by the disparity between what Americans professed to believe in on the one hand, and political reality on the other. Outraged by this dichotomy, the New Left began to conclude that the gap between performance and principle was attributable to the hypocritical, deceitful, dishonest, and evil character of parents, political leaders, the American (white) people, and, by association, American history and ideology. A feeling of powerlessness and isolation began to engulf the movement.

The New Left broke entirely with its American

heritage because it failed to grasp a basic historical contradiction—that American ideology is at once both revolutionary and reactionary and that the American people are at once both reactionary and revolutionary.

Though it ignored this contradiction in its assessment of American history and the American (white) people, the New Left did apply simple logic in analyzing the condition of the poor and the blacks within the American system. Black behavior was defined in terms of the economic and social forces that acted upon the black community. If individual blacks participated in anti-social or inhumane actions, their behavior could be defended as the inevitable consequence of victimization by an exploitive and inhumane system. The New Left was unable, however, to apply this understanding to its own immediate environment—white, middle-class America. Within its own experience, white America, the left-looking movement continued to apply the Christian concept of individual moral choice and the judgment that there were good and evil people, especially within the immediate family and governmental structure. The morality of the Left turned into a Christian sense of guilt for being associated with an ideology and history that exploits and colonizes racial and ethnic minorities at home and nonindustrialized peoples abroad.

The emergence of Third World identity—the identity of underdeveloped peoples struggling for their fair share in the world, both here and abroad—overwhelmed the already shaky identity of the New Left, and hastened the process by which it separated itself from any identification with its own American heritage—even with the revolutionary aspects of that heritage. What started as a movement to make institutions live up to the revolutionary part of the American dream transformed itself into a rejection of that dream itself.

In divorcing itself from the American experience, the New Left has given those who seek the perpetuation of a reactionary system *carte blanche* to exploit those reactionary elements of our historic legacy that can be used to maintain allegiance to reactionary institutions and to disregard those revolutionary elements of the ideology that could seriously challenge institutional performance.

WHERE PEOPLE ARE AT

Large numbers of Americans have become aware of the gap between institutional performance and beliefs. This awareness could well lead to fascist reaction if those in power manage to convince people that the

gap is a fabrication: that the desperate human condition is not the result of American institutions but rather of alien, sinister forces determined to undermine those institutions. The potential for a fascist reaction is enhanced by the kind of identification that the New Left has assumed. Its non-American style and rhetoric offer a perfect target for the forces of reaction.

The Left movement's character has become increasingly strange and, at times, even frightening to many Americans. Most people perceive little or nothing that they have in common with the New Left. At present the New Left has found no way of dealing with this fear and misunderstanding, since it has abandoned or rejected much of the heritage and most of the symbols to which the great majority of the American people can respond. Through its rhetoric and actions, the movement has tried to force the American people to identify with Third World struggles at home and abroad before they have even identified with their own oppression and their own revolutionary struggle in this country.

The new awareness that this country is in the midst of a grave crisis—a realization which millions of Americans have acquired in recent years—can lead to a mass-based revolutionary struggle if the movement will discard its self-imposed ideological isolation and begins to re-identify with the revolutionary principles and symbols of the American heritage.

To do this, the New Left must be willing to meet people where they are at rather than where it would like them to be. Millions of Americans are aware, for the first time, of the fact that many of America's economic, social, and political institutions are performing in ways that undermine the revolutionary ideals and principles to which the nation purports to be dedicated. But for many Americans, the principles—if not the language—enunciated in the Port Huron Statement of 1962, and by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1963 and the Russell War Crimes Tribunal of 1967 are only now beginning to make sense. If the New Left hopes to engage this new consciousness and give it positive direction through political struggle, it must first take a long hard look at itself and what it represents.

Even now, much of the New Left continues to act as a liberal movement. Although its rhetoric is often revolutionary, its analysis and its actions reveal a deep sense of misguided moral outrage and collective guilt. On the one hand, the movement attacks the social and economic system for so dehumanizing and brutalizing the American people that they have lost touch with their own humanity. On the other hand, it continues to castigate and condemn the American people for being dehumanized by the system—as if people who have been indoctrinated and victimized by an exploitive social environment are still totally free to maintain and act upon some higher moral premise that goes beyond their experience. A slave of any kind of system cannot be expected to choose among

“If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation.”

—Abigail Adams to husband John, 1776

alternatives when the option to choose has, in fact, been foreclosed. The freedom to act in accordance with human values requires that the individual be able to perceive the insanity that masquerades as the normal human condition and rise above it.

By continuing to place primary emphasis on the "here and now" morality or immorality of each individual, the New Left reinforces the assumption that the great majority of people are free to exercise their own will and to determine their own behavior within contemporary American society. The ultimate expression of this approach is the New Left's attitude toward political and economic leaders. It tends to view decision-makers as free individuals exercising their own will for their own evil ends, rather than as the most intensely indoctrinated victims of the system.

To rise above social conditioning to a new sense of values, people must come to understand how they are victimized by the American system as it operates today. By failing to help people recognize their social conditioning, by continuing to make moral judgments on the assumption that people are free to make meaningful choices, the Left thwarts the development of a revolutionary consciousness in America.

If to be "liberal" means to identify with someone else's oppression before one's own, then the Left movement is still liberally oriented. The New Left still focuses much of its energy on aiding and defending the revolutionary struggles of the black and Third World communities. Its sense of guilt keeps it from developing a revolutionary identity of its own, since doing so would necessitate an identification with the revolutionary aspects of its own American heritage. The New Left talks about the need for a revolution in this country, but its ideology threatens to exclude it—and most of white America—from the possibility of developing a revolutionary identity.

At best, the New Left offers white America the option of vicarious involvement as defenders and cheerleaders for the black and Third World struggles. Some attempt is made to engage that section of the white work force that is employed in blue-collar and service jobs. But even here, little effort is made to remind people of the revolutionary history of their own struggle in this country. Rather, the strategy, ideology, and rhetoric are taken largely from the experience of workers' struggles in other countries.

If the objective conditions for a revolutionary movement exist for white as well as black Americans—and I think they do—then it makes more sense for whites to identify with the revolutionary heroes, slogans, principles, and beliefs that make up the most positive aspects of the American heritage than to attempt to import a European or Asian ideological format. That does not mean that non-American revolutionary thought cannot serve as an important aspect of cultural, educational, and political direction; it does mean that far greater emphasis must be placed on a tradition that most people already identify with—the revolutionary aspects of the American experience.



At this critical stage in American history, it makes no sense for the New Left to allow the defenders of the system the advantage of presenting themselves and their institutions as the true heirs and defenders of the American revolutionary tradition. Instead, the revolutionary heritage must be used as a tactical weapon to isolate the existing institutions and those in power by constantly focusing public attention on their inability to translate our revolutionary dreams into reality.

The Federal Government and the nation's business community have launched a five-year multi-million dollar campaign leading up to the celebration of America's 200th birthday in 1976—to rekindle the "Spirit of '76" and to promote the words and deeds of the Founding Fathers. The Left must take this up as a challenge and turn it into a campaign designed to create a mass revolutionary consciousness in tune with the revolutionary legacy of 1776.

Reinforcing the revolutionary beliefs is essential because it provides continuity with the heritage of the past. This identification is necessary to create an atmosphere of confidence among the people in their ability to shape the future, to explore and enter unfamiliar areas of experience.

Understanding the revolutionary currents and movements that have influenced American life can help those of us already involved in political struggle in developing a revolutionary perspective that is germane for America. Past struggles in America, such as the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements, and the farmer and labor insurgencies, cannot be expected to provide a blueprint for revolution in the 1970s, but

"The first step in the new revolution must be to find out who we are and how to build on the base erected in the revolution of 1776 and refurbished in the successive dramas of change that characterize the most affirmative periods of American history."

they can tell us much about American behavior and the American character. We cannot build a contemporary revolution without an acute awareness of ourselves as a people, as citizens of a nation born in revolution.

A genuine understanding of American revolutionary ideals is what links the American people with the struggles of all oppressed people in the world. Not until the masses of Americans begin to re-identify with these principles and develop their own revolutionary struggle will they be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed people. Solidarity comes from understanding the collective nature of our separate struggles and the cry for humanity that is shared by all.

Without confidence in our revolutionary heritage, deteriorating economic and social conditions are liable to lead to an increased sense of hopelessness and fear, and a defense of the most reactionary aspects of the American ideology—with appeals to national honor, duty, courage, and vigilance in protection of the mother country—as the American people make a desperate attempt to hold onto what is familiar in their everyday life.

The first step in the new revolution must be to find out who we are and how to build on the base erected in the revolution of 1776 and refurbished in the successive dramas of change that characterize the most affirmative periods of American history.

The black movement had to rediscover the positive aspects of its own heritage in order to build an identity that would give it confidence in its ability to initiate action, sustain discipline, and win support from the black community. The white movement must do the same. Confidence in our ability to maintain discipline and to develop a long-range revolutionary perspective that is neither rigid nor authoritarian must come from an understanding of who we are; and most of what we are has to do with our unique American heritage. Such an understanding will help bring the existing factions and groupings within the New Left community itself.

COMING FROM THE GRASS ROOTS

There now exist in most large communities several independent organizing projects and collectives centered around experiments as diverse as consumer unions, free schools, health care centers, abortion counseling services, alternative employment agencies, tenant

unions, food cooperatives, alternative media, veterans' projects, draft services, and many others.

Up to now, these projects have been viewed either as alternatives for only those immediately involved in them, or as organizing techniques for involving large numbers of people in political struggle. The first approach leads to isolation and elitism and the second to despair as limited resources and societal constraints preclude the possibility of any meaningful participation by large numbers of people. A more realistic approach would be to reach out to the community in a limited way commensurate with the manpower and resources available, with emphasis on improving the quality rather than the quantity of social actions taken and services rendered. In this manner, projects and programs are redefined as "*models for political alternatives*" and free themselves from the unrealizable goal of asserting to be the alternative itself.

In a period of growing political alienation, when people no longer accept the tired old programs or the idle promises of new approaches that never materialize, these models can offer productive alternatives in which people can begin to believe and on which they can construct alternatives to the existing institutions, programs, and values.

Those involved in the independent projects and collectives must begin to realize that disenchantment and alienation can appear on many levels, and that no one project or program can hope to answer all of the complex needs of the residents of a community. For this reason, these separate projects should begin to come together on the local level around some commonly agreed upon set of principles, demands, and goals.

To stimulate revolutionary consciousness, the New Left must develop a strategy by which the American people can identify the movement's demands and programs with the most noble and revolutionary principles of our common heritage. Without this positive identification those in power may succeed in isolating the movement from American society.

In determining effective strategies, more critical attention must be focused on new ways of reaching people. Too often, the New Left continues to pursue a single strategy of confrontation, even when its continued use is alienating and ineffective, merely because it has met with some measure of success in the past. To a large extent, this has been due to the New Left's failure to develop a realistic analysis of the American system and to create a long-range revolutionary perspective. Lacking thoughtful analysis, strategy is often an aimless reflex reaction to momentary crisis. Strategies tend to become ends in themselves or substitutes for lack of ideology. Victories are so rare that any success is frequently elevated to the level of a sacred revolutionary principle. Those individuals and groups initially associated with a particular strategy tend to develop a vested interest in its continued use so as to rationalize their past position of influence within the movement. This results in a reluctance to experiment

with new strategies for fear of being attacked as reformist.

A serious re-thinking of the strategies of confrontation, engagement, and mobilization will have to begin to take into account as major weapons of change the use of *electoral politics*, especially in communities with large student populations, *research operations* on the local level patterned after Nader's Raiders, *mass media* as a means of reaching out beyond the student and radical communities, and entry into *government and corporate bureaucracies* in order to gain vital information and to influence attitudes and behavior.

Re-identifying with the American revolutionary heritage during the Bicentennial Years can provide the New Left groupings with the beginning of a new philosophical and political focus as well as a new spirit of enthusiasm and hope. This new focus and spirit are essential if we are to overcome the isolation, factionalism, and defeatism that now exist within the movement.

THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The goals of this new movement are as revolutionary for our time as were the goals of those who framed the Declaration of Independence.

Today's revolution will be one in search of new human values and new institutional structures. It will

bring together large sectors of the American population around common goals and aspirations. Whites, blacks, Latins, native Americans, middle class, workers, poor people, women, and men will forge a new unified identity around a common revolutionary heritage.

This movement must be a revolution in which:

- Human values are placed above property values.
- Economic cooperation is substituted for competition and corporate profit.
- Personal interests can be identified with the collective interest.
- Health care for all people is defined as a human right rather than a market-place commodity going to the highest bidder.
- Technology is brought under control to serve rather than exploit man and the environment.
- Production for profit and war is replaced by production for human needs and peace.
- Control of the economy is taken away from the very rich and very few and returned to the hands of the worker and consumer.
- Economic, social, racial, and sexual barriers will give way to a new form of equality and opportunity for all.
- The human aspirations we seek to fulfill at home will also guide our relations with other peoples of the world.
- People regain control over decisions and institutions that affect their lives.
- Orthodoxy is challenged and creativity is encouraged.
- The search for transcendence and ultimate awareness of ourselves and our environment is nourished as the highest aspiration of mankind.
- We are dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Above all, this must be a revolution built upon hope and alternatives for the future, rather than the fears and dismay of the present.

Today's revolutionaries are not so naive, nor so bemused with romantic adventurism, nor so unaware of the lessons of history that they believe in the overnight attainment of these goals through instant revolution. Their first steps may be modest, their first demands transitional, but they will achieve their ultimate goals, which are built upon nothing less than our own American Dream.

In 1976, we, the American people, will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the signing of our Declaration of Independence. It must be our goal, in the next five years of struggle, to recapture our revolutionary heritage and to build on it a society worthy of our legacy.



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