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THREATS TO THE PEACEFUL OBSERVANCE OF THE BICENTENNIAL

HEARING
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

—
JUNE 18, 1976
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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THREATS TO THE PEACEFUL OBSERVANCE OF THE BICENTENNIAL

FRIDAY, JUNE 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 10:43 a.m., in room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Present: Senators Thurmond and Scott of Virginia.

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

Senator THURMOND. The subcommittee and spectators will come to order.

The chairman requests that the room be cleared. I would like for the record to show that when the chairman opened the meeting this morning there was a group of people present with placards, singing, cheering, and appeared openly defiant. Upon recognizing that, the chairman requested that those people be cleared from the hall, but given an opportunity to leave their placards and come back if they would remain peaceful and quiet.

They are being given that opportunity. If they return here and disturb this meeting, then they will be asked to leave.

I just want the record to show the situation and to show what existed at the time this meeting began this morning. The officers have notified them that they can come back if they remain quiet. If they decide to come back, then we will proceed with the meeting.

Have you notified all present, Mr. Officer, that they must leave their placards outside?

The OFFICER. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. Have you notified them they have a right to return and will be welcome and will be ejected if they disturb this meeting?

The OFFICER. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. We will now proceed with the meeting. Recognizing that acts of terrorism, and efforts to incite acts of terrorism, serve to obstruct the Government of the United States in the execution of policies and laws pertaining to the internal security of the United States, the Subcommittee on Internal Security, by resolution adopted on March 9, 1976, committed itself to the conduct of investigations and hearings for the purpose of receiving testimony and evidence illustrative of the origin, nature, extent, and effect of acts of terrorism, or

the incitement thereof, upon the internal security of the United States.

The subject of today's hearing is "Threats to the Peaceful Observance of the Bicentennial." We believe this to be a timely subject matter and one which has a great bearing on the internal security of our Nation.

Although there are many organizations in our country which legitimately employ demonstrations for the purpose of bringing to the public attention a particular issue or cause; unfortunately, there are also many organizations in our country that have in recent years been engaged in counterdemonstrations which have included acts of terrorism.

The number of individuals involved may not be great—but their capacity for crime bears no relationship to their numbers. In recent years there have been hundreds of terrorist bombings in our country, which have taken many lives and resulted in tens of millions of dollars worth of damage.

One need not be paranoid to observe the obvious—there are those who see our Bicentennial Celebration and perhaps our two political nominating conventions as historic opportunities to test the strength of our fiber.

These terrorist groups have become more dangerous over the past 2 years because they have organized in the classic guerrilla cell structure: and at the same time they have been able to devise and enjoy the shield of public-support organizations.

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has warned that there is a serious possibility that stepped-up terrorist activities will occur during the Bicentennial period.

It is the hope of the subcommittee, in taking today's testimony, that bringing the facts to the attention of the Congress and the public about the various organizations involved in the upcoming Bicentennial counterdemonstrations will contribute to the keeping of the peace, not only on July 4, but throughout the Bicentennial period.

Our witnesses today are Miss Martha Rountree, perhaps best known as the originator of "Meet the Press" discussion feature, and a great patriot, I might add, selected Time "Woman of the Year" in the early 1950's and currently president of the Leadership Foundation; Dr. William Kintner, recent Ambassador to Thailand, and currently president of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Inc. of Philadelphia and professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania; Inspector George Fencl, of the Philadelphia Police Department; and Deputy Chief Robert L. Rabe, of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., who is well known for his efficiency.

I would ask all of the witnesses to rise and be sworn at this time. Do you swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth?

WITNESSES. We do.

Senator THURMOND. The subcommittee is extremely pleased to have such a distinguished panel of witnesses and we welcome you to the committee; and Miss Rountree, I would ask that you proceed with your prepared remarks at this time.

Thank you.

**TESTIMONY OF MARTHA ROUNTREE, PRESIDENT, LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION, INC.**

Miss ROUNTREE. Mr. Chairman, I am honored to have the opportunity to appear before your subcommittee today. By way of identifying myself briefly, my name is Martha Rountree—and I am president of the Leadership Foundation, a national research-information center (an umbrella organization) embracing thousands of women's clubs, groups, and organizations across the Nation. The great majority of our members will be participating actively in events marking the celebration of the Bicentennial over this coming July 4th weekend. Like all patriotic Americans, we believe we have much for which to be grateful—that every American, indeed, may proudly celebrate the fact that he or she lives in one of the freest and most productive and culturally prolific societies that has ever existed on the face of this Earth.

The great majority of the American people regard the Bicentennial as the grandest birthday party that any nation has ever had an opportunity to celebrate. But there are tiny extremist minorities in our society who regard their own country with hatred, who do not understand the meaning of freedom, and who regard totalitarian dictatorships in the style of Russia, Cuba, and the People's Republic of China as the ultimate social utopia. To these people, our Bicentennial celebration is anathema—and some of them, therefore, are making active plans to spoil it.

As a private citizen, I am concerned over the growing body of evidence that these extremist minorities, which are encouraged and abetted by certain foreign governments, are planning to disrupt the official Bicentennial celebration in various ways, and there exists a serious possibility of the kind of violence that occurred in Chicago at the time of the 1968 Democratic Convention, as well as the bombing and other terrorist actions.

My own statement will be very brief, Mr. Chairman. Essentially, I want to tell you how the presentation that is being made to your subcommittee today came about—and then I want to hand over to Dr. William Kintner, a distinguished diplomat as well as a distinguished political scientist, who has been responsible—with me—for directing the research that has resulted in today's hearing.

Some months ago, it became apparent that certain groups in this country—including some which have very close connections with terrorist organizations—were planning to disrupt, or to spoil, the U.S. Bicentennial celebrations, particularly the 4th of July events planned for Philadelphia and Washington. In a situation such as this, it is a good rule of thumb that public disclosure of the spoiler's plans may help to deter their execution. There had been some items in the press referring to the possibility of disruption and terrorism during the Bicentennial. All of these items, however, were fragmentary and disconnected.

Roughly 2 months ago, I discussed this problem with Dr. Kintner, president of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Inc., of Philadelphia. We found ourselves in agreement on the point that the situation called for a comprehensive, in-depth examination of all threats to the

peaceful observance of the Bicentennial, including an examination of the public statements put out by the major organizations participating in the plans for the Bicentennial counterdemonstration, the track records of these organizations, the records of their leaders, and so on. At this point, we jointly decided to support the research which will be presented by Dr. Kintner at today's hearing.

One of the problems that confronted us was how to get the information out in time to alert the American public in time to inform our authorities. This problem was solved for us when the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, having learned of the research that was underway, invited Dr. Kintner and me to present our findings in a public hearing under its auspices. I believe that Dr. Kintner agrees with me that there could not be a more appropriate forum for such a presentation.

I note that Dr. Kintner in his prepared remarks has spelled out some of his background qualifications by way of explaining his strong personal interest in this problem. Without taking any more of your time, therefore, I shall turn the proceedings over to Dr. William Kintner at this point.

Senator THURMOND. Dr. Kintner, we will be glad to hear from you now.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM R. KINTNER, PRESIDENT, FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.

Dr. KINTNER. Mr. Chairman, it is also my privilege to appear before your distinguished subcommittee to discuss the various threats to the peaceful observance of the Bicentennial. For many years I have been interested in study of revolutionary warfare. I did my doctor's dissertation at Georgetown in 1948 on the subject of the Organization, Structure, and Training of the Communist Party.

At that time I read extensively in Communist literature including the collected works of Lenin, Stalin, and others. It seems to me we witnessed at the beginning of this session a classic technique, namely to use the general revolutionary symbols of our past to create psychological sympathy for a counterrevolution can be imposed upon the majority of the people. This is an old trick.

I think we have to take a look at the sources of our information. These are publications of a number of terrorist groups. Osawatomie is a publication of the Weather Underground. We have the publication here called TUG, The Urban Guerrilla, which is published by a west coast organization, the New World Liberation Front.

Both the Weatherman Underground and the Urban Guerrilla group claim to have been responsible for many, many bombings of a terrorist nature in the United States. In addition to these open publications which you can buy in the far-left bookstores, in most major cities or occasionally obtain by subscription, we also have access to internal publications which come to us either because the members are careless or occasionally through disaffected members who finally decide that they are not "with the movement" to the extent that they once thought they were. We also get self-criticism from these groups.

With this background information, collected through the assistance of a number of people, to whom I would like to pay particular atten-

tion and tribute, we prepared a statement which I plan to put into the record. I am not going to read it all, but I hope it can be inserted in the record.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, the entire statement will be placed in the record as though read.

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM R. KINTNER

Dr. KINTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am honored to have this opportunity to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security for the purpose of testifying on "Threats to the Peaceful Observance of the Bicentennial." Before I embark on my presentation, I believe it would be in order to say something about my qualifications to discuss this matter and about the combination of circumstances which led to the preparation of the paper I shall be presenting to you today.

Currently, I am a professor of Political Science of the University of Pennsylvania and President of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Inc. From November 1973 to March 1975, I was the U.S. Ambassador to Thailand. From 1940 to 1961, I served in the U.S. Army, retiring as a colonel. During that time I held many responsible positions in different agencies of the U.S. Government.

I have had a long-standing interest in revolutionary and political warfare. The dissertation for which I received my doctorate from Georgetown University in 1949 focused on the organization and operation of the Communist Party. After some modification, the dissertation was later published by the University of Oklahoma Press under the title, "The Front Is Everywhere." In the dozen or so books I have written or coauthored, I have attempted to analyze many aspects of the strategy and tactics of human conflict. In one book in particular, "The New Frontier of War," I examined the range of activities embraced by the term "political warfare." My coauthor, Joseph Z. Kornfedder, was a student at the Lenin School in Moscow during 1929 and organizer of the Communist Parties of Venezuela and Colombia. He left the Communist movement in the late thirties for moral reasons but I received many practical insights from him on the finer points of revolutionary activity.

As Miss Rountree has pointed out, the research on which my presentation today is based stems from a conversation we had some 2 months ago. We were both concerned over the evidence that there might be destruction and violence during the July 4 celebrations, and we proceeded on the assumption that a public disclosure of all of the available information might serve to discourage those who are planning the disruptions. Accordingly, we have sought in our research to create an intelligence mosaic embracing the available information about the organizations involved in the Bicentennial counterdemonstrations.

What are the sources of our information?

In the first place there are many public documents. By public, I don't mean that you can purchase them at your neighborhood newsstand or your neighborhood bookstore. There are documents like *Oswatonomie*, theoretical organ of the Weather Underground; *Dragon*, organ of the Bay Area Research Collective which serves as a kind of

collective theoretical publication for the entire complex of terrorist groups on the west coast; and a more recent publication, *The Urban Guerrilla (TUG)*, published by one of the major terrorist groups on the west coast, the New World Liberation Front. While the general public does not have access to these publications, they can be purchased—legally—sometimes by subscription, or always at far-left bookstores in our major cities. Carefully read, the publication tells us a tremendous amount about the thinking and the planning of the terrorist groups in our country and about the interlocking relationships between them. On top of this information, much information is available from internal discussion bulletins that occasionally leak out of the terrorist underground, either because some of their members are careless or because—as is inevitably the case with such groups—certain of their members become disaffected. I have here some samples of such internal discussion bulletins.

Finally, there are the valuable and heavily documented hearings on terrorist groups and other extremist groups, conducted by your subcommittee in recent years.

The problem was to pull all this information together and try to create a meaningful pattern. Although a number of people have aided this work, I particularly want to recognize the meticulous research and the tireless efforts of Harvey Sicherman and Adam Garfinkel of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. I have gone over their material most carefully in the preparation of the statement which follows.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN TERRORISM

Over the past decade, political terrorism on an international scale has become one of the ugliest and most pressing problems confronting the community of free nations. Most of the organizations involved internationally belong to the far left. A few of these organizations consider themselves anarchist or would have to be considered anarchist. By far the majority of the left-wing terrorist organizations, however, regard Marx and Lenin as their principal patron saints, even though they may divide in their worship of auxiliary saints like Mao, Che Guevara, Regis Debray, Carlos Marighella, and Leon Trotsky. Terrorism is also a weapon of the far right—especially in a number of Latin American countries.

The use of force to achieve political objectives is, of course, nothing new; this is what every war in history has been about. But there are important differences between the force employed by armies in time of war, and the force employed by modern terrorists. In the conduct of war, an effort has been made by civilized nations, particularly in recent centuries, to limit the horror by distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants, by recognizing the deliberate killing of noncombatants as "war crimes," and by entering into conventions governing the mutual protection of prisoners of war. Modern terrorism, in contradistinction, recognizes no such moral limitations on its actions. With the terrorists, such a thing as noncombatant status does not exist. Prisoners taken—most of them noncombatants by any standard—are frequently murdered in cold blood. And in many cases the terrorists have deliberately massacred innocent men, women and children, as they did in the Lod Airport shooting, in the LaGuardia bomb-

ing, in the bombing of crowded pubs and restaurants in England, and in their several attempts to shoot down passenger aircraft. The indiscriminate and merciless nature of the force applied by modern terrorists in pursuit of their political objectives is something which flies in the face of all civilization.

Terrorism operates at two different levels. Sometimes it is directed against physical objectives like banks or utilities—often under circumstances that may involve a heavy loss of life. More frequently, it is directed against human targets, using kidnapings, assassinations and bombings as weapons. While terrorists may consider kidnapings and assassinations to be discriminating weapons because the victims are generally corporate executives or government officials, even such actions are basically indiscriminating in the sense that the victims are selected only on the basis of their membership in the “enemy class.” As for the bombings of public places, or the mass shootings, or attacks on aircraft, even the terrorists do not pretend that they are exercising any discrimination.

Whether they attack physical objectives, or whether they engage in kidnapings, assassinations or bombings, the terrorists pursue the same objectives. Essentially their actions, as the word implies, are calculated to “terrorize.”

First, they seek to make what they call “armed propaganda,” and in this way to build their movements. As a corollary of this, they seek either to provoke an excessively harsh reaction on the part of the authorities—which plays into their hands by alienating large numbers of people; or else to compel the authorities or business corporations to capitulate to their demands—which obviously, also plays into their hands; or else to reduce the government to a floundering or paralytic reaction—which, again, is grist to the mill of extremist exploitation. In their assault on the authority of government, they seek essentially to create an image of a government unable to protect its people or its society. And by destabilizing the government in these ways, the numerous Marxist terrorist groups at large in the free world hope to pave the way for a Marxist takeover, while in certain countries right-wing terrorist groups may be thinking in terms of a rightist dictatorship. To put things in balance, however, it must be noted that right-wing terrorism is a much more limited phenomenon than left-wing terrorism, less cohesive, less ideological, and national rather than international in its outlook. To the extent that there is some kind of loose terrorist “international” today, it is a Marxist-Leninist terrorist international.

While political terrorism predates the industrial revolution, its practice has been facilitated increasingly by the spread of modern technology. The modern terrorist relies upon four major features of the modern world to advance his work: (1) the intrinsic vulnerability of modern democratic industrial societies, (2) the speed of modern transport and communications, which give him quick access and escape and ease of planning, (3) the power and convenience of modern weaponry and explosives which enhances his capacity to destroy and (4) above all, the huge audience created by the electronic media, which insures that the fear and loathing his crimes inspire will be felt by vast numbers. Particularly in free societies, where great value is placed

upon ease of movement and unfettered communications, the terrorist enjoys significant advantages. Furthermore we are living in a time when people can travel great distances in a matter of hours and countless millions are aware of distant events. Thus, it is no surprise that a distinctive characteristic of modern terror is the "slaughter of innocents," for there are many more innocents accessible to terrorists than there were before and the target of the terrorists—often in a different part of the world than the victim—is more easily frightened through the media. The impression produced by the crime is the link between the terrorist, victim, and target. And the target's reaction will determine the success or failure of the terrorist's cause.

There is one other characteristic of modern terrorism I should like to emphasize. Some observers try to distinguish between domestic and international terror. The technologies of transport and communications make this distinction dubious. Unless the reporting of an event is censored and the affairs of a single state can be hidden from the view of the rest of the world, a politically motivated terror attack automatically engenders international consequences. Furthermore, the terrorists rely heavily on access to foreign training, arms, and sanctuaries; their effect upon international "public opinion" is critical to their success. A world where political disputation is rife, general war is too dangerous, and a common consensus on minimal political values is lacking, provides an ideal breeding ground for terrorism. Modern political terrorism is international virtually by definition.

2. THE BICENTENNIAL: A "TERRORIST PRONE" SITUATION

All events which enjoy heavy international media coverage must be considered "terrorist prone" events because they provide the terrorists with supreme opportunities to make their presence known to the world through "armed propaganda" and to spread terror and uncertainty among free nations and free men. This is true of the Olympics because of the heavy international coverage they receive in the press and on TV; and it is also true of the upcoming celebration of our Bicentennial in Washington and Philadelphia.

From everything we know about their thinking, there is reason to be concerned that the terrorist elements in our society will find the Bicentennial an irresistible attraction—not only because the eyes of the world will be focused on the Bicentennial festivities, but also because they regard the celebration itself with consuming hostility, since it stands for everything they are opposed to.

The theme of our Bicentennial Celebration is "freedom." This July 4, to celebrate our freedoms, millions of American citizens, in every city of our country, will be participating in Bicentennial observances—nationally sponsored in the case of Washington and Philadelphia, locally sponsored in the case of other cities. The July 4 observances celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, one of the great historic documents of human liberty. The Declaration and the struggle which brought about these United States of America two centuries ago established "government by the people, of the people, and for the people." It is our proud achievement as a Nation that we have not betrayed the promise of the American Revolution and that we live in one of the freest, most productive societies on Earth.

America has not achieved perfection, and some of our imperfections are all too obvious. But we have preserved the democratic process which allows for the expression of the majority will while protecting the minority's rights. This process remains the surest and best route for the remedy of just grievances. It was for the sake of this process that our forefathers waged war against Great Britain; and we shall continue to enjoy liberty so long as this process forms the heart of our political system.

The celebration of our Nation's birth is obviously distasteful to those who do not believe in democracy, who would impose the will of a minority upon the majority, and who prefer the logic of force because their tortured arguments have failed to convince their fellow man.

Not very surprisingly, therefore, the extremist minorities which hate America and everything it stands for have been talking in terms of disrupting, or spoiling, the Bicentennial. A leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has talked about "turning the Bicentennial upside down." A leader of the American Indian Movement told a Chicago conference in February of this year, "when they light the candles on the 200 year birthday cake, we will be there to blow them out." The terrorist Weather Underground has talked about "bringing the fireworks," and this slogan has been repeated by some of those in charge of a planned mass demonstration in Philadelphia.

It does not take great imagination to conceive of the possible consequences abroad if scenes of mass disorders and mayhem in Philadelphia and Washington seem to confirm recent impressions that the United States is an irresolute society paralyzed by domestic dissension.

It is my hope that none of this will come about, that the organizations in question will abstain from violence on July 4, out of the simple realization that nothing could more effectively turn the American people against them. But a prudent regard for public safety requires that we pay some credence to the statements of these organizations and that we carefully examine their track records so that we will be better able to anticipate their intentions and their capabilities.

That is what I propose to do today.

3. THE OLD LEFT, THE NEW LEFT, AND TERRORISM

Terrorist actions by revolutionary groups have taken place in the United States sporadically since 1963 but they increased dramatically during the past few years. In 1973, there were 24 bombings attributable to terrorists; this increased to 45 in 1974 and 89 in 1975. Violence-prone revolutionaries have boasted publicly that they intend to expand their violence during the 1976 Bicentennial celebration, beginning in 1976 and running through 1980. FBI Director Clarence Kelley has warned us that terrorist activities during the Bicentennial are being planned, and only 2 weeks ago Attorney General Levi instructed the FBI to do an intelligence round-up on the July 4 Coalition, which is planning a mass demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4.

The celebrations in Washington and Philadelphia on July 4 offer particularly tempting targets for the terrorists to engage in "armed propaganda"—the euphemism they use to justify their deadly actions—because on that occasion the eyes of the entire world will be

focused on them. As one of the leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which plays a central role in the July 4th Coalition, put the matter:

For the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. the Bicentennial is important in many ways * * * they have invited the Pope and Queen Elizabeth, the King of Spain, etc. * * * the eyes of the whole world will be riveted on the answer that we all give to the shameless pretenses of the North American ruling class (Claridad, Mar. 5, 1976).

The organizations planning to disrupt the Bicentennial come from both the so-called Old Left and New Left, and, despite some very real differences, almost all of them consider themselves Marxist-Leninist.

There is a widespread belief that Lenin disapproved of terrorist actions and that the Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist organizations, for this reason, still shun political terrorism in favor of mass action. This should not mislead us.

All groups that consider themselves Marxist-Leninists defend the use of terrorism at some stage of the revolutionary process. Lenin taught the utility of terrorist actions in these words:

The propagandists must supply each group with brief and simple recipes for making bombs, give them an elementary explanation of the type of work, and then leave it all to them. Squads must at once begin military training by launching operations immediately, at once. Some may at once undertake to kill a spy or blow up a police station, others to raid a bank, to confiscate funds for the insurrection, others again may drill or prepare plans of localities, and so forth. But the essential thing is to begin at once to learn from actual practice. Have no fear of these trial attacks. They may, of course, degenerate into extremes, but that is the evil of the morrow, whereas the evil of today is our inertness, our doctrinaire spirit, our learned immobility, and our senile fear of initiative.¹

Your subcommittee only a year ago took testimony from a distinguished British citizen, Mr. Brian Crozier, director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict, who established that Moscow operates a number of training schools for guerrillas and terrorists from other countries—both for Communists and non-Communists. North Korea, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, and Cuba also operate terrorist training centers and provide logistical support for them.

Dissident Marxist-Leninist organizations also support or engage in terrorism. The major American Trotskyite organization, the Socialist Workers Party, for example, is part of the terrorist Fourth International. While they do not advocate terrorism in the United States right now, they do not rule it out as a future tactic. The SWP gives financial and other support to the Fourth International and to sections of the Fourth International which openly engage in terrorist activities in other countries. All this has been massively documented in hearings before your subcommittee.

The mass demonstrations that are being planned for July 4 could provide dramatic platforms for Marxist-Leninist terrorists. Marxist-Leninist theory condemns individual acts of terrorism if they are not linked to a mass movement. However, it justifies the acts of terrorism when they are linked to mass revolutionary movements. Because of this, it becomes incumbent upon the support apparatus for the underground terrorists to organize the mass movements which will justify their terrorist acts.

¹ Lenin, "Collected Works," vol. 9, pp. 345, 346. Progress Publishers (in English), Moscow, 1972.

Perhaps it is for this reason the primary targets are in Washington and Philadelphia, where presumably the greatest "masses" will be found. Because of the significance attached to mass actions as the forum for terror by these groups, it may be useful to examine the demonstrations planned for July 4 and possible involvement of violence prone organizations.

4. THE JULY 4 PLANS: ORGANIZATION AND ASSOCIATIONS

Major demonstrations and marches are planned for both Washington and Philadelphia on July 4. Demonstrations are also being planned for Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio, and other cities on July 4; and a followup demonstration is being planned in New York City at the time of the Democratic Party Convention.

The Philadelphia demonstration gives the greatest reason for concern because the July 4 Coalition, which is planning the demonstration, is commanded by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, a support organization for the Weather Underground, and by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a Castroite organization which supports the terrorist activities of the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). Also involved in the plans for the Philadelphia demonstration are other radical groups, ranging from the Communist Party,² Socialist Workers Party, Guardian, Workers World Party, and the Yippies (the Youth International Party), to an array of violence prone organizations like the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement, and the Palestine Solidarity Committee. Heading the July 4th Coalition is Alfredo Lopez, a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, formerly identified with the proterrorist tendency in the Socialist Workers Party.

A. The Weather Underground Organization and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee

The Weather Underground is without question the most important organization we have to consider because of the key role being played by its public support organization, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, in the planning of the Philadelphia rally and in coordinating the activities of the participating groups.³

The Weather Underground terrorist organization evolved out of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society when that organization split in 1969.

² The Communist Party representative to the July 4th Coalition is Grace Mora, Chairman of the CPUSA Puerto Rican Commission and a member of the Party's Central Committee. Some of the literature put out by the July 4th Coalition suggests that it is a formal coalition of organizations. Other literature lists names, with a notation that organizational affiliation is intended for purposes of identification only. However this may be. It can be taken for granted that Grace Mora, as a member of the CP Central Committee, would not be participating in the July 4th Coalition without the complete approval of the central committee.

In 1968 the CP had provided logistical support to the demonstrations against the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago. However, no CPUSA members were arrested in the violence. Legal and medical facilities were organized months in advance by members and friends of the Communist Party. The office set up in Chicago to organize the demonstrators, was paid for by the Communist Party. This was first revealed in hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities held in December 1968. The information was recently confirmed in confidential FBI reports released by the Church committee.

³ Most of the information contained in this section is documented in the extensive hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security dealing with "The Extent of Subversion in the New Left" and the hearings of the House Internal Security Committee on the subject of the SDS.

The reasons for the split were complex, but they had little to do with the relative militancy of the contending factions. On the one hand, there was the Worker-Student Alliance, a Maoist tendency which sought control of SDS. On the other hand, there was the Weatherman faction and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II, both considering themselves Marxist-Leninist and both supporting the use of violence. RYM II subsequently splintered into half a dozen revolutionary groupings, and some of these split again. The most infamous offspring of RYM II, incidentally, was the Symbionese Liberation Army.⁴ In contrast, the Weatherman faction has survived mostly intact, despite changes in outlook and activity.

In October 1969, approximately 600 members of the Weatherman faction came together in Chicago for 4 days of violent street demonstrations. The "Days of Rage," as they have become known, ran from October 8 to 11. With slogans such as "Bring the War Home" and "We're going to burn the city down," the Weathermen broke windows and attacked the Chicago Police Department and passers-by on the streets. A Weatherman leaflet distributed in New York City high schools after the Chicago action said, "In Chicago, we attacked the homes and businesses of the rich bastards who profit off war and oppression. We did a million dollars' worth of damage and sent 60 pigs to the hospital, including Richard Elrod, Corporation Counsel for Chicago * * *."

The first act of violence perpetrated during the "Days of Rage" was the bombing of a statue of a policeman at Haymarket Square. This is the first known bombing incident connected with the Weather Underground.

As a result of effective undercover work by the Chicago Police Department, the Weathermen did not succeed. Approximately half of the 600 members who came to Chicago were under arrest by the time the demonstrations were over. Many Weathermen were injured in the course of fighting with the police.

On October 22, 1969, the leadership of the Weatherman faction, which called itself the "Weather Bureau," met in a motel in Oregon, Illinois. The most prominent members of the Weather Bureau at that time were Bernardine Dohrn and Mark Rudd.⁵ The discussion apparently concluded that confrontations with the police could not work and the Weatherman faction, now to be called the Weather Underground, began organizing clandestine terrorist activities.

Another "war council," held from December 27 to 31, 1969, in Flint, Mich., brought together approximately 500 supporters and members of the Weather movement. The conference ratified the decision that the Weathermen should go underground and begin acts of violence and terrorism. Subsequent to the "war council," Weather cadres were dispersed to various key locations around the country to build underground collectives and above-ground support groups to aid the work of the underground. Weatherman bombings began in various parts of the country, particularly on the two coasts. The bombings were directed both against property and against individuals, particularly police officers.

⁴ See "The West Coast Terrorist Movement," p. 127.

⁵ Other members of the Weather Bureau at that time included John G. Jacobs, Linda Evans, William Charles Ayers, Jeffrey Jones, Terry Robbins, James Gerald Mellen, Gerald W. Long, and Howard Machtiger.

Among the more spectacular terrorist acts committed by the Weather Underground have been—

The bombing of the San Francisco Park Police Station on February 16, 1970, with a dynamite bomb loaded with staples. This bombing killed one police officer and injured eight others;

The bombing of the New York City Police headquarters on June 9, 1970;

The bombing of the U.S. Capitol on February 28, 1971;

The bombing of the Department of Corrections in California on August 30, 1971;

The bombing of the State Department on January 29, 1975.

The March 6, 1970, explosion of a townhouse in New York in which three members of the Weather Underground were killed while making antipersonnel bombs, caused a great deal of dissension and discussion within the movement. Many of the Weather Underground supporters were shocked by the antipersonnel nature of the bombs. Because the Weather Underground had not taken responsibility for the San Francisco Park Police Station bombing, the supporters were unaware that such bombs had already been used. Despite dissension and a number of defections, the hard core members remained, however, and they boast that they have been responsible for more than 25 bombings since 1970.⁶

It is of interest to note that a number of the leaders of the Weather Underground met with the Vietcong officials in Havana or Eastern Europe prior to going underground. It is also worth noting that all of the leaders and most of the members of the Weather Underground have been to Communist Cuba,⁷ some of them with the so-called Venceremos Brigade, a continuing organization which purports to be a movement of enthusiastic volunteer sugar cane cutters, but which, in reality—as evidence before your subcommittee has documented—has been an instrument of the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence for indoctrinating young Americans, training some of them in the art or urban guerrilla warfare, and recruiting others for the DGL.

One of the researchers who helped prepare this paper was recently able to conduct a series of in-depth interviews with a former member of the Weather Underground organization. This individual was able to provide details of the discussions that took place within the leadership of the Weather Underground, both during the planning stages and the operational stages of their terrorist actions, and his revelations provide important insights into their operational mentality.

For the Weather Underground leaders, the most important results of terrorist actions in the initial stages of the operation was media coverage. They wanted to show people both in the United States and around the world that there was a network of revolutionaries willing to take personal responsibility, to carry out terrorist acts within the "belly of the monster" and in solidarity with revolutionary movements throughout the world. They believed that a sustained campaign of bombings and other terrorist acts would give them legitimacy as the leader of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Terrorist acts, referred to as "armed propaganda," could obtain large-

⁶ This boast is made repeatedly in Osawatimie, inside cover.

⁷ Among the Weather leaders who have visited Cuba are James Mellen, Gerald Long, Bernardine Dohrn, Karen Ashley, Howie Emmer, Arlene Bergman, and Julie Nichamin. Emmer and Dohrn have met with the Vietcong.

scale free media coverage that mere rhetoric could not obtain. The use of terrorist activities was also seen as linking the Weather Underground with the Third World revolutionary movement at home and abroad.

As the movement developed, the Weather Underground leaders believed that the escalating destruction of American lives would disillusion more and more people with life in the United States and cause them to lose confidence in the ability of the U.S. Government to protect them from violence. This disillusionment and loss of confidence would become increasingly important factors—while the ability of the Government to cope with the violence would decrease. The Weather Underground would achieve the status of leader of the revolutionary movement, and other groups would emulate their terrorist actions and help to further destabilize American society.

At the same time, the Weather Underground leaders believed that it was necessary to build an above-ground party more openly revolutionary than the Communist Party U.S.A., which would advance propaganda justifications for the violent actions of the terrorist underground. The above-ground movement—to be called the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee—would also have the responsibility of organizing mass struggles that could be linked with the terrorist actions of the Weather Underground. Specific acts of bombings and other forms of terrorism are being carried out both by fugitive Weather people who are operating underground and, as revealed by a defector, by publicly active individuals ostensibly, above-ground.⁸

Since the disruption of the Weather Underground support apparatus early in 1970, the organization has slowly rebuilt its network. Supporters range from former members of the Weatherman faction of SDS to radical chic entertainment figures. Most important, however, is the support supplied by counterculture communes, which supply safe houses, forged or stolen identification material, and other items helpful to the outlaws.

The Weather Underground is not a legal organization for the simple reason that all of its leaders are on the FBI's most wanted list. But by 1974, the support network felt strong enough to organize a public above-ground apparatus. The first action of this group was the publication of *Prairie Fire*, a political statement of the Weather Underground running 152 pages. The distributing apparatus, which was first called the *Prairie Fire* Distribution Committee, soon changed its name to *Prairie Fire* Organizing Committee. The responsibility for printing and distributing *Prairie Fire* was undertaken by Howie Emmer, who had been active in the Weatherman faction of SDS, and his wife, Nancy Kurshan. Nancy is the former wife of Jerry Rubin, a counterculture personality. Emmer and Kurshan served on the National Committee of the *Prairie Fire* Organizing Committee until December 1975, when they resigned for personal reasons. However, they remain members of the organization in the San Francisco Bay area.⁹

⁸ It is my understanding that law enforcement authorities have now been alerted to this development.

⁹ According to the minutes of a recent meeting of the *Prairie Fire* Organizing Committee, National Committee. Its current membership includes Jennifer Dohrn (sister of Bernardine), Russell Neufeld, Alan Berkman, Laura Whitehorn (at large members), Diana Block, Nancy Barrett (Bay area), Susie Waysdorf, Liz Horowitz (Boston), Sylvia Baraldini, Shelly Miller (New York), Lance Pustlin (Philadelphia), and Miles Pustlin (Vermont).

PFOC has distributed *Osawatomie*, the magazine of the Weather Underground organization, five issues of which have appeared.¹⁰ *Osawatomie* operates as a theoretical journal of terrorism in which the Weathermen seek to explain, justify and encourage the kind of terrorist activity in which they have been engaged.

PFOC sees itself as a "cadre organization" which has as its purpose drawing together other Marxist-Leninist groups to establish a "revolutionary Communist Party." The immediate tasks, according to their west coast unit are "1. Build a mass base, 2. Build unity on the left, 3. Build relationships with Third World groups."

As a part of this program, PFOC organized the "Hard Times Conference" which took place in Chicago on January 30 to February 1, 1976. According to a PFOC internal document, three PFOC National Committee members—Russell Neufeld, Susie Waysdorf and Shelly Miller—were sent to Chicago to organize the Hard Times Conference. They obtained \$2,700 to help pay for the Conference from the American Issues Forum of Chicago—an organization which is funded by the federally supported National Endowment for the Humanities. This is an example of the ability of such groups to obtain taxpayers' money for their activities. Although controlled by PFOC, the Conference brought together a wide range of groups, including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Workers World Party, the New York Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People.

Over 2,000 activists took part in the Hard Times Conference. One of the most important actions taken by the conference was the approval of a proposal by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party for a militant mass demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4th. I offer for the record a copy of a letter from the July 4th Coalition establishing the founding role played by the Hard Times Conference.

The Central Committee of the Weather Underground Organization has announced that "* * * we dedicate ourselves to solidarity with the July 4th mobilization in Philadelphia which will raise the banner of independence for Puerto Rico and unite this struggle with that of the workers and oppressed people of the United States. This is an urgent priority." (*Osawatomie*, April-May 1976). The same issue, it is to be noted, gives public support to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the American Indian Movement, and the Palestine terrorists. The possibility exists that Weather Underground terrorism during the Bicentennial may take place on behalf of Puerto Rican, American Indian, and Palestinian terrorist movements.

In line with its concept that it must function as a cadre organization, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee has placed its cadres in key positions in a large number of militant and violence prone organizations, many of which are planning to participate in the July 4 Coalition demonstration in Philadelphia—which, as I have already pointed out, is under the joint command of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

¹⁰ PFOC is also propagandizing on behalf of a 90-minute film, called "Underground" recently shown at the Inner Circle Theater in Washington, D.C. and the Regency Theater in New York City. It was made in cooperation with Weather Underground fugitives. See the interview with producer Emile de Antonio in "Rolling Stone," Nov. 6, 1975. See also the New York Times, June 22, 1975.

In the paragraphs that follow, I propose to deal with a few of the numerous interlocks that tie together many of the organizations of the far left and the terrorist left. The story is a much longer one, but I believe these few examples will help to establish that the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee has become coordinator of many extremist organizations in the year since it was founded.

THE PUERTO RICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE AND THE PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Julie Nichamin, one of the old SDS and Weatherman leaders, a repeated "visitor" to Cuba, and a leader of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, serves as a coordinator for the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee is the propaganda arm of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and defends terrorist and other violent activities on behalf of Puerto Rican independence. Alfredo Lopez, who heads the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, is also a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and is the coordinator for the July 4th Coalition.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE AND THE PFOC

The Native American Solidarity Committee operates from a post office box in St. Paul, Minn. It propagandizes in favor of violent activities by American Indians. The organization grew out of the apparatus organized by the National Lawyers Guild in support of the American Indian Movement's armed occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D. Jed Proujansky of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee serves on the National Interim Coordinating Committee of the Native American Solidarity Committee. Proujansky, a former SDS-Weatherman activist, was convicted of mob action as a result of the violence during the "Days of Rage" in Chicago in October 1969. The Vermont chapter of the Native American Solidarity Committee is run by Miles Pustin, who also serves on the National Committee of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

THE PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE AND THE PFOC

The Palestine Solidarity Committee, which was established in November 1975, is run by PFOC activists George Cavaletto and Sheila Ryan. They operate this organization from a post office box in Manhattanville Station, New York. Cavaletto was a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS. He was identified by the Flint, Mich. Police Department as having been in attendance at the Weatherman "War Council" in Flint, Mich. in December 1969. He visited Havana in July 1969, presumably to meet with representatives of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. Ryan, who had also been active in the Weatherman faction of SDS, was one of the first members to visit Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. Ryan and Cavaletto both spent a year in Jordan and Lebanon writing propaganda articles for the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The first meeting on the Palestine Solidarity Committee took place at Columbia University in New York City on January 20, 1976. Security for the meeting was very extensive. Each participant was

given a ticket with his name on it, countersigned by the person from whom he had received the ticket. When the ticket was presented at the door, its number and the name of the participant was checked against a master list. The name of the individual's organization was also on the list. After surrendering his ticket, each participant received a body search before being permitted to enter the room.

Among the groups participating in the meeting and providing security guards for the meeting were the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the Communist Party U.S.A., and the Socialist Workers Party. The main speaker at the meeting was Shafik al Hout, of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon. During the question-and-answer period, some questions were answered by Basil al Aql, member of the Palestine Liberation Organization Delegation to the United Nations, and Yasser Abd al Rabdou, member of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee and head of the PLO's Information Department. Also on the platform, but not answering questions was Hassan Abdul Rahman, Deputy Permanent Observer of PLO at the United Nations. Al Hout and al Aql spoke strongly in favor of armed struggle. Both also stressed the importance of the support they had received from the Soviet Union and Communist China.

On May 16, 1976, the Palestine Solidarity Committee was able to bring together almost 900 people to a demonstration in Brooklyn, N.Y. Approximately 500 of those were radicals from outside the area, and about 400 were local people.¹¹

It is interesting to observe the generally increased interest in the Palestinian terrorists by the American terrorist movement and support groups. In March 1975, the Associated Press reported a threat by the Palestine Liberation Organization to carry out terrorist acts in the United States. The AP quoted Zouheir Mohsen, leader of the military section of PLO, as saying in an interview in Damascus, "We will strike at any Israeli strategic target wherever we can reach it, in Israel or in Japan or in the United States." (Chicago Sun-Times, March 13, 1975). The PLO has committed acts of terrorism against British Jews involved in pro-Israel activity. Political considerations have reduced PLO terrorist actions in recent months. However, we should not overlook the possibility that domestic terrorists may seek to target American Jews during the Bicentennial, in solidarity with the PLO.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD AND THE PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Another organization with which the Weather Underground and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee have worked very closely is the National Lawyers Guild. The National Lawyers Guild in the old days was frequently identified as a legal front organization for the Communist Party. More recently, I note that testimony before con-

¹¹ Among the organizations and individual radicals that sponsored this demonstration were the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, El Comité-MINIP, Friends of Haiti, Guardian, International Indian Treaty Council (AIM), Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada, Liberation Support Movement, Partido Comunista Dominicana, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Venceremos Brigade, and the Young Socialist Alliance (this is the Trotskyite youth organization).

gressional committees evaluates the guild as an organization which is still heavily involved in support of revolutionary activities, but which appears to operate as an old left-new left coalition, offering its services to virtually all revolutionary and terrorist elements. Not very surprisingly, the guild has from the first provided legal support for the Weather Underground.

The guild publishes a magazine called *Midnight Special*, aimed at convicts in prisons. One of the editors of this publication is Judy Clark, former Weather Underground fugitive, now active in the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. The August-September 1975 issue of *Midnight Special* explained that:

All black and Third World people who are incarcerated in maximum security penitentiaries are political prisoners—victims who have responded to racist dehumanization and political and economic oppression in their daily lives. Any time oppressed people move to destroy this reality of their daily lives, the Fascist state defines it as "crime." We must see that any acts against our oppressor can never be a crime but are clearly legitimate attempts to free ourselves; in essence they are political acts.

For this reason, the guild said, they supported the Black Liberation Army.

Their statement read further:

This brings us to the question of why we support the BLA, but more importantly what they represent. As we have said, we do not believe that the phenomenon of a black liberation army is without historical justification and necessity. We do not believe that revolutionary action as long as it takes a military form has the quasi-miraculous capacity of unleashing a great revolutionary process. But we adhere to this principle that revolutionary war is the continuation of politics by violent means: that strategy must be subordinated to politics, or better said, that politics and strategy are conjoined in revolutionary and guerrilla warfare.

In December 1975, a National Lawyers Guild delegation traveled to Puerto Rico to attend the Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. They are expected to send a delegation to the Middle East some time this year to meet with the Palestine Liberation Organization. This trip is being organized in coordination with the Palestine Solidarity Committee, a group closely linked to the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

Not very surprisingly, the National Lawyers Guild is participating in the July 4 coalition together with the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and its other legal proteges, and it has offered its services in advance to all those demonstrators who get themselves in trouble with the law in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, which works closely with the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, placed a notice in the *Liberation News Service Bulletin* of April 3, 1976, which read:

The Philadelphia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild is planning on providing emergency legal service to the various groups and individuals who will be demonstrating in Philadelphia this summer. This will include helping to secure parade permits, fighting injunctions against demonstrations, counseling groups on first amendment rights and providing legal observers for demonstrations and lawyers for emergency situations. Any group planning on coming to Philadelphia this summer should notify the guild as soon as possible so that it can estimate the dimensions of the legal assistance necessary and can contact groups planning to participate.

THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY AND THE PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE

The Weather Underground and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee have also provided propaganda support for the Symbionese Liberation Army. At the time of the capture of Patricia Hearst and the Hariises, Bernardine Dohrn signed a statement on behalf of the WUO. She said, "The capture of several SLA members in September was a victory for the enemy and a defeat for everyone struggling against imperialism. They are comrades who share the conviction that only Socialist revolution will end the misery and oppression of imperialism." But Dohrn went on to criticize the SLA for not organizing a political movement to carry out their aims. She referred to the SLA's theory of operation as the "foco theory"—which the Weather Underground now believes is wrong. This theory, which originally was developed from the Latin-American terrorist experience, has been criticized by terrorists who consider themselves Marxist-Leninists because it does not link terrorist attacks to mass movements. Dohrn ended her statement by saying, "We should proceed at once to build the kind of political organization capable of leading the armed struggle and the powerful discontent of the oppressed and exploited." (Osawatomie, winter, 1975-76). In Berkeley, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, together with the National Lawyers Guild, organized a rally in support of the SLA on September 27, 1975. (For more on the west coast movement, see p. 121.)

THE RIVAL JULY 4TH COALITION

A rival radical group, the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly the Revolutionary Union) also plans demonstrations in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July under the slogan, "Get the rich off our backs!" The RCP, a Maoist-Communist group, says it hopes to organize thousands of demonstrators for their own action. The RCP youth organization, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which some consider an RCP front operation, are also actively recruiting demonstrators for Philadelphia.

B. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party

Sharing the command of the July 4th Coalition with the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee are the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, an umbrella support operation for the PSP. Juan Mari Bras, the leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was quoted roughly a year ago by *Claridad*, his party organ, as saying:

The slogan of the Bicentennial without Colonies means that we are going to turn the Bicentennial celebrations upside down, if, by that time, the United States has not ended its colonial regime in Puerto Rico. Thousands of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians and other racial minorities will invade the city of Philadelphia on July 4, 1976.

How seriously do we have to take such threats?

In December 1974, Mari Bras promised, ". . . sabotage and bombings of all kinds will take place with increasing frequency." (*Claridad*, Dec. 3, 1974) Less than 2 months later, a bomb exploded in New York City's Fraunces Tavern, killing four innocent diners. And on October 27, 1975, ten almost simultaneous bomb explosions took place in

government buildings, corporations and banks in New York, Chicago, and Washington. The FALN—the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican Liberation—claimed credit for all these actions, while the PSP, in its own name, simply condoned them.

Available intelligence about these organizations, including the documented testimony that has been presented to your subcommittee in several hearings, established beyond challenge that both are heavily influenced and may be controlled by the Cuban intelligence service, the so-called DGI, which stands for *Directoria General de Inteligencia*. The leaders of both of these organizations flamboyantly support Fidel Castro and have frequently visited Cuba. While both of these organizations are ostensibly non-terrorist, they miss no opportunity to proclaim their admiration for the Puerto Rican terrorists and their solidarity with them.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party publicly maintains a large office in Havana—and Havana was the locus of the so-called “International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico” in September of 1975, where representatives of all the Communist parties internationally and Third World governments and movements declared their moral support for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party is not a reformist organization like the European Social Democratic parties. It is a Castro Communist party—and the use of the name “Puerto Rican Socialist Party” was simply intended to give their organizing greater acceptability, nationally and internationally. This was made very clear by Juan Mari Bras, the leader of the PSP, who said in *Claridad*, on January 2, 1975:

We are Communists because the objective of all socialists around the world is the eventual transformation of the socialist society into a Communist society . . . But in the specific context of our national reality, we decided to call our party ‘socialist party’ because it defines with sufficient precision our strategic objectives for the foreseeable future.

The leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party view themselves as revolutionary Davids destined to destroy the U.S. imperialist Goliath. This theme emerges over and over again from a reading of their literature. For example, a supplement to *Claridad* published in November 1974 stated:

We are at the very center of the continental revolution. Every revolutionary process in the Third World, and particularly in Latin America, deepens the contradictions in the heart of American society. At the same time, the deeper the struggles in the heart of this society, the bigger will be the possibilities of victory for the Third World.

The same article bore a photograph of the damage done by a bomb set by Puerto Rican terrorists in New York City. The caption stated: “Puerto Rico must be the spearhead to bring the anti-imperialist war to the very heart of the American society.”

The most significant of the Puerto Rican terrorist groups is the Puerto Rican Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN). The first publicly acknowledged bombings claimed by the FALN were in October 1974. The advertised purpose of these bombings was to demand freedom for Puerto Rican terrorists in Attica Prison and to declare to the world that the FALN “supports the demonstration at Madison Square Garden on October 27 (1974) in support of the independence of Puerto Rico.” Since that time, they have been involved in some 30

or more bombings on the U.S. mainland and many more bombings in Puerto Rico itself.

The Madison Square Garden rally was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the feature speaker was Juan Mari Bras, its leader. Mari Bras told the rally that the FALN bombings were justified. "There is a diversity of forms and means by which the Puerto Rican people struggle for independence and national liberation," he said. "This is one of our means."

I think it worth noting that among the other speakers at the rally were Angela Davis, an official of the Communist Party, U.S.A., actress Jane Fonda, and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement.

As a result of a grand jury probe into the FALN actions, a number of PSP activists have been subpoenaed. According to Chicago Tribune reporter Ron Koziol, one of the FALN activists is a Cuban-trained Puerto Rican terrorist by the name of Filiberto Ojeda Rios, who was being sought by the FBI in connection with FALN terrorist bombings in Chicago (Chicago Tribune, June 13, 1975).

While there are few leads to the identity of the FALN terrorists, there are many people who believe that the members of the FALN are simply disguised members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Whether this is so or not, there can be absolutely no question that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has repeatedly and militantly defended the actions of the terrorists. For example, in your hearing of last year on Puerto Rican terrorism, your witness, Francisco Martinez, quoted Angel Agosta, the secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, as saying:

The Armed Commandos for Liberation are perhaps the most substantial and effective armed pro-independence organization in Puerto Rico. Their actions are framed within the conception of an armed struggle as the blasting cap and a supplement for legal open struggle.

The FALN, for its part, has made no effort to disguise the fact that it receives—and welcomes—support from the Castro government, and from sympathetic organizations in the United States and the Americas. The FALN communique No. 6 (October 27, 1975) said in part:

The FALN welcomes the support given the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle at the Solidarity Conference in Cuba (September 1975) and the meeting of nonaligned nations in Peru in September. We especially acknowledge the moral support given our organization by the Cuban people and government, in a speech by Premier Fidel Castro in August, in which he said the Cuban government would do all it could to support the FALN.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, is for all practical purposes, an extension of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, set up for the purpose of bringing together all of the organizations of the revolutionary left in this country in a single movement supporting the objective of "independence" for Puerto Rico. The founding conference took place on the campus of Rutgers University in Newark, N.J. The hundred or more delegates at the conference represented a broad array of organizations, including the Communist Party, U.S.A., the National Lawyers Guild, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the October League, the Congress of African People, the American Committee of the World Peace Council, and other similar organizations of the Old Left and New Left.

The testimony given before your subcommittee last July 30 by Mr. Alfonso Tarabochia, established the fact that most of the leaders of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee had been in Cuba at least one time and some several times, and that some of them had been in contact with identified members of the DGI.¹²

I have already pointed out that Julie Nichamin serves as the coordinator for the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. Hearings held before this subcommittee have reproduced a letter from Julie Nichamin written from Havana on January 26, 1969, to Bernardine Dohrn, the leader of the Weather Underground. This letter wound up with a postscript: "I (Julie) will be down here at least until the middle of April. If any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here." "Jimenez" was identified in testimony before your subcommittee as Jesus Jimenez Escobar, who was expelled from this country on February 19, 1969, for engaging in espionage activities against the United States.

To sum all this up, here you have the present coordinator of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, which has the status of a legal organization, writing a letter from Havana to Bernardine Dohrn, now the leader of the illegal Weather Underground and one of the FBI's 10 most wanted criminals, urging her to establish contact with a member of the Cuban Mission to the U.N.—who, not very surprisingly, also happened to be a member of the Cuban DGI. I think this tells us a good deal about the nature of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

A discussion of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and the influence of the DGI would be incomplete without a further reference to the role played by the so-called Venceremos Brigade. As I have already pointed out, the Venceremos Brigade, a continuing movement which was launched in 1968, purports to be an organization of young Americans who want to manifest their sympathy for the so-called agricultural reform in Cuba by participating as volunteers in the sugarcane harvest. To date, a grand total of some 2,400 young Americans have traveled to Cuba, in annual contingents, under the auspices of the Venceremos Brigade. Your own subcommittee, in a series of hearings, has accumulated specific evidence that the Venceremos Brigade has, from the beginning, been a creation of the Cuban DGI, which uses it for purposes of indoctrination, espionage and political activities in the United States.

In testimony before your subcommittee last year, Mr. Alfonso L. Tarabochia, your chief investigator, made the apt commentary that the evidence pointed to a triangular relationship between the Venceremos Brigade, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the DGI, with the DGI

¹² A whole series of interesting interlocking relationships exist between the PRSC, the Venceremos Brigade, and identified members of the DGI. "Puerto Rico, Libre, the official mouthpiece of the PRSC, lists as its national staff, the following individuals: Maggie Block, Rosa Borenstein, David Burd, Bill Henning, Sally Hamann, Lally Lopez, Liz Mestres, and Vicki Wheeler. In addition, Julie Nichamin, Ted Glick, Roger Geller, Frank Christopher, and Dana Biberman are listed as members of the PRSC. Of these, Margaret Phyllis Block was a member of the second Venceremos Brigade which was in Cuba for 6 weeks, from mid-February 1970 to mid-April 1970; Borenstein was a member of the First Brigade which traveled to Cuba from December 1969 to February 1970. In addition, Rosa Borenstein made another trip to Cuba in July 1971 where she visited the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples (ICAP), a notorious cover for the DGI. There she met with an ICAP operative who had worked on the Cuban contingent of the First and Second Brigades. . . . His name is Jose Antonio Pedrosa. There was an exchange of information about activities of brigade veterans in the United States and Rosa Borenstein gave Pedrosa details about members in the Northeastern United States." Paragraph in quotes taken from p. 358, *Terroristic Activity*, part 6, "The Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico; Castro's Hand in Puerto Rican and U.S. Terrorism." Hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, July 30, 1975.

at the apex of the triangle. He pointed out that, as of the time of his testimony, some 60 to 70 Puerto Ricans had traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade and that, of the 40 individuals listed as members of the U.S. Zone Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, 10 were veterans of the Venceremos Brigade.

The kind of sugarcane cutting that the Venceremos Brigade members engaged in while they were in Cuba has been spelled out in public documents. For example, the official Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, on October 30, 1970, carried this item on the education of the Venceremos Brigade members:

"The most useful part of the trip, up to now, has been the lectures," commented a Puerto Rican (Brigade member), "we are really learning. And they ask questions constantly, with great eagerness. Susan wants to clear up some confused points of Marighella's 'Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla'; Bob would like to know how the Tupamaros function and organize themselves because 'we could do the same in many cities of the United States'; a blond long-haired young man worries about 'What actions could we carry out to cooperate with Latin American revolutionaries in their struggle against Yankee imperialism?'"

Further insights on the Venceremos Brigade can be obtained from a book entitled, "Venceremos Brigade," edited by Sandra Levinson and Carol Brightman, published by Simon and Schuster in 1971. The book contains 6 interviews with a Cuban, Julian Torres Rizo, and a photograph that bears the following caption: "Julian Rizo, director of the Cuban delegation in the brigade camp, addressing the brigade on International Women's Day."

The book, in addition, included some remarks delivered by Torres Rizo to applicants for the Third Venceremos Brigade contingent to Cuba in New York City in July of 1970.

Torres Rizo is currently serving as first secretary of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York. In addition to his long association with the Venceremos Brigade and young Americans, Torres Rizo has been identified in a report put out by your subcommittee as a member of the U.S. section of the DGI, and he was more recently so identified in a nationally syndicated column.

Mr. Chairman, in the light of the evidence of the ties between the DGI on the one hand and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, and the Venceremos Brigade on the other hand, as well as the evidence of ties between the DGI and the Weather Underground-Prairie Fire Organizing Committee complex, it is difficult to believe that the Castro government is completely unaware of the plans that are being made for July 4 under the auspices of the July 4th Coalition.

C. PBC and the Washington demonstration

To complete the roundup of possible July 4 disruptions, I should mention the demonstration planned for Washington, under the aegis of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

The May 1976 report issued by the Subcommittee on Internal Security described the PBC as "a propaganda and organizing tool of a small group of New Left political extremists whose pantheon of political heroes includes such Marxist luminaries as Fidel Castro, Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, and Regis Debray, and who seek to pervert the meaning of the American Revolution and to exploit the Bicentennial celebration in order to further their own revolutionary goals." I

believe this is a very apt characterization, and that it was well documented in your printed report.

While there is no evidence that the PBC is planning mass violence or acts of terrorism, they talk about bringing some 250,000 demonstrators to Washington on July 4 and staging a mass march from the Jefferson Memorial to the Capitol. The scheduled speakers include Jane Fonda, who is given top billing; Phil Foner, a Marxist historian long associated with the CPUSA's Jefferson School in New York City; Sam Lovejoy, who publicly took responsibility for the sabotaging in February 1974 of a power facility in Montague, Mass.; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Rubin "Hurricane" Carter; and others.

As far as the PBC itself is concerned, the chances are their Washington demonstration will not go further than the rowdiness and disruption which characterized their counterdemonstration in Concord on April 19, 1975. On that occasion, according to newspaper accounts, the crowd of 30,000 demonstrators assembled under PBC auspices, booed and heckled President Ford incessantly, and succeeded in turning what was supposed to have been a happy and inspiring commemorative ceremony into an unpleasant, unhappy occasion.

I hope the PBC's demonstration in Washington on July 4 will be peaceful even if it does not turn out to be pleasant.

There are some reasons for concern, however. The major reason is that even if the PBC tries to keep its core demonstration peaceful in accordance with its assurance, the PBC does not exercise direct control over the numerous terrorists and violence prone groups in our country, and there is a danger that some of these groups may decide to take advantage of the PBC's mass demonstration against the "establishment" to engage in some spectacular act of terrorism or violence, also directed against the "establishment."

5. THE INTELLIGENCE PROBLEM

The picture that emerges from this discussion is the following: A variety of groups, most of them basically Marxist-Leninist and some openly terrorist, have discussed plans to disrupt the bicentennial. Their efforts will probably be concentrated on July 4 largely in Philadelphia and Washington where they can expect the largest crowds and the greatest publicity. They will also be sponsoring demonstrations in other cities, however. Among these groups, the July 4th Coalition, in particular, bears the most careful watching because of (a) the links between the influential Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Weather Underground; and (b) the links between the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the FALN—both linked, in turn, to the Cuban DGI (which is believed by most intelligence specialists to be controlled by the KGB).

Presented with these possibilities, what has been the reaction of law enforcement authorities? Counterterrorist action ideally includes preventive intelligence, physical protection of facilities, and the deterrence of possible punishment. The Bicentennial and especially July 4 present some serious problems from the standpoint of these requirements. First, it will be difficult if not impossible to "protect" the historic sites in those cities with measures of the kind used in airports. Second, our domestic law enforcement intelligence orga-

nizations are operating with drastically reduced capabilities. This is a matter your subcommittee has considered in two previous hearings, and it is my understanding that you are planning further hearings on the subject. What emerges from your hearing records and from information that has come to me from other sources is that in many of our major cities and States law enforcement intelligence files dealing with subversive and extremist organizations have been wiped out, and that law enforcement officers now find themselves almost paralyzed by the pyramiding restrictions on intelligence operations.

At the risk of repetition, let me repeat a few of the facts which have been made public:

In New York State, law enforcement intelligence files painstakingly built up over a 30-year period have been locked up since last September and most of the 24 members of the intelligence unit have been assigned to other duties.

In the State of Texas, as a result of a law suit, the Public Safety Division has destroyed over 1 million card entries—salvaging only those cards where convictions or indictments on criminal charges were involved. These were transferred to the criminal files.

In New York City, almost 98 percent of approximately 1 million card entries were destroyed, leaving the intelligence unit with a reported 20,000 cards covering perhaps a third of this number of individuals.

In Chicago, the files of the police intelligence unit have been impounded since March 28 of last year leaving the unit without access to its own records.

In Michigan, a Federal judge has ordered the State police to destroy the files of their intelligence unit and disband the unit. This ruling is currently being contested.

In Pittsburgh, the intelligence unit has been wiped out, and in other cities they have been reduced to levels which make it impossible for them to operate effectively.

In Los Angeles, New York and other major cities, the controlling criterion governing law enforcement intelligence is that no entry may be made about any person simply on the basis of membership in the Communist Party or the Trotskyist or Maoist organizations or even in violence-prone groups such as the Black Panthers, the Jewish Defense League, and the Palestine Liberation Organization. An individual must have a record of conviction or indictment on a criminal charge before any entry can be made about him. This is something that violates all the rules of commonsense and intelligence gathering and which virtually deprives our law enforcement agencies of any preventive capability.

No wonder the Yugoslavian Ambassador denounced U.S. security precautions after his Embassy had been bombed for the third time on June 9, 1976. The State Department's "profound regrets" are no substitutes for sound intelligence procedures, which are the chief arm of domestic security.

I note in this connection that when your subcommittee last October took testimony from four of this country's top police experts on terrorist bombings, they all complained about the difficulties under which they were operating because of the destruction or inactivation of intelligence files and the increasing restrictions on their intelligence

capabilities. Sergeant Arleigh McCree of the Los Angeles Police Department told your subcommittee that—I quote—“Intelligence is relatively nonexistent among our major police departments today.” I understand that the situation has become measurably worse since this testimony was given.

In the old days, whenever there was a demonstration in Washington or some other city that brought together extremist elements from all over the country, the police department in the target city would be able to build some kind of intelligence mosaic from the reports it received from other police departments around the country. This gave it some idea of how many people to expect, what organizations would be participating, who the leaders were, what elements had to be considered particularly dangerous, and what plans there were, if any, for violence. Armed with this information, the department was in a position to do some intelligent planning. But as matters stand this July 4, I am afraid the police departments in Washington and Philadelphia are operating largely in the dark. They have bits and pieces of information, but not enough to do any meaningful contingency planning. This is a chaotic situation—and it could be very dangerous. It is worthwhile recalling what a difficult time the Washington and Chicago police departments had in dealing with some of the violent demonstrations that took place in the late 1960's—despite the fact that they then possessed excellent intelligence.

How has this situation come about? It is, as your hearings have pointed out, a product of a complex of circumstances—the Watergate scandal, the revelations that there had been certain abuses by both our domestic and foreign intelligence agencies, a widespread antipathy towards police intelligence, and an organized campaign of legal harassment against the intelligence units of our major law enforcement agencies by left-wing organizations.

I wholeheartedly agree with Senator Thurmond's observation that if there have been abuses in the field of law enforcement intelligence, the sensible thing to do is to correct the abuses—and not to destroy our entire intelligence capability.

I am all in favor of granting the widest possible freedom of expression to dissenting groups, including the most radical dissenters. But this does not mean that we must, in the name of the first amendment, prohibit the gathering of intelligence about conspiratorial activities designed to overthrow our Government and destroy our freedoms, or to inflict mass violence or acts of terrorism on our communities which could take innocent lives. The line must be drawn somewhere. And to me it seems clear that the first purpose of the law in any free society must be the protection of the community against violent and subversive minorities that seek to terrorize, intimidate, and slowly destroy the capacity of the Government to govern.

6. WHAT CAN BE DONE

Revolutionary terrorism is a deadly political weapon and from my own observations, I am inclined to believe that no free society has yet developed an effective strategy for dealing with the problem. Terrorists have become infinitely more sophisticated, and they now have access to long-range weapons like mortars and heatseeking anti-aircraft missiles. Moreover, we may soon have to confront the problem of nu-

clear terrorism or nuclear blackmail by terrorist elements. To further complicate matters, there is evidence of increasing collaboration between domestic terrorist groups and transnational cooperation between terrorist groups operating in different parts of the free world. The case of the Lod Airport massacre is an illustration of this kind of cooperation. The group of Japanese Red Army terrorists who perpetrated the massacre were acting on behalf of their Palestinian terrorist comrades. The evidence established that they had received their basic training in terrorism in North Korea; that they had been then transported across the Soviet Union to East Germany; and that from East Germany they were moved down to Italy where friendly terrorists provided them with their weapons, and that they then moved on to Israel for the final act in their international escapade.

According to more recent information it has now become an increasingly commonplace occurrence for terrorist groups in one European country—for example, West Germany—to contact terrorist groups in another European country—for example, France—with a request that they carry out a terrorist action against a designated “German” target in the second country. Such requests are honored on a reciprocal basis.

There is every reason for fearing that the situation in the United States will become much worse before it becomes much better, and that we may yet experience terrorist kidnappings and assassinations on the Latin American model.

Totalitarian societies find it relatively easy to cope with the problem of terrorism—indeed, there is no serious problem of terrorism in totalitarian societies—because they are inhibited by few humanitarian or legal scruples. While they are themselves immune to this deadly scourge, there is much evidence that they abet, directly and indirectly, terrorist activities in other countries.

A free society cannot behave like a totalitarian society, even in dealing with a problem as grave as the growing epidemic of terrorism. It will, therefore, take all of our ingenuity and all of our determination over the coming period to devise a strategy that simultaneously respects the rights guaranteed under our constitution and places more effective restraints on the terrorist elements in our country.

I do not pretend to have all the answers. But there are a few preliminary thoughts and suggestions I would like to offer.

Let us recall that the fundamental purpose of the terrorist is to frighten his adversary. He needs innocent victims and he needs publicity. But, on top of this, the act itself is intended either to provoke the government into excessive reactions or to force its acceptance of terrorist demands or to reduce the government to a state of paralysis.

By reacting with excessive force borne of horror, outrage and frustration, a society may play into the terrorist’s hands. Excessive force, indiscriminately applied, breeds its own fear and erodes the fabric of civic stability. Because the terrorist seeks to destroy a government using very limited physical means, he is greatly aided if he can provoke that government to compromise its legitimacy.

A democracy which abridges basic liberties and abandons its constitution in order to pursue terrorists does their work for them. On the other hand, the danger is also increased when a government charged with the protection of its citizens is unable to guard against terrorism either capitulates to terrorist demands or fails to take effective measures against them.

The first requirement of an effective antiterrorist program is a comprehensive intelligence operation. Intelligence includes not only precise information but also an analytical capability which yields critical clues about the ideology, motivation, and likely action patterns of the terrorists and about the changing patterns of interlocks between the terrorist groups, nationally and internationally. The possession of facts alone still does not solve the problem, but without the facts, the authorities are condemned to act in a blind and sometimes arbitrary or indiscriminate fashion, doing the terrorist's work for him.

My first suggestion is, therefore, that the American people and their elected representatives must do some serious rethinking on the matter of law enforcement intelligence. Adequate intelligence is requirement number one in coping with the problem of terrorism—and in the absence of such intelligence the most dedicated police force in the world would not be able to effectively protect its community. Our society is bound to remain extremely vulnerable to terrorism so long as the present paralyzing restrictions on intelligence gathering capabilities persist. Furthermore, since terrorism frequently crosses natural frontiers, the intelligence capabilities of both the CIA and the FBI will have to be reinforced. I agree that there is a need for guidelines. But the existence of guidelines does not require the kind of near total wipeout that now exists.

Second, there must be timely arrest and punishment of the terrorist. Unfortunately, the international nature of modern terrorism has enfeebled this essential deterrent. Too many governments abroad give sanction and support to terrorists. This includes not only those, such as Libya, which train and supply terrorists, but governments which give in to terrorist demands again and again.

I would favor the rewriting of the laws covering terrorist actions, to provide for prompt trials, mandatory minimum penalties for all terrorist crimes, and mandatory death sentences in all actions resulting in the loss of life. And I would also raise the question of whether the first amendment was ever intended to cover the assumed freedom to engage in the publication and mass distribution of how-to-do-it terrorist manuals.

My third proposal is that, because of the international nature of the problem, we must seek to persuade free nations to embark upon a combined international war against the transnational terrorists, bringing to bear both classic intelligence and modern computer technology. Among other things this would involve the pooling of intelligence. This, I must point out, gets into a very sticky area because it is a matter of reasonably common knowledge that some of our staunchest allies have serious misgivings about sharing classified information with American intelligence agencies, out of the fear that this intelligence will somehow find its way into the print through some member or some staff member of some congressional committee.

Fourth, there should be public exposure of both the groups involved and the danger they represent. There is no substitute for public alertness in making it difficult for terrorists to function. This includes information for both the media and schools.

Fifth, the United States must do what it can to prevent explosives and dangerous weapons from falling to the hands of terrorists. The laws governing the production, distribution, and use of explosives

can stand a good deal of tightening, with a view to reducing the possibilities of theft, or the even greater possibility that explosives which are purchased legally under the present loose regulations may be used for illicit purposes by criminal or terrorist elements. I understand that your subcommittee is already looking into this matter, and I want to compliment you on this.

Sixth, and finally, the time has come for the media to examine anew their responsibilities to the public. While it is the duty of the reporter to report the facts where acts of terrorism are involved, the selection of these facts to emphasize sensational brutality serves the terrorists and not the newspaper reader or the TV viewer. The guarantee of page 1 or prime-time coverage remains essential to the terrorists' success and constitutes an invitation to the terrorists to repeat their actions and to others to emulate their actions. The thought has occurred to me that the American media might respond affirmatively to such a proposal if the President called them together for a special conference on the role of the media in limiting civil violence, and asked for their voluntary cooperation.

I would like to close this presentation by reiterating that the terrorist can succeed only if his target is paralyzed with fright or frightened into self-destructive blunders. From what we have been able to analyze, it seems likely that the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Puerto Rican Socialists and their partners hope to distract us from our pursuit of the balance between liberty and law, symbolized by the Bicentennial and July 4.

July 4 will take place on a Sunday 16 days from now. Let us hope that this memorial Sabbath will not be marred by the mayhem engendered by terror, but will instead be an opportunity for the American people to rededicate themselves to the values that have made and kept us as a nation.

The use of force to achieve political objectives is not new. That is what every war is all about. But modern warfare among civilized nations is conducted with some respect to the difference between combatant and non-combatant. The modern terrorists prefer to not limit themselves by any moral restrictions as to their actions.

For them there is no such thing as a noncombat status and prisoners taken by them in many cases are murdered in cold blood. Our Ambassador to Sudan was killed in that fashion by the PLO. We are aware of innocent women and children being shot down at the airport in Tel Aviv several years ago and also the LaGuardia bombing and the senseless bombing of pubs and restaurants in London.

Whether they attack physical objectives or people, the terrorists have one primary aim, namely to exploit the media in order to make what they call armed propaganda and in this way to give the impression that their movement has greater support than it has in reality.

This benefits them in several ways. One, the government may react with indiscriminate and excessive force, increasing opposition to it. On the other hand they may force the government to capitulate to their demands.

The terrorist depends on four major features of the modern world to advance his work. First is the intrinsic vulnerability of modern industrial democracies.

Second, the speed of modern transport and communications, which gives him quick access and escape and ease of planning. Third, the power and convenience of modern weaponry and explosives which enhance his capacity to destroy, and fourth, above all, the huge audience created by the electronic media, which insures that the fear and leathing his crimes inspire will be felt by vast numbers.

There is one other characteristic of modern terrorism which I would like to comment on and that is the fact that it is almost impossible to distinguish between domestic and international terrorism. All the groups whose publications you see there on the display board identify themselves with either Vietnam, Castro's Cuba, or the PLO. They have a common sympathy with what they are trying to achieve—the overthrow of the American system.

Now let's take a look at the Bicentennial celebrations planned for Washington and for Philadelphia. Any event which is going to enjoy major international media coverage is an ideal terrorist event because it provides opportunities for the terrorists to make their presence known through the media to the world and to spread terror and uncertainty among free men and nations.

There is a reason to be concerned that the terrorist elements in our society will find the Bicentennial irresistible as an attraction not only because the eyes of the world will be focused on our birthday party but because they regard the celebration itself with deep hostility since it stands for everything they oppose.

They are opposed to freedom because they favor what they euphemistically call the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theme of our Bicentennial is freedom. We plan to celebrate our freedom on the 4th of July.

Nationally sponsored celebrations in the case of Washington and Philadelphia and locally sponsored in the case of the rest of the country are excellent opportunities for these terrorists to make themselves better known. Two centuries ago, it was established that the United States would have government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We have not betrayed the American Revolution as these detractors claim we have.

We live in the only true modern revolutionary society. America has not achieved perfection. Some of our imperfections are all too obvious. But we have preserved the American process which allows for the expression of majority will while protecting minority rights.

This process remains the surest and best route for the remedy of just grievances held by any American. But the extremist minority hate America and everything it stands for. They have been talking in terms of disrupting and spoiling the Bicentennial. The leaders have talked about turning the Bicentennial upside down.

A leader of the American Indian Movement said in February of this year, that when "they [the ruling classes] light the candles on the 200th birthday cake we will be there to blow them out."

The terrorist Weather Underground has been talking about lighting the fires. It does not take great imagination to conceive of the possible consequences. It would seem to confirm that the United States is an irresolute society paralyzed by domestic dissension. It is my hope they will not succeed—that this will not come about.

We must pay some credence to the statements of these organizations and carefully examine the track records so we will be better able to anticipate their intentions and their capabilities.

Terrorist actions by revolutionary groups have taken place in the United States sporadically since 1965, but they increased dramatically during the past few years.

In 1973 there were 24 bombings attributable to terrorists; this increased to 45 in 1974 and 89 in 1975. Violence-prone revolutionaries have boasted publicly that they intend to expand their violence during the 1976 Bicentennial celebration period, beginning in 1976 and running through 1980.

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has warned us that terrorist activities during the Bicentennial are being planned, and only 2 weeks ago Attorney General Levi instructed the FBI to do an intelligence roundup on the July 4th Coalition, which is planning a mass demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4th.

The celebrations in Washington and Philadelphia on July 4th offer particularly tempting targets for the terrorists to engage in armed propaganda, the euphemism they use to justify their deadly actions because on that occasion the eyes of the entire world will be focused on them. As one of the leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party which plays a central role in the July 4th Coalition put the matter:

For the Puerto Ricans in the United States the Bicentennial is important in many ways—they have invited the Pope and Queen Elizabeth, the King of Spain, etc. * * * the eyes of the whole world will be riveted on the answer that we all give to the shameless pretenses of the North American ruling class.

The organizations planning to disrupt the Bicentennial come from both the so-called Old Left and New Left, and despite some very real differences, almost all of them consider themselves Marxist-Leninist.

All groups that consider themselves Marxist-Leninist defend the use of terrorism at some stage of the revolutionary process. Lenin taught the utility of terrorist actions in these words:

The propagandists must supply each group with brief and simple recipes for making bombs, give them an elementary explanation of the type of work, and then leave it all to them.

Senator THURMOND. Could I ask you this question at this point? You have said that the great majority of the terrorist groups in our country consider themselves as Marxist-Leninists. Is this your own opinion—or is this something that can be documented?

Dr. KINTNER. Some of them consider themselves Marxist-Leninists-Maoists. It can be documented. I am going to read from a publication from Berkeley, Calif., New Study Groups. It comments on the publication "Osawatomie," the publication of the Weather Underground.

They are talking about courses which will be—

Senator THURMOND. I am going to have to leave and go over and vote. We will take a short recess. In the meantime Senator Scott, another member of this subcommittee, will probably come in and proceed. Please take a short recess for a few minutes.

[Voting recess.]

Senator SCOTT [presiding]. The committee will resume. Doctor, I believe you were responding to a question by the chairman. If you will, please continue.

Dr. KINTNER. That is correct. I wanted to read further about the courses being offered on the contemporary revolution by the New Dawn organization which is connected with the Weather Underground.

Basic communism will be studied. The basic works of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, *State and Revolution*, *What Is to Be Done*, and then there is another publication put out by Politics in Command on the question of armed struggle by the Weather Underground organization.

Here is where they state: "Our goal is to build Communist organizations toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomena led by a Marxist-Leninist party." I think those quotations do indicate exactly what they have in mind which is to create in the United States the type government comparable to those under which the people in the Soviet Union live or in Cuba or in the People's Republic of China.

There are some differences between China and the Soviet Union. Your subcommittee only a year ago took testimony from a distinguished British citizen, Mr. Brian Crozier, director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict, who established that Moscow operates a number of training schools for guerrillas and terrorists from other countries—both for Communists and non-Communists.

Dissident Marxist-Leninist organizations also support or engage in terrorism. The major American Trotskyite organization, the Socialist Workers Party for example, is part of the terrorist Fourth International. While they do not advocate terrorism in the United States right now, they do not rule it out as a future tactic.

The mass demonstrations that are being planned for July 4th could provide dramatic platforms for Marxist-Leninist terrorists. Marxist-Leninist theory condemns individual acts of terrorism if they are not linked to a mass movement. However, it justifies the acts of terrorism if they are linked to mass revolutionary movements. Because of this, it becomes incumbent upon the support apparatus for the underground terrorists to organize the mass demonstrations which will justify terrorist acts.

Major demonstrations and marches are planned for both Washington and Philadelphia on July 4th. Demonstrations are also being planned for Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio and other cities on the 4th; and followup demonstrations are being planned in New York City at the time of the Democratic Party Convention. This is being developed in a different fashion than some of the others.

I quote a document called 76 United Revolutionary Front which indicates that their task during the Democratic Convention, July 7th to 18th, 1976, is to secure Central Park. They are to encourage the people to agitate and to organize, to join in every way possible the people's day-to-day struggle.

New York can look for a little party after Washington and Philadelphia.

The Philadelphia demonstration is being planned by the July 4th Coalition which is commanded by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, a support organization—an above ground organization—for the Weather Underground, and by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a Castroite organization which supports the terrorist activities of the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). Also involved in the plans for the Philadelphia demonstration are other radical groups ranging from the Community Party, Socialist Workers Party, Guardian, Workers World Party, and the Yippies, to an array

of violence prone organizations like the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement, and the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Heading the July 4th Coalition is Alfredo Lopez, a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, formerly identified with the proterrorist tendency in the Socialist Workers Party.

Senator SCOTT. These demonstrations that you speak of, do you see a single issue that is developing out of them or is there a multiplicity of issues?

Dr. KINTNER. There is a multiplicity of issues. The ones in Philadelphia will be stressing immediate independence for Puerto Rico because the Puerto Rican organization will be there and the others deal with the standard complaints which they raise about many aspects of our society.

Senator SCOTT. Are they seriously interested in these specific issues in your opinion?

Dr. KINTNER. I think there are some seriously interested in them but they use them as they do most of their activities as a proselytizing slogan, as a mode of recruitment trying to arouse emotional passion among people that they will then try to bring into their movement.

They are more tactical than substantive.

Senator SCOTT. None of us would favor police brutality and I believe the law says that police officers are only warranted to use such force as may be necessary to sustain an arrest. Now this is something that I believe the American people generally agree on.

There would be no need for a demonstration with regard to this. But are they going beyond the legitimate protest? In regard to matters of this nature?

Dr. KINTNER. I can answer by returning to the so-called Days of Rage, which the Weathermen put on in Chicago from October 8 to 11, 1969.

Senator SCOTT. Actually, I would prefer that you go ahead in your own manner.

Dr. KINTNER. I think this does answer exactly your question. With slogans such as bring the war home and we are going to burn the city down, the Weathermen broke windows and attacked the Chicago Police Department and passers-by on the street.

A Weatherman leaflet said: "In Chicago we attacked the homes and businesses of the rich bastards who profit off war and oppression. We did 1 million dollars' worth of damage and sent 60 pigs—police officers—to the hospital, including Richard Elrod, corporation counsel for Chicago." You see that they use these incidents to try to discredit the law enforcement agencies in the United States.

On October 22, 1969 the Weathermen faction met in a hotel in Oregon, Ill. The prominent members were Bernardine Dohrn and Mark Rudd. Discussions concluded that confrontations could not work and they began organizing clandestine organizations, terrorist activities.

Among the most spectacular terrorist acts committed by the Weather Underground have been the bombing of the San Francisco Park Police Station on February 16, 1970, with a dynamite bomb loaded with staples. This bombing killed one police officer and injured eight others.

The bombing of the New York City Police headquarters on June 9, 1970; the bombing of the U.S. Capitol on February 28, 1971; the bombing of the State Department on January 29, 1975. The March 6, 1970 explosion of a townhouse in New York in which three members of the Weather Underground were killed while making antipersonnel bombs, caused a great deal of dissension and discussion within the movement. Many of the Weather Underground supporters were shocked by the antipersonnel nature of the bombs.

The hardcore remained, however, and they boast that they have been responsible for more than 25 more bombings since 1970.

For the Weather Underground leaders, the most important result of terrorist actions in the initial stages of the operation was media coverage. They wanted to show people both in the United States and around the world that there was a network of revolutionaries willing to take personal responsibility, to carry out terrorist acts "within the belly of the master" and in solidarity with revolutionary movements throughout the world.

They believed that a sustained campaign of bombings and other terrorist acts would give them legitimacy as the leader of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Terrorist acts, referred to as armed propaganda, could obtain large-scale free media coverage that mere rhetoric could not obtain. The use of terrorist activities was also seen as linking the Weather Underground with the Third World revolutionary movement at home and abroad.

At the same time Weather Underground leaders believed that it was necessary to build an aboveground party more openly revolutionary than the Communist Party, U.S.A., which would advance propaganda justifications for the violent actions of the terrorist underground.

The aboveground movement, to be called the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee—would also have the responsibility of organizing mass struggles that could be linked with the terrorist actions of the Weather Underground.

The Weather Underground is not a legal organization for the simple reason that all of its leaders are on the FBI's most wanted list. But by 1974 the support network felt strong enough to organize a public aboveground apparatus. The first action of this group was the publication of Prairie Fire, a political statement of the Weather Underground running 152 pages. The distributing apparatus, which was first called the Prairie Fire Distribution Committee, soon changed its name to Prairie Fire Organizing Committee which subsequently organized the Hard Times Conference held at Chicago in February 1976.

Over 2,000 activists took part in the Hard Times Conference. One of the most important actions taken by the Conference was the approval of a proposal by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party for a militant mass demonstration in Philadelphia on July 4. I offer for the record a copy of a letter from the July 4th Coalition establishing a founding role played by the Hard Times Conference.

The central committee of the Weather Underground organization has announced that "we dedicate ourselves to solidarity with the July 4 mobilization in Philadelphia which will raise the banner of independence for Puerto Rico and unite this struggle with that of the workers and oppressed people of the United States. This is an urgent priority." The same issue it is to be noted, gives public support to the

Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the American Indian Movement and the Palestine Terrorists.

In line with its concept that it must function as a cadre organization, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee has placed its cadres in key positions in a large number of militant and violence prone organizations, many of which are planning to participate in the July 4th Coalition in Philadelphia, which as I have pointed out is under the joint command of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee is the propaganda arm of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and defends terrorist and other violent activities on behalf of the Puerto Rican independence. Alfredo Lopez, who heads the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, is also a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and is the coordinator for the July 4th Coalition.

The Native American Solidarity Committee operates through a post office box in St. Paul, Minn. It propagandizes in favor of violent activities by American Indians. The organization grew out of the apparatus organized by the National Lawyers Guild in support of the American Indian Movement's armed occupation of Wounded Knee, S. Dak.

The Palestine Solidarity Committee, which was established in November 1975, is run by PFOC activists George Cavaletto and Sheila Ryan. They operate this organization through a post office box in Manhattanville, N.Y. Cavaletto was a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS. He was identified by the Flint, Mich., Police Department as having been in attendance at the Weathermen War Council in Flint in December 1969.

Ryan and Cavaletto both spent a year in Jordan and Lebanon writing propaganda articles for the Palestine Liberation Organization. The first meeting of the Palestine Solidarity Committee took place at Columbia University in New York City on January 20, 1976.

Among the groups participating in the meeting and providing security guards for the meeting were the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the Communist Party USA, and the Socialist Workers Party. I mention these to show the interconnection between these groups.

It is interesting to observe the generally increased interest in the Palestinian terrorists by the American Terrorist Movement and support groups. In March 1975, the Associated Press reported a threat by the Palestine Liberation Organization to carry out terrorist acts in the United States.

The AP quoted Zouheir Mohsen, leader of the Military Section of the PLO, as saying in an interview in Damascus, "We will strike at any Israeli strategic target wherever we can reach it, in Israel or in Japan or in the United States."

Another organization with which the Weather Underground and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee have worked very closely is the National Lawyers Guild, which in the old days was identified as the legal front for the Communist Party USA.

Senator Scorr. Let me interrupt briefly once more. We would hope to hear from all the witnesses. All of your testimony of course is in-

cluded in the record. If you could take about 10 more minutes and then let's go to the next witness so we won't run out of time.

Dr. KINTNER. I would be happy to do so. There is also a rival July 4 group meeting in Philadelphia called the Revolutionary Communist Party which has the slogan "Get the Rich Off Our Back." That is a Maoist-Communist group.

Now I mentioned the Puerto Rican Socialist Party which is planning a significant role in Philadelphia. Their group has in the past threatened sabotage and bombings of all kinds and claimed responsibility for the bomb which exploded in New York City's Fraunces Tavern in the early part of 1975 in which four innocent diners were killed.

There was also a meeting of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Havana where the Socialist Party maintains an office. They met in September 1975 with representatives from Communist parties elsewhere and support was given to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's demands for immediate independence. The leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party view themselves as revolutionary Davids destined to destroy the imperialist U.S. Goliath.

Also the Puerto Rican Armed Forces for the National Liberation is involved.

They have been involved in some 30 bombings since 1974, 30 in the United States and many more bombs in Puerto Rico. They have also appreciated the support given to them by the Cuban Government. For example, they noted publicly, "we respectfully acknowledge the moral support given our organization by the Cuban people and Government in a speech by Premier Fidel Castro in August 1975."

There is also some linkage between the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and the Cuban Diplomatic Mission of the UN, which is in the prepared testimony. I would also like to call attention to the utilization of the Venceremos Brigade to take people to Cuba to help in its sugar harvest. But there they receive indoctrination in carrying on war against "Yankee imperialists."

I would like then to mention the planning of the demonstration of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in Washington which I assume we will hear more about. The PBC is talking about trying to bring 250,000 demonstrators to Washington that day. I hope that the PBC's demonstration in Washington will be peaceful as they claim it will. But they cannot control all the activities of their supporters and there is a possibility that some development of an unpleasant nature will take place here.

Now on the face of these prospects what can be done about them? Activities to suppress the terrorist requires intelligence, physical protection of facilities, and deterrence provided by possible punishment. The Bicentennial and especially the July 4 events present serious problems from the standpoint of these requirements and particularly because of what has happened to many of our law enforcement intelligence organizations in many of our major cities.

In New York State, law enforcement intelligence files have been locked up since last September and most of the 24 members of the city's intelligence units have been assigned to other duties. In the State of Texas, as a result of a lawsuit, over 1 million files have been destroyed. In New York City, almost 98 percent of the 1 million card

entries have been destroyed. A requirement has been established that no entry may be made about any person simply on the basis of membership in an organization even if it is violence prone. The individual must have a criminal conviction or an indictment.

This requirement is something which violates all rules of common logic regarding intelligence gathering which deprives our law enforcement of any preventive capability. No wonder that the Yugoslav Ambassador earlier this month denounced U.S. security precautions after his Embassy had been bombed, for the third time.

I am all in favor of granting the widest possible expression of opinion about any issues. But this does not mean that we must in the name of the first amendment prohibit the gathering of intelligence about conspiratorial activities.

The line must be drawn somewhere and it seems to me clear that the first purpose of the law in any free society must be the protection of the community against violent minorities that seek to terrorize, intimidate, and destroy the capacity of the Government to govern.

A free society cannot behave like a totalitarian society and remain free, even in dealing with the problem as grave as the growing epidemic of terrorism. It will take great ingenuity to produce a strategy that places more effective restraints on terrorists in our country.

I do not pretend to have all the answers but I would like to make a few preliminary suggestions. The first requirement of an effective antiterrorist program is an effective intelligence operation. Intelligence includes not only precise information but also analytical capability which yields critical information about the patterns of the terrorists and about the changing patterns of interlocks between the terrorist groups nationally and internationally.

The possession of facts alone does not solve the problem. Without the facts, the authorities are condemned to act in a blind and arbitrary fashion. My first suggestion therefore is that the American people and their representatives must do some very serious rethinking about law enforcement intelligence.

Adequate intelligence is requirement No. 1. Our society is bound to remain extremely vulnerable as long as the present paralyzing restrictions on intelligence gathering capabilities persist.

Furthermore, since terrorism frequently crosses natural frontiers, the intelligence capabilities of both the CIA and the FBI will have to be reinforced. I agree that there is a need for guidelines. But the existence of guidelines does not require the kind of near total wipeout that now exists.

Second, there must be timely arrest and punishment of the terrorist. Unfortunately, the international nature of modern terrorism has enfeebled this essential deterrent. Too many governments abroad give sanction and support to terrorists. This includes not only those such as Libya which train and supply terrorists, but governments which give in to terrorists demands again and again.

My third proposal is that because of the international nature of the problem, we must seek to persuade free nations to embark upon a combined international war against the transnational terrorists, bringing to bear both classic intelligence and modern computer technology. Among other things this would involve the pooling of intelli-

gence. This I must point out gets into a very sticky area because it is a matter of reasonably common knowledge that some of our staunchest allies have serious misgivings about sharing classified information with American intelligence agencies, out of the fear that this intelligence will somehow find its way into the print through some member or some staff member of some congressional committee.

Fourth, there should be public exposure of both the groups involved and the danger they represent. There is no substitute for public alertness in making it difficult for terrorists to function.

I would also like to raise the question whether the first amendment was intended to allow terrorist manuals, some of which I have here, which give you detailed plans for building your own bomb in your own backyard.

Fifth, and finally, the time has come for the media to examine anew their responsibilities to the public. While it is the duty of the reporter to report the facts where acts of terrorism are involved, the selection of these facts to emphasize sensational brutality serves the terrorists and not the newspaper reader or the TV viewer.

The guarantee of page 1 or prime time coverage remains essential to the terrorists' success and constitutes an invitation to the terrorists to repeat their actions and to others to emulate their actions.

The thought has occurred to me that the American media might respond affirmatively if the President called them together for a special conference on the role of the media in limiting civil violence, and asked for their voluntary cooperation.

I would like to close this presentation by reiterating that the terrorist can succeed only if his target is paralyzed with fright or frightened into self-destructive blunders.

In conclusion, from what we have been able to analyze, it seems likely that the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Puerto Rican Socialists and their partners hope to distract us from our pursuit of the balance between liberty and law, symbolized by the Bicentennial and July 4.

July 4 will take place on a Sunday 16 days from now. Let us hope that this memorial Sabbath will not be marred by the mayhem engendered by terror, but will instead be an opportunity for the American people to rededicate themselves to the values that have made and kept us as a Nation.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SCOTT. Dr. Kintner, we appreciate your fine statement and your abbreviation of a portion of it. In your summary at the end, you conclude that a Nation has a right to protect itself, to take such action as may be necessary?

Dr. KINTNER. Absolutely.

Senator SCOTT. All right. If we could hear from Inspector Fencl.

TESTIMONY OF INSPECTOR GEORGE FENCL, PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. FENCL. I want to thank you for inviting me here to testify today.

Senator SCOTT. You are very welcome here, sir. Please proceed.

Mr. FENCL. The Philadelphia Police Department first received information regarding specific plans of various groups to disrupt the

Bicentennial activities in Philadelphia during the period of July 1 to 4, 1976 when a so-called National Hard Times Conference was held in Chicago from January 30 to February 1, 1976.

Representatives of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and others issued a call for mass demonstrations and disruptions of the July 4 activities in Philadelphia. Numerous articles then began to appear in newspapers, leaflets, position papers, et cetera, from over 80 organizations and individuals sponsoring this activity.

On March 13 and 14, 1976, an east coast conference of the July 4th Coalition was held at the University of Pennsylvania. About 300 persons attended and discussed plans for the period July 1 to July 4 in Philadelphia and to be known as "Four Days of Raising Hell," and that the slogan "We've carried the rich for 200 years—let's get them off our back," would be used as a rallying cry.

Plans were also announced at that time for a "tent city" to be erected and used from July 1 to 4, 1976, by the group. It was also stated by various speakers that during the "Four Days of Raising Hell" attention should be focused on museums, statues, forts, and so forth, and physical action should be taken against them and that every time the rich celebrate, we should be there and be visible for the 4 days."

The main organizer of this conference was the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) although other organizations were represented.

On March 27 and 28, 1976, at New York University in New York City, a July 4th Coalition conference was held and attended by about 200 persons.

This conference stated that its goal was to have at least 60,000 persons in Philadelphia on July 4 to march, rally, and so forth, and "we will do what we have to."

At this period of time it was learned that the July 4th Coalition was having problems, in that certain groups were not going along with the coalition idea but splintered off into a separate coalition. After a period of time the main groups that came to the front were:

1. The July 4th Coalition with attorney David Kairys as negotiator;
2. The Rich Off Our Back July 4th Coalition with June Cohen, Roger Tauss, Glen Kirby and Barry Romo as spokesmen.

Following a series of meetings the July 4 Coalition was granted a parade permit and rally site outside the center city Bicentennial activity area and present plans call for between 20,000 and 40,000 marchers to demonstrate on July 4 in that area. At least 300 bus loads of participants are expected as of June 16, 1976.

The Rich Off Our Back July 4th Coalition, after negotiation sessions and meetings as well as written requests, has firmly stated that its participating groups will be the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, Revolutionary Student Brigade, and May 1st Workers Organization, and will not settle for any march and rally site except one in the center city Bicentennial activity area. The group has also stated that a "tent city" will be erected July 1 to 4, 1976.

After negotiation sessions with city officials, the Rich Off Our Backs July 4th Coalition were denied their demands of: tent city—July 1 to July 4; rock concert—July 3; pavilion—June 14 to July 4.

But the march and rally sites were open to discussion. The group refused to further discuss the above issues but all the while circulated literature and eventually erected a billboard announcing "Meet 10 a.m. July 4, north side of city hall, Philadelphia—Tent City July 1 to 4."

A civil action was filed in Federal court by the above group to force the city of Philadelphia and commissioners of Fairmont Park to issue permits for all their activity listed above. A hearing was set for Monday, June 7, 1976 at 9:30 a.m. in front of Judge Joseph McGlynn and on that date testimony was heard regarding the case.

It may be noted at this time that even though the case was before the Federal court, the group on June 7, 1976, at 8 p.m., held a meeting at its headquarters and announced plans as follows:

Wednesday, June 30, 1976—Rally in Washington, D.C. and then a caravan to Philadelphia to participate in opening tent city for which a permit had been denied.

Thursday, July 1, 1976—Official opening of tent city.

Friday, July 2, 1976—Minirallies to be held across the city urging everyone to join a demonstration called for the same day at an unemployment office to be selected.

Saturday, July 3, 1976—In the morning hours more minirallies and agitation to result in a three-pronged march from different sections of the city to converge on city hall for a rally and then to a rock concert. (Permit had been denied for the concert.)

Sunday, July 4, 1976—All to assemble at the north side of city hall at 10 a.m. and participate in a militant march led by a forklift truck carrying petitions and a rally near Independence Hall where Bicentennial activity is taking place.

The group also asked its followers to donate tents, sleeping bags, walkie talkies, and sound equipment, scanners for police frequencies, pots and pans, food, first-aid and medical supplies, cars, station wagons, and van trucks, generators, et cetera, and those planning to stay 4 days in tent city to contribute \$5.

All of the above plans are being promoted and organized even though on June 15, 1976 Judge McGlynn issued a memorandum opinion and order No. 76-1711 denying the group their tent city, rock concert, center city march route and rally site, but authorizing a pavilion and march and rally site outside the center city Bicentennial area.

After carefully evaluating all information from all sources regarding both the July 4th Coalition and the Rich Off Our Back July 4th Coalition and other groups, it is apparent that there is a great potential for disruption and violence in Philadelphia during the period June 30, 1976 to July 4, 1976, particularly during the July 4, 1976 Bicentennial activity scheduled for the center city area.

This violence and disruption could happen between the two coalition groups as well as others. Based on the Rich Off Our Backs July 4th Coalition statements and participating group statements, this group is looking for and expecting direct confrontation with police and Bicentennial speakers, groups, et cetera.

Senator Scott, Thank you, Inspector. We appreciate your testimony. The self-styled Four Days of Raising Hell—this sounds like a very childish thing. What would they hope to accomplish by such activity—"raising hell"?

Mr. FENCL. Their avowed aims and goals are to disrupt violently any Bicentennial activity whatsoever, sir.

Senator SCOTT. My thought was, Would they gain any general support by any such activity as this?

Mr. FENCL. Well, they hope then to gain general support.

Senator SCOTT. By raising hell?

Mr. FENCL. By raising hell, yes, sir.

Senator SCOTT. Inspector, have you had an opportunity to study the full testimony of Dr. Kintner—because he did present an abbreviated form and inserted the rest in the record.

Mr. FENCL. Yes, sir, I have. I think Dr. Kintner's testimony is very accurate. I would like to have him work for us.

Senator SCOTT. Would you start him as a private on the force or would you make him a corporal?

Mr. FENCL. Private first class.

Senator SCOTT. From an examination of his testimony, do you find the same evidence of interlocks between the participating organizations that the doctor referred to? Do they have the same people participating in different capacities in 2 or 3 organizations?

Mr. FENCL. That is correct. You come across the same literature, the same handbooks, as well as others, such as the "Anarchist Cookbook," which tells how to make bombs.

Senator SCOTT. You are saying all of them have these books on how to make bombs?

Mr. FENCL. That is correct.

Senator SCOTT. Has there been any evidence that any of the groups are engaging in the kind of intelligence gathering activities that might indicate or suggest an intention to engage in terrorist activities?

Mr. FENCL. The groups that are listed as part of the July 4th Coalition, I think Dr. Kintner aptly put it, are very prone to terrorist activities.

Senator SCOTT. Now have any of the elements belonging to the July 4th Coalition disassociated themselves from it because of concern over the possibility of violence?

Mr. FENCL. Yes, sir. We had one of the main spokesmen in Philadelphia and one of the leaders, a man by the name of Reverend Mohammed Kiliama, who was a supporter of the July 4th Coalition, became fearful of some of the activities he had heard about and even went down to the Federal court case which I mentioned in my testimony and presented his views and his fears for what might happen in Philadelphia on July 4th to the Federal judge.

Senator SCOTT. You have referred to the Get the Rich Off Our Backs July 4th Coalition which has taken court action against the City of Philadelphia for the purpose of obtaining approval for its request for permits, to parade and demonstrate. Does this involve much of your time?

Mr. FENCL. Yes, sir, much of our time.

Senator SCOTT. Is this a part of the pattern?

Mr. FENCL. This is a direct part of the pattern.

Senator SCOTT. Are there any other instances where the city has been sued or brought into court by organizations claiming that their civil rights have been denied?

Mr. FENCL. Yes, sir. One was when we got President Nixon and Vice President Agnew in Philadelphia at the same time on the revenue-sharing signing ceremony at Independence Hall. We got information that groups were going to disrupt this affair and we took preventive police action and were taken to Federal Court and sued for our action.

Senator SCOTT. Do you feel, Inspector, that the Philadelphia Police Department will be able to control the situation with its own resources over the July 4th weekend or do you think it may need some additional assistance?

Mr. FENCL. Based on the information we have, the Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neill, and Mayor Frank Rizzo, have already requested of the President the use of Federal troops in Philadelphia on July 4th, period July 1st to 4th. Based on the two different groups, their march routes and the over 1 million people we will have in Philadelphia.

Senator SCOTT. Is that regular Federal troops or national guard units?

Mr. FENCL. The request has been made for regular Federal troops.

Senator SCOTT. We appreciate your testimony.

Chief Rabe?

TESTIMONY OF DEPUTY CHIEF ROBERT L. RABE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Deputy Chief ROBERT L. RABE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the committee for the opportunity to appear here today as a representative of Metropolitan Police Department and Chief of Police Maurice J. Cullinane.

It is my understanding that my principal function during this hearing will be to comment on the testimony presented so my remarks will be brief.

While there has not been a clear-cut rallying point since the Vietnam war, the Bicentennial has provided an arena for many groups to unite under the slogans of "Bicentennial Without Colonies," "Jobs and Income," "Get the Rich Off Our Backs." Because of our basic freedoms and the present economic conditions, these points have appeal to many Americans.

Any disruptive action by any group during the Bicentennial period will surely get front page and prime time television coverage, just what these groups need to further their cause.

As most planners involved in Bicentennial activities will no doubt verify, there now appears to be solidarity between the various radical groups to unite under a single leadership such as the July 4th Coalition in Philadelphia.

Many aboveground groups have their more militant underground units which carry out the orders of the leaders, issuing more disruptive tactics, such as bombings and terrorist activities.

There have been reports that radical elements will be causing disruptions during the Bicentennial period of July 3 and 4 ranging from mass civil disobedience to multiple random bombings, all across the country, particularly in Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. I must stress that many of these reports have not been confirmed. In addition, there is no hard intelligence available from any source at my disposal.

Our current domestic intelligence organizations are limited in their scope of activities, making the collection of information difficult and in most cases impossible.

Senator SCOTT. Are you saying the police department intelligence units have limited funds? Is it the police department intelligence units you are talking about now?

Deputy Chief RABE. Our police departments intelligence unit is reduced down to 1 person for intelligence only.

Senator SCOTT. There has been a cutback?

Deputy Chief RABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SCOTT. Go ahead.

Deputy Chief RABE. It is difficult for a free society to defend itself against these groups when, in turn, the groups use the same society's freedoms for its own protection. Without adequate intelligence, there will be little leadtime, if any, leaving little specific forewarning of a terrorist attack or other disruptive activities.

We in law enforcement would be negligent in our duties not to recognize that the potential and opportunity for violence exists and that the most critical period will occur over the Fourth of July weekend. Our task is twofold. First, we must insure that all preventative measures possible are taken in order to minimize the opportunity for any person or group to commit acts of violence; and, second, we must plan for an immediate and positive response to any threat of violence in order to prevent the commission of these acts.

Senator SCOTT. Chief, we are glad to have you here and appreciate your testimony. Let me ask you the same question that I did the inspector. Have you had an opportunity to see the full text of Dr. Kintner's presentation?

Deputy Chief RABE. Yes; I have. I would also say, as Inspector Fencil has, that it is a factual and revealing account of the various dissident groups.

Senator SCOTT. What is your impression as to his testimony as it relates to what may be expected in the District of Columbia on the July 4 weekend?

Deputy Chief RABE. Dr. Kintner's account of the PBC activity in Washington reinforces what we have been led to believe. While the PBC may not be involved in the activities, other groups gathering under their umbrella will be involved. The PBC continues to indicate that they will have a peaceful demonstration.

Senator SCOTT. Let me thank all of you for the testimony that you have given and ask counsel, who is more intimately acquainted with this matter, if he might ask some questions with the hope of developing some facts or emphasizing some facts that may not have been brought out as fully as we would like.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Dr. Kintner, in your study of terrorist organizations and activities—and this may be a bit philosophical—but I am wondering whether or not you have been able to make an assessment as to whether or not domestic terrorist groups have crossed the threshold of what the public will tolerate?

Dr. KINTNER. That is a philosophical question. The United States has become the most tolerant, and, in fact, in a genuine sense of the word, the most revolutionary society on Earth. We have had a revolution in dress styles, in personal behavior, in consumptions of drugs

and behavior which would not have been anticipated 30 or 40 years ago.

The tolerance level is extremely high. On the other hand, I think there is an automatic rejection against the slaughter of innocent people when perpetrated by the terrorists. That is the level which if they should go beyond, should bring a very decisive public antipathy and disdain and loathing for their activities which may circumscribe their capabilities.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you see it affecting their ability to recruit?

Dr. KINTNER. The recruitment pattern does not indicate a diminishing capability. There are many people who are alienated with our society for deep-rooted psychological reasons who feel that they don't have a place in it.

They go to these false messiahs, the Marxist-Leninists who say, "Look, if you cooperate with us, we will straighten things out, but first you have to destroy the present system." There is an attraction for some people there.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there any common thread that pervades these organizations other than the Marxist-Leninist ideology?

Dr. KINTNER. Well, I think that there is also—as a result of their alienation there is a willingness to prove themselves. The Symbionese Liberation Army, for example. There is a high excitement in it, danger and risk and the satisfaction of what they regard as an achievement which I personally think is very negative.

But they find it positive. Anything that destroys for them is a positive value.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Directing inquiry to Inspector Fenel and Deputy Chief Rabe: is there any requirement that those organizations seeking permits to demonstrate or rally to post a bond so that they might be held accountable for any property damage that is incurred?

Deputy Chief RABE. I can answer that for the District of Columbia. There is no such provision for the posting of a bond.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What are they required to furnish in the way of information to obtain a permit? The number of people involved? The leaders? The names of the organization? The purpose for which they want to demonstrate?

Senator SCOTT. Let me intercede. You are speaking of the District of Columbia government requirements. I am just relying on my memory and it may be bad because sometimes in the Congress we consider matters but we don't pass them. I was wondering if the same thing is true insofar as the Federal property, permits by the National Park Service is concerned.

Is there any requirement that a bonding be posted?

Deputy Chief RABE. To the best of my recollection, there is not. The PBC Bicentennial demonstration is on the Mall area between Third and Seventh Streets. To the best of my knowledge, there is no bond requirement.

Senator SCOTT. Well, I know it was considered in the Congress. Possibly it did not pass. Go ahead.

Mr. SCHULTZ. My question is, what information is required to be furnished by those groups seeking permits.

Deputy Chief RABE. It is more or less basic information. As it goes through, it is the name of the group, the leaders, who is speaking. You are asking for the attendance, you are asking them is there any

potential for violence, marshals, and so forth. It is more general information than anything else.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would assume that this is a two-way street. The reason for providing this information is not only to insure that there is no violence and that the public is protected but also to protect the demonstrators. Is that true?

Deputy Chief RABE. That is correct. To go one step further, throughout the years Washington has been the scene of many mass demonstrations and with the potential to gather intelligence we had years ago, it was a big help in planning to handle demonstrations, both to protect the demonstrators and the public itself. We no longer have that potential.

Senator SCOTT. Are you saying that the Department of Justice and intelligence gathering agencies from around the country used to give you information that is not now available?

Deputy Chief RABE. In the early sixties there was information available from the various governmental agencies responsible for monitoring civil disobedience. There was also information available from the various police departments. But due to guidelines, this information—

Senator SCOTT. Guidelines established—who so established the guidelines that prevent you from getting this?

Deputy Chief RABE. Many departments have been forced to establish their own guidelines.

Senator SCOTT. Are you talking about the District of Columbia departments or Federal departments?

Deputy Chief RABE. It applies to both.

Senator SCOTT. Our chairman has returned. He may have some questions. I would hope that each of you after the questions are completed, if you have something that perhaps you feel should be brought out, that has not been brought out, perhaps the chairman in turns can ask you for any additional comments you have to wrap up our hearing.

Senator THURMOND?

Senator THURMOND. I have got to leave again in a few minutes. I suggest you proceed.

Senator SCOTT. All right, sir. Ms. Rountree, would you have anything to add? You have listened since making your presentation to the three gentlemen and possibly something else has occurred to you that you would like to contribute.

Ms. ROUNTREE. I have to concur with all that I have heard and I agree with what Dr. Kintner said. I certainly think that the citizens have a right to be protected. We can't do that if we don't know what is threatening the public.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you Dr. Kintner. Does your testimony imply that the Communist Party of the United States is playing a central role in the conspiracy to spoil our Bicentennial?

Dr. KINTNER. I would not believe so. The old Communist Party, U.S.A. has become a rather staid, rigid organization. Most of what we are dealing with are the modern offshoots of it, which are Marxist-Leninist in character and which have the same objective as the Communist Party, namely, to overthrow the existing form of society and Government in this country and impose their own dictatorship over it.

But as I mentioned in my testimony, the Weather Underground believes that we shall have a far more active and revolutionary type Communist Party than the present one.

We might consider that this present Communist Party is not nearly as revolutionary oriented as it was during the early thirties. I have read the literature of that period, and I would say the literature of these groups now is much closer to the open literature of the Communist Party in the early thirties than it is to the literature of the Communist Party, U.S.A., since the end of the Second World War.

Senator SCOTT. In the July 4th Coalition, I understand that they have boasted that they will have 50,000 people in Philadelphia for their demonstration. Do you feel that this is a realistic assessment of their potential or is it an exaggeration?

Dr. KINTNER. It is a difficult question to answer because you need specific information and the material that I looked at was what you might call operational guidelines but not the specific language. For example, the inspector here commented on the fact that there are roughly 300 to 400 busloads planned to come into Philadelphia on July 4th.

That is the type of information you can only obtain by calling the bus companies of the major cities and seeing how many buses have been booked. I assume you have—or someone else working for you—has done that kind of thing. The reservations made on the trains, the number of hotel reservations, the number of tents that are being brought together for tent cities, so to speak, the arrangements that have been made for messing and housing the people, this type of specific operational information has to be obtained by somebody.

I think the point made here by the chief of the Metropolitan Police Force previously, is that the police departments used to cooperate with one another much more closely. Chicago would call in and say, for example, "We expect so many busloads or trainloads or planeloads to show up." Now that does not exist because the intelligence collecting information of our police departments and the FBI has been so eviscerated that there is no possibility—no capability of doing it. The police department has to start on its own and begin to do this careful, bit by bit, mosaic analysis, required to answer specifically the type of question you pose.

Senator SCOTT. Do you have, Doctor, the kind of hard evidence that any of the groups that you referred to plan to engage in terrorist activities during the Bicentennial?

Dr. KINTNER. No; I have no hard intelligence whatsoever. In other words, I don't have a pipeline into one of these organizations, overhearing one of their secret meetings in which they say, well, in Philadelphia what we are really going to go after is the grandstand area where President Ford is going to speak.

That information is unobtainable. What we have is generalized information. We know the track record. We know that they have committed violence. We know that they are violence prone. We know that the scene would, from their point of view, make an ideal theater for disruption.

Whether they, in fact, are planning to engage in violence or disruption, we have no firm intelligence. I think that is a severe handicap for the authorities who are responsible for maintaining the public safety during occasions of this kind.

Senator SCOTT. Doctor, I would ask you the same question that we asked Miss Rountree. After hearing the testimony of the others, is

there anything else that you feel the committee—you would like to bring to the attention of the committee that you have not yet brought to our attention?

Dr. KINTNER. I think one thing your committee might well look into in the future is the nature of the guidelines which are being imposed on both the FBI and the metropolitan and State police forces with regard to this type of activity.

For example, I have heard some police departments are restraining their people from even taking pictures of the demonstrators. I personally believe that this would be a deterrent. Demonstrators are very cool about police photographers. They are warm about the TV photographers. They like to see themselves on the "tube." They don't like to see themselves on the dossier. This is just one example.

I would favor a review of whether the self-imposed guidelines under which our public safety people are operating now are too restrictive in terms of the type of problems we are dealing with.

Senator SCOTT. As I understand Miss Rountree's comments a few minutes ago, she expressed some concern about the right of the citizens generally to be protected and she put some emphasis on that. Is that your thought also, that perhaps we are leaning over backwards too so that the law-abiding citizen is not adequately protected? Or do you have any comment on that?

Dr. KINTNER. Well, I think it is the aim of our society to protect the law-abiding citizen. I think even though we are the freest society on Earth, our citizens are quite well protected.

There have been cases where the citizen's rights have been violated by groups of this kind and not enough has been done at a particular time to protect them. But I would then say it is a difficult problem for the same reason that the urban guerrillas as some of them call themselves have the freedom of initiatives, the freedom of striking where they choose.

As a rule of sound military tactics you cannot protect every point. You can only protect what you regard as the most vital points. If a citizen is in an area where protection does not exist, he might be subjected to unfortunate consequences.

Senator SCOTT. Do you have anything further to add?

Dr. KINTNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I have made as many observations as are appropriate.

Senator THURMOND. Dr. Kintner, in your remarks you indicated, I believe, that the July 4 period might be a rigorous one for Philadelphia and Washington. Is it your recommendation that ordinary Americans who want to go to Philadelphia or Washington to celebrate the Bicentennial—that they stay away on the Fourth of July in order to protect themselves?

Dr. KINTNER. Not at all. That would be a goal which these terrorists would devoutly wish to be achieved. It is our party—it is not their party. They don't want anything to do with it except to disrupt it. Another factor to bear in mind is that even though there is a possibility of unpleasantness, the number affected would be relatively small.

I hope that no Americans will be dissuaded from joining in the great festivities planned by our State and local and Federal Government on this occasion.

Senator THURMOND. I would like to ask you this question. From what I have been able to ascertain about these groups, is their purpose to buffalo, so to speak, the good citizens from attending these patriotic rallies because it may instill more Americanism in them? Is that their purpose—or do you feel they have some other objective in mind?

Dr. KINTNER. No. I think their primary objective is to see that certain incidents are created by them which will give them very major media coverage not only in the United States but throughout the world, indicating that the United States is not a united society and that there is far more dissension within our ranks than is actually the case.

They plan to exploit the media to magnify their relatively minuscule capabilities.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, you feel that they are seeking news media coverage, TV, radio and newspaper coverage that they are hopeful will be carried in other countries of the world for the purpose of portraying the United States as a divided country and that there are uprisings and riots here and the people are dissatisfied with our Government and with the opportunities they have here?

Dr. KINTNER. I think that is absolutely correct and I think their phrase which they use to describe terrorism, namely, armed propaganda, is very explicit and precise.

Senator THURMOND. Even though those who participate may not know about that big objective, they are being used by leaders who have the goal in mind that you mention?

Dr. KINTNER. I think most of these groups are relatively small and they are fairly cohesive and both the leaders and the led understand what they are up to.

Senator THURMOND. Furthermore do you feel that they are trying—is what you said the main purpose, do you think, or do they also have in mind, an idea of conveying to the public that they are dissatisfied with the Government in America, too, even to lead other people here to believe that we don't have the right kind of government?

Dr. KINTNER. I think that is also true. They hope by their actions that they will convince others of our citizens that this country is not such a good place to be in and requires some rather drastic changes in order to make it a more livable America.

I think that is secondary to their first goal.

Senator THURMOND. And yet those people who wish to convey that belief and those who wish to be volatile and violent don't live here themselves.

Dr. KINTNER. That is a very good point. The United States with all of its faults still attracts more people from around the world than any other country on earth. I think the number of new citizens that have joined the United States numbers around 4 or 5 million in the last few years.

This is still the land of promise and achievement. It is the most exciting and the most remarkable country on earth and they are glad that their actions can take place here rather than some of the more unfortunate countries of the world.

Senator THURMOND. Isn't it true that thousands and thousands of people from other countries wish to come to the United States every year?

Dr. KINTNER. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. Because of the immigration quotas, they can't come. They look upon this as a land of freedom, opportunity and a land where they would like to live and rear their families?

Dr. KINTNER. All you have to do is visit the visa departments of our missions in Jamaica or Thailand or Mexico and many other countries and see this is the place they want to come.

Senator THURMOND. Isn't it true that those who have gone to the Soviet Union or Red China and other places have been disheartened and have been discontented, and most of those who went have returned?

Dr. KINTNER. Most of those Americans who have looked to the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China as the promised land have returned disillusioned to what is sometimes referred to as the land of the great PX.

Senator THURMOND. Do you know of any country in the world where the people have as good schools, as good churches, as good homes, are as well fed, as well clothed and have the opportunities to rear their families and their children, as they do in the United States?

Dr. KINTNER. Well, I have been around most of the world a number of times. There are countries like Canada, Australia, and some of the countries in Western Europe that now have many of the things that we have. We have a common cultural symbiotic relationship with them. But among all of the countries, this is the most successful and largest industrial society and furthermore it has pioneered in making these benefits available to the masses of our population before some of the countries that are allied with us.

Senator SCOTT. Before another subcommittee of the Judiciary, it was brought out that between 4 and 12 million illegal aliens are in this country today. I think that brings out what the distinguished Senator from South Carolina is mentioning. They would not be here if they did not want to be. They even come here by illegal means.

Senator THURMOND. That is a good point. In other words they have even run the risk of being put in prison because they have sought the opportunity to live in this country. Isn't it true that people over the world—you have traveled a lot—I remember you in Thailand as Ambassador several years ago and you have been to many other places—you are a world traveler so to speak—isn't it true that the people over the world generally feel that to be an American citizen is a very desirable status and that they would prefer to live here, most of them, than any other place?

Dr. KINTNER. I think that many people throughout the world do look to the United States that way—which suggests another objective of these terrorists. They want to tarnish the American image abroad by these activities. That is a goal which is closely related to their desire to get public exposure for their troubles that they may create.

Senator THURMOND. I want to thank you all very much for your appearance here today. You have made a splendid contribution. I am with the Joint Committee of the House and the Senate which is marking up the defense procurement bill. I will have to return there now.

Senator SCOTT. You have my proxy. Counsel had some questions that he wanted to ask of the chief and the inspector.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would like to have a response from the Inspector concerning the requirement if any, for a bond to be furnished by those requesting permits to demonstrate.

Mr. FENCL. A parade permit is required in the city of Philadelphia if the function takes place within the streets—for example, a parade on the street. No bond is required. I might add that in the Federal court proceeding which I mentioned with the "Rich Off Our Back," it was requested by the city that a bond be required, but it was denied by the Federal court.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you outline the information required in seeking a permit?

Mr. FENCL. Names of groups, officers, expected attendance, the purpose of the demonstration or march and the route. The route has to be approved according to traffic conditions and time of day and so forth. But it is not in-depth information.

Mr. SCHULTZ. This is the only information the judge has as the basis for the granting or denying of a permit, in the public interest?

Mr. FENCL. That is correct.

Senator SCOTT. Inspector, do you have anything further you would like to say for the benefit of the committee?

Mr. FENCL. No, sir. Just, thank you for inviting me.

Senator SCOTT. Chief?

Deputy Chief RABE. No, sir.

Senator SCOTT. Let me thank all of you on behalf of the subcommittee. We appreciate your testimony.

The subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned subject to call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

The following exhibits were submitted by Dr. Kintner and Inspector Fencel subsequent to the hearing and were ordered into the record by the chairman.

DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

politics in command

ON THE QUESTION
OF ARMED
STRUGGLE

WEATHER UNDERGROUND
ORGANIZATION



POLITICS IN COMMAND

(By the Weather Underground Organization)

The only path to the final defeat of imperialism and the building of socialism is revolutionary war. Revolution is the most powerful resource of the people. To wait, to not prepare the people for the fight is to seriously mislead about what kind of fierce struggle lies ahead.

Revolutionary war will be complicated and protracted. It includes mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military, where all forms are developed in harmony with the armed struggle.

Without mass struggle there can be no revolution. Without armed struggle there can be no victory.

There are many on the left who selfrighteously condemn all violence of revolutionaries. They are keeping their own hands clean by avoiding the full consequences of revolutionary ideas. For these people, the revolution will happen only some day and hopefully be made by somebody else. But power concedes nothing without a demand. Armed struggle is an extension of political struggle, just as war is politics with bloodshed. Under certain historical conditions political struggle leads necessarily to armed conflict. When a small ruling class maintains itself in power by force and violence, when the masses of people are forced to work and live in brutalized and violent conditions, political struggle both peaceful and violent is the inevitable result.

Violence is not a thing to want or a thing not to want. It cannot be called into being or wished out of existence. Violence is a monopoly of the U.S. state. It is woven into the very fabric of capitalism; in Rap Brown's words, "as American as cherry pie." U.S. official policy is violent and brutal; the brutal imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam, the fascist coup in Chile, the colonial hold on Puerto Rico. Capitalism is a violent system having at its center the violent relationship of exploiter and exploited, worker and boss, a relationship of oppression and constant struggle. Under capitalism, armies of women are forced into prostitution. Black people's life expectancy is ten years less than that of white folks, old people are discarded after they've worked away the better part of their lives. The status quo is murder.

Fighting for the future will be painful, but in the long run it is the only thing that can end pain. As Jose Marti said of Cuba eighty years ago: "The island, like a resurrection, lifts herself in her agony, sees the mud which covers her and the bloody road leading to liberty and prefers the blood to the mud."

Reactionary capitalist violence is criminal; revolutionary violence will bring about the new society. Marxism-Leninism holds that "the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power." Marx considered violence as "the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one." The capitalist system of private property is protected forcibly by a group of violent, dangerous men. The development of mass revolutionary violence is essential to smash the state of the exploiters and to wrest power from the armed defenders of imperialism.

Organized armed struggle shows people their great strength and potential for seizing and holding power and shows the weaknesses of the government, corporate capitalism, and the military. Armed struggle can inspire and organize, carry on the tradition of resistance and train fighters by fighting. The capacity to carry out successful armed struggle in harmony with political struggle must be built at every stage of the revolution and cannot be put off on the excuse that it is always premature. For the seizure of power from the imperialists, armed struggle will be decisive.

A generation of fighters was produced by the movements of the 1960s. Opposition to the violence of everyday life led to organized popular violence. The rebellions of urban Black communities were training grounds for revolution. Robert Williams, Rap Brown, Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, forced the recognition of the necessity of violent revolution.

Resistance to the Viet Nam war included thousands of people who participated in militant protest, clandestine or armed actions against the warmakers, burning draft boards, destroying corporate and military files. Sabotage grew and spread thru the armed forces. Bombings of war-related targets were understood and welcomed and built the popular movement: the bombing of power lines into defense plants in Colorado in 1968 (an action for which Cameron Bishop is on trial now), the Sam Melville bombings in New York in 1969, the destruction

of the Army Math Research Center in Madison in 1970, and the bombings of the Capital and the Pentagon by the Weather Underground Organization.

With the development of popular and guerrilla warfare against U.S. imperialism on three continents our movement could not hang back from armed struggle, nor could its leaders say "not us."

Revolutionary armed struggle is a fact of life in the US, conceived and carried out by a wide diversity of people and groups and organizations. This is a sign of maturity in our movement. Armed action is an integral part of the left, as varied and creative as the nations and peoples which exist inside the borders of the US. Although the guerrilla forces are decentralized and follow different and sometimes contradictory strategies, we are unified in our spirit of love for the people of the world, hatred of imperialism and determination to make revolution by every means necessary. There have been serious losses—comrades killed and imprisoned—but still the guerrilla community survives, grows and renews. We greet and support other revolutionary groups waging armed struggle and believe that the struggle over the strategy for revolution among these forces is a critical one.

POLITICS IN COMMAND

Our job is not only to carry out action—that is comparatively simple. Our job is to succeed in making a revolution. The guerrillas, like all revolutionaries, bear the responsibility of developing full political strategy, and a mistake in military strategy can be deadly. The stakes are high, not only for the people and organizations carrying out military work, but for the course of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh said, "a military without politics is like a tree without roots—useless and dangerous." That is why we use the slogan "Politics in Command."

The critical task of all the diverse forces now engaging in some form of armed struggle in our country is to learn the laws of revolutionary warfare and apply them to the concrete conditions of the US today. We must learn from the revolutionary experiences of Viet Nam, Guine-Bissau, Cuba, China, Russia. There is a tremendous literature to study such as *The Military Art of People's War* by Vo Nguyen Giap and Lenin's *On Partisan Warfare*. We also have a rich although hidden history of guerrilla warfare in our own land to draw upon: the resistance wars of the Native Americans, the underground railroad, John Brown's attempt to create a freed-slave army in the mountains of the border states, Emma Goldman and the anarchist fighters, the labor battles and Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the thirties, Tijerina in New Mexico. Most of all we must familiarize ourselves thoroughly with all aspects of the enemy's situation and all aspects of our own: we must analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy's forces and of our own forces with ruthless honesty.

We are at an early stage of a protracted revolutionary war. We need strategy to last, to grow and organize for many years to come, a strategy to preserve and expand our forces, armed revolutionary forces and political movement: a strategy for study as well as training, tactical retreat as well as escalation. We evaluate action by analyzing the extent to which it reflects and builds organization, reflects accountability to a mass base, whether actions win people and encourage them to act or develop passivity among people. It's not a popularity question: at this point a comparatively small sector of the population actively supports armed struggle. Action which is advanced should pull forward the people's understanding of the enemy and people's willingness to fight. People, groups and organizations engaged in action must take all of these factors into account. This is the meaning of "Politics in Command."

"Our goal is to build communist organization toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomenon led by a Marxist-Leninist party: a revolutionary stage." Organization is the strongest resource of the people. Organization unites and builds, and means that each day's efforts add up. Organization is made up of individuals, but is bigger and longer lasting than any one individual. Individuals are precious, but organization is decisive. Only organization allows continuity of experience and leadership, and carries the deeds of the individual fighters beyond themselves into the future. Organization capable of waging full internal political struggle around direction, and capable of uniting in action directs people's energies like a spear. Only combative organization can resist infiltration and repression and combat the highly organized and trained forces of the state.

"The strategic necessity for this period is to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people against U.S. imperialism. Militarily this is the stage of armed propaganda; the test of action is primarily the ability to win the people."

Because imperialism is in decline, whole sectors of the poor and working population can be won to a radical perspective. In Viet Nam the seeds of the liberation army were called armed propaganda units—Ho Chi Minh insisted on emphasizing the word propaganda. Viet Nam teaches that in revolutionary war firepower is only one factor, and not the key factor in determining who wins and who loses. Consciousness is decisive." At this point, timing is critical because timing helps make action comprehensible. Guerrillas must integrate armed struggle with mass political struggle thru precision and timing, to point out to the movement and to the people the strategic and political necessity for armed struggle and for revolution. In this stage armed action provides a consistency of militant opposition and action over time and is a beacon of hope to the hopeless.

The bombing of the State Department by the WUO in January 1975 is one example of effective integration of military and political struggle—millions of people opposed increasing aid to South Viet Nam and Cambodia, and thousands demonstrated in active opposition to U.S. policy; the target and tactic and action were clear. The beauty of the SLA food distribution program a year ago was that it brought thousands of people into direct touch with the guerrilla struggle, served the people and both exposed the scale on which hunger exists in the U.S. and pointed to the enemy who cause it. The active and aware support of thousands on the food lines was an enormous accomplishment. The attack by the Black Liberation Army on Manhattan district attorney Frank Hogan's armed guard in May 1971 was built on years of demonstrations and hatred against that corrupt tyrant who was responsible for the unjust imprisonment of thousands of Black people, and the action was widely understood. All these actions represent the effective combination of military and political struggles."

THREE INCORRECT STRATEGIES

There are three theories of guerrilla warfare which we reject as the path to revolution in the U.S.: the war against fascism theory, the foco theory and the retribution theory.

Terrible fascist conditions prevail for Third World peoples living in the US: intolerable prison life, Indian reservations, mass deportation for Mexicans, widespread sterilization without consent of Black and Third World women. Of these conditions of repression and subjugation there can be no doubt. But this is different from characterizing the present stage of the development of imperialism as a fascist system, and therefore the stage of the struggle as the war against fascism. Any view of the power of the state as monolithic is wrong and self-defeating. The cracks within the system are also widening. It is our job to put pressure on the cracks, to make a class analysis of the forces in opposition to imperialism and to develop all of those forces on the appropriate level. Every means of struggle must be utilized. We have by no means reached the end of mass political struggle and public movements—not unless we declare it so, instead of mobilizing it. While the state is increasingly computerizing and centralizing its repressive apparatus, it is also subject to major setbacks which the left should be organizing and pushing. Watergate was one of these. Other factors hold back the full force of the state—mass consciousness of government illegality, suspicion of informers, the power of a strong noncollaboration stand in the face of grand juries.

Based on the war against fascism analysis of this period is a primarily military conception of the role of action: that the criterion of a good action is the damage it does to the state, the toll that can be taken, the felt blow. This is one aspect but not primary. It becomes more significant as contention for power develops, but it is wrong to conclude that the revolution is contending for state power now.

The foco theory holds that a revolutionary group proves and establishes itself only through armed action, that action alone gives a group leadership in the movement—that is, action in command; the guerrilla foco is the little motor which sets in motion the big motor, the mass movement. That is, the existence of the guerrilla struggle in and of itself politicizes the masses. We reject this theory for the concrete conditions of the US today.

Revolutionary action inspires and helps mobilize the people but there is no magical relationship between guerrilla action in and of itself and successful revolution. Many factors are necessary; the people must be organized and prepared as well as inspired. These things do not happen by themselves. The moments when qualitative leaps of consciousness and leaps into mass action are taken are built on years of struggle and organizing. To survive the hunt of the repressive apparatus, the guerrillas must be protected by an organized and combative

movement, by the political organization of the people, by mass political action. All of these forms help lay the basis for the eventual mobilization of the revolutionized people against the state—the armed struggle of the oppressed, people's war. The guerrilla groups have a critical role to play but the gun cannot lead. The gun is necessary, but its usefulness is only realized when politics are in command, when it is part of the correct revolutionary strategy.

Even a far higher level of military organization and action than any group in this country has yet achieved gives no automatic guarantee of sparking organized mass movement. The Tupamaros, whose brilliant actions over ten years almost paralyzed Uruguay, criticized their own overly military approach. The people remained unorganized spectators and supporters of the war of the guerrillas against the state, not full participants. The pro-imperialist bourgeoisie has been able to regain and consolidate their power, to institute a terrible dictatorship which the Tups and the Uruguayan people continue to fight.

Armed action, even when it does not succeed, even when those who carry it out are defeated, even if it is not part of an overall strategy, provides a revolutionary example for those who will come later, and enters into the heart of the people. This is true. Action is exemplary, and the beginnings of armed struggle are a challenge to the comfortable left. It is a laying of self on the line for the struggle, and sparks the imaginations and courage of thousands of people. Fighters who have given their lives are much loved and live on. But this is not enough. Action must be planned to succeed: the object is to win. Revolutionary examples always have arisen and will always arise. They spring from the depths of the people's subjugation. But the task of the armed revolutionary organization at this point is to make a plan to help ensure the victory of the people in a long and costly war. The people need success, need victories, need power.

That is why the rationale of the exemplary foco is inadequate. Each action, each risk, must be taken for good reason. Guerrillas can seldom afford to go into battle which they know they will lose. This is an axiom of Vo Nguyen Giap. Of course this is never entirely within our own control. There are a hundred factors involved in every action—we can only take care of a certain number of them, and sometimes the enemy forces us to act. But choosing our own time and battlefield is one of the great strengths of the guerrillas. That is how we preserve and build our forces.

Finally we reject the conception that the role of the guerrillas force is to create chaos inside the belly of the beast, the oppressor nation, to bring about disorder through action. We are not pacifists. We know very well that life will be taken and lost in the process of revolution, and that the birth of the new society, like the birth of a new human being, is bloody and painful. But revolutionary violence must be specific, comprehensible to the people, and humane. The violence of the revolution must be clearly distinguishable to the oppressed and exploited people, from the violence of capitalist society. People do not need us to be fearful, or to create chaos. Chaos prevails. Our task is to show the way out of the madness. All revolutionary communists love peace. We must win the trust of the people that the revolution represents a real alternative, a love of human life unlike the carelessness of life that characterize imperialism.

That is the fault of the strategy of an eye for an eye in our country at this time: we can never match the violence of the enemy one for one, or avenge each death. We retaliate in order to educate people and to exact a price for imperial crimes, to sow unease, confusion, doubt and fear in the enemy camp. Our job is always to distinguish between the violence of the empire and the violence of the revolution. This will be true even when we are engaged in day to day warfare. This is also the only way to prevent the enemy from carrying out false murderous acts in the name of the guerrillas. In the mountains, when the Fidelista prisoners were being tortured and summarily executed by the dictatorship, Fidel's doctors healed the wounded enemy soldiers, disarmed them and set them free. Fidel taught the difference between the army of Batista and the army of the people.

We must never hesitate to fight, but we must never build any mystification around violence. We must be a force of armed militants, not militarists. Another important aspect of this is that revolutionaries have to tell the truth: We cannot make inflated claims about who we are and what we represent. We must win the trust of the people and this will only develop through our own consistency of practice over time.

We do not condemn violence that originates from the left, just as we do not condemn violence that originates from the working class. The oppressed peoples

and the working class have a right and an obligation to develop armed struggle as a means to liberation.

It is a right wing error to argue that only legal forms of struggle are legitimate. For some, no level of mass struggle will justify armed struggle; these are naive and irresponsible people, never ready to raise the question of violence or of the need to fight and ultimately win state power. They play into the state's strategy to separate out the warriors from the other parts of the revolutionary movement. Guerrillas and the fighters who are in prison must be supported and struggled with, taught and learned from. Our revolution will need both open and clandestine movements legal and illegal struggle, peaceful and armed struggle—and we will need harmony and organization among all levels of the struggle toward the goal of a revolutionized and fighting people.

OSAWATOMIE

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

VOL. 2 NO. 1

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**INDEPENDENCIA PARA PUERTO RICO
FREE THE NATIONALIST PRISONERS**

SAMPLE DECLARATIONS BY TERRORIST GROUPS PROCLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR TERRORIST ACTIONS

BULLETIN OF THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

This morning we attacked the Banco de Ponce in Rockefeller Center, a bank controlled by the multimillion dollar Ferre Enterprises of Puerto Rico. We act in solidarity with the 500 striking cement workers and their families at the Ferre-owned Puerto Rican Cement in Ponce, who have withstood all forms of company and police terror in the course of their courageous four-and-a-half month strike. The strike has become a rallying point for the militant independent trade union movement in Puerto Rico—a movement which the US, the Puerto Rican colonial government, the big corporations and the top leadership of the AFL-CIO are trying to crush. We say to the cement workers of Ponce: we are with you companeros companeras.

The cement strike directly challenges the Ferre family, which owns iron works, hotels, newspapers, banks and construction companies and functions as a full partner in the U.S. plunder of Puerto Rico. Luis A. Ferre—President of Ferre Enterprises—is a former colonial governor of Puerto Rico, a close friend of Nixon and Rockefeller and the head of the right-wing pro-statehood New Progressive Party. The Operators and Cement Workers Union went on strike after Ferre tried to cut pension payments for retired workers in half and attempted to wipe out a medical plan from the workers' contract. The Union fought back, demanding a restoration of the cuts, higher wages, an end to forced overtime, a cost-of-living clause and better working conditions.

The strike has received the full backing of the United Workers Movement (MOU), a federation of 40 progressive unions in Puerto Rico. On May Day 10,000 workers marched in a MOU-sponsored demonstration dedicated to the cement workers and two other striking unions, to the Puerto Rican woman worker and to the Vietnamese victory. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) has launched a major drive for funds and strike support. Acts of sabotage have also taken place on the Island against operations of Puerto Rican Cement and other Ferre-owned companies.

Ferre has gone all out to break the strike, hiring professional strikebreakers and thugs from a US firm (Security Associates). Puerto Rico's secret police (the C.I.C.) have arrested and tortured union members. The FBI has openly intervened in a Puerto Rico strike for the first time, harrassing striking workers and threatening their families. Strike leader Efraim Fernandez was arrested on a phony charge (later dropped) of violating the Federal Explosives Act. The Seafarers International Union—an AFL-CIO international—has started signing up the strikebreakers into a scab union. The company has waged an unsuccessful redbaiting campaign to divide the workers from their union leaders and from their supporters in the pro-independence movement.

Since 1898, when the US grabbed Puerto Rico as a colony, US corporations have used Puerto Rico as a profit paradise while distorting and wrecking its economic life. US investments return more profit per year than the entire annual budget of the Puerto Rican government. These profits come from the superexploitation of Puerto Rican workers, who work long hours under dangerous conditions and receive $\frac{1}{3}$ the wages of US workers at comparable jobs. The recent wave of strikes by telephone workers, waterworks employees and the cement workers are threatening this system—and in the process shaking the very foundations of US colonialism in Puerto Rico.

An incorruptible, fighting workers movement in Puerto Rico terrifies the US rulers not only because of its impact on Puerto Rico but also because of its effect here. With two million Puerto Ricans now living in the US and a broad movement of solidarity with the Puerto Rican struggle emerging, the lessons of the cement strike can be brought home to further challenge the imperialists' rule in the US. Solidarity with the cement workers is part of the class struggle here. With the US testing out its anti-worker, strikebreaking tactics on our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters, this is the time to show militant support for the Ponce strike.

Victory to the Ponce Cement Strike!
Puerto Rico Libre!

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION.

FUERZAS ARMADAS FALN DE LIBERACION NACIONAL
PUERTORRIQUENA

ARMED FORCES OF PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION

OCTOBER 27, 1975.

COMMUNIQUE # 6.

Today, armed units of the FALN commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the October 30, 1950 revolution in Puerto Rico against yankee domination, and marks the first anniversary of our existence as an organization, by launching a simultaneously coordinated attack against Yankee government and monopoly capitalist institutions in New York, Washington D.C., Chicago, and Puerto Rico.

We demand the immediate independence of Puerto Rico and the unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners; Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, and Irving Flores, as well as other Puerto Rican *Political Prisoners* in Yankee colonial and neo-colonial prisons.

We extend our friendship and solidarity to the United States working class, our allies in the struggle against Yankee fascism, who like Puerto Rican workers are being pushed out of work and forced to the unemployment lines while Yankee corporations, and especially the banks, are reaping billions in profits. While the rich and their puppets in government eat and drink well off the sweat of workers, more and more people are being pushed into the unemployment lines.

We also wish to draw attention to the just cause of the Panamanian people who wish to recover their canal zone. We express our unconditional support for them in the realization that the removal of the Yankee colonialists from the area is just as important as our national independence. Should the Panamanian people be forced to resort to arms, the FALN will give them whatever support is necessary.

The FALN welcomes the support given the Puerto Rican National liberation struggle at the solidarity conference in Cuba and the meeting of Non-aligned nations in Peru in September.

We especially acknowledge the moral support given to our organization by the Cuban people and government in a speech made by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in August in which he said that the Cuban government would do all it could to support the FALN. Although we have acquired everything we need at this time from our own efforts, as the struggle intensifies and the needs increase, we may have to claim concrete expression of such support, not only from the revolutionary government of Cuba, but from all supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

These developments, combined with the recent victory of the Puerto Rican cause at the United Nations where the Yankee gorillas were forced to expose their claws to the world by resorting to fascist arm twisting of their own allies in order to prevent a committee discussion of the case of Puerto Rico, reaffirms our position:

Only a protracted, organized armed struggle can force the Yankee invaders out of Puerto Rico.

At a time when our cause is rooted in the international community, the imperialists are undergoing a political and economic crisis in the U.S. and elsewhere, and our historical legacy of struggle is given living proof by the existence of the FALN and the political prisoners. Any organization entering parliamentary politics within the colony is only surrendering to colonialist tactics.

The role of Vanguard and progressive organizations now in Puerto Rico is to organize the armed struggle, telescope the contradictions and establish the Peoples' Army of National Liberation.

We wish to extend our solidarity with all the organizations waging armed struggle within the U.S. against yankee imperialism abroad and capitalist exploitation of the North American working class. We support the definition of a single working class to which everyone living in the United States and working within it belong, despite cultural and ethnic differences which actually enrich your country.

Finally, we send our warmest and most affectionate greetings to the freedom fighters of our Latin American homeland from Argentina's Tierra del Fuego to the South, to Mexico in the north where the struggle, continues to end fascist

oligarchies and their Yanki masters, and who are creating the many Viet-Nams necessary for the total destruction of imperialism and the victory of democracy, justice, and equality.

Independence for Puerto Rico, now!

Free the Puerto Rican Political prisoners!

F.A.L.N., CENTRAL COMMAND.

SOME DOCUMENTS ON THE PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

JULY 4, 1975.

PHILADELPHIA PFOC EVALUATION

On July 26, 1974 Prairie Fire was given to the left at a press conference in New York. The coverage by the press, the excitement of the left, converged in many people's minds as a time to reevaluate. This process started with formation of four distribution committees, one of which was in Philadelphia. A couple of us, after reading Prairie Fire, and giving it to many friends, decided to distribute it in Philadelphia. We made an insert with the idea of forming a group of people interested in studying the book. The study was a group of friends who were interested in developing ourselves and struggling with politics. We decided to study to separate this from being activists. During this period of distributing we made many contacts with different groups who were excited about the politics of Prairie Fire, and the desire to know who were the people that were distributing the book.

The study group helped us to define the objective condition of the left and the conditions of our country. We began to understand our politics, thus starting a strategy. Obviously to some of us, study wasn't enough, we lacked a practice; the reason to study and the blood of struggle—to organize.

The interest and struggle that Prairie Fire generated, stimulated us to develop a program or what we called projects. New York Prairie Fire in mid-December held an open forum covering the economic crisis. Many of us went and we were among a group of 500 people. The direction we were going became clearer. Jennifer Dohrn's speech showed us the necessity of doing mass work, broadening a very small class base, and beginning to do organizing. We felt part of a much larger group and a responsibility to become part of the anti-imperialist left. We already formed a working relationship with two Philadelphia black groups who constantly pushed us to activism.

The study group was still meeting, constantly struggling with the idea of doing projects or remaining just as we were. There was also the main contradiction of women who were working with Prairie Fire who were not sure they wanted to work with mixed groups.

The first project we decided to do was an open Forum on Cuba, an evening of slides and discussions. A comrade from New York who was on the Brigade brought a slide show to Philadelphia. We printed a very effective leaflet and as a study group, worked collectively to build for the slide show January 17. We involved numerous friends to work with us on this project. The collective energy that came together was a great leap forward and showed some of us why this process was the best way to work. People were pleased with the way we worked. After much work and propaganda, 150 people attended. The collective work paid off and P.F.O.C. was introduced to the Philadelphia left. We considered this a victory for the people that were there and a much needed success for our first project. We criticized ourselves later for a lack of follow-up on the mailing list obtained. Now, we have contacted all those people, and have developed a structure to keep outreach going. We see using this kind of program throughout the next year to build for Bicentennial Resistance.

We then wrote a book review of Prairie Fire which was published in a Philadelphia Radical paper. Our contact with groups grew to include the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and many more individuals through this article.

At this time the study group disbanded because of differences in politics. The question grew from a lack of trust with each other, and certain 3rd world groups we had relationships with, whose line on feminism some thought

was non-existent. Our lack of practice caused a very ugly struggle, and our study together stopped. Many of our group and sympathizers left the city. We were no longer a committee, but a few individuals who continued study, distribution and tried to keep Prairie Fire politics alive. We did this. The righteousness of our politics and the deeper understanding of them concretized a more realistic strategy for the coming months.

We were a young group and luckily for us we were held together by close bonds so the struggle continued. It seems in retrospect that we spent the next several weeks in evaluation of what we wanted to do, how to work to do it, and why. We were still distributing the book and some of the people were forming alliances as individuals with some of the other revolutionary groups here in Philadelphia, such as the East Coast Panthers, Community Assistance for Prisoners (CAP) and the PSP.

Early in 1975 GROUNDSWELL appeared from the National committee. The appearance of the newsletter and the information within was another spark to us in Philadelphia. We gained strength reading about and talking to people who were doing work in other parts of the country.

The second coming of a Philadelphia P.F.O.C. was initiated in mid-March. On March 28, Susan Saxe was busted in Philadelphia. The next day we responded with a large group of us going to her arraignment. Our group and a coalition of women were her main supporters at this time. We immediately got together a pamphlet on how to deal with the FBI which we distributed in the next couple of weeks. This event uncovered and pushed the Philadelphia left to action. Five such pamphlets about Susan Saxe came out simultaneously. At this time we were in planning discussions about forming a Philadelphia Network. This idea was to bring the Philadelphia left together so they could respond to emergencies (repression of black people for example) and to begin to support each other and build unity. We liked the idea and began to work with other groups towards making it a reality. Several of us were committed from mid-March to May 31, when we had a city-wide conference where 30 groups attended. This work we did showed a high degree of commitment, and leadership. We initiated many things and our consistent work proved to be part of a very important leadership status. We have continued with this network to date, constantly evaluating our role, the role of Third World groups, and pushing for actions and development.

The first week in April we had a meeting with the PSP. We defined very quickly what we wanted to do together. This work was to be a coalition to organize for Mayday in New York. We made leaflets, distributed posters, supported each other constantly. We worked with them on a fundraising party in Camden, N.J. along with the Camden PSP members PFOC sponsored a fundraising party where we were successful enough to hire a bus with money left over. We held many events together, all of which were great organizing tools. We involved other groups and many individuals in this work. The work we did for Mayday was amazing. We took a bus load of people to New York to be part of a very spirited Mayday-Vietnamese victory celebration. Ten people from PFOC worked together on this project all the way through. We learned a great deal from the PSP concerning collectivity, discipline, commitment and leadership. We had an evaluation together and we came to these conclusions:

- (1) Our politics were in agreement enough to work together;
- (2) Our groups could work together collectively in a principled manner;
- (3) We should work together on the Bicentennial (cement workers strike etc.).

At this time our group was consolidating and regrouping. The critical victory of Vietnam guided our work, showed us a winning strategy and pushed our development ten years forward.

We made a leaflet concerning Vietnam refugees in solidarity with the many other groups who did the same around the country. A mailing was sent out of the Vietnam refugee and the How to deal with the FBI leaflets. We took part in a local demonstration along with the PSP concerning Vietnam refugees. Simultaneous demonstrations were held throughout the country.

This whole period of time was most important for us. New people began to show interest and work with us on a regular basis. Some of us traveled to Boston and New York. We saw other committees work which gave us a broader sense of ourselves and ignited the idea of a National conference and organization. We began to meet consistently and to work out our purpose and new projects. Since Mayday people's commitment and development has been amazing. Many of us

were completely new to politics and have taken on leadership roles and shown exemplary work.

Still a very loose group of people, individuals continued to take leadership in forming the Philadelphia Network. We attended two meetings of the Mass Party of the People representing PFOC. A women's union in Philadelphia was forming and we have taken part in these planning sessions. Also People wrote to us in a larger quantity and with a higher quality.

We had numerous meetings trying to decide on a focus we could pick. We wanted to chose an issue where we thought organizing potential existed, a chance to do consistent mass work. Philadelphia Bicentennial flunkies were planning a day called the "American Way" where a million and a half people showed up. We decided to go there to talk with some of these people. We made a sticker and a leaflet to present to folks there. The sticker we posted throughout the area, a couple of nights before the event. Ten of us went there on Sunday with a couple of thousand leaflets, armed with its politics. These politics were to confront people with the Victory in Vietnam, the state of our economy, and to find out what people thought about their lives in terms of the Bicentennial. We talked to hundreds of people that day. It was encouraging the interest people showed in a group that had something to say about their lives. We made contacts with many individuals and schools who wanted our propaganda for their children. This was the first time we tried this and we thought of it as a victorious day. We worked collectively, plus had the experience of finding out the real consciousness of people we were attempting to organize this was a white affair. A conglomerate of Rizzo, Flyers, American way supporters. Even among this highly reactionary element, we found support for our politics. We wrote an article for Common Sense, a Philadelphia Movement paper, explaining why we went there, and some of our future plans. Three people who went with us that day joined our committee and have continued to work with us.

On May 18, we had a meeting in Philly with representatives from New York and Boston committees which proved to have far out vibes and was productive. Our group and many Philadelphia sympathizers attended. Each city went through its evaluations of all their work. We could identify with problems other cities had and celebrate the work we have accomplished together. in a very broad sense rather than just our community. Because of the brilliant victory in Vietnam we wanted to give people something to propagandize the celebration. We learned the process of silk screening and made our first poster. We gave some to Laura Whitehorn to take to Vietnam. We spent hours discussing pre-conference ideas, why a national organization and all three cities left feeling high and a real sense that we could form a national organization this summer.

This meeting made us strive for a complete re-evaluation. We decided to become a committee of activists and to use a structure to help us carry out our work. We organized into committees to distribute our work and assure the consistency of day to day organizing. Because of our smallness and the work of the National conference, we had to pick priorities which we will always be in the process of doing. Our coalition work includes relationships with the following groups: Philadelphia network, Women's union, East Coast Panthers, PSP, Susan Saxe Defense Comm., Mass party, PRSC, People's 76. We want to follow through with our commitments, but have learned differences in politics, and priorities for ourselves. Our work with the PSP has always been an extremely principled relationship. We accomplish good work together, struggle over problems, but define our priorities as unity. We have grown together, and plan to do work in the future. The PSP has pushed us forward more than any other group we have worked with. One criticism we have of ourselves is the diffusion of coalition work we have done. We see ourselves as doing support work, and pushing our politics to those that want to struggle and work together. We must use this past year to reevaluate our work with others and coalitions. We must decide which relationships we want to continue, where there is potential, and what does our analysis call for at this time. This is always hard, and the faster we grow the more resources we have to send out, the more people we have to make input. Many of our people being new don't feel strong enough to represent us in coalitions. This problem we are dealing with by initiating constant study for our members, with the realization that political development is a process. This we see happening by theory and practice, and the constant criticism-self criticism of the collective.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In evaluating our work for the past year we saw vast need for organization. We decided to divide up into committees. This will help each of us focus on specific work, rather than try to do everything. Our coordinating committee will organize our work, and set up meetings. This committee has done much of the work for the National Conference. Its other responsibilities are treasury, strengthen up military, and most important to implement and take leadership in our study group. The Education-Propaganda Committee is responsible for distribution of WUC literature, our literature, and responding to mail. Its other aspect is propaganda work. This has taken the form of setting up an art committee, that can produce leaflets, posters, T-shirts, and stickers. They also do the designing. Our third work committee is the Bicentennial committee which wrote the bicentennial proposal, and is trying to form our strategy and program for the next year. We are a collective so no committees decisions are separate from the whole. We are in the process of picking leadership, and people to be on the National Committee. For the past year this was an unstructured role, which we are defining as we develop better understandings of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

2. We have seen the need to put less energy into supporting other groups and coalitions, but rather to focus on our own work. We must see ourselves deciding on goals and pushing them through.

3. We are critical of our relationship to mass work. Much of our time and energy has been kept internalized, dealing with our own problems or solely within the left. We have realized this error, and have defined the strategy to work consistently within the people. We have alienated certain new members with political rhetoric. This was caused by a gap in our recognition of how people develop. It is a process. We are finding it easier to be critical of each other, and have dealt with this in some correct ways.

a. To study constantly and involve other new people in our group.

b. To have open meetings to bring new people in our group.

c. To be constantly aware and critical of our rhetoric, always being welcome to questions and criticisms.

d. To develop revolutionary patience—that doesn't mean to be liberal, but to push people at a correct time and pace in their lives.

e. To constantly evaluate our roles in terms of feminism, and to initiate feminist studies and discussions for the whole, especially the men.

4. We have been strong in producing literature and propaganda. We must continue to develop this phase of our work. We are hoping to set up an art studio which is now in the process. We see those who know the skills to take leadership and to teach the rest of us these very useful tools.

5. We have taken good leadership roles in a number of coalitions in Phila. The Phila. network, formerly mentioned, we helped start and continue to work, to its establishment and projected goals. We have started to work in the women's union, and the group called People's 76. Phila. PFOC has given aid and support to the Susan Saxe defense committee. We hope to join a coalition to support the Pine Ridge Resistance.

6. Our most important strength is the strong relationship we have built with a number of Third World groups in Phila. The PSP and PFOC plan to do much work together in the next year. The East coast Panthers and PFOC support each other, struggle together, and will continue to advance our relationship. These two groups have had the strongest ties to us, both of which we plan to continue. We have learned a lot about our discipline and these groups push us to always think we can do more. This unity has been hard, with weekly struggles but has advanced our committee a great deal, giving credence to our politics and strategy.

To write an end to this proposal is impossible. We have become a force in Phila. We see the next couple months for us, concentrating on growth in numbers, and political development. We accomplish things this year to only show us the vast work for the coming one. We have lived the Vietnamese celebration, but Chile remains in jail. We have seen our political development, but Wounded Knee, Boston schools and the Bicentennial Bureaucrats have grand resistance in store for them. Phila. PFOC has developed and intimate and collective spirit which brings us great energy. To be part of this conference planning has added a lot to our faith. We have taken many leaps forward. We have developed the process of criticism, and evaluation on a daily basis. We are determined to expand our committee and to push the politics of Prairie Fire throughout Phila. We are winning rapidly.

NEW YORK P.F.O.C. EVALUATION

This paper is an attempt to evaluate the working of the New York Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. The process of doing this evaluation has pushed us all to think critically about our practice, has allowed our real accomplishments to surface, and has clearly pointed out areas of weakness. The framework of this paper will be to briefly describe the work committees (why they were chosen and what concrete work each committee expected to do), the coordinating committee, the women's caucus, as well as an overview of the New York organization as a whole. We have divided our analysis into three areas corresponding to our goals for this period: doing mass work; developing ourselves as cadre; building unity on the Left.

In January we chose to begin building an organization which would be rooted in mass struggles and in which we could develop ourselves and others as leaders in those struggles. We initially chose three areas of work. They were a campus organizing committee to be based at Lehman College; a community organizing committee on the low East Side of Manhattan, and an education and propaganda committee to serve the whole organization and do limited mass work in Park Slope in Brooklyn.

Lehman college is a white and third world working class college in the Bronx. Understanding the economic necessities of imperialism in decline and the revolutionary potential of working class students, we chose Lehman to be one of our first organizing projects.

School district one on the Lower East Side is a racially mixed working class community. It is a community that has been under attack, suffering cuts in jobs, social services and especially educational services. This community has waged a militant struggle to wrest control of the school from the UFT/Shanker machine and establish a representative community board. This work provided us an opportunity to work with a community coalition of third world and white people and organizations, an opportunity to take leadership in an anti-racist struggle for self determination from third world people, and to squarely confront racism.

We viewed the Education and Propaganda committee as the propaganda arm of the PFOC. In addition to ensuring the wide distribution of Prairie Fire, we wanted to use study groups as an outreach tool on campuses and in communities. We saw setting up literature tables on the streets and at movement events as a way to meet and rap with people and distribute the book. We were responsible for setting up open forums which would be a dependable source of political education for people who are activists and for the people they are organizing.

The coordinating committee was to be the leadership body for the PFOC. The coordinating collective was to be made up of 2 people elected by each committee, the PFOC national travellers, and a representative from the women's caucus: in addition three members were to be elected at large. This group was to give overall direction to the organization, be responsible for international solidarity work, and coordinate our relationships with other groups. Each member was responsible for communication between the leadership body and the separate work committees.

The women's caucus came together because of our feelings of isolation as a small number of women in Prairie Fire, to deal with areas of sexism, and to push forward our own understandings of sexism and the role that women must play at all stages of the struggle. One of our tasks was to bring a consciousness of the absolute necessity of women's leadership in the committee. We recognize that all our work involves the oppression of women, and that we need to struggle with activists and other women around the politics of the PFOC. We recognized the opportunity for us to build strong ties with women's groups, schools, unions and to argue for an understanding of sexism and imperialism as the common enemy of all women.

In May we were joined by the Friends of Assata and Sundiata a group of women and women actively involved in the prison support movement. They are doing anti-racist organizing to broaden an understanding of the conditions within prisons, the use of prisons in this country and the need for all of us to join in common struggle to make this struggle our own. They chose to join with Prairie Fire to increase their outreach and to formulate strategy and priorities for their organizing within the framework of a broader anti-imperialist strategy. It has raised the consciousness of many of us about the importance of doing prison work and making these important connections for people.

THINGS WE HAVE DONE

- We have survived, grown larger and stronger.
- We have distributed 6,000 copies of *Prairie Fire*.
- We have initiated 5 study groups for new people; we taught a course on Imperialism at the New York Women's School.
- We held a forum on the economic crisis that 500 people attended.
- We spoke in two classes at Richmond College on Staten Island.
- We spoke on a panel at the Regional URPE Conference.
- We took part in a benefit for Judge Wright in New York.
- We participated in a radio show on WBAI on grand juries.
- We had a cable TV show on the Politics of Revolutionary Anti-imperialism.
- We participated in the December 14 Anti-Racism demonstration in Boston.
- We participated in the January 23 conference to implement the Peace Accords in Washington.
- We participated in Puerto Rican Solidarity Day.
- We sent 2 representatives to Cuba with the Venceramos Brigade.
- We sent a representative to the Viet Nam/U.S. Women's Conference in Montreal.
- We participated and played a role in International Women's Day, Mayday, a Cambodia demonstration around the Mayaquez incident, joined other women in a take-over of Senator Javits office, many Indochina demonstrations both before and after the victory.
- We produced 1 issue of *Groundswell* in coordination with *Prairie Fire* in other cities and have distributed 3,000 copies.
- We have distributed 2,000 copies of *Oswatomie*.
- We have presented forums in the following areas:
 - Situation in the Middle East, on Indochina prior to the victory, a presentation of Sokum Hing (a member of the Kamir Residents of the U.S.) on the situation in Cambodia before the victory, on the politics of women's liberation, on the Montreal Women's Conference, on the situation in Puerto Rico, and a presentation on organizing in the south by Walter Collins former Executive Director of SCEF.
- We held a fund-raising party, picnic, and slide show of Women of Viet Nam.
- We have met formally with 12 groups to share our work, plans, their suggestions.
- We set up three working committees, later to be joined by a prison collective.
- We have a strong and growing women's caucus which has begun to exert more and more leadership within the organization and within the women's movement.
- We have initiated a men's study group on the politics of women's liberation.

MASS WORK

Two of our committees initiated base building work—the group on the Lower East Side and the group at Lehman.

At Lehman we made significant progress. We were able to cohere as a group, engage in consistent mass work, and take preliminary steps toward developing a base and initiating program. The struggle against cutbacks was initiated and led by Third World students, particularly by Latin students. Objectively, they were the group most attacked by the cutbacks and firings; subjectively, they have the highest level of revolutionary consciousness of any group on campus. Organizationally, they are the strongest. The demands that they formulated concretized the class interests of all working class students, both Third World and white, on the campus.

Racism is a very real obstacle in trying to mobilize the white students to follow Third World leadership, but it can definitely be overcome. There is a need for constant education and ongoing struggle; when we did this work well, we found that students would listen carefully and could be won over. We were uneven in doing this work and had to combat our own cynicism about white students.

We also learned some lessons about dealing with sectarianism during the year at Lehman. During the fall, representatives from the Revolutionary Union and the Progressive Labor Party successfully destroyed attempts to organize on the campus by pushing a narrow sectarian line and by adopting a racism position toward the Third World groups on campus. Their success was proportionate to the lack of strong nonsectarian leadership being offered. When the Latin

students gave strong leadership during the Spring semester, the struggle on the campus escalated enormously. The battle against sectarianism was won by offering good leadership, not by engaging in sterile political debate.

Another issue that came to the fore at Lehman but which we are sure to encounter on the Lower East Side and in other areas is how to relate to mass organizations. Should the PFOC try to function as a mass form on the campus or should we take the responsibility for working in and helping to build separate organizations. As we have functioned more collectively at Lehman, it has seemed clear that there must be other transitional forms that new people can join more easily and with less initial commitment.

Many of the same lessons were learned while doing the work on the Lower East Side. Leadership was given by a strong Third World community group; the UFT used overt racist attacks in an attempt to mobilize a reactionary white base. Because Por Los Ninos decided that a correct strategy for winning was to concentrate on mobilizing the Third World community rather than trying to neutralize and win over the white community, we did not deal with the issue of racism as strongly or as consistently as we would have liked. However, it is clear that it will be the major issue in our future attempts at building a base in this community. We will work hard to solidify the relationships that we have begun to establish with Third World groups and individuals there.

It seems that the greatest opportunity to concretely combat racism exists when there is a clear contradiction for white people between their own objective interests and their racism. At Lehman it was possible to point out that the struggle against cutbacks in the Black studies, Puerto Rican studies, and SEEK programs was the leading edge of the struggle against tuition, larger classrooms, and smaller faculty. Such situations give concrete form to our understanding of how the struggles of Black and other Third World people gives leadership to the class struggle as a whole.

We did not develop program designed to reach out to new women during this year, and we believe that this is a programmatic priority during this coming period. In addition we need to develop and strengthen ties with Third World women.

Education and Propaganda was unable to develop a clear strategy for how to use education work as an effective outreach tool. As a result, we started only one study group for new people during the spring.

Overall, we have begun to root ourselves in two areas. They offer a great opportunity for us to build anti-imperialist bases. We must be a stronger presence, be consistently where people are struggling, be dependable when we are needed, and provide leadership that is responsible and responsive to the needs of the community. We intend to continue our mass work at Lehman on the Lower East Side. We will develop program to reach out to women. We must review and restructure the Education and Propaganda work.

CADRE DEVELOPMENT

This has been a year of considerable political growth for us both as individuals and as an organization. We have tried to grapple with the large and hard questions concerning base building, racism, sexism, internal contradictions in our organizing, establishing good relationships with Third World groups. Together we have deepened our understanding of the strategy necessary to move forward. There has been an increasingly higher level of participation within the group.

Several factors have influenced our ability to function collectively. We function best when we have concrete work to do and a clear political understanding of why that work is important. This was most clearly seen during the past few months at Lehman and during the past six weeks of preparing for the conference in the PFOC as a whole. During those periods and in those committees where we were less clear about our direction, work tended to become bureaucratic, responsibilities became centralized to a few people and passivity developed among the membership.

The women's caucus did not function as a collective, but did function collectively. We presented a collective PE and provided support for each other. We attempted to analyze our role as leadership within the organization and the movement. However, we did not always bring in new women who came to meetings or deal with particular problems of women working on committees alone (like Lehman and the Lower East Side).

Like the work committees, the coordinating committee functioned most collectively when we had a clear sense of directions and delineated responsibilities. We have been pushed by the need to give leadership to the PFOC around the national conference. We are just beginning to view ourselves as a leadership body and so did not give strong direction to the various work committees early in the year.

Overall, we have not taken on internal political education as seriously as we should have. There is a great unevenness among us in our understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and we have often not been successful in getting those who know more to share that knowledge with others in a good way. We have been erratic in our collective study, although well done PE's have always pushed forward both our theory and our practice.

We have tended to be liberal with each other. We have not consistently criticized each other's work. We have not pushed each other to take on responsibility and assert leadership where it might well have been possible. We have not fully utilized the tool of criticism/self-criticism. We've been protective of ourselves as individuals.

However, we believe that identifying these errors enables us to start moving forward to correct them. Preparing for this conference has broadened and deepened our level of mutual accountability and responsibility.

BUILDING UNITY

During the past year we have worked on many coalitions and have gradually learned how to maximize both our contribution to these coalitions and what we get out of them. At first we tried to work actively in every coalition whose goals we supported. The result was that we became overextended and did not take full responsibility for their success. We did not fully grasp that coalitions should not have as their sole purpose a rally or a march, but should also be an area for groups to struggle constructively with each other towards higher levels of unity. Toward the end of the year we have tried to be more strategic in our choice of coalition work.

We have taken the initiative to get together to discuss our politics and practice with other groups on the left. We believe that we have established good relations with and are respected by the Black and Third World groups with whom we have met and shared practice. We have sometimes not been consistent about following-up initial meetings and have not always fully struggled out differences with other groups. We hope to develop more solid working relations with other groups in the immediate future.

In addition to evaluating the lessons we have learned through the practice of the various committees and through the women's caucus, we would like to evaluate the functioning of the organization as a whole. As a first step toward such an evaluation, we should try to broadly define ourselves in terms of function, line, objectives.

Our conception of our function as an organization has changed over the past ten months. We were initially a distributing committee, a group of people with diverse backgrounds who shared a common belief in the importance of distributing Prairie Fire. Our line during that period is best summed up by the three slogans suggested by the national travellers: 1) distribute the book widely 2) deepen our understanding of the politics 3) broaden the class base. Our objectives were to get the book widely read and discussed by activists and by people who had never defined themselves as part of the left. We wanted to wage principled ideological struggle with other organizers while helping to educate new people via study groups, forums and group discussions.

Our primary contradiction during that period was between our theory—Prairie Fire—and our practice as an organization. Prairie Fire called for going to the people, for mass work, for winning people over to the side of revolution; a line on self-determination was only an abstraction unless coupled with an active anti-racist program. Many of us had done good work as individuals over the years, but clearly the PFOC as a whole had not. This contradiction appeared everywhere. When we talked with Black and other Third World organizations and individuals, we usually found that a real receptivity and high level of agreement with the politics was often coupled with a comradely push to develop a base around those politics. When meeting with other predominantly white groups in New York and around the country, we sometimes found a skepticism about whether antisexist, anti-racist, internationalist

politics could really be put into practice. Within the committee itself, many of us felt the same contradiction as individuals. We wanted to be an organizing as well as talking. Clearly the dominant aspect of the contradiction was practice, and the development of that contradiction pushed us to become an organizing committee.

As we transformed ourselves as an organization, our function as a group changed; we were now becoming an organization which was trying to implement the politics of Prairie Fire. We were/are trying to give concrete organizational form to the politics of revolutionary anti-imperialism. Our line for this past 6 months incorporated the line of the past period but added a fourth and decisive slogan: reach out and organize. Our goals for this period have been (1) Build a mass base; (2) develop ourselves as cadre; (3) struggle for unity within the Left. We have tried to evaluate our progress towards each of these goals.

Our primary contradiction during this period has again been that of theory-practice, but now the dominant aspect of the contradiction has been theory. This has taken the form of a lack of development of strategy in almost all areas of our work. The lack of a strategic direction for the PFOC makes it difficult for work committees to see the importance or relationship of their mass work to the committee as a whole. This was probably Education and Propaganda never developed their mass work, why the Lower East Side committee did not get as much out of their work as they could have, and why the relationship between the group at Lehman and the PFOC was strained for a long period. It helps us to understand why the women in the organization had a difficult time at first in arguing for the strategic importance of building a mixed organization.

This contradiction was at the root of our difficulty in doing coalition work well and in our attempts at building unity on the Left. We have already evaluated the results: unevenness in our practice with other groups and only the beginnings of solid working relationships.

This lack of strategy also led us to underestimate the importance of cadre development. On one level, this was reflected in our unevenness around political education, criticism-self-criticism, and constant evaluation. But it also was manifested in the relative lack of collectivity that characterized Education and Propaganda and the Lower East Side committee. In our experience, collectivity was built most strongly when there was (1) shared goals; (2) defined strategy; (3) concrete tasks to be coordinated and performed.

This lack of a developed strategy helps to define all the other contradictions and problems we faced as an organization both internally and externally. We have often not recruited actively to build our membership; we have not tried to get other groups to develop programs with us. We have not pushed ourselves forward as an organization in coalitions and rallies.

Our primary internal contradiction has been sexism. This has been both a cause and a result of the lack of participation of women in the distributing committee. This was reflected in our failure to address sexism politically, structurally, and programmatically as fully as we should have. We did not fully understand the vital necessity of or guarantee the full participation and leadership of women. The struggle against sexism had been led by the women's caucus, which itself has been pushed to better clarify the nature of the women's caucus and its role in the organization as a whole.

There has been an ongoing contradiction between the work projects and the organization as a whole. This has been most acute when the group as a whole was meeting infrequently and doing little collective work; it has receded during those times when we have had concrete work to do. We must try to develop ongoing programmatic work for the organization as a whole as well as improving the quality of our membership meetings and of the communication between the coordinating committee and the general membership.

There has been a contradiction between our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and our ignorance of it. Our ignorance has so far been the dominant aspect, but this is changing as we begin to take political education more seriously.

There has been a contradiction between the PFOC as a local organization and the PFOC as a national organization. The work around the current conference has done much to increase our sense of a national organization.

Some brief lessons we've learned: evaluation is crucial to any group; it allows us to more scientifically plan our future work. Evaluation is an organizational way of implementing the dialectical method of thinking: from specific to the

general and back to the specific. Critical evaluation must become an integral part of all our work.

We have learned better to be where the people are and not to isolate ourselves. It was right for us to go to the Conference on the Paris Peace Accords in Wash. but it was wrong to concentrate our energies on a small and isolated "anti-imperialist" march.

We believe that we have taken great strides forward in the past months. The decision to develop organizational practice was a right one. We never would have faced or learned from the above if we hadn't tried to implement our politics. We need to learn these lessons, remain open and critical and move forward collectively. We believe that we can play an important role in the Left and the Left can play the decisive role in the future.

BICENTENNIAL PROPOSAL

WHY PFOC SHOULD WORK ON THE BICENTENNIAL?

On July 4, 1976 America will celebrate its 200th birthday. The plans for this celebration have been in the works for years. Massive expenditures totalling more than 100 million dollars have already been allocated or spent on the planning and implementation of this chauvinistic birthday party. There are some very good reasons why the rulers of this country are channelling huge amounts of money and energy into it.

The quality of American life is rapidly changing. Our country is in the midst of a crisis affecting all sectors of our society, especially third world and working people. In the wake of the glorious peoples victory in Vietnam, our foreign policy and presence has lost all its credibility. The blind respect and trust that many Americans felt towards our system of government has been whittled away by watergate, the fake energy crisis, CIA abuses, and by our first clear and overwhelming military defeat. A feeling of mistrust and disillusionment is growing, penetrating to the very roots of our society.

The ruling class has been quick to recognize all this. They know that not since the 30's, has the imperialist, capitalist system been at such a weak and vulnerable point. In the face of this, they are desperately trying to firm up support and cooperation for their continuing oppression of the working class and aggression against the third world. 1976 is an election year. Every capitalist bureaucrat in the country will be running amuck, flapping their mouths about unemployment and inflation while simultaneously trying to pacify the people with a gross birthday party, making full use of the media to spread their bogus ideology. They see 1976 as a year to convince people to remain patriotic and loyal. Their greedy and decaying way of life is in danger.

All this presents a clear challenge to the anti-imperialist movement. We see the policies of *Prairie Fire* as being diametrically opposed to a happy birthday party, sponsored by Ford, Rocky, Kissinger and their flunkies. We cannot allow their arrogance to go unanswered. The opportunities for agitating, educating and organizing people in 1976 will historically be critical in terms of building mass organizations, and the whole revolutionary movement in general. We, as an organizing committee, are faced with a major opportunity to broaden our class base. The time is ripe to organize and educate large sectors of the working class in lite of the severe depression. Many people are being bombarded with patriotic rhetoric which they now know is bull——. It is our turn to present alternatives and build a base among the people.

The racism of celebrating what white people have gained in 200 years thru repression and exploitation of Blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Chinese people here is something we as an anti-imperialist revolutionary organization must clearly and openly oppose. We must fight for an affirmation of our people's history and our just struggles, including the right to self-determination for black and native American people and freedom for Puerto Rico. We can point to the myth of liberty and justice for all. We can call on people to examine and resist the anti-life policies of the capitalists. We can expose the oppression of women as an integral part of the destructive machine called America.

Clearly, the bicentennial is the ruling class's celebration of imperialism, racism and sexism. It is a glorification of a sick and dying system, an all encompassing

garbage heap of contradictions. The rulers have set the time for the party. Let us bring the fireworks!

We propose that PFOC adopt a national strategy of working around the bicentennial. We see this happening in 3 ways:

1. Put forward and push the slogans "For a Bicentennial Without Colonies" and "Restore Native American Rights"—This would mean organizing support for the independence of Puerto Rico and resistance to the neo-colonial defense policies of the government relating to Africa, Latin America and the mid-east. It would mean doing concrete work on the restoration of Native American rights, support for their self-determination and an end to the Fascist policies of the BIA and FBI.

2. Using these two slogans and possibly others to help organize and build for a national mobilization/demonstration in Phila. on July 4, 1976. We believe we can build (along with other groups who already have some initial plans for this) a massive, militant people's celebration which will place demands on the pigs doorstep. Ford, the pope and the Queen of England will all be in Phila. the summer of 1976.

3. Focus on exposing historical distortions of american history. Reclaim and affirm the history of the people's movement in Amerika. Educational forums, pamphlets and cultural events are some ways in which we could do this.

We in Phil. feel very strongly about the possibilities of doing mass work around the Bicentennial. Our city expects 20-30 million people next summer. We are dealing with possibly the most fascist mayor in the country, Frank Rizzo. We see the city extracting thousands and thousands of dollars from social service, health, and educational programs to fund this wasteful enterprise. We see the very same people who brought us Vietnam and the fake energy crisis are now using millions to pad their pockets with dollars which should be used to meet the needs of many, many people.

To give some content to this proposal, here are some of the ways we are considering moving on this in Phila.

1. Propaganda campaign: making a poster, posting specific communities and then leafleting and talking with people about priorities for our city.

2. Open community forums with speakers on peoples history, corruption in city government, police abuse.

3. Program and pamphlets for children about native americans and indian killers; a statement regarding the colonization of Puerto Rico.

4. Bibliography of readings about peoples history.

5. Weekly city wide demonstrations voicing people's needs.

200 YEARS OF OPPRESSION IS ENOUGH!!!

VENCEREMOS! PHILA. PFOC

DEPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 27, 1975

This report of the National Committee meeting will focus on the major political struggles we had at the meeting, and it will try to provide the information about the state of the organization that has been requested by PFOC members. The report should provide a basis for discussion and struggle in every chapter; each chapter should read and discuss the report and respond to it.

The National Committee of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee held its third meeting on December 26, 28, and 28 in New York. Since our last meeting, two of the at-large members of the committee, Nancy Kurshan and Howie Emmer (from the Bay Area) have resigned from the NC. We missed Nancy and Howie at the meeting, but accepted their resignation. Attached to this report is a copy of the letter of resignation. Everyone is urged to read it carefully and respond to it. We also wish Howie and Nancy good luck with their imminent baby!

The NC members at the meeting were: Russell Neufeld, Jennifer Dohrn, Alan Berkman, and Laura Whitehorn, who were elected at large at the July conference, and Diana Block and Nancy Barrett (Bay Area reps.), Susie Waysdorf and Liz Horowitz (Boston), Silvia Baraldini and Shelly Miller (New York), Lance Pustin (Philadelphia), and Miles Pustin (Vermont), Bill Montross

(Columbus, Ohio) and Ellen Afterman (Chicago) also attended the meeting as observers. We welcomed their participation in the meeting as a sign of the growth of the PFOC. In the course of the weekend, the Columbus chapter became part of the national organization, representing a significant addition to the PFOC.

The agenda for the meeting was: Friday—PE on strategy for building revolutionary organization, and evaluation of PFOC chapters and the NC. Saturday—the Hard Times Conference (all day), and a women's caucus. Sunday—consolidation and growth of the organization: Groundswell and the political statement, two tools for organization; Chicago and Columbus, growth and recruitment; security and finances.

The National Committee meeting represented a significant step forward in building the NC as a leading collective in the PFOC. We are getting to know each other better, and functioning more effectively as a collective. The sign of this growth was a higher level of political struggle throughout the meeting, which will help us to lead the entire organization in the process of building communist organization. The higher level of the struggle means that our decisions are more fully understood and agreed to, so we will be better able to implement decisions, and to move forward from the extensive criticisms we have made of our practice since the July conference.

The primary questions to which we addressed ourselves were the development of our organization as a revolutionary organization of communists, and the implementation of our mass program for the economic crisis, the Hard Times Conference. We recognized the limitations in our understanding of the need to build revolutionary organization, and of our strategy for building the PFOC into such an organization. We noted the importance of waging full, open political struggle throughout the organization over questions of practice and theory. And we committed ourselves to developing the dialectical relationship of theory to practice in the process of formulating our full political line in the PFOC.

Our meeting began with a political education session, for which we read chapter 4 of Lenin's *WHAT IS TO BE DONE* (The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries). The Discussion focussed on a presentation by Alan Berkman about the recent Second Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Alan was the PFOC representative in a delegation of invited observers to the Congress. The delegation included the Ambassador to Cuba from the Congo-Brazaville, and members of the KDP (Union of Democratic Philipinos resident in US), CASA (Centro de Accion Social Autonoma, a Mixicano organization in the US), the New American Movement, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, and the Guardian newspaper. The Congress itself represents the consolidation and tremendous growth of the Puerto Rican struggle for independence and for socialism. The Puerto Rican liberation struggle is a high point of confrontation between the people of the world and US imperialism. The growth of this struggle—and the repression it faces—necessitates the support of every revolutionary and progressive organization in the US for the cause of Puerto Rican independence. The PFOC should address this issue in all our work. We urge every member to read *PUERTO RICO LIBRE* (newsletter of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee), as well as Irwin Silber's report on the PSP Congress in the Guardian newspaper.

The purpose of our PE was to set the development of our strategy for building the PFOC in the context of the strategies of other revolutions. Lenin and the PSP emphasize the importance of building revolutionary organization—what Lenin calls an organization of professional revolutionaries. The building of the class-conscious working class movement cannot be left to spontaneity; it cannot grow and succeed without leadership and organization. In 1959, the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) was born in Puerto Rico, an organization based in the student movement. In 1971, Marxist-Leninists in the MPI led its transformation into the PSP, with about 250-300 members. Now the Party includes about 1800 militants and several thousand more affiliates (a category of full membership with somewhat different qualifications of discipline and responsibility from those of the militants). 20% of the Party consists of workers in the industrial proletariat of Puerto Rico—of 15 new members elected to the Central Committee, 13 are trade union leaders.

What has been the strategy that has produced the enormous growth—growth into strategic sectors—of the PSP?

In 1971, the Party formulated a four-pillared strategy: 1. Build revolutionary party. 2. Build a base in the industrial proletariat. 3. Develop a national

liberation front, a united front for independence. 4. Develop a movement of international solidarity for the independence struggle. The primary responsibility of each PSP member has been to build the revolutionary party in order to carry out the entire strategy. Each militant attends two collective meetings every week—one for political education, and one for business. In addition, each militant leads a study group outside the collective (with the aim of bringing the study group into the party), and spends six hours every Saturday distributing CLARIDAD, the Party newspaper. This is how people from the base are brought into the Party.

The unity between building the Party and building a base in the industrial proletariat is exemplified in the Party's strategy for the Ponce region of Puerto Rico, a key industrial area comprising the cement and petrochemical industries. PSP cadres working in the cement industry were involved in building the Ponce Cement workers strike. Then the PSP as a whole took on the issue of the strike, generating massive support on the island and in the US for the workers—collecting money for a strike fund, publicizing the strike widely, and denouncing the Ponce Cement Company boss, Luis Ferre, in the legislature of PR where PSP member Galliza is a representative. This organizational support both strengthened the strike itself, and strengthened the revolutionary organization of the PSP among the cement workers. In recent union elections, a PSP cadre was elected head of the Ponce Cement Worker's Union.

The PSP's commitment to building a base in the industrial proletariat is scientific, not in the least moralistic. People struggle through organization. Trade unions are mass working class organizations through which to struggle for immediate demands and better conditions, and within which to organize a base for revolution. To make a revolution, it is necessary to attack the bourgeoisie, the ruling class. The sectors the PSP chose to concentrate on are those that most directly can attack the ruling class, the sectors with the most economic importance.

The PSP strategy is a challenge to us to formulate our own strategy scientifically, and to recognize the building of revolutionary organization as a forefront of a strategy for building both the mass struggle and the long-term revolutionary struggle.

As we evaluate the work of the PFOC over the last period, we are confronted with the need to clarify and strengthen our strategy for building towards communist organization. To build communist organization we must have political unity and a program. Without political unity built through waging political struggle among us, we cannot implement our programs. And without the ability to implement program, we can neither grow nor act effectively in helping to build the class struggle.

Political struggle in the PFOC has not been sharp and full in the last period. NC members and chapter leadership have not opened up debate and discussion in the chapters over our line and practice. As a result, unity has not been reached on the importance of organizational work, and the mass program of the PFOC for the economic crisis is being implemented by too few PFOC members.

In the Bay Area PFOC, there is a lot of practice going on. Steps have been made to overcome the problem of factionalism in the Committee (a problem which appeared clearly at the July conference). In addition to the steering committee, there are a workplace organizing committee, an unemployment committee (which has initiated the building of a mass organization of the unemployed), a prison committee (which is not actively engaged in implementing the national prison program adopted at the July Conference), a Hard Times Conference committee (which is doing a lot of work but does not meet regularly as a PFOC collective), a new International Solidarity committee (with the goal of rooting its work in a working class base), and a women's caucus. Although most of the committees are mobilizing for the HTC, there remains a separation between the practice of the work committees and the practice of building the organization as a whole; organizational issues are not struggled out in the work committees. As a result, there is no uniform, effective recruitment procedure, and the waging of full political struggle has waited on the appearance of the draft political statement from the NC.

A letter was written to the NC by the Bay Area steering committee (attached to this report). We perceived in this letter several important political disagreements with the PFOC strategy as it has been developing. The letter reflects a tendency to separate theory from practice in the desire to have a fully-articulated political line before engaging our organization in the struggles of the

people. We accept the criticism for our failure to put out the draft of a political statement as we said we would do. But with or without such a draft, political struggle and the development of political positions *must happen in the context of ongoing practice*. The Bay Area letter also downplays the role of our work on the HTC as an important facet of our ability to develop a correct class analysis and a correct political line. These political differences had not been fully struggled out in the Bay Area PFOC, and NC members had signed the letter without a clear understanding of the positions it puts forth. The letter provoked political struggle among the National Committee throughout our meeting.

In the Boston PFOC, the lack of full political struggle shows up in the fact that the entire PFOC is not mobilizing for the HTC strategy, and indeed does not fully agree with that strategy. Recent membership meeting having illustrated that we do not have unity on the importance of building a national organization of revolutionaries, or in the strategy for building such an organization. It is only recently that these questions have emerged clearly—in the past, political differences have been muted, holding back our ability to implement our program. The national study guide has helped to cohere the politics of the Boston PFOC, yet a separation remains between the work committees and the organization as a whole (Anti-racism committee has been actively supporting the Black Students at South Boston High School and Black families who continue to be attacked by racists in Boston's neighborhoods; workplace organizing committee is largely composed of hospital workers and provides support and help for each member's work; a small prison committee meets to work on events about prison struggles; women's caucus has met infrequently).

The work on the HTC in Boston has built and deepened the PFOC's relations to the Black and Third World communities, to bases of working class people with whom we had no previous contact, and to the Left in General. But it has not built the PFOC internally, as unified work on a mass program should do. PFOC leadership in Boston has not opened up discussion on the political issues involved in the HTC in the correct way, so some members feel distant from the process of building for the conference, and some do not agree with the strategy of the conference.

In the Philadelphia PFOC, "easy agreement" is a problem—members agree with the strategy and priorities set forth at the July conference and the NC meetings, but don't discuss these things fully enough to be able to implement plans creatively rather than mechanically. The Philadelphia PFOC hasn't grown at all in size since July, despite the fact that the mass organizations that PFOC works in have grown a lot (Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, Native American Solidarity Committee, HTC coalition). There is a workplace organizing committee beginning, made up of hospital workers in the PFOC. Although there is agreement with the goal of building a communist party to lead the revolutionary struggle, there is not an understanding of the role of communist organization NOW to lead toward the formation of a party. As a result, the connection between mass organization and communist organization is not grasped. A major problem in Philadelphia is the lack of full-time organizational workers.

In the Vermont PFOC, work on the HTC has opened the doors to drawing together a group of people from all over the state who want to organize in the rural setting of Vermont. The Vermont PFOC feels the lack of a strategy for rural organizing to draw on. As our only rural chapter, it needs to bring the overall PFOC strategy down to the concrete realities of life in Vermont. The study has been useful in addressing the lack of political experience in the committee as a whole. HTC work has brought PFOC members into contact with people in other parts of the state who are interested in the PFOC. The HTC work in Vermont will help us to assess a strategy for Vermont, and whether we are organizationally strong enough at this point to help build the Vermont Chapter.

In New York, the PFOC has actively organized for the HTC, holding forums and a demo for various constituencies affected by the economic crisis. Yet members fell dissatisfied with the participation in formulating and evaluating the strategy. Some members felt they have been implementing the strategy rather than engaging in the political struggles at each point over issues like what a campaign should be, who should be brought to the HTC, etc.

Major inroads into base-building in New York have been made in PFOC work in four city college campuses (where struggles are going on by working class student bodies against the cutbacks in a mass organization of Workers and Parents United for Daycare (which has a PFOC member on its board), in a

coalition of hospital worker, and in the New York women's movement (especially among YWCA women). The prison committee is initiating a strategy for activating prisoners in the building of a hard times strategy. There is also a workplace organizing committee in New York, a womens caucus and an Education and Propaganda committee.

Through the wide-spread and active work for the HTC in New York, including organizing around local issues, the PFOC has the potential to grow into strategic bases; a recruitment strategy is being worked out that will be circulated among the entire organization.

In every committee, our failure to carry the full political struggle over the HTC strategy into the PFOC has produced a criticism that our leadership has been pulled *out* of PFOC work *into* HTC work. This formulation is incorrect, since it draws a false distinction between the PFOC and the HTC, which is our program for this period for building the class struggle. Organizationally, our work committees and the process of building a base in working class struggles through the work of these committees is the means for putting into practice the Hard Times program. If we formulate our organizational strategy for this period in this way, the relationship between the PFOC as an organization of revolutionaries and the HTC as a mass program can be developed more clearly and more effectively. Thus the criticism of our practice in the last few months is more correctly stated as a failure to establish the unity between our organization-building and our program of the HTC.

Another problem that has arisen in many committees is a gap between the work and concerns of the work committees and the overall work of building the PFOC as an organization. This problem has two aspects: one side is the failure of the leadership to argue well for organization priorities, and to raise the organizational questions among the membership in time for full discussion to proceed decision-making. The other side is the resistance of the membership to taking on more responsibility for the building of the organization, a resistance which takes the form of the argument that taking work committee time to discuss organizational questions (like GROUNDSWELL or National Committee reports) "takes away" from time which should be spent on the work of the particular committee. Both these errors militate against the building of democracy within the organization. We must correct both aspects in order to move our organization forward towards healthy and effective communist organization.

The NC takes responsibility for many of these criticisms. We have not, for example, built an internal communications network to facilitate full political discussion or organizational issues like GROUNDSWELL and the development of the workpiece organizing committees. We did not produce the political statement draft on schedule, thus inhibiting the development of our political line. We have not successfully developed a strategy for building the leadership of other members of the PFOC. Finally, a general criticism of the entire organization is that no examples stand out of our practice in building the militancy of the class struggle over this last period of time.

These are serious criticisms, and we must lay the basis for the healthy resolution of our problems. At the same time, the PFOC, through the HTC work, has built relationships with strategic forces in the class struggle and national liberation struggles. The principled relationships we are building with Black and other Third World groups, grass roots organizers, and union organizers, will help us in developing our class analysis and in situating organization in working class struggles. These relationships also provide a basis for building unity among communist forces in the country, moving us closer to the time when the PFOC will join with other communist organizations to build a deeper and broader communist movement. For the immediate future we have received work from groups of working class organizers in several parts of the country—including Syracuse, Buffalo and Los Angeles—that they want us to travel to those cities to work with them and help them to build PFOC chapters.

We spent the entire day Saturday discussing the Hard Times Conference. What is the nature of the HTC work at this point, in relation to building the PFOC? How has the HTC work helped our attempts to develop a full class analysis of the US and to develop a base in the working class?

At this moment, the HTC offers more than the potential for creating a massive, multinational campaign based in the working class. The work on the HTC has built a strong, growing coalition of forces fighting the hard times, a coalition based in common practice and political struggle, and capable of mobilizing

masses of people in a responsible program for working class struggle. The HTC represents a coalition of community and grass roots organizations, an increasing number of labor organizers, and some of the leading revolutionary organizations in the country. Through the building of this people's coalition, we have come to understand better the nature of the working class struggle in the U.S. as well as the potential for the growth of this struggle. The response to the Conference is still growing from every corner of the country.

At the July PFOC Conference, we had a minimal understanding of a HTC strategy—times are hard, we must be active in the class struggle, there is a need for unity and for an end to isolation. At the same time, we were starting to study Marxism-Leninism, and attempting to make a class analysis of the U.S. We knew that by ourselves we didn't have the base or the forces to develop such an analysis correctly. But, if we could link up with other forces, together we could develop a program to fight the hard times. The key here is our attempt to develop our political line through practice as well as theory. The process of "from the people to the people" this is a different approach than the one suggested in the letter from the Bay Area Steering Committee, which states, "Without a revolutionary line for ourselves we can't develop a revolutionary line for the masses."

What has happened since July? A National Board was formed that represented the breadth of the people's struggles in the U.S. That Board met, and from their practice various bases of people, formulated a set of demands that reflects the full nature of the economic crisis in the U.S.—depression (unemployment-jobs demand), inflation (roll back prices demand), and social services cutbacks. Then these demands were taken out to people in struggle and People's organizations everywhere. Over a period of several months they have been filled out and focussed into the Bill of Rights. The Bill itself will be worked over at the HTC. The end product will be a program to fight the economic crisis. The danger we have faced in this process is to bow to spontaneity—we have learned over and over the necessity of giving strong leadership to the process. And we have avoided the other error of developing an abstract program removed from the real demands and needs of the people.

Why does the PFOC need a mass, intermediate program? Should the Bill of Rights be our intermediate program for the economic crisis?

An intermediate program is a means for building the class-conscious working class movement at a stage prior to the seizure of power by the working class. Such a program is "intermediate" in relation to a long-term program for revolution. Such a program arises from an analysis of the conditions within the working class and the conditions under which we live in a given period of time. An intermediate program is designed to heighten the level of consciousness in the working class as a step in building the revolutionary movement. This is the job of communists in every period. We must be able to hold out the vision of socialism, but we must also be able to help build a fighting movement for more immediate gains—and it is in the course of fighting for these gains that we offer the vision of a final solution.

What are the current conditions of life for the working class in the U.S.; what are the conditions of consciousness within the working class?

The crisis of imperialism is causing the increased emiseration of the entire working class in the U.S., and it is hitting white workers more heavily and more widely than ever before. At the same time, the crisis hits Black and other Third World people in the U.S. hardest. And racist attacks hit Black and other Third World people across class lines, while the gap in the standard of living widens between Black and Third World people and white people.

Class consciousness—the consciousness that the working class must and can seize control of the means of producing the society's wealth—necessitates solidarity within the working class, the consciousness of a class that is broader than on workplace or neighborhood or industry or race. In the US working class, racism among white worker is the key obstacle to this solidarity—historically, it has been racism that has prevented a united class struggle from being built. International proletarian consciousness is another aspect of true class consciousness, and again it is the national chauvinism of US workers that is the major obstacle to overcome—a chauvinism that would differentiate between the interests of the US workers and our sisters and brothers in Viet Nam and Puerto Rico. A demand for an end to imperialist war is a class conscious demand.

Our intermediate program must be designed to confront these obstacles as well as those of sexism and defeatism. An intermediate program must build a

powerful and united working class movement that can go beyond the intermediate goals and demands for survival, a movement capable of fighting for power. This is where the difference between a reformist and a revolutionary demand becomes clear: a demand for an immediate change can build the revolutionary movement if it builds the organization, militancy, and solidarity within the working class, if it builds a movement that does not stop with the winning of a few immediate goals.

These issues should be debated in every PFOC chapter over the next month, leading up to the Hard Times Conference. We should examine the draft Bill of Rights—does it help us to build the kind of working class movement we want to build? Does it analyze and confront racism correctly? Is it strongly anti-sexist? Every PFOC chapter and work committee should examine and rework the Bill of Rights so that it can be our intermediate program for the economic crisis.

The view of the Bill of Rights we are putting forward is different from the view expressed in the Bay Area steering committee letter. We are suggesting that the point is not to differentiate our line and our organization from the HTC program, but to struggle to make that program as effective as possible in building the class struggle. Within this, we are also building an organization with a maximum program—a program for full revolution. This should be reflected and offered to people through our newsletter and the opportunity for more and more people in struggle to join the PFOC. The main danger we face as an organization is not the danger of compromise, of watering down our politics in the interest of unity, but rather the danger of failing to build a strong base in the working class for our politics. The development of the Bill of Rights as a program—an analysis and set of demands capable of mobilizing a working class base—along with the growth of our workplace organizing committees and other base organizing committees will put our organization in a stronger position to organize a base for revolution. That is our goal.

In addition to the discussions on the Bill of Rights, each PFOC should discuss who we are bringing to the HTC, how we are going to present our organization to the people we talk to at the conference (Groundswell will be an important tool in this), and how we can participate in making the HTC a massive, militant, angry gathering of people in struggle, a gathering with historical importance. Are we bringing people to the conference who represent the key struggles in each region? Has our practice in building for the HTC anti-racist? What racist errors have we committed? What campaigns do we want to see created to implement the demands in the Bill of Rights? Let's get ready!

The WOMEN'S CAUCUS at the NC meeting based our discussion on the agreement that part of our mass strategy is the building of a working class women's movement, and working class women's organizations. This is a goal we must be involved in working out and discussing both within the PFOC and with many other women. Some of the questions we raised in the women's caucus meeting were, is it idealist to think that women's organizations that cross class lines can be built before a stronger base is built specifically among working class women? Should we take on the issue of the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), mobilizing support for the ERA among the most oppressed sectors of women?

The HTC is a step towards the development of a working class women's movement. The conference must address the issues that directly affect women's lives—sexist institutions as well as economic oppression. We agreed to two methods of insuring that the HTC addresses these issues. One is to have a women's caucus at the conference. In our criticisms of the errors the women's movement of the past ten years has made, we should never throw out the strengths of the movement, or forget the need for separate women's organizations and meetings. On the other hand, if we do not recognize that there are historical reasons, based on the past errors of the women's movement, why poor and Third World women might hesitate to attend a women's caucus meeting, we will be perpetuating these same errors. Therefore, the caucus meeting must be planned carefully and prepared for by a letter to all the women who will be participating in the HTC. The caucus itself should consider the Bill of Rights—does it reflect the real needs and demands of women in the hard times? Does it provide a program for organizing a militant women's movement? One idea for a campaign to come out of the HTC is for a national mobilizing focus on March 8, International Women's Day. This idea could also be discussed at a women's caucus at the HTC. A powerful March 8 mobilization could be a concrete step in building a working class women's movement.

The other plan we formulated is to prepare a draft of a separate article on women in the Bill of Rights. We did not reach agreement on whether a separate article on the oppression of women is necessary—we considered the possibility that a strong statement on women's oppression could appear throughout the various articles in the Bill. The draft of a separate article will provide a basis for determining what is the best way to strengthen the Bill's treatment of women. The draft article should be ready soon to be circulated among the PFOC women's caucuses; also the New York women's caucus is planning to write an economic analysis of women's oppression in the hard times, to bring to the conference.

At the last NC meeting, we agreed to set up a women's commission of the PFOC to oversee the participation and development of women's leadership in the organization, as well as to raise questions for discussion of our analysis of women's oppression, including gay oppression, and to suggest steps towards the building of a working class women's movement. The criticism for the failure of the commission to get going falls partly on the individual NC members responsible for initiating it, and partly on the weakness of our strategy for building the commission. For instance, the plan for the commission should have included a plan for developing women's participation in the HTC—reaching out to women in every region who are hardest hit by the hard times, and ensuring that the HTC program be strongly anti-sexist and pro women.

Liz Horowitz (Boston), Diana Block (Bay Area), and Silvia Baraldini (NY), are the members responsible for building the women's commission. Eve Rosahn from NY is also working on it, and one or two women from each region should take on this task also. We felt that the issues of the women's commission, and the various questions it involves, should be taken up by the entire PFOC, not just the women's caucuses. At the next NC meeting, we plan to take these questions up within the entire NC, *as well as* in the women's caucus meeting.

* * * * *

Where Saturday's discussions focussed on the minimum, or intermediate program of our organization, the Hard Times Conference, Sunday's discussions focussed on the political unity and organizational strength we need in order to successfully implement our programs. The breakthrough on Saturday was in our understanding of the role of intermediate demands and intermediate program in building the PFOC towards communist organization; on Sunday we grappled with the building of our maximum program and the organizational growth necessary to put our line into practice.

The organizational tools for the growth and consolidation of the PFOC are internal communications, the development of a political statement, and the development of our organizational voice, GROUNDSWELL.

Internal communications have been requested by members everywhere. The National Committee reports should be one form of internal communication, and the reports should be discussed and responded to. In addition, we want to circulate short reports from each chapter once a month—what work are the committees doing, and what are the main political struggles going on in each chapter. NC members in each chapter will make sure that a short report is sent to Laura Whitehorn (212 Brookline Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139) by the third week in every month, for circulation throughout the PFOC. Eventually, this will evolve into an internal newsletter.

The draft of the political statement is ready to be sent out. Each chapter should make a plan for the study and rewriting of the draft, including supplementary reading lists to lay the basis for full understanding and discussion of the statement. The process of struggle over the statement should raise the level of political understanding throughout the organization, as well as producing the best possible political statement for our organization. Responses and changes and additions should be sent to the Boston NC members, c/o Laura Whitehorn, to be circulated through the organization. Responses should try to include the analytical basis for the changes suggested, in order to provoke full struggle and a deep understanding. By the next NC meeting, we want to be ready to produce a second draft of the statement (beginning of April), which would then be further circulated and reworked. A final draft should be ready for ratification at our next national conference (summer or fall). It will be a great step forward for the PFOC to engage in the process of full struggle over a program for revolution, and then to have a political statement that has been studied, written, and ratified by the entire membership. We also want to take the statement as

it is being reworked to other comrades outside the PFOC—to use it as a tool for engaging in struggle with and learning from other comrades.

GROUNDSWELL was a topic of much struggle among us at the NC meeting. We all agreed that we need a piece of propaganda putting forth our full political perspective and explaining what the PFOC is to take to the Hard Times Conference. But whether this piece of literature should be the first issue of our newspaper was the subject of much debate. Are we ready to produce a paper that reflects our politics, before we have developed a full political statement? Can we begin to reach out on such a broad scale before we have solidified our organization internally? As a young organization, in the beginning stages of developing a base, can we report on mass struggles around the country and offer the PFOC as a organization for others to join? Are we capable of putting out a newspaper that will involve more than a handful of PFOC members in the process?

The resolution of these questions involves an agreement on a bold strategy for the growth of the PFOC and the development of our political line, as well as on the importance of a healthy process in the organization for putting out the newspaper.

To develop a correct political line, based in the concrete and varied conditions of life throughout the US, we must put the emphasis on the aspect of struggle in the contradiction between unity and struggle. Full, open political struggle, exchanging ideas and working out differences, must go on among all PFOC members. The political statement will provide one tool for such struggle; the point of view expressed in the news articles and organizational columns of GROUND-SWELL will provide another. Moreover, the newspaper will present our views to people outside the PFOC—to the people in our workplaces and other bases, and to the people in the mass and cadre organizations we work with. So the newspaper will push us to carry on the political struggle beyond the PFOC membership. This outward push will prove decisive in our ability to develop a correct analysis of conditions in the US and of a strategy for revolution. What is involved here is a strategy for developing our political line in practice with bases of people beyond our own organization. The newspaper will be a tool for gathering feedback on the positions we develop. Does our view of racist attacks in Boston make sense to Black teachers in San Francisco? Do our arguments against racism win over white workers in a hospital in Philadelphia? These things will help us to understand and develop the analysis of racism underlying the articles in GROUND-SWELL, and help us to develop a political analysis that will stand up to the test of practice.

GROUNDSWELL, by building from local stories and local work into a newspaper with a national perspective, will push us to ground our political analysis in the concrete conditions of life in each part of the US, while at the same time pushing us to generalize from local conditions moving from the particular to the general, militating against subjectivity.

An organizational newspaper will be a tool for growth of the PFOC. It will offer our growing organization as a form for others to join. It will help us to recruit strategically, from working class bases. To grow in this way at the same time that we are developing our political line means that the PFOC can become the organization of a broader sector of revolutionaries than it is now, and that the line we develop will be developed by a broader sector.

To bring this potential to life, we need full participation among PFOC members in creating and distributing the paper. In the next month, we will circulate a paper putting forth a full conception of the newspaper—a step beyond the three-page progress report sent out last month. Every chapter should consider and deepen the approach that will be set out, offering ideas and advice, and evaluating the first issue, which will appear before the Hard Times Conference. We plan to have the second issue of the newspaper appear on April 1, two months after the HTC, in order to give ourselves enough time to develop a staff in the various regions, and to develop the conception and plan for the paper. Silvia Baraldini is editor; since she has to go away on family business for the month of January, Alan Berkman and Laura Whitehorn have responsibility for the first issue and for developing the conception and the staff. (Any ideas for a different, more serious name than GROUND-SWELL should be telephoned to Alan or Laura immediately . . .)

The dialectical relationship between the growth of the PFOC and the development of our political line was a theme running through the NC meeting. The more

we can grow into strategic bases, the deeper will be our political line. The question of growth moves to center stage as we approach the Hard Times Conference, for the work on the HTC has brought us into contact with more working class people or organizers, and made the PFOC known more widely, than anything else in our organization's history. Up till now, our growth has been somewhat spontaneous, depending largely on chance—a group of people organizing in a part of the country hears of the PFOC and contacts us. Soon, hopefully, we will also be in a position to go out and recruit groups of organizers to form chapters in strategic areas, as well as to recruit from the working class bases we are situated in.

The addition of the Columbus chapter to the PFOC is a strategic one, both because it brings us into a Midwest city which is a growing commercial center with a large Third World population, and because the eleven people who constitute the PFOC in Columbus are active organizers with a community and workplace base.

Some of the people in the Columbus chapter attended the July PFOC conference in Boston, and soon after they pulled together a committee of people who had not previously worked together. They began by trying to implement some of the programs passed at the conference, but after a while they felt the group was getting weaker because they were trying to do too many things, and they reorganized themselves into a distributing committee. Their work consisted of distributing Prairie Fire and Osawatomie to bookstores and prisons, organizing study groups, and working on the Hard Times Conference. In November, two National Committee members visited Columbus for two days, and opened up discussions about the Columbus chapter joining the national organization. We felt that the work of the members of the Columbus committee—work which includes organizing in the Communications Workers of America union locals, putting out a community newspaper, working in community food co-ops and tenants unions, and in the National Lawyers' Guild, and actively supporting the Ganienkeh struggle and the Puerto Rican independence movement—is both a strong contribution to the work of the PFOC nationally, and can be deepened and made more effective by the building of collectives and linking up with the national organization.

The struggles that must take place in the Columbus chapter—struggle over building towards communist organization, forming a workplace organizing committee, and formulating political line—are the same struggles that must go on in the entire organization. By bringing the Columbus PFOC into the national organization, we can help to provide a basis for carrying on these struggles. We welcome the Columbus chapter as an important new chapter of our organization.

The process of deciding to bring the Columbus PFOC into the national organization pointed up the need for us to develop a fuller policy for admitting new chapters. We want to be flexible and have political rather than mechanical or formalistic criteria for admitting chapters, and we don't want to create criteria for new chapters that are not met by existing chapters. On the other hand, we don't want to be overly loose.

The next period will be one of great potential for growth and recruitment into the PFOC, largely due to the Hard Times Conference. This means that strategy for recruitment and growth has to be planned. At this point in the development of the PFOC, expansion is important, so we should strive for flexibility and openness.

Already we have received requests to travel to several places to help form PFOC chapters. And the HTC work has begun to open up some exciting possibilities for future mergers with other communist groups. The most exciting and challenging relationships for us to pursue are those with Black and other Third World groups with whom we should be having ongoing discussions about the strategy for building toward multinational communist organization. We also want to develop a uniform recruitment strategy, focussing especially on recruiting from the working class bases in which we are organizing—this will be a way to transform the class nature of our organization; it is also a way to organize for our maximum program in the context of organizing for intermediate demands.

The Chicago PFOC is not ready to join the organization. The main problems this group faces are the lack of collective practice and a shaky commitment among the members to building a national organization. Through the work of building for the HTC in Chicago, we will be better able to formulate a strategy for building a chapter in Chicago, as well as to help the members of the PFOC

there. For the same reasons that we want to have the HTC in Chicago, we also want to have a PFOC chapter there at some point. It was very helpful to us to have a representative from the Chicago group at the National Committee Meeting. Three NC members have relocated themselves temporarily in Chicago to work on the HTC (Susie Waysdorf, Shelley Miller, Russell Neufeld), and they will continue to work with the Chicago PFOC.

There will be full discussions on security and finances in every chapter, in order to build a secure and financially solvent organization. We agreed that the dues structure we have now is more typical of a mass than a cadre organization, and that we would like to change the dues structure to a proportional one, where members give a percentage of their monthly income as dues, instead of the small, across-the-board rate we have now. The immature level of our financial arrangements is untenable for the work we want to take on. Finances will be centralized, with Diana Block (Bay Area) as Financial Secretary.

The next NC meeting is tentatively scheduled for the day after the HTC in Chicago—a meeting to evaluate the conference and to plan for the implementation of the HTC program. We want the PFOC local HTC coordinator to be present at the meeting, both to help evaluate the impact of the conference on the PFOC, and to recognize the contributions their work has made.

The next full meeting (NC), will be sometime early in April. At that meeting we will be planning the time for the next national PFOC conference. We want to be well prepared as an organization for that next conference.

NATIONAL HARD TIMES CONFERENCE—AGENDA

SATURDAY

9:00-10:15 a.m.—Plenary session, Illinois Room.

Jennifer Dohrn, a member of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and a Board member of the Hard Times Conference, will give a welcoming address and explain the goals of the Conference. The next three speakers, Kathy Dorsey, Pedro Grant and Pete Kelley, will provide a context for the work of the Conference from the perspective of some of the leading struggles in the current crisis: 10:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m.—Workshops—First session. (see separate handout for room assignments)

1:00-2:30 p.m.—Lunch time available for Caucuses to meet.

2:30-4:30 p.m.—Workshops—Second session.

4:30-6:30 p.m.—Plenary session, Illinois Room.

Two speakers will address this session: Vernon Bellecourt, National Coordinator of the American Indian Movement and Wilbur Haddock, Director of the United Black Workers.

The second part of this session will debate and ratify the Preamble to the Bill of Rights:

6:30-8:30 p.m.—Dinner.

8:30-11:00 p.m.—Cultural Program, Illinois Room.

SUNDAY

8:30-10:00 a.m.—Workshops—Third session.

1. Labor Sessions to begin by meeting separately, then to come together during the last part of this session.

2. Health, Drugs, and Anti-Sterilization will meet separately.

3. International Solidarity will meet as a whole during this session.

4. Other areas meet as before:

10:00-1:30—Plenary session, Illinois Room.

1:30-2:30—Lunch.

2:30-5:00 p.m.—Closing plenary session.

LOCATION OF SATURDAY WORKSHOPS (1ST AND 2ND SESSION)

Welfare—Cafeteria No. 1—Panelists: Rosa Negron, Major Owens.

Anti-Repression—Cafeteria No. 1—Panelists: Michael Deutsch, Truman Nelson, Alberto Marez, Winslow Peck.

Tenants—Cafeteria No. 2—Panelists: Arnold Townsend, David Duboff.

Anti-Racist organizing—(busing)—Cafeteria No. 2—Panelists: Nancy Ryan, Fred Hobby, Jane Kaatz.

- Chile—Room 329—Panelists: Bobbye Ortiz, Kevin Duncan.
- Health Care; Drugs; Anti-sterilization—Room 322—Panelists: Shiela Gruchala, Rob Brinkman, Panama, Ellen Afterman, Vicki Wheeler, Rosa Alvarez.
- The Fight against inflation—Room 323—Panelists: Claudette Furlonge, Fred Stover.
- Daycare—Room 324—Panelists: Sylvia Warren, Danny Alpert, Nick Sanchez, Louie Sweeney.
- Education—Room 324—Panelists: Eugene Clancy, Annie Stein, Georgiaa Hoggard.
- Military—Room 509—Panelists: Jerry Condon, George Simpson.
- Cultural Workers—Room 510—Panelists: Bev Grant, Betty Garcia, Bernice Reagan, Rev. Kirkpatrick.
- The prison struggle—Room 605—Panelists: Tom Sooto, David Saxner, Brooks Whiting, Akil Mafundi, Willie Tate.
- Struggle of the elderly—Room 613—Panelists: Ted Dostal, Ruth Dear.
- Students—Room C-1—Panelists: Miguel Alvarez, Charles Isaacs.
- Unemployed struggle—Room C-3—Panelists: Jim Haughton, Leo Fletcher, Evelyn Weiner.
- Unions—Room C-4—Panelists: Kathy Dorsey, Deb Dunfield, George Bowens, Pete Kelley.
- Organizing the Unorganized—Room C-6—Panelists: Susan Klug, Tom Gardner, Joel Myron, Juan Irizarry.
- Undocumented Workers—Room B-1—Panelists: Rudolfo Lasano, Enrique Flores.
- Indochina—Room D-2—Panelists: Vu Ngoc Con, Sokhom Hing, Cora Weiss, Donna Futterman, Antonio Villara.
- Angola—Room D-4—Panelists: Nick De Freitas, Prexy Nesbit, Irving Davis, Mohammed Kenyatta.
- Puerto Rico—Room D-5—Panelists: Olga Sanabrla, Jose Lopez, Julie Nichamin.
- Native Americans—Room E-1—Panelists: Ann Durham, Ellen Moves Camp, Robert Mendoza, Melinda Rorick, David Tilsen, Jed Proujansky.



SOME DOCUMENTS ON JULY 4TH COALITION AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

July 4th Coalition

P.O. Box 998, Peter Stuyvesant Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10009
Tel. [212] 673-1776



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Arthur K. Inoy, Mass Party Organizing Committee
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Antonio Rodriguez, Center for Autonomous Social Action (CASA)
Helen Rodriguez, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse
Yella Ryan, Palestine Solidarity Committee
Shabazz, Youth Against War and Fascism, Phil Sparrowe, Vancaremos Brigades
Forestry, Monthly Review
Van Dell, District 65, Distributive Workers of Ice, Boston, Mass.
Wesley, American Federation of Teachers
T. Corn
ed, Dominican Republic Task Force
Ukrain Peoples Socialist Party
Theodore, Ecumenical Program for Communication and Action
andampment
st, People's Party

used for identification purposes only

April 27, 1976

Dear Hard Times Participant,

This July 4, the U.S. government is planning a celebration in Philadelphia, at our expense, featuring Gerald Ford and the Queen of England.

It is staging this action in the midst of a hard-hitting crisis that has affected the majority of people in this country...a crisis to which it has offered no solutions except further attacks on all of us.

But the government will not be in Philadelphia this year to offer solutions. Instead, it will try to make one thing clear: that its policies express the will of the people.

The slashing cutbacks and lay-offs, the S-1 Bill, the resurgence of racist violence, the movement against the rights of women, U.S. intervention around the world -- all this, it will attempt to make the world believe, has our full acceptance.

We will be there, tens of thousands of us, to show that the U.S. government does not have the people behind it. To raise our demands nationally for jobs, for equality, independence, freedom and peace. To give life to our history and demonstrate our unity in common struggle.

We're calling upon you, who came from all over the country to the Hard Times Conference, to make your endorsement of a people's July 4 concrete, and join with us in building a mobilization that will take national action now.

Call or write us immediately if you can distribute literature, posters, buttons; form a mobilizing committee in your school, workplace or community; help build a city-wide mobilizing coalition (we can put you in touch with coalitions in 30 major cities); contribute money or organize a support committee to raise funds for this crucial action.

All Out to Philadelphia!

Alfredo Lopez
Alfredo Lopez
National Coordinator

July 4th Coalition

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All Out To Philadelphia

Alfredo Lopez
Alfredo Lopez
National Coordinator

July 4th Coordinator's Report:

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 Telephone: (212) 673-1776

What impresses one most about the demonstration, and its relation to people organizing in this country, is its growing urgency.

People in every city we've visited agree with and support the national program but discussions often begin "but how do we go to people with it and what makes this demonstration more than a glueing together of a number of 'single issue' actions we've had in the past?"

The question they are asking is simply: "What is our focus?" Our focus, as we view it now, can be defined in two statements:

1. We are answering attacks being made against us in a coordinated fashion, on a national level. These attacks are both economic and political. They are aimed at crushing the progressive movement in this country, at eliminating any real opposition to the government's disastrous policies at home and abroad.

We are taking advantage of those attacks to build a national movement to overcome the localism and parochialism which are our greatest weaknesses.

THE ATTACKS

Unemployment and inflation are, of course, attacks. So is the continuation of a military budget syndrome, etc. But these attacks are made possible by other kinds of more direct attacks designed to weaken or even break the people's movement in this country.

Three major examples come to mind:

1. The racist attacks in Boston, where the unprecedented ugliness of a Black man's face being pushed in with an American flag acts as a symbol of a growing racist movement; the emergence of three different groups of the Ku Klux Klan, which the Federal government recently called "the fastest growing organization in the country," and the emergence of the American Nazi Party which has been implicated in various racist attacks on the Minneapolis Black community.

What is important to see is that a racist attack is the first step of a fascist attack. As Black activists have told me so many times: "first they get the 'niggers' and then they go after the 'nigger' lovers."

2. The attacks on the Equal Rights Amendment and the abortion laws are clear attempts to weaken the women's movement. Add to this the stubborn refusal to deal with the question of massive sterilization of women. All of these trends must be seen as attacks on the women's movement.

3. The trend toward police statism with S.1 and other repressive legislation and the attacks on unions (union busting).

We have presented this picture to people all over the country and we have put it in simple terms: there is one analysis which says the crisis of all our major cities is an isolated phenomenon, that the economy always goes up

and down and that union busting and racism are merely a natural reaction to this crisis.

But isn't that analysis kind of naive? Can we really believe, can we afford to believe that there is not a nationally coordinated attack to cripple the people's movement and to make possible economic and social attacks (like unemployment) on the people of this country?

And since the system is international in scope, the plan also is international. This is the importance of Puerto Rico, a strategic stronghold of U.S. imperialism, its major base in this hemisphere. This is the importance of colonialism as a whole. This is the importance of taking on the imperialist policies of the U.S. throughout the world.

This is, without exaggeration, a life and death necessity for struggling movements in this country.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

What's the problem on our side? It is simply that we are not ready to take the government on in these attacks. We are localized, in many cases demoralized. But we are struggling. We are struggling around important local issues: jobs, housing, social services, and so many other things that affect our daily lives.

July Fourth gives us the opportunity to place in national and international context many of those struggles. It gives us the opportunity to talk face to face with people in our local areas about the importance of building something national. It gives us the opportunity to intensify our local organizing by raising the level of struggle from the local to the national level.

A national movement gives people a greater possibility of winning. We are a part of something which is having national impact, not isolated. We can each learn from struggles in other cities and be energized by each other's victories.

A key question is this: imagine if we allowed the government to put on its demonstration on the Fourth, trying to unify the people around its politics without us doing something around our own message? And imagine if there were hundreds of thousands of people from your own city coming back to that city after a strong national demonstration around such a wide program? How would this affect your local organizing?

What we learned on our recent trip was this: that national organizing is impossible unless it is locally based; the dichotomy is simply non-existent but local organizing becomes infinitely more effective when it has a national focus.

July Fourth is a demonstration toward building a strong unified anti-imperialist movement. It is not a demonstration around a static list of demands. It is a call to Unity around what affects each of us deeply in our daily lives at a moment when only that unity can move us forward.

ALL OUT TO PHILADELPHIA IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS, EQUALITY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, PEACE

NATIONAL WORK PLAN

Goal for whole campaign: the mobilization of at least 60,000 people to Philadelphia on July 4.

Concept: We wish to do two things on July 4 in Philadelphia, both geared to the concept that this is a battle of ideas between the progressive movement and the government of the United States.

The government is claiming that the bicentennial is a celebration of the great things it has done and of the great individuals who have led the government. It is an analysis absent of any popular content, of any historical vision; it is not true.

Our analysis concentrates not on dates, nor individuals, nor, for that matter, the government. It concentrates on the people who have lived and fought in this country--who have built this country and who have been robbed, over hundreds of years, of the benefits of their work. Ours is a history of struggle.

The government would like to represent unity behind its policies in the bicentennial celebration.

In our action we want to show unity in struggle.

So, while the government will feature Gerald Ford, the Pope and the Queen of England, followed by a march of the states and a giant carnival in Philadelphia, we will do what we have to.

Our march will also be a march of the various geographical sectors of this country, contingent by contingent, with banners identifying them and, when possible, with some type of impressive production--perhaps a float, small marching band...whatever.

The march could also contain specific contingents from specific organizations and should be led by the large contingent which we hope will be mobilized by the American Indian Movement.

It will end with a rally...but not with Ford...with the true leaders of the people of this country, the leaders of their struggles. There will also be a lot of cultural activities--the ratio should be two speakers to each cultural presentation.

We must emphasize two things in order to make this a success:

1. The absolute necessity of concentrating on the development of coalition work, or local organizing and of mobilizing from those areas.

2. The importance of mobilizing by numbers, by lists, scientifically. We must, in fact, talk to and commit face-to-face.

2/NATIONAL WORK PLAN

60,000 people. We cannot rely on mass leafletting and hope that the thing works out. There are simply too many factors which are in the balance..

Work plan by month

April--consolidation of coalitions

1. The organizing focus
 - a. A tour by the National coordinator of all established coalitions and coalitions in formation to discuss this plan and concentrate on coalition-tightening and work methods.
 - b. A later tour by National board members to major coalitions for a round of build-up activities, press conferences and work with people for out-reach.
 - c. Beginning of mass ticket sales. These tickets, technically for transportation, are methods of talking to and committing people to the action. Although we have not established a price, we believe it should be merely symbolic. The local coalitions can charge a higher price and use the money to help with transportation.

It would be a political mistake to view the tickets as a transportation fundraiser, however. These are ways of putting together physical lists, names and addresses, of people who are going to Philadelphia, of committing those people and giving follow-up.
2. Logistics. This month is the time to reserve transportation, based on the mobilization goal. It is essential that this be done immediately.
3. Publicity and literature
 - a. In order to project the final program, with all its slogans, of the action, we will publish an eight-page bilingual newspaper (English-Spanish), to be massively distributed by local coalitions. It should be a free hand-out piece of literature.
 - b. Slide-show--twelve to fifteen copies will be made available for local conference, meetings, talks, etc.
 - c. A button, with a mobilizing call, will be used throughout the campaign.
 - d. It is understood that in April coalitions should also work on street activities, particularly leafletting and even participating in official bicentennial activities throughout the campaign.
 - e. The national office will begin work on a N.Y. Times ad.

3/NATIONAL WORK PLAN

May--the month of massive reach-out

During the first week of May, the National Board will meet to discuss the agenda for the 4th and go over plans and work. It will approve a tentative speakers list.

1. Organizing

- a. Organizers tour--25 to 30 leaders of progressive and left organizations will tour the country attempting to establish new coalitions. They will concentrate mainly on small cities, where perhaps four or five groups of people could get together and mobilize a few busloads of people. We are hoping to establish 40-60 new coalitions from this tour.
- b. The real work of tickets and outreach will continue and build up on the part of local coalitions.
- c. The final logistical questions must be decided by May 15.

2. Literature

- a. A national poster
- b. "Constituency brochures"--these are brochures focused on particular constituencies which would be used to mobilize from those sectors based on their particular interests; e.g., women, Blacks, Mexicans, etc.
- c. A leaflet, which would be done by each coalition, focusing on what it feels are the strongest issues in its locality. This should be massively done and leafletting should be a part of all work from now on.
- d. The New York Times ad should be published by the first week in June.

June--the month of mobilization

There should be a round of build-up activities, an intensification of mass work, and follow-up to those who already have committed.

1. One final tour by the National Board.
2. Another newspaper on the mobilization, with all pertinent details and the agenda for the day.
3. Major coalitions should buy radio spots on progressive and/or mass radio stations, to round out the mobilizing effort.
4. One final press conference, to announce the departure of the delegation from the city.

4/NATIONAL WORK PLAN

5. Banners, floats, and special features should be finally prepared.

ON THE PEOPLE'S FOURTH OF JULY

This will be the greatest educational push of all.

We will publish another newspaper for the event, with history, with the program for the day and political program and a call to continue struggling (in the form of a statement by the National Board).

IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS, EQUALITY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, PEACE

After 200 Years, What Do We Have To Celebrate?

WE ARE UNDER ATTACK!

- 14 million of us thrown out of work while the government and corporations step up their union-busting, a million more injured or killed each year because profits are placed before safety and health
- Cutbacks in hospitals, schools, day care centers and other vital services
- Racist assaults on our Black and Third World communities
- Coordinated campaigns against the Equal Rights Amendments and the right of women to control their own bodies
- Brutal treatment of prisoners under the pretext of "rehabilitation"
- Repressive Supreme Court rulings against Gay people
- FBI/CIA police state tactics aided by Congressional cover-ups and the S-T Bill
- A military budget of \$115 billion that robs us of needed resources and will lead to war if not checked

AND: after 200 years of independence from British colonialism, the U.S. government maintains its unjust rule over the colony of Puerto Rico and intervenes in the lives of other countries around the world. Even within its own borders, the U.S. government oppresses Blacks, Native Americans, Mexicans and other peoples and nationalities

DEMONSTRATE!

For Jobs, Equality, Freedom, Independence, Peace

July 4, 1976 Philadelphia



We are under attack because the government sees us as divided and weak. But tens of thousands of us will march in Philadelphia on July 4th to show that we are outgrowing our divisions; that our many struggles are part of a powerful movement for change in this country and the world; and to show that only a unified response can defeat these attacks.

IN PHILADELPHIA PRESIDENT FORD WILL TRY TO USE THE BICENTENNIAL "CELEBRATION" TO RALLY SUPPORT BEHIND THE DESTRUCTIVE POLICIES OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE BANKS AND CORPORATIONS IT SERVES.

WHAT BETTER TIME AND PLACE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY DO NOT SUPPORT THOSE POLICIES? Join us in a massive rally and Parade of the People—to tell the truth about America, and to take a giant step forward in our common struggle for justice and freedom.

**For a Bicentennial without Colonies—
Freedom for all Oppressed Nations
For full Democracy and Equality
For Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living**

For more information contact the July 4th Coalition in your area.
Philadelphia: 137 S 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa 19106 (Tel 215-923-6763)
New York: P.O. Box 683, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010 (Tel: 212-533-0032)
Washington, DC: 1737 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20009 (Tel: 202-234-1616)
Boston: (Tel 617-268-4940)

July 4 Coalition, P.O. Box 998, Peter Stuyvesant Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10009 (Tel. 212-673-1776)

CELEBRATE THE BUYCENTENNIAL?



GERALD FORD & COMPANY ARE PLANNING A MASSIVE JULY 4TH CELEBRATION IN PHILADELPHIA. THEY ARE EXPECTING A RUBBER STAMP APPROVAL OF THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THESE UNITED STATES. THEY SAY CELEBRATE, WE SAY

DEMONSTRATE! july 4 philadelphia

THE BICENTENNIAL IS A TIME FOR ACTION BY ALL THE PEOPLE AROUND THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN WHOSE INFERIOR WAGES AND UNPAID LABOR IN THE HOME CONTINUE TO PRODUCE ENORMOUS PROFITS FOR THE CORPORATIONS AND WHO CONTINUE TO BE DENIED EQUAL RIGHTS.

AND IT IS A TIME FOR ACTION BY THE MANY MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE WHO REJECT THE RACIST IDEAS THAT ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE THEM FROM THEIR NATURAL AND MOST IMPORTANT ALLIES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE WHO OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT ALL OF US.

IT IS TO ASSERT THE LONG AND HEROIC TRADITION OF OUR PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO ALL FORMS OF TYRANNY, A TRADITION WHICH TODAY TAKES THE FORM OF THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, AGAINST THE EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM'S ECONOMIC CRISIS AND FOR AN END TO COLONIALISM, THAT WE WILL OBSERVE THE BICENTENNIAL IN PHILADELPHIA ON JULY 4, IN PROTEST AND IN CELEBRATION OF OUR UNITY IN STRUGGLE.

COME HEAR A DISCUSSION

OF PLANS FOR JULY 4TH

ALFREDO LOPEZ

national coordinator

july 4th coalition

504 cathedral SAT. MAY 8

FURTHER INFORMATION, TICKETS

8pm

baltimore july 4th coalition

p.o. box 7213 baltimore 21218

[From the Guardian, April 7, 1976]

Defends Indian rights

NASC advances struggle

By **RUSTY CONROY**

The Native American struggle is for the first time being placed on the agenda of the non-Indian left in a systematic, nationally coordinated way.

Non-Indians are mobilizing in the support of Native American political activists in prison or facing trials, such as Dennis Banks, the Oglala 4, Kamook Banks and Joanna Le Deaux; are taking up the defense of Native American land rights and struggles for political power; and are opening broad discussions on the relationship of the Native American struggle to the class struggle and other oppressed nationality struggles in the U.S.

This is the significance of the rapid emergence in the last seven months of the Native American Solidarity Committee (NASC). Though founded only last September, NASC already has chapters in 20 U.S. cities. Many of the chapters are being pressed immediately into urgent defense work, as they are coming into existence at a time when Native Americans are under intensifying attack.

The concept for NASC grew out of the lessons learned in the course of Wounded Knee defense work and the work of certain local Native American support committees since 1973. Although such work served an important function, it suffered from a number of shortcomings: the tendency to restrict itself to one issue, instead of linking individual cases in an overall fight against the whole system that attacks Indians; the tendency toward duplication of effort and lack of communication, in the face of government and corporate attacks that are devastatingly coordinated on a national scale; and the lack of an organizational framework within which could be carried on the kind of broad discussion and struggle over political questions that is necessary to form principled unity. In addition, the work from 1973-75 continued to suffer somewhat from some of the same patterns that have traditionally beset whites seeking to aid Indians: the paternalism and charity syndrome that has tended to persist so long as work is conceived primarily as an act of support rather than of mutually beneficial solidarity.

SOLIDARITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The word "solidarity" was, therefore, deliberately chosen at the time of the founding of the Native American Solidarity Committee to reflect the new political context within which work was to be taken up.

NASC National Interim Committee members Ann Gael and Jed Projansky explained in a March 29 interview with the Guardian that the concept of "solidarity" between the non-Indian masses and

the Native American people has a firm, objective historical basis. Indians always made a distinction even as their continent was being invaded by non-Indians between the white ruling class that was directing the pillage of Indian lands and white working people, whom Indians always aided in obtaining the wherewithal to make a living, Gael explained. And even now, she continued, it is not individual white settlers on Indian land that are the target. Indian people treat these individuals with respect as fellow human beings, more so than does the U.S. government. It is from the big banks and corporations and the government that the Indians want to take their land back. And it is this same ruling elite that steals from the non-Indian masses, she pointed out.

Hence the "solidarity" NASC is working to build is the non-Indian masses taking up the defense of Indian people's struggles—not out of some kind of moral burden but out of an understanding that this is the "same struggle, many fronts."

The primary principle of unity of NASC is, "We support all the struggles of Native American people for self-determination, independence and sovereignty." This principle, like all NASC policies, was arrived at in close consultation with Native American political leaders from the American Indian Movement (AIM) and other groups. The principle was chosen, Proujansky explained, because "we want to convey that we defend the right of Indians to decide for themselves" what to do with their land and what political status they desire. He distinguished this approach from one that might specify some formula for "how independent" Indians should ultimately be or how they should relate to non-Indians both within and outside their land. He expressed confidence that Native Americans "are not trying to go back to 1870" and will deal humanely and intelligently with the question of the best form for their self-determination and the treatment of non-Indians on Indian land. He pointed out that there was every indication that land-use planned by the Indian people would be much more beneficial to all, Indian and non-Indian than the current devastation of such sacred Indian areas as the Black Hills of South Dakota by the government and the monopolies.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

One of the major areas of work of the fledgling NASC chapters is around the defense of the many Native American activists who are on trial or in prison. In particular, NASC is building for the defense of four Indians—Leonard Peltier, James Eagle, Robert Robideau and Dino Butler—being charged with the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge, S.D., reservation last June. The agents were part of the notorious 150-man occupation army that has terrorized the reservation population for two years. The government's case against the four is full of contradictions. It appears that the only reason they were targeted was their past history of activism with AIM.

The trial is scheduled to begin April 19. The federal government is going to be pushing hard for the execution of all four, Gael explained. This is why NASC and AIM see this case as one that should command particular attention. NASC has in the past month been working to force a change of venue—a transfer of the trial out of the 8th Federal Circuit on the basis that an Indian cannot get (and never has gotten) a fair trial in this district, particularly in South Dakota. NASC activists have done a mass canvassing in South Dakota to give evidence of prejudgement of the four that has taken place due to the FBI and police's media campaigns.

NASC locals across the country are also taking up the defense of Dennis Banks who was arrested two months ago in California and is fighting extradition to South Dakota on the basis that his life would be in danger in South Dakota prisons. The extradition hearing is set for April 5 in San Francisco. The local NASC will pack the courtroom, along with AIM, and also hold a demonstration outside. There will also be NASC-sponsored demonstrations around the country during the week of April 3-8 for the Oglala prisoners, Banks and a group of prisoners in Portland, Ore.

The Portland prisoners are activists Russell Redner, Kenneth Loudhawk and Kamook Banks (Dennis's wife). They were ambushed by police on an Oregon highway last November and charged first with harboring Dennis Banks, who was then underground; but when he couldn't be found, a trumped-up fire-arms charge was substituted. Kamook Banks bore a child, Iron Door Woman, in prison Dec. 30. The government is now trying to make her pay \$2700 for medical expenses related to the birth. The Portland trial will begin May 12.

A fourth person who was arrested with Redner, Loudhawk and Banks was Pine Ridge activist Anna Mae Aquash. She was found murdered, with a bullet hole through her head, Feb. 24, near Wanlee, S.D. The FBI withheld the identity of her body for 10 days after its "discovery." At first the agency claimed she had died of exposure. NASC, AIM and others demanded an independent autopsy which found the bullet lodged in her head.

A second major focus of NASC currently is a petition campaign for Native American treaty rights. There are three demands on the petition: (1) "All treaties that the U.S. has signed with the Indian nations, and which the traditional Indian leaders accept as valid, must be honored and enforced. All of the Indian nations must receive control of and sovereignty over their treaty-determined lands. . . ." (2) "The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (which took away Indians' right to political power over their lands) must be repealed. . . ." (3) "The Bureau of Indian Affairs must be removed from the Department of Interior and restructured as an independent agency, controlled by and accountable to American Indian people."

The second and third demands, Gael and Proujansky explained, are seen as interim demands. The first is the main demand, and if this were to be won, the other two would be unnecessary.

Thousands of signatures have already been secured. NASC sees the main aspect of the petition campaign as its being a tool in the building of a mass movement. The secondary aspect will be the actual presenting of the petition to Congress.

A third focus of NASC is building for the July 4 Coalition counterbicentennial demonstration in Philadelphia.

For more information, contact the NASC National Office at P.O. Box 3426, St. Paul, Minn. 55165 or c/o Treaty Council, 777 UN Plaza, 10F, New York, N.Y. 10017.

NATIVE AMERICAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT—
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Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

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Ann Arbor, Michigan
313-663-0217

Liaison:
Rita Barusch

ATLANTA NASC

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Atlanta, Georgia 30308

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Palestine Solidarity Committee

P.O. Box 1757 Manhattanville Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10027

May 11, 1976

Dear friends,

The Palestinian and Arab community has invited all progressive people in the city to be with them in Brooklyn this Sunday, May 16, to observe the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

The Palestine Day Mobilizing Committee, based in the Arab community, is organizing a march from the Boro Hall Subway Station at 11 a.m. to Atlantic Avenue, where there will be a rally in a cordoned off block of Atlantic Avenue between Court and Clinton Streets. Mr. Zuhdi Tarazi, the Palestine Liberation Organization's Permanent Observer at the United Nations, will speak. There will be Palestinian music, dancing and poetry, and a street festival with a bazaar featuring Palestinian food and crafts.

This is not "just another demonstration," but an opportunity to become acquainted with the Palestinian community, its struggle and its culture. We strongly urge you to participate, and bring your children and other friends.

Many organizations and activists have joined in the Palestine Action Coalition to mobilize people outside the Arab community to support this Day of Solidarity. In addition to the Palestine Solidarity Committee, the following have endorsed the activities: Rosa Borenstein, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee*; El Comitè-MINIP; Friends of Haiti; Guardian; International Indian Treaty Council (AIM); Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada; Charles Isaacs, PARE*; Liberation Support Movement; Partido Comunista Dominicana; Prairie Fire Organizing Committee; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Marty Rothenberg, Mass Party Organizing Committee*; Socialist Workers Party; Third World Newsreel; War Tax Resistance; Venceremos Brigade; Young Socialist Alliance. (*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.)

It is crucial at this time -- when US weapons are being wielded by Israeli soldiers against Palestinian uprisings in the West Bank and Galilee -- that we show our solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. It is also a time when we need to show clearly that not all the people of New York City are behind the US government in sending billions of dollars in military and other aid to the racist and repressive state of Israel.

We hope to see you in Brooklyn on Sunday. Please call us (850-5296) if you can do some last minute leafleting.

In struggle,

Palestine Solidarity Committee

**DEMONSTRATE
SUNDAY!**

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONTINUES

The history of the United States is a history of struggle that does not begin in 1776 but many years before with the development of British colonialism and its consolidation over the land and peoples of the continent. As this system expanded and matured, it required greater sacrifices of the people under its domination and its political and economic structures proved incapable of resolving—except temporarily through repressive measures—the periodic crises it faced.

On July 4, 1776, the people of the thirteen colonies declared that the conditions imposed on them by British colonialism denied their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that such conditions were intolerable, and that the time had come to dissolve those political ties to the British empire.

The first American revolution had begun.

But from the very beginning, great sectors of the population were excluded from the democratic vision of the United States of America: the Native Americans, whose land was stolen, whose people were slaughtered and whose sovereign rights were trampled upon; African people, kidnapped from their homelands and brought to this country as slaves, their families torn apart, their labor exploited, their very humanity denied; women, whose labor went unpaid, the majority excluded from full citizenship. And soon after the triumph of the revolutionary forces, the small farmers, artisans, mechanics, and other workers joined the ranks of those to whom the ideals of equality would not be applied.

There were the waves of European immigrants driven from their own countries by political oppression and economic deprivation; they came here in search of freedom and opportunity, and while a few prospered, the vast majority spent their lives toiling in the factories, sweatshops and slums, and in the mines and fields of the country.

Two hundred years have gone by, years of struggle punctuated by civil war, years of rapid industrial development built on the sweat and blood of the people and workers of this country and other countries of the world, years illuminated with victories and scarred with defeats in the fight for the universal application of those rights proclaimed to the world from Philadelphia two hundred years ago.

Victories like the abolition of slavery, the vote for women, the organization of labor unions and the end of the war in Indochina.

Defeats like the massacre of the Haymarket workers in Chicago and Native Americans at Wounded Knee, the tens of thousands of lynchings and the murder and imprisonment of our political leaders.

Today, the original thirteen colonies have grown into a great world power, which, like the British Crown of 1776, has colonized other nations like Puerto Rico and the Native American nations; a power which squanders enormous human and financial resources to support dictatorial regimes around the world; a power which threatens its own citizens with intolerable economic hardships, social disintegration and the denial of political rights. Today, the abuses and crimes committed by the U.S. government and the giant corporations it serves against the people of the United States and the world exceed in their inhumanity those committed by the British against the people of the thirteen colonies.

The United States celebrates its Bicentennial in the wake of Vietnam and with the stench of Watergate still in the air; with 11 million workers unemployed, our housing, schools and entire cities in decay; with constantly rising prices and taxes designed to guarantee profits to rich corporations while impoverishing the ordinary people.

The system is in crisis and those who control it demand that we, the people, pay for its defects.

The fiscal problems of the cities are used to break whatever strength our votes had by reducing the city governments to mere administrative entities completely unresponsive to our needs, and to break the strength of unionized city employees who are fired by the thousands in defiance of their contracts.

Health, education and welfare services, that are the minimal right of any person, are cut as billions are poured into the pockets of "defense" contractors to build ever greater instruments of destruction.

And because those who control our lives know that the struggle between workers and the great corporations over the fruits of labor can only become more intense, they prepare the road for greater attacks against those who fight for their fundamental rights: Senate Bill No. 1, for instance, is geared to fatally restrict our political rights.

It is time for action by all the people: the Native Americans who have always lived in this land and suffered genocidal repression from British colonialists and the present U.S. government and whose will to survive as a people, to struggle and preserve their national sovereign rights must be asserted by all of us; the Blacks whose labor was unpaid for centuries except in the form of insufficient food and shelter during the days of slavery, and whose labor remains underpaid after creating the wealth upon which this country was built and industrialized; the Mexicans whose borders were swallowed up by war and conquest by this expanding nation, whose people by the millions are enlisted into the labor stock-piles, who are hounded in their homes and places of work and denied the most elementary rights; the Puerto Ricans who live both the reality of workers in this country and that of a direct colony of the United States; Asians and Latin Americans from every single country in the Western Hemisphere.

A time for action by all the people around the rights of women whose inferior wages and unpaid labor in the home continue to produce enormous profits for the corporations and who continue to be denied equal rights.

And it is a time for action by the many millions of white working people who reject the racist ideas that attempt to separate them from their natural and most important allies in the struggle against those who oppress and exploit all of us.

It is to assert the long and heroic tradition of our people's resistance to all forms of tyranny, a tradition which today takes the form of the battle for democratic rights, against the effects of the system's economic crisis and for an end to colonialism, that we will observe the Bicentennial in Philadelphia on July 4 in protest and in celebration of our unity in struggle.

We must build a movement around these three areas of concern:

1. A program that will begin to deal with the basic economic and social needs of the people of this country: full employment at decent wages, the right to organize representative, democratic and militant unions with full representation of women and oppressed nationalities and minorities in leadership, the right to collective bargaining, to equal pay for equal work, to strike.

2. The right to food and housing at prices that we can afford, to quality education and health care and to welfare without humiliation; the right to the fullest political and social equality of all oppressed people, for the complete equality of women in all aspects of society; an end to all repression and repressive legislation, to the deportation of undocumented workers.

3. An end to the current foreign policy of the U.S. government, to its colonial domination over Puerto Rico and the Native American nations, to its interventions in countries like Angola, to its overthrowing of governments like that of Chile, its subversive "intelligence" activities in virtually every country of the world, to its support—political, economic and military—of fascist regimes like those of Brazil and the Philippines or racist regimes like that of South Africa, to the constant intervention which has prevented stability and peace in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS*

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1976

Jayma Abdo, National Lawyers Guild, Philadelphia, Pa.	Rosa Borenstein, Executive Secretary, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.
Frank Ackerman, Dollars and Sense.	Susan Borenstein, National Coordinat- ing Center in Solidarity with Chile.
Angelo Alicea, Council of Latinameri- can Trade Unionists.	Carl Broege, National Lawyers Guild.
José Alberto Alvarez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party.	Marilyn Clement, National Council of Churches.
Harry Amana, Journalist, Philadelphia Tribune.	Ernie Chanes, Puerto Rico Decoloniza- tion Committee.
Esta Armstrong, Health Worker.	Allan Charney, Executive Director, As- sociation of Legal Aid Lawyers.
Rev. Cecilio Arrastia, Presbyterian Church.	Douglas Chin, President, Chinese for a Sane Society.
Frances Beal, Third World Women's Alliance.	Prof. Johnetta Cole, Venceremos Bri- gade.
John Beckwith, Science for the People.	Robert Chrisman, Black Scholar Mag- azine.
Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement.	Dave Dellinger, Seven Days Magazine.
Rev. Milo Billman, Camden, N.J.	

*Organizations for identification purposes only.

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS*—Continued

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1976—Continued

- Joan Drake, Independent Socialists of Lancaster, Pa.
 Jennifer Dohrn, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.
 Jeffrey Fogel, National Lawyers Guild, N.J.
 Eva Gladstein, Tenants Action Group, Philadelphia.
 Rafael González, Trade Unionist.
 Larry Gossett, Chairman, Inter-City Youth Organizing Committee, Seattle, Wash.
 Father David Gracie, Philadelphia.
 Saralee Hamilton, National Women's Program, American Friends Service Committee.
 Oom Harrison, Community Organizer, Philadelphia.
 Jim Haughton, Fightback.
 Paul Irish, American Committee on Africa.
 Charles Isaacs, People Against Racism in Education.
 David Kairys, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rev. Muhammed Kenyatta, Black Economic Development Conference.
 Arthur Kinoy, Mass Party Organizing Committee.
 Yuri Kochiyama, New York, N.Y.
 William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights.
 Luis López, Secretary, Local 264, Transport Workers Union.
 Federico Lora, El Comité—Puerto Rican National Left Movement.
 Roberta, Lynch, National Committee, New American Movement.
 Roberto Maestas, Director, La Raza Center, San Francisco, Cal.
 Mel Madden, Co-founder Liberty Village.
 Rev. Paul Mayer, New York Theological Society.
 Prof. Phillip Meranto, Chairman, Political Science Caucuses, U. of Washington.
 William Mandel, Writer.
 Holly Maguigan, Lawyer, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ruth Messinger, College for Human Services.
 Sid Mills, Chairman, Survival of the American Indian Association.
 Howard Moore, Lawyer, San Francisco, Cal.
 Grace Mora, Communist Party.
 Leora Mossten, Civil Liberties Education and Action Fund, N.J.
 David McReynolds, War Resisters League.
 Joseph Miller, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ed Nakawatase, National Representative Native American Affairs, American Friends Service Committee
 Rubén Nieves, Trade Unionist
 Sam Pérez, Vice Chairman, Council of Hospital Community Boards
 Alex Quiñonez, Trade Unionist
 David Rammler, Neighborhood Resources, Philadelphia
 David P. Richardson, Pennsylvania House of Representatives
 Antonio Rodriguez, C.A.S.A., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Dr. Helen Rodriguez, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse
 David Rudovsky, Emergency Civil Rights Committee, Philadelphia
 Tyree Scott, Director, United Construction Workers Association, Seattle, Wash.
 David Sola, Trade Unionist
 Father Antonio Stephens, PADRES
 Rachel Tilsen, Native American Solidarity Committee
 Chiqui Vicioso, United Methodist Office at the United Nations
 Lynn Weickart, District Leader, Democratic Party, New York
 Doron Weinberg, President, National Lawyers Guild
 Cora Weiss, Friendship
 Rev. Roger Zpernick, Pastor, Kingsway Lutheran Church, Philadelphia

*Organizations for identification purposes only.

[From the Guardian, Apr. 28, 1976]

PLANS LAID FOR JULY 4 PROTEST

(By Ben Bedell)

"In the year 1976, 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' means jobs, equality, liberation and peace."

With these words, the anti-imperialist July 4th Coalition is planning to inject some life into the sagging Bicentennial by calling for a mass demonstration in Philadelphia on Independence Day when President Ford, the Queen of England and even, it is rumored, the Pope, are scheduled to participate in celebrations

of the nation's 200th anniversary. (A simultaneous protest action is planned for Los Angeles.)

"July 4 . . . presents the progressive movements of this country with one of the greatest challenges and one of the greatest opportunities we have faced in decades," states the July 4 Coalition. From the smallest community organization to the most powerful labor union, July 4th in Philadelphia is an opportunity to tell the men who run this country, and to tell the world, that there are many thousands of people, representing millions more, who are not taken in by the official lies of the Bicentennial.

"It is an opportunity to . . . demonstrate the great strength of our united forces and our determination to struggle until our just demands are met."

The action aims to unmask the hypocrisy of the official Bicentennial in this post-Watergate, post-Vietnam era of economic crisis and increasing impoverishment for the masses of people.

The political tone of the demonstration will reflect both the strengths and the weaknesses of the progressive movement—but its main impact will likely be the focusing of an anti-imperialist set of demands on the government at a moment of maximum national attention.

The political initiative for forming the coalition came from the U.S. section of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). An organizing conference March 27–28 in New York City attracted 200 people from a variety of political, regional and national groups.

Reflecting the diversity of forces involved in the coalition, the groups were unable to narrow the focus to some of the most pressing issues of the day but instead broadened its political demands almost to the point of absurdity.

Grappling with the problem of formulating slogans for the action, the coalition agreed to nearly 100 demands, including everything from independence for Puerto Rico to "childrens' liberation;" from ending the oppression of women to "total worker control of all institutions now." A unified sense of what constituted the principal demands appropriate to this period of the anti-imperialist struggle was not immediately apparent.

The conference suffered from many of the weaknesses of the Hard Times conference, initiated by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and held in Chicago in February. In an effort to achieve "broad unity," many shades of social-democracy, anarchism and narrow nationalism were represented at the conference.

A national board was elected, charged with the task of formulating a political program. The unity arrived at tended to give prominence to an anti-imperialist vision of the action and reduced the slogans to three groups of demands.

"For Jobs and a decent standard of living; For full democracy and equality; and For a Bicentennial without colonies—Freedom for Oppressed Nations," emerged as the core of the political direction of the coalition's thinking.

One weakness of the program and the organizational efforts so far has come in the projection of a program that speaks forcefully to the national oppression of Black Americans. The three demands raised in the coalition's political statement reflect this weakness. They are: "national independence for colonized Black people in the U.S.; self-determination for all Black and oppressed people; and support the right of independent organizing for Black workers." The slogans mirror the lack of input by a wider spectrum of Afro-American militants and progressives in the planning of the action thus far.

ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED

Key roles in the building and defining of the demonstration have been played by the American Indian Movement (AIM), Prairie Fire, Mass Party Organizing Committee, New American Movement (NAM), Centro de Accion Social Autonomo (CASA) and the Afrikan People's Socialist Party, in addition to the PSP. The revisionist Communist Party, while nominally represented in the coalition, has had a scant impact on the formulation of its political program.

For these organizations and the scores of others that are working on the project, the July 4 demonstration is the first opportunity in several years to unite sections of the left movement in a campaign of a national scope around a political view that is not subject to corruption by reformism or revisionism.

The prime flaw is that the unity of the coalition on some questions has been created by "stringing together a series of demands," as one conference participant put it, rather than locating the common denominator of agreement. In the

process, the coalition has glossed over some differences of principle in the interest of maintaining the participation of divergent viewpoints.

Regardless of shortcomings, the action will probably be the largest mass and militant challenge to the bourgeoisie's Bicentennial climax July 4.

The government has already expressed its dismay over the plans for the Philadelphia demonstration by refusing to grant a permit. The coalition has asked for a site in Fairmont Park near downtown Philadelphia. Permit negotiations are continuing, and the coalition expects that the government will yield to mass pressure and be obliged to grant a permit.

For more information contact: July 4 Coalition, P.O. Box, 205, Cooper Square Station, N.Y. 10003. (212) 673-1776.

RICH OFF OUR BACKS JULY 4TH COALITION

Revolutionary Student Brigade

PO Box A3423 Chicago, Illinois 60690Ms. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

The Revolutionary Communist Party has forwarded to us your request for copies of the "Fight Back July 4!..." pamphlet. We have enclosed some copies for you and any of your friends who are interested. We have also enclosed a few posters for you to put up where you think other students will see them and a copy of the most recent issue of our national newspaper, FIGHT BACK!

We will be going to Philly for four days of demonstrations, July 1-4. During those four days we will be staying in a tent city set up in one of the parks and we will be having demonstrations on many of the different issues that people coming to the demonstration are concerned about, for example, jobs and unemployment, the growing threat of world war initiated by the ruling classes of the U.S. and capitalist Soviet Union, cutbacks in social services, etc. Each of the four days more and more people will be coming into Philly to join the demonstration and we will also be talking to many of the people coming to the "official" event, getting them to join us. On the 4th, veterans, students, young people, and others will join with members of the working class - people from the mines, mills and factories who produce the great wealth of this society - to march against the rich class of capitalists on the day they are trying to celebrate the way of life that keeps them on top of the rest of us. We will be marching with the slogan "We've carried the rich for 200 years, let's get them off our backs!"

We think the demonstration is going to be pretty exciting because it really focuses a lot of the anger people feel about the way things are going in the society - the way the profits of the rich get ripped out of us as we pay higher and higher bills and taxes, the way people live in terrible housing in the cities while buildings are allowed to run down and sit abandoned cause there is no profit in keeping them up - you can go on and on. The demonstration will focus that anger because in it people will be coming together to unite against the rich, coming together to say that the working people and others in the society have no common bond with the rich on their day of celebration and that we are looking to the day when we get rid of them once and for all.

In Chicago there is work going on to get the word of this demonstration out broadly to workers, students and young people all over the city. Particularly on Saturdays people are getting together to go to shopping centers, knock on doors and talk to people as they come out of work. It would be great if you could have the time to take some of the enthusiasm you show in your letter and join with us in this work. To find out times and places call 772-6785.

Transportation to Philly for the demonstration is being arranged as people get together to share the costs of getting there. To sign up for the bus

trip you can also call 772-6785. I am forwarding your name and address to the Brigade in Chicago and they will probably try to get in touch with you.

If you would like to continue to receive FIGHT BACK! on a regular basis, we encourage you to subscribe (\$4 a year, 9 issues).

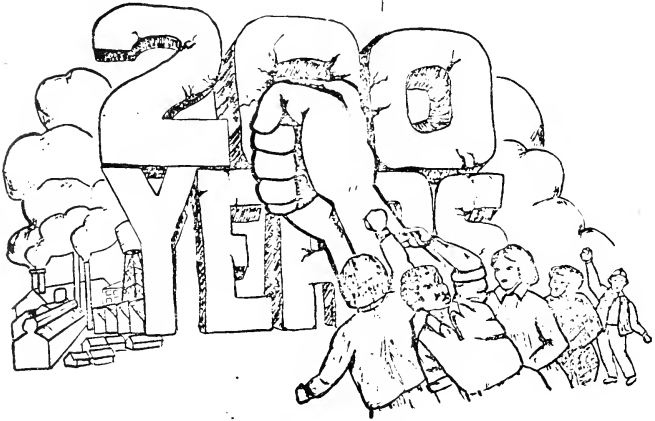
In struggle,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Diane Clark". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

National Office, RSB

**We've Carried The Rich
For 200 Years.**

**Lets Get Them
Off Our Backs!**



As all know, the bosses and the politicians are having a big Bicentennial celebration and want everybody to come out July 4 to celebrate the first 200 years of life in this country.

The owning class and their politicians all have a thousand things to say why we working people should go. They page through the history books (the ones they wrote) and say how great things have been, how Washington defeated the British, how Lincoln freed the slaves, how Roosevelt gave us unemployment benefits and unions and economic security and on and on. They point to all that's been built in this country--the buildings, cars, railways, planes, bridges--and claim that it's been the Rockefellers and Fords who've created the wealth of this country.

And then they take a look at the country now and say "Of course unemployment is high, and everything is falling apart, but at least you're free." Constantly the "common interests" we have in the system is drummed out as they call on us "to rekindle the spirit of '76, make sacrifices, bite the bullet and produce more, so we can all get out of the present crisis."

Fellow workers, to all this we say No, No, a thousand times No! Everything right and decent that has ever been done in this country has



On July 4th, 1974 VVAM marched on Washington demanding an end to the war, kick Nixon out and decent benefits.

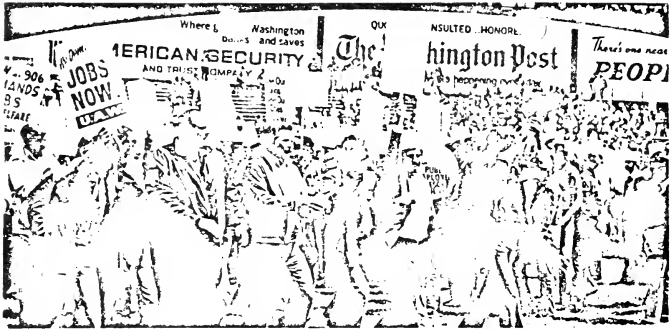
been done by us, the working people who, in fact, make up the real backbone and the great majority of society. Yes, we working people fought the battles and sacrificed our lives to both defeat the British and end slavery. It has been our hard work and labor that has built up all the wealth in this country. And if we accomplished all this in the past, forced to do it under the conditions of their crazy dog eat dog set up, imagine what we workers could accomplish now if we were free of that.

But we've been robbed of the fruits of our labor by that class of parasites that runs the government and all of society for their profits and luxury. And even the gains of our struggle, like our unions, they try to turn against us. What is this "common interest" between us and the owners? For 200 years our hard work and all it has produced has carried a small handful of bosses and enabled them to live in riches and luxury, while this constant drive for profit has held back our labor from being used to meet the needs of millions. Nothing has ever been handed to us by them, everything we ever got we had to fight for, even in so-called "good times".

WHAT IS OUR LOT?

Yes, fellow workers, we have worked and struggled hard for 200 years and what is our lot? Increasing crisis, in which want and misery lie heavily on our shoulders, unemployment is our constant companion, and once again the threat of war, yes even world war, hangs menacingly over our heads. Now in this 200th year the bosses and politicians are hoping they can cool off our anger and struggle against these conditions by trying to play off our genuine feelings of pride in our hard work and its accomplishments. This is what's really the point of their Bicentennial blitz and the calls for us to come to a July 4th festival in Philadelphia to celebrate life under this system which enables them to live like kings.

We will be in Philly on July 4th, but not to celebrate this system that keeps us locked in their chains of profits. For on this day of their glorious celebration, the so-called high and mighty will be con-



On April 26, 1975 outraged employed and unemployed workers stormed onto the field at AFL-CIO Jobs Rally.

fronted by those they rob and rule. Thousands of workers employed and unemployed, veterans, youth, students and many others will be coming together to unite their struggles against the common enemy. Coming out of the different struggles we wage every day throughout the country-- in the factories, unemployment centers and communities--to unite around the slogan and banner that truly reflects the sentiments of the American people toward the bosses and politicians, "We've carried the rich for 200 years. Let's get them off our backs."

It is in this spirit that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War put out the original call for a nationwide march and rally on July 4th in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee has since endorsed the rally, along with many other fighting workers' organizations. Now a July 4th Coalition has been formed, made up of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, Revolutionary Student Brigade and others-- to build for a rally and demonstration that will unite thousands of people from all parts of the country to take on the rulers on their supposed day of glory and celebration. The two key demands to be raised at the rally are "Jobs or Income Now!" and "We Won't Fight in a Rich Man's War!"

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

As an important first step in building for the rally the Coalition is calling regional conferences in Philadelphia and Cincinnati. Conferences that will unite workers from many cities, industries and different battle lines. Coming out of the many battles we wage day after day, we can discuss and sum up how to build a powerful July 4th rally that will bring out thousands of working people and truly reflect the hatred and anger of the millions of the American people for these rotten rulers. These will be working conferences, organized mainly into workshops to come up with concrete plans for building struggle among unemployed workers, employed workers, veterans and youth--summing up our experiences in building these battles and how we can build for the rally as part of continuing to move these struggles forward. Throughout the discussions, workshops and the entire conference we'll seek to forge the unity nec-

essary to go back to further develop the union and unemployment centers throughout the country while building towards a powerful rally and demonstration in Philly on July 4th. A rally that will further develop the unity and common struggle of the working class throughout the country so we can continue to move forward our movement and struggle against the bloodsuckers who rule over us.

Fellow workers, these demands are just demands, our fight is a just fight.

We are the only ones who can push things forward, and we are determined to break through.

"We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years. Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" Come to the regional conference!

Agenda for Conference

FIRST DAY

11:00 a.m. REGISTRATION

12:00 noon CONFERENCE STARTS

OPENING SPEECH Statement from National July 4th Planning Committee and general discussion on state of our struggle and the importance of a strong working class statement on the July 4th Bicentennial.

WORKSHOPS Conference will break down into workshops to discuss the best way to build our struggle and unite our forces for the July 4th demonstration. The workshops will take up questions around organizing employed workers, the unemployed, vets, youth and others as well as building UWOC and VVAW into strong fighting national organizations.

SPEECH BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

SINGING AND PARTY

SECOND DAY

Morning REPORTS FROM WORKSHOPS AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

REPORTS ON PLANS FOR DEMONSTRATIONS AND ACTIVITIES JULY 1ST TO JULY 4TH. DISCUSSION ON PLANS.

CONCLUDING SPEECH

Food, housing and needed transportation will be provided. A small registration fee will be charged to cover expenses.

LOCATION University of Pennsylvania
David Rittenhouse Laboratories
(33rd Street below Walnut)
Philadelphia

Not checked with Files

WE'VE CARRIED THE RICH FOR 200 YEARS,
 LETS GET THEM OFF OUR BACKS!!

On July 4 the United States celebrates its 200 th anniversary. To celebrate the event the rich and their government are sending us greetings in the form of a general attack on the living standards of every American working person.

Millions are unemployed. Hospitals, firehouses and community centers are closed. Needed construction is halted. At the City University, Open Admissions has been eliminated, tuition is probable and enrollment will be reduced by the tens of thousands. All over the country, social services are being slashed while the military budget skyrockets and giant corporations and superbanks continue to rake in the profits. While working people contend with unemployment, inflation and continued social degeneration in the middle of dying cities, the rich are planning a nation-wide bicentennial put-on and they intend to send us the bill. But we won't take it! We won't celebrate 200 years of blood and struggle.

For two centuries working people have had to fight hand, tooth and nail to maintain decent lives. Every advance that was won, from the end of slavery to the 8 hour day or the establishment of a strong labor movement, came through a long, hard fight with the lords of profit. And every time the economy went "bust" (like now), the workers lost some of what they had won as they fought poverty and unemployment. US history is the story of 200 years of struggle, of sweat and toil and nearly constant war. During that time, the masses, black, white, brown, red and yellow, man and woman, broke their backs and spilled their blood producing wealth for the few, bare existence and small comfort for themselves. Those who rode the backs of the working class, and those who keep profits in command now, want us to celebrate those years of turmoil as "the glory of the American free enterprise system". We say NO!

On July 4th in Philadelphia, thousands of unemployed workers, veterans, students and anyone else determined to throw the lies of the politicians and their masters back in their faces, will unite to show our "rulers" that we've had enough. As we watch the dollar shrink, while unemployment insurance is reduced, while there are no jobs, we will make it impossible for the capitalists' dream to come true, a dream of a nation, passive and obedient, unified in celebration of their rule. Thousands of us will indict the capitalist system for its crimes against the masses, in particular the crimes of unemployment and war. We will demand "Jobs or Income Now!". As the capitalists beat the drums of war we will show them that "We won't fight in another rich man's war!". DEMONSTRATE IN PHILLY!!

BICENTENNIAL FORUM

SPEAKERS + DISCUSSION, SLIDE SHOW

WED. 4/21/76 1:00 PM REMSEN 100

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE

WE'VE CARRIED THE RICH FOR 200 YEARS - LET'S GET THEM OFF OUR BACKS!

1976 — millions walking the streets looking for jobs and still more shoved out the door while plants close down. Those still at work worked to death chained to the bosses' machinery. Our cities falling apart. Our schools, hospitals, firehouses shut down. Half-finished construction sites next to burned-out tenements. And the drums of another war beating louder and louder. All this amidst lies of recovery and fireworks of celebration.

No, this is not what we worked so hard for. No, this is not the future we want for our children. One thousand outrages slap us in the face. No, we can't live like this. And we won't.

Our class, the working class, men and women of all nationalities, we build and produce. Their class, the capitalist class, takes it all. They own what they have never built — the mills, the mines and banks. Owning all, they take all we produce. And for us, only enough to keep us alive to slave for them some more.

They take our hard work and twist it. We work together. They steal, each as much for himself as he can, and keep us apart. Everything has a price to them. Their uncontrollable drive for profit makes this whole society run like it does. Crisis after crisis, war after war, injustice upon injustice. Ten generations of profits bled out of ten generations of our lives.

Our whole history proves this. We have fought for all that is worthwhile in this country. We are not animals. That's how they would have us live. No — not in 1776, 1876 or 1976. Our whole history is filled with storms of resistance. Battling back . . . standing tall . . . we are men and women . . . we will not be slaves. We are the backbone of the whole country. . . millions strong. They are a handful of murderers and slave drivers rotting even as they claw to grab more.

1976 — these thieves call all of us to celebrate with them. National unity. . . all together and many happy returns. No. We will not celebrate their rule. Fight all their sickening lies and broken-record hoopla. We have nothing in common with them. For them, 200 years of plunder. For us, 200 years of slavery and oppression. All they have they took from us. All we need we've wrenched from them in bitter battle. It is they and their never satisfied thirst for profits that stands between us and our fight for a better life and a brighter future for our children.

Fellow workers! Today as before our class battles every last abuse . . . on picket lines . . . on shop floors . . . in neighborhoods and communities . . . and everywhere throughout society. Our fight is a just fight, our demands are just demands. In building this struggle on July 4th in Philadelphia, we will proclaim especially our demand for "Jobs Or Income Now!" and our determination that "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!"

We have the strength to mobilize. We have the ability to unite all the battles, all the people, all the anger at the way we have to live. The future belongs to us. We are the only ones that can push things forward and we are determined to break through.

Now is the time to pull it together. All our forces. All our battles. As we have always fought them, we will fight them on the day they choose to celebrate their blood-soaked rule. We will come together thousands strong to expose their crimes and build our movement, on that day and for the great battles ahead.

On to Philadelphia!

We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!

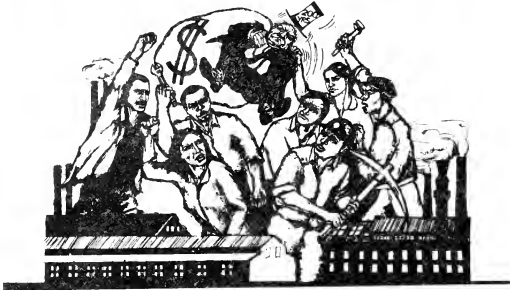
Demonstrate July 4th
Jobs or Income!
We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!
Come to Philadelphia!



JULY 4th COALITION Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, Revolutionary Student Brigade, United Workers Organization INY NJ

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL 212-426-1505

DEMONSTRATE! PHILLY JULY 1-4



We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years. Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!

WE DEMAND

Jobs or Income Now!

**We Won't Fight Another
Rich Man's War**

On July 4 in Philadelphia the rich will be celebrating the Bicentennial, 200 years of capitalism and their rule in this country. At the same time, thousands of veterans, unemployed people, workers from the mines, mills and factories, youth and students will be marching under one banner against that class, with one message ringing out clear—"We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"

The July 4 Coalition, including Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Student Brigade and Revolutionary Communist Party, has called for demonstrations July 1-4. Thousands of people from hundreds of different struggles will be coming together in an important step towards unifying our struggles and build a movement against the rich. We will be demanding "Jobs or Income Now!" and "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!"

The rich will be using the Bicentennial to say "On to 200 more years of capitalism." NO WAY! Join us in Philly July 1-4!

Revolutionary Student Brigade

For More Information Contact Us At RSB P.O. Box A3423 Chicago, Illinois 60690 or Locally At

**JULY 4TH COMMITTEE MEETS WEDS. 3:00 EB220
CALL 396 0856**

UWOC

We've Carried The Rich For 200 Years Let's Get Them Off Our Backs

The attempt to close PGH is an outrageous and vicious attack on the people of this city who rely on it for health care.

It is an attack on the PGH workers who for years have poured their sweat and blood into providing this care - sometimes (like now) under the most difficult conditions.

Added to the soaring layoffs, vicious speed up, cuts in services and other assaults, the closing of PGH is another shot fired by the bosses at the working class. The closing of PGH means fewer jobs.

We cannot live with these conditions. We need everything we can produce, every service we can render to others of our class.

WE WANT JOBS - we will not be without.

The move to close PGH is the result of the economic crisis that is ravaging our standard of living all across this country.

Philadelphia is in a crisis, and Rizzo, like Mayor Beame of New York, has been told by the bankers and businessmen who run the show to cut the "fat" from the city's budget. (And Rizzo, like any other politician, does what he is told). The "fat" to them is anything that doesn't produce enough profit. That means health care, education, public transportation, day care, city services, and jobs. What's "fat" to these bloodsuckers is a question of life and death to us!

Well, we fought to win these things and we're going to have to fight to keep them.

That's why we're all out here today - to organize and fight for what we need. Like MORE AND BETTER HOSPITALS - NOT LESS. Like MORE JOBS - NOT LESS.

We're out here because only one thing stands in the way of all the plans of these attackers - the resistance of the people. Today shows clearly how we can win. We can't let up. We have to build off of today's demonstration. Build our movement bigger and stronger. Not only to keep PGH open but to take on every attack they have in store for us - and to build a movement that will finally get these leeches off our backs.

The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) calls on working people, employed and unemployed to join us in building for a demonstration on July 4th to build our struggle against the present economic crisis, unemployment, and the new threats of war by the capitalist class. While they're celebrating 200 years of sucking our blood, and looking forward to 200 years more - we'll be saying we've had enough! They are unfit to rule!

Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee
2440 Kensington Avenue
GA 3-7720

Labor Donated



JOIN UWOC

BUILD THE FIGHT!

DEMONSTRATION PLANNED FOR DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL CONVENTION

76 UNITED ACTION FRONT

Revolutionary Greetings to our Brothers and Sisters both above and underground,

We are a group with the joy of revolution in our hearts and a love for the people that words can not express. We desire to create a solidarity of all revolutionary and progressive forces to form a strong, radical United Action Front.

The reason for such a United Action Front is to secure Central Park during the Democratic Convention, July 7 - 12, 1970. It is to take place at Madison Square Garden, New York City. We wish to use the park as a base to "encourage the people, provoke leaps in confidence and courage, to stir the imagination, to popularize power, to agitate, to organize, to join in every way possible the people's day to day struggles".

The purpose of the United Action Front is to oppose, on the streets, the candidates and system of capitalism, imperialism, repression and injustice.

Without your help and participation this can not be a United Action Front. Your immediate response to this appeal for revolutionary solidarity will make it possible to arrange our next meeting. Please send us your name, mailing address, what organization you belong to, and or represent, and your phone number.

With revolutionary love, yours in solidarity and struggle.

P.S. The United Action Front does not have membership dues. The Front is entirely dependent on the voluntary contributions of its members and friends. Conscientious pledging will make possible strong financial support of the Front's program.

**P O BOX 237
BROOKLYN NY 11223
212 331-0022**



Done at Come! Unity Press (13 E 17 Street, NYC 10003 (212) 675-3043), a cooperative where we learned to do this printing. The press does not demand \$ from us or other movement people who print materials that provide equal access to the poor. The press needs the broad support of many donations, monthly pledges of \$2, \$5, \$7, energy, food, skills, joint benefits, etc. to continue movement access to printing facilities. Don't let this be the last month! YOUR MOVE!ment



**PEOPLES
BICENTENNIAL
COMMISSION**

1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-9121

* PBC PLANS MASSIVE RALLY IN
WASHINGTON, DC ON JULY 4TH

* "INDEPENDENCE FROM BIG BUSINESS AND
BIG GOVERNMENT" AND "DEMOCRACY FOR
THE ECONOMY" TO BE MAJOR THEMES.

For more information call,
toll free, (800) 424-1130

On July 4th, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission will hold a rally on the steps of the U. S. Capitol building, raising a renewed challenge against the Tories of our time: Big Business and Big Government.

Between 150,000 and 250,000 new patriots will proclaim their rededication to the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence by calling for the fulfillment of economic, political and social justice in all American institutions. "Democracy for the Economy" and "Independence from Big Business and Big Government" will be the major themes of the day.

The activities will begin at 8 AM with an inter-religious service at the Jefferson Memorial which will commemorate the men and women who, for 200 years, have demanded that the democratic vision of the American Revolution be carried out. The theme of the service will be "The Year of Jubilee" which comes from a Biblical prescription for redistribution of the wealth every 50 years for the purpose of achievement of a just, humane, and equitable society. A march is planned from the Jefferson Memorial to the Capitol Building, where the main rally will be held.

At 11 AM, the main rally will begin at the U.S. Capitol Building. Nationally recognized spokespeople from each major issue and interest area will speak to the general economic theme of the rally from the perspective of their particular area of concern. Among the speakers will be:

REV. JESSE JACKSON - Executive Director, P.U.S.H.
JANE FONDA - actress and activist
RUBIN "HURRICANE" CARTER - Prisoner-victim; founder, Freedom For All Forever
DOLORES HUERTA - Vice President of the United Farmworkers
DR. BARRY COMMONER - leading environmentalist
JOHN HENRY FAULK - CBS radio personality blacklisted during the McCarthy era
ED SADLOWSKI - President of the largest Steelworkers' District in the U.S.
DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK - author and political activist
FLO KENNEDY - founder of the Feminist Party
TOM HAYDEN - activist and candidate for U.S. Senate
CAROLE TUCKER-FOREMAN - Director, Consumer Federation of America
NICK JOHNSON - former FCC Commissioner; founder of N.C.C.B.
JONATHAN KOZOL - revolutionary educator and author
EQBAL AHMED - authority on Third World Revolution
PHIL FONER - leading American Labor historian
SID LENS - author, historian and Labor Organizer
SAM LOVEJOY - nuclear power critic and activist
JEREMY RIFKIN - founder, Peoples Bicentennial Commission
TED HOWARD - co-director, Peoples Bicentennial Commission

The PBC Washington Rally will proclaim to the nation and to the world that the Revolutionary Spirit of '76 is still alive on our 200th anniversary.



Peoples Bicentennial Commission of Chicago

LIBERTY HALL
2440 NORTH LINCOLN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614
PHONE: 627-1476

June 1, 1976

Dear [REDACTED]

I am enclosing further information about the July 4th Coalition. You should be getting our newsletter this week as well (3rd class is slow). The PBC of Chicago is organizing a PBC contingent at the Philadelphia demonstration. PBC's in New York, New Hampshire and Connecticut are also going to Philadelphia in solidarity with other progressive movements. We have a Chicago Bus reserved for PBC members.

We support the Washington Rally for Economic Democracy called for by Jeremy Rifkin, also. We debated going to Washington as a group but when the slogan "A Bicentennial without Oil on it" was summarily rejected by the Washington office of PBC without consulting other PBCs we dropped out of active participation. Your next issue of Common Sense should be out soon with information on the Washington.

If you decide to go with us to Philadelphia the Bus tickets are \$50. The buses are going to leave on Saturday at (2:00 PM) arriving in Philadelphia the next morning. They will return that night so that accommodations will not be necessary. A deposit of \$10 or more is required immediately in order to reserve a seat.

The coalition in Chicago includes 25 groups so far. You are welcome to attend the coalition meetings held every Saturday at 1:00 at Liberty Hall, 2440 N. Lincoln. We are planning a demonstration in front of Standard Oil when the elite of Chicago's society and corporate families hold their Bicentennial Ball June 12th at 8:00. Some of the groups in the Coalition so far are Veterans for Peace, Du Sable League, Womens Liberation Union, Rising Up angry, Hard Times Prison Project, Sojourner Truth Organization, New American Movement, New World Resource Center, Native American Solidarity Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party and CASA. We have the support of church people such as

Joe Mulligan, head of Jesuit Project for Third World Awareness, Bill Hogan of Clergy and Laity Concerned, and many community churches in Pilson supporting Chica no participation. We have the endorsement of Jack Spiegel of the United Shoe workers Union.

Please send in a deposit immediately for Philadelphia. If you can spare a donation to help subsidize the PBC contingent: some of our members are unemployed and cannot meet the full price. We feel it is essential that we be there with American revolutionary flags to show what patriotism on the 4th of July really means. It is essential that PBC make ~~sure we are present in~~ Philadelphia as well as Washington in order to oppose ~~the government's~~ anti-propaganda celebration and to bring to the demonstration a sense of continuity with the American Revolutionary Heritage with our banner ~~and our~~

Hope you can make it to the Standard Oil demonstration and July 4th in Philadelphia.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Idris-Søven
Elizabeth Idris-Søven



The Chicago Patriot

THE MONTHLY NEWSLETTER OF THE CHICAGO PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Vol 2, No.1
June, 1976

"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

LIBERTY HALL, 2440 NORTH LINCOLN AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60614, PHONE 733-1140

JULY 4th RALLY IN PHILADELPHIA

**For Jobs
and a Decent Standard of Living
For Full Democracy and Equality
For a Bicentennial Without Colonies—
Freedom for all Oppressed Nations**

On July 4, 1776, the people of the thirteen colonies declared that the conditions imposed on them by British colonialism denied their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that such conditions were intolerable, and that the time had come to dissolve those political ties to the British empire.

The first American revolution had begun.

But from the very beginning, great sectors of the population were excluded from the democratic vision of the United States of America: the Native Americans, whose land was stolen, whose people were slaughtered and whose sovereign rights were trampled upon; African people, kidnapped from their homelands and brought to this country as slaves, their families torn apart, their labor exploited their very humanity denied; women, whose labor went unpaid, the majority excluded from full citizenship. And soon after the triumph of the revolutionary forces, the small farmers, artisans, mechanics, and other workers joined the ranks of those to whom the ideals of equality would not be applied.

There were the waves of European immigrants driven from their own countries by political oppression and economic deprivation: they came here in search of freedom and opportunity, and while a few prospered, the vast majority spent their lives toiling in the factories, sweatshops and slums, and in the mines and fields of the country.

Two hundred years have gone by, years of struggle punctuated by civil war, years of rapid industrial development built on the sweat and blood of the people and workers of this country and other countries of the world, years illuminated with victories and scarred with defeats in the fight for the universal application of those rights proclaimed to the world from Philadelphia two hundred years ago.

Victories like the abolition of slavery, the vote for women, the organization of labor unions and the end of the war in Indochina.

Defeats like the massacre of the Haymarket workers in Chicago and Native Americans at Wounded Knee, the tens of thousands of lynchings and the murder and imprisonment of our political leaders.

Today, the original thirteen colonies have grown into a great world power, which, like the British Crown of 1776, has colonized other nations like Puerto Rico and the Native American nations; a power which squanders enormous human and financial resources to support dictatorial regimes around the world; a power which threatens its own citizens with intolerable economic hardships, social disintegration and the denial of political rights. Today, the abuses and crimes committed by the U.S. government and the giant corporations it serves against the people of the United States and the world exceed in their inhumanity those committed by the British against the people of the thirteen colonies.

We Must All Hang Together...

... or most assuredly we will all hang separately," said Benjamin Franklin, 1776. A coalition has been formed in Chicago and in 60 other cities throughout the nation to organize for the Peoples July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia. The official celebration will feature President Ford and a parade of giant corporate-sponsored floats. Peoples Bicentennial Commission of Chicago has joined the July 4th Coalition of hundreds of progressive organizations, which includes here in Chicago such groups as the Womens Liberation Union, Concerned Rush Students, Irish Against Daley, Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy, Veterans for Peace, Intercommunal Survival Committee, New World Resource Center, New American Movement, and many others. Substantial Chicano, Puerto Rican and Black participation is expected around the issue of self-determination. Womens groups, anti-repression groups, workers, churches and students see the need for a national demonstration in Philadelphia. As Arthur Kinoy, well-known attorney, told us, "We have begun to find a way of merging the strength of our various movements, the key to victory. And we have learned that this unity must be based on respect for the integrity of our common struggles.... Now, let's get on with the work." Join scores of thousands in the greatest coalition of forces since the anti-war movement.

Other July 4th Demonstrations Peoples Bicentennial Commission of Chicago supports the July 4th Coalition for a demonstration in Philadelphia and Los Angeles, as well as the national Peoples Bicentennial Commission rally in Washington, D.C. for Economic Democracy ("Own your own Job!"). The Washington Rally will feature many noted figures such as Ed Sadlowski of the United Steel Workers, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Jane Fonda, and entertainers such as Pete Seeger and Arlo Guthrie. For information call the Washington PBC toll free at 800-424-1130. A local rally is being planned for Chicago as well.

The Revolution Continues A Chicago PBC bus is among the 18 Chicago buses going to Philadelphia. Our contingent with American Revolutionary Banners and Flags will bring color and life to the demonstration. We come with a sense of our history. We come to declare our independence from the corporations and modern day Tories in government who threaten our well-being and our rights.

Buy a Ticket Now For Philadelphia Tickets cost \$50 roundtrip. Buses leave at 2:00 P.M. Saturday, July 3 and return (no over night stay) Monday afternoon, July 5. Call our number, 327-1976, for tickets or stop by the office at 2440 North Lincoln. Put down a deposit immediately to hold a seat and pay the rest when you can.

A Peoples Bicentennial Ball in opposition to the Chicago Bicentennial Committee's Costume Ball for Corporate Leaders (see enclosed leaflet) is being held by the July 4th Coalition, Saturday, June 12, at 10:30 P.M. at Liberty Hall, 2440 North Lincoln Ave. A donation of \$2.00 (as compared to the \$500 a head ball at Standard Oil) is requested to help support the Coalition's work. Protest the elitist Bicentennial Ball at 8:00PM at Standard Oil, then join us for a Peoples Ball at Liberty Hall. That night Chicago PBC will be hosting Rob Krumer as he begins his tour performance. Tom Paine's Common Sense. He'll do some guerilla theatre at Standard Oil and perform at the party.

You are invited to a Super-Rich Party

\$500,000.00 Costume Ball

FREE

Bonnie Swearingen, socialite and wife of the President of Standard Oil (annual salary over \$400,000.) has invited 1000 of her dearest friends to a ... \$500 a ticket BI-CENTENNIAL COSTUME BALL! These Fatcats will roll up to the door of the Standard Oil Building in their chauffeur-driven limousines on the night of June 12, and shell out \$500. dollars per person to eat, drink, and be merry on the 19th floor. Believe it or not, these pillars of the establishment intend to celebrate the American Revolution.



The country is going to the dogs. Hopefully, it's the rich dogs.

THEY...

... are not just well-off. They don't just own Cadillacs. They own the factories where they are made and the banks that repossess them. They own, control, and direct some of the biggest multi-national corporations and banks in the world.

They are the ones who created the "Energy Crisis". They can raise prices at will, force shortages, and buy whole governments to do what they say.

They can pay you too little, then take their factory and leave town, if it looks like you might be getting organized to win better wages.

You may never have seen these people, but they are behind the cops who beat up Black people on the streets. They decided that the Black Panther Party was a threat and are responsible for the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. They are behind the Immigration agents who round up undocumented Mexican workers and ship them back to Mexico for trying to make a living.

Their great-grandfathers made fortunes stealing land from Native Americans (Indians), now the grandsons order the FBI and U.S. Troops onto the Reservations when Native Americans organize to regain their land.

They are responsible for driving 40% of the Puerto Rican people out of their homeland so that their island can be the source of maximum profit.

WE...

... are ordinary people, who work long hours for wages that are too low, who are out of work and trying to get by on Unemployment or Welfare. We own nothing but the bare necessities. We are in debt, can't afford to take a vacation, or to be sick.

We are women, children and men. We are old and young. We are Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native American and white. We live in this country and around the world. We are the people who produced the half-million dollars to pay for this "BALL". WE PROTEST!



Illustration: Operate the machinery. (The "Ball" is up!)

People's Protest

7:00pm Sat. June 12

Standard Oil Bldg, 200 E. Randolph

Initiated by the July 4th Coalition Join us in Philadelphia July 4th For further info call: 327-1976

DOCUMENTS ON WEST COAST TERRORIST AND
TERRORIST SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS

NEW DAWN STUDY GROUPS



OSAWATOMIE

Oswatomie is the quarterly magazine of the Weather Underground Organization. It is published for the purpose of educating the people into the tyranny of American imperialism, and to provide examples of people who have fought against it. Recent articles have included WORKING WOMEN, THE BATTLE OF BOSTON, IMPERIALISM AND HUNGER, THE ROOTS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, and others. New Dawn does a weekly study group on Oswatomie and other materials from the Weather Underground, SUNDAY at 5:00 P.M. at our office.

CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTION

Contemporary Revolution is New Dawn's study group of current revolutionary thinkers. We will be studying Latin American guerrilla theorists such as Che, Dobraay, Carlos Marighela, Abraham Guillen, the Children MIR, works from the North American revolutionary movement, Vo Nguyen Gien, and from anti-imperialist movements around the world. The class meets Tuesday nights at 7:30 P.M. at our office.

BASIC COMMUNISM

Basic Communism will be studying the basic works of Marxism-Leninism-Maoist Thought including FOUR ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHY, STATE AND REVOLUTION, WHAT IS TO BE DONE, and other works. The class meets Thursday nights at 7:00 P.M. at our office.

NEW DAWN
2515 DWIGHT WAY

BERKELEY
549-0216

a statement of
purpose

BRAY ARERA
RESEARCH
COLLECTIVE



1. The BAY AREA RESEARCH COLLECTIVE formed in the spring of 1974 largely as a response to the Symbionese Liberation Army and reactions to it by the police, the media both movement and straight, the left and the populace. We were aware that the SLA and more generally armed resistance to the ruling system had support and sympathy from many people, but that there was little organized support. We intended (and have attempted) to help fill that gap. We try to give a voice to popular support and constructive criticism of clandestine groups and actions. We also try to build support by circulating information by and about these organizations. We feel that by opening this dialogue -- too closed by hysteria, media distortions and lies -- we can be of benefit to the aboveground and clandestine movements.

2. Our general aim is the demystification/dis-alienation of "illegal" resistance and of the people who practice it. Our primary, though not our only, tactic has been the printing and dist-

tribution of written material: communiques, analyses and information about groups, actions and areas highlighted by actions (eg. school ID systems and General Motors). We welcome creative ideas about how to better aid the demystification/disalienation process.

3. We understand that mystification/alienation isn't simply a phenomenon occurring between the aboveground and the underground, but a very personal fact of daily life. Therefore we see it as essential to and inseparable from our political activity to try to break the barriers of personal and inter-personal alienation and mystification. This continual struggle is fundamental to the choices we have made in our lives and in our politics.

4. We need the support of everyone who feels that she or he has anything to offer. We need encouragement, analyses and opinion relevant to our politics, as well as ideas relating to how we can function more effectively. We desire

and will consider criticisms of our politics and practice. Also, we need money because we currently have no source of funds except donations and what comes from our own pockets.



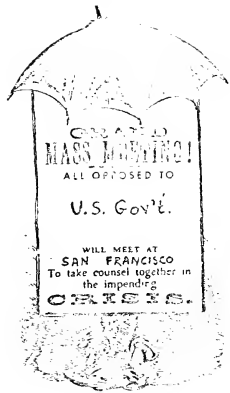
BAY AREA RESEARCH COLLECTIVE
 BOX 4344, SATHER GATE STA.
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94704

[From the Dragon, June 1976]

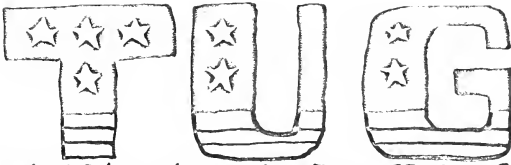
- 48 -

SHORTS...JULY 4th COALITION

On July 4th of this year, there will be people's bicentennial demonstrations to counter the myths inherent in the official "celebration". The demonstrations are being planned by the July 4th Coalition and will take place in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Antonio. The Coalition is a nationally-based and very broad coalition of over a hundred organizations. The principles of unity are: For jobs and a decent standard of living; for full democracy and equality; for a bicentennial without colonies--freedom for all oppressed nations. BAPC has joined the Bay Area July 4th Coalition, and we



urge everyone who can make it to attend one of the demos. The Bay Area address of the Coalition is 362 Capp St. San Francisco, CA. 94110.



►The Urban Guerrilla► Issue No. 1 ►25 cents



PIR-1

THE WEST COAST TERRORIST MOVEMENT

[APPENDIX TO STATEMENT BY DR. KINTNER]

Thanks to a proliferation of terrorist organizations and support groups, there have been more acts of terrorism on the West Coast than in any other part of the country. Some of these groups probably intend to get in on the Bicentennial Act.

The most publicized terrorist movement in the United States was the Symbionese Liberation Army. At this point, most of the members of the group are dead, some are in police custody, and a few remain underground. The arrest

in September 1975 of William and Emily Harris Patricia Hearst, Steve Soliah, and Wendy Yoshimuro all but destroyed the Symbionese Liberation Army. However, a programmatic statement entitled "History will absolve us", was distributed shortly after their arrest by the Bay Area Research Collective. The statement gives us an indication of the thinking of the terrorists and again shows the link-up in the terrorist minds between the underground activities and the above-ground support. The SLA statement reads in part:

THE POTENTIALS AND EFFECTS OF GUERRILLA ACTIONS NOW

Imaginative, well-executed armed actions arouse the spirit of resistance of the masses of oppressed and exploited people in this country. The thousands of poor who stood in line waiting for free food during the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, the large numbers of Blacks who attended the funeral of murdered Black Liberation Army leader Zayd Malik Shakur, the 25,000 copies which have been distributed of Prairie Fire, the political statement of the Weather Underground Organization, are ample evidence of the positive political effects of guerrillas. Yet, still when armed actions do occur most leftists' only response is a comprehensive condemnation of 'terrorism'. This divides the revolutionary movement. The above-ground must use the political energy generated by guerrilla actions to broaden its base among the masses. The above-ground must provide the clandestine movement with the support and criticism necessary to help guerrilla actions mobilize the largest number of people in a potentially revolutionary way. The underground must respect and respond to criticism from comrades who work among the masses. The underground must root themselves among the masses as much as possible, so as to accurately reflect the popular will in their actions.

As the struggle moves forward, the political effect of guerrilla actions will increase if there is mutual criticism/self-criticism between the above ground and clandestine movements. The armed elements can then evolve into a powerful source of political support and military support for the masses. But if armed actions are simply ignored or denounced by people in the movement, the underground will remain isolated, the propaganda potential of armed actions will be greatly diminished, and most importantly, a revolutionary movement which has the military possibility for winning a revolutionary war will not develop.

In March of 1976 four fugitive members of the Symbionese Liberation Army issued a statement entitled "Communique from Four Political Fugitives." The statement was signed with the authentic signatures of Kathleen and Josephine Soliah, Bernie J. Wilder, and Jim Kilgore. The Soliah girls are sisters of Steve Soliah who was arrested together with Patricia Hearst. The statement said in part, "We are not ashamed. We are proud to be among those fighting against the U. S. Empire. We are proud to have uncompromisingly supportive people who have taken up arms against the enemy. We will continue the struggle no matter what the personal consequence will be." The statement ended with, "We send special greetings of love, friendship and political solidarity to Bill and Emily Harris, Steve Soliah, Wendy Yoshimura and all our friends and family who have been harassed, imprisoned or driven underground as a result of the FBI dragnet in this case"

Prior to going underground, Kathleen Soliah and James Kilgore had been active in the West Coast group called the Bay Area Research Collective. Originally set up to support the SLA, it now supports all of the terrorist groups on the West Coast. This organization issues a photo-offset publication called Dragon which reprints communiques from a variety of terrorist groups, ranging from the New World Liberation Front to the Red Guerrilla Family. After the disappearance of Soliah and Kilgore, the Bay Area Research Collective continued to function, and it still publishes the magazine. The Dragon tells us a lot about the mentality and activities of the terrorists, and from this standpoint, it is well worthwhile running through some of the articles featured in this obscure publication.

Dragon regularly carries the communiques of the various West Coast groups involved in terrorist activities—the SLA, the New World Liberation Front, the Red Guerrilla Family, the Emilio Zapata Unit, the Black Liberation Army, etc. The first issue, for example, carried a chronology of the terrorist acts of the New World Liberation Front which began in May 1974, along with the New World Liberation Front communique on the December 1974 bombing of the San Francisco office of General Motors. The third issue carried a communique

from the George Jackson Brigade dated September 18, 1975, announcing that it had bombed a Safeway store and another communique dated June 1, 1975, claiming the bombing of the Washington State Department of Corrections in Olympia. The sixth issue of Dragon carried a communique from the Red Guerrilla Family on their bombing of the Iranian Consulate in San Francisco (Dragon noted that the Red Guerrilla Family made its debut on March 28, 1975, when it bombed the Berkeley FBI office.)

Issue number eight of Dragon, dated April 1976 was jam-packed with communiques and statements put out by various terrorists groups, including the New World Liberation Front, the Red Guerrilla Family and the Black Liberation Army. Most of the issue, however, was devoted to the George Jackson Brigade, which operates in the state of Washington.

The Jackson Brigade had taken responsibility for bombings of FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in that state. On January 23, 1976, three members of the Brigade attempted to rob the Tukwila branch of the Pacific National Bank of Washington. In a shoot-out with the police, one hold-up man, Bruce Seidel was killed, and two others, John Sherman and Ed Mead, were captured. On March 10, other members of the gang rescued Sherman from the jail in which he was being held and shot a police officer who had been guarding him. According to Dragon, Mead has been convicted of state charges of first-degree assault for shooting at police officers, and at the time of publication still faced federal bank robbery charges.

Dragon No. 6, dated January 1976, carried an analysis of the guerrilla activity in the area and linked up the terrorist actions with mass movements. The statement, written by the Bay Area Research Collective said, "Guerrilla struggles are neither more nor less important than aboveground organizing. In fact, the two must work together for either to succeed in the long run in making the revolution."

From time to time, Dragon also carries diagrams and instructions on the making of various types of bombs.

Dragon has heavily supported the SLA and has featured statements and discussions by SLA leaders. For example, the fifth issue of Dragon, dated December 1975, contained a statement from Emily and Bill Harris, Joe Remero and Russell Little disagreeing with the position taken by the pamphlet, "History Will Absolve Us", which was signed by the Symbionese Liberation Army. The pamphlet had apparently been published by the Soliah sisters without consultation with the imprisoned SLA members. It turned out that the imprisoned SLA members specifically disagreed with the concept of SLA's operations being used to build a "Marxist-Leninist Party at some future date". The issue also carried a statement purporting to come from the Ashanti Tribe, Freedom Fighters of the Black Liberation Army. Then there was an extremely significant statement by the Weather Underground entitled, "Politics in Command on the Question of Armed Struggle". Another significant document published in the December 1975 Dragon was a November 25, 1975, statement of the New World Liberation Front in which they identify themselves as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Other New World Liberation Front material in the same issue took responsibility for threats against the lives of members of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco.

Dragon also goes in for listing terrorist targets. For example, issue No. 7 dated February-March 1976 carried a New World Liberation Front communique listing twenty individuals, corporations, and utilities who are referred to as "scumlords". The bank on the list, the Bayview Federal Savings and Loan, which had had several New World Liberation Front bombings, has now completely capitulated to the organization and has agreed to renovate certain buildings originally bought for demolition in favor of a parking lot. The other nineteen targets, most of whom are individuals, may be subject to future bombings; this concern is supported by the fact that in January of this year the New World Liberation Front took credit for the bombing of the home of a woman and the car of a man, both of whom they had identified as "scumlords".

Although it is unknown to the general public, Dragon has had considerable impact on extremists and extremist groups nationwide. Copies of Dragon are displayed for sale as far away from the San Francisco Bay area as the 31st Street Store (425 East 31st Street) in Baltimore, Maryland. This store, while ostensibly a legitimate book store, also serves as a major outlet for terrorist propaganda in general, and for materials put out by terrorist support groups such as the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC), the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate (OC-5), the July 4th Coalition (J4C), and the Bay Area Research Collective.

In the early part of this year, another terrorist magazine, the Urban Guerilla (TUG), was published in California. This publication, which is specifically oriented toward the New World Liberation Front, is published by Jacques Rogiers, whom I mentioned earlier. Its first issue, like Dragon, reprinted a statement of the Zapata Unit explaining why they had been bombing Safeway stores—apparently the reasons this time included the fact that Safeway was stocking Coors beer and Gallo wine. There is some indication in the article that the Zapata Unit had been part of the New World Liberation Front, but was no longer affiliated. TUG also published the same "scumlords" list that had appeared in Dragon. There is, however, some reason for believing that the Zapata Unit has split with the New World Liberation Front on the question of Stalin, the New World Liberation Front having been critical of Stalin.

The arrest of the members of the Zapata Unit also put out of business a group called the New Dawn Party, and its newspaper the People United.

The New Dawn Party has distributed communiques from Emily and Bill Harris, the George Jackson Brigade, the New World Liberation Front, and other terrorist groups. They had also organized study groups to study such things as Osawatomie, the magazine of the Weather Underground Organization, contemporary revolution and "basic Communism". In November of 1975, they had joined with other groups to stop Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency recruitment on campus. Among the groups with which the New Dawn Party collaborated were the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party; the Spartacus Youth League; Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America; and a number of individuals including Larry Bensky, the station manager of KPFA, the Pacifica FM station in the Bay Area.

Most of the New Dawn Party activity, however, consisted of giving propaganda support to the Zapata Unit. The reason for this was soon learned when the Zapata Unit people were arrested—and it turned out that these terrorist cadres were also the principal activists of the "legal" New Dawn Party! This is another example of how a group operating ostensibly above ground and engaging in propaganda activity is also secretly operating within the framework of a terrorist underground group.

The story of the arrest of the Zapata Unit, alias the New Dawn Party, is instructive. In the early morning of February 17, 1976, a man and a woman were arrested by the Marin County Sheriff's Department after a shootout at a house in Lagunitas, California. Two companions escaped, however. The two arrested were identified as Dianna Lee Harmon and Lawrence Allan Kissinger. Kissinger was immediately identified as a member of the New Dawn Collective, also known as the New Dawn Party. He carried a driver's license with the name James Connors, which gave 2515 Dewitt Way, Berkeley, as his address. That was the address of the New Dawn Party headquarters. Kissinger was soon identified as Larry Allan, an alias for the person who rented the New Dawn office. It became apparent to the police at this point that the New Dawn Party was a coverup for the Zapata Unit. On February 21, the FBI and Special Weapons and Tactics teams raided two East Bay houses and arrested seven more members of the Zapata Unit. These included Steven Robert Scipes, also known as Lawrence Steve Harter, who was one of the prime movers in the New Dawn Collective. On February 23, the San Francisco Examiner reported that Scipes had visited Wendy Yoshimura in jail after she had been arrested with Patricia Hearst. At the time of Scipes' arrest, police seized almost 150 pounds of explosives and bomb components. Scipes and his companions were accordingly charged with federal counts of possessing unregistered explosives.

Among the documents found by police as a result of the arrest was a plan to blow up a large city's water system. Police stated that they believed that the city was Portland, Oregon. The explosives were soon identified as part of an eleven hundred pound batch of dynamite stolen more than a year ago. Police also discovered a considerable cache of narcotics, although the Zapata Unit claimed to be against the use of drugs.

One of the members of the ring, identified as Gregg Daniel Adornetto, also known as Alfonso Garcia, turned state's evidence, and has been cooperating with the Government.

On March 19, 1976, Chicago Tribune reporter Ronald Koziol reported that Adornetto had identified a picture of a Cuban Communist Intelligence Agent as a person he had known as Andres Gomez, one of the people who had been active in the Zapata Unit. Gomez fled to Mexico shortly after the other members of

the Zapata Unit had been arrested. According to Koziol, Latin-American intelligence experts identified him as a member of the Cuban DGI, the intelligence apparatus.

Adornetto had once been a member of the Youth International Party (YIP). He told Federal Investigators that the Zapata Unit were planning to kill Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan at the Republican Convention. Adornetto also advised authorities that the Zapata Unit had been meeting with Jeff Jones, one of the five top fugitive leaders of the Weather Underground.

In this one case, therefore, we have indicators of interlocks between the Weather Underground and an active and ostensibly independent terrorist group, and evidence of an individual tie-in with the Cuban DGI.

THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

Another organization with ties to the July 4 Coalition is the Black Liberation Army. The Black Liberation Army developed out of the Eldridge Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party. Cleaver, who has now returned to the United States and repudiated his radical past, had led the BLA from a refuge in Algeria. Donald Cox, who accompanied him to Algeria, remains a fugitive from murder charges in Maryland and California.

In October 1970, Cox wrote a pamphlet entitled, "On Organizing Guerrilla Units." The pamphlet advocated assassinations, kidnappings, and hold-ups. It gave details on how to carry out such actions. According to Cox, the police should be made a special target of the terrorists. This pamphlet was published in Algeria and copies were smuggled into the United States where it was reprinted in large numbers by members of the BLA in New York.

In May 1971, four New York City police officers were shot, two of them fatally, by members of the BLA. During the next two years, numerous police ambushes and robberies were committed by the BLA. Police estimated at that time that the entire membership was approximately one hundred, but that only about half of these were actually involved in the violent crimes; the others played a support role. In the past four years, almost all of the BLA activists have been either apprehended or killed in shootouts with the police. A small group continues to function in New York. A smaller group, exists on the West Coast, where it is believed to be in contact with local terrorist organizations. BLA members in prison have worked closely with other terrorists that they have met there.

In a pamphlet entitled "break de chains" written by two BLA members in prison, we read,

Many people are asking what is the Black Liberation Army? We are small urban guerrilla units, waging armed struggle against the agents of death—the united states government, operating throughout Babylon. We are niggers, who, having grown tired of the defensive posture of the past, have decided to stand up, finally coming to the conclusion that the best defense is a good offense. We 'view guerrilla war as an embryonic form of the National Liberation Army.' We are the Babylonian equivalent to the Tupamaros of Uruguay, Frelimo of Mozambique, or the NLF of Vietnam. In other words, we are the embryonic form of the people's army.

This pamphlet was written by Joanne Chesimard and Clark Squire, both of whom have been in recent contact with the prison project of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

The BLA has had a long history of anti-semitism, which they call "anti-Zionism". As early as February 1971, Don Cox told a Palestinian conference, "The Zionist menace is no stranger to us inside the United States. Our black communities, especially New York, are plagued by domination from this same enemy. The legal system of injustice that oppresses our people daily is full of hanging judges and henchmen for the ruling class who are Zionists. . . The mass media in the United States is largely controlled by Zionist interests . . ."

Decimated by death and imprisonment, the Black Liberation Army does not pose a major threat at this time. It should be noted, however, that their prison organization functions as part of a nationwide prisoners underground, which has extensive contacts with terrorist and extremist groups on the outside.

DRAGON AND JULY 4

A generous participation of West Coast terrorist elements in the demonstrations scheduled in our major cities seems virtually assured. Dragon, which

serves as a kind of central theoretical publication for the numerous terrorist groups on the West Coast. has just called upon all of its readers and supporters to participate in "the demonstrations . . . being planned by the July 4 Coalition in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Antonio." The art work illustrating the editorial note reads: "Grand Mass Meeting! All Opposed to the U.S. Gov't Will Meet at San Francisco, to take counsel together on the impending Crisis." (Dragon, June 1976).

A DOCUMENT CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

[From the Washington Post, Sunday, Sept. 7, 1975]

A TERRORIST'S MANY 'CONNECTIONS'

(By Don Cook)

PARIS.—Shortly after darkness settled over the Latin Quarter on the sultry evening of June 27, three agents of the French counterintelligence organization, the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST), drove up to a nondescript apartment building on the Rue Toullier.

They were seeking a man known to them only as "Carlos"—a shadowy South American suspected of terrorist activities. The agents had obtained his cover name and probable whereabouts from a Lebanese informer named Michel Moukarbel, who was accompanying them.

They were not armed.

The four men mounted the stairs to the apartment where the door was opened by a stocky man in his late 20s about 5 feet 10. He had a round, full face, swarthy complexion and dark hair and wore tinted glasses. Two of the agents entered, leaving the informer in the hall with the third DST man.

They told "Carlos" who they were and said they wanted to ask a few questions. He appeared to offer no resistance, and the two agents signaled for the others to come in. When Moukarbel identified "Carlos," the DST men asked that he accompany them to headquarters for questioning. He shrugged somewhat resignedly, turned away to pick up a jacket and then spun around firing a revolver.

He first put two shots into the informant, killing him instantly. He then killed two of the agents and seriously wounded the third.

Seconds later Carlos raced down the stairs and out into the rabbit-warren streets of the Latin Quarter. He is still on the run.

CARLOS THE LINK

The DST agents had been fatally lax in estimating either the importance of the man they were going to question or the danger they were getting into. But in the weeks since the killings, the investigation of Carlos and his activities has been like a jigsaw puzzle in which the pieces suddenly start falling into place.

Around the figure of Carlos, diverse and distant terrorist operations throughout the world have begun to form a small picture.

Carlos emerges as a connecting link—not just a French connection, but a London connection, a Middle East connection, a Japanese connection, an arms connection and ultimately, perhaps, a Moscow connection.

Ten days after the shootings, three Cuban diplomats were ordered by the French government to leave France. They had been operating in Paris as "cultural attaches" arranging student travel and study grants in Cuba, using a travel agency as a cover for their activities. The DST had established that the three were agents of the Cuban secret service, the Direction General de Inteligencia. The DGI works so closely with the Russian KGB that it is regarded in the West as completely controlled by the Russians.

The three Cubans had been in regular contact with Carlos both in and out of Paris and with others of his entourage uncovered by DST investigations.

The first break in the Carlos case after the Rue Toullier shootings came unexpectedly in London, where Carlos' identity was established and details of his contacts and activities began to unfold.

The break came on the Monday following the shooting from a young Britisher named Barry Woodhams living in an apartment in the Bayswater section with a Spanish girlfriend, Angela Otaola. Woodhams concluded from newspaper descriptions of Carlos that the killer probably was the same "Carlos Martinez" whom he and Angela had known for some months as a "Venezuelan economist."

Carlos had first gotten acquainted with Angela, who worked as a waitress in a Bayswater pub, and soon the three became friends. Carlos seemed to have plenty of money, was a good conversationalist and said that he kept moving in and out of London because he could only get a visa to stay a month at a time.

The last time he had visited Woodhams' apartment, in early May of this year, he left behind a black suitcase, asking that it be stored for him.

A week or two after Carlos' departure from London, Woodhams was moving a chest of drawers in the apartment. Slipped in beneath one of the drawers he discovered a passport with a photo of Carlos but a different name and national identity. There also was a list of names and newspaper clips from the London Jewish Chronicle, together with photos, private addresses, private phone numbers, nicknames, etc. Police later decided this was a list of potential assassination targets.

When Woodhams read of the Paris shootings, he turned to the black bag. He noticed that something had begun to leak. He broke the bag open and found a 9-mm. Browning pistol, a 7.65-mm. automatic pistol with silencer, a 7.65 Mauser pistol, ammunition for the pistols and three hand grenades. There was also a quantity of geleignite, an explosive, which had begun to deteriorate in the heat.

Woodhams got in touch first with the Guardian, a leading British newspaper, but Scotland Yard was into the act quickly, and two DST agents flew over from Paris.

Both Woodhams and Angela were taken into custody, and she is still being held on charges of possessing dangerous weapons.

With the false passport and various other identity leads, the British established that Carlos Martinez was in reality a Venezuelan named Ilich Ramirez Sanchez. He was the son of a prominent, wealthy Venezuelan lawyer, a strong supporter of the Communist Party who had given each of his three sons one of Lenin's names: Ilich, Vladimir and Lenin.

The Sanchez family had lived for several years in London in the fashionable Kensington district, but went back to Venezuela last February. More important, it was established that Ilich, at age 21, had been a student in Moscow at the Patrice Lumumba University.

Ever since its founding about 15 years ago, this has been the Soviet training center for "young revolutionaries" from Africa and other parts of the Third World. It is run as an appendage of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, though ostensibly a branch of Moscow University.

Ilich was apparently expelled from Russia for indulging in "anti-Soviet activities" and leading a dissolute life. One intelligence analyst points out, however, that the Russians often use the technique of expelling and smearing someone they intend to utilize at a later time, thus providing him with extra cover when his real work on behalf of the KGB begins.

Ilich, or Carlos, left Moscow in 1969. Just when and where his terrorist activities here is still not known, but there is evidence of his involvement in a number of headline cases going back at least three years.

These include an assassination attempt against J. Edward Sieff, a prominent English Jew and clothing-store chain magnate, in December, 1973; an assassination attempt against a Yugoslav consular official in Lyons in March of this year; the bombing of a popular Paris Left Bank hangout, le Drugstore, in 1974; and the Japanese Red Army seizure of the French embassy in The Hague in September, 1974, when the French ambassador was held hostage for the release of a Japanese terrorist in jail in France.

THE MIDEAST CONNECTION

About 10 days after the Paris shooting, the Middle East connection between Carlos and the Palestinian terrorists was publicly proclaimed in Beirut by a spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A high-ranking PFLP member, insisting on anonymity but agreeing to quotation, told several British and French journalists in early July that Carlos was "a long-standing member" of the PFLP's extensive terrorist network and that Michel Moukarbel had been its Paris paymaster.

According to this version, Carlos was in Paris to prepare a new series of terror strikes in London and other European capitals while Moukarbel was picked up by the Lebanese police at the Beirut airport on June 9 as he was about to fly to Paris to join Carlos to complete their plans.

Moukarbel was carrying incriminating documents with him when he was seized, the PFLP man said, and after first being held incommunicado he was then "questioned and tortured" for five days by the Lebanese police, with French DST agents and a CIA agent sitting in. At the end of the questioning, the PFLP man said, Moukarbel was put on a plane to Paris where the DST watched him.

Apparently, the French chose to let him move about for a few days, but he managed to get word back to Beirut about what had happened to him while in the hands of the Lebanese authorities. He also indicated that the plans for future operations with Carlos had been blown. Finally, the DST picked him up and forced him to lead them to the apartment on the Rue Toullier.

When Moukarbel was brought into the apartment by the DST agents to confront Carlos, according to the PFLP version, he "managed to make a secret sign" to Carlos, and by unspoken agreement Carlos shot him dead so he could not again be made to talk.

The DST in Paris refuses all comment on the PFLP version of events. There is some logic to the story, however. Certainly, it seems that Moukarbel successfully avoided alerting the DST agents that they were about to face a trained killer or explaining the importance of Carlos in the terrorist network.

With Moukarbel dead and Carlos on the run, the DST turned up a checkbook in Moukarbel's possession. On the back of one of the check stubs he had written the address of an apartment on the Rue Amelie, on the Left Bank.

At the apartment about a week after the shooting, the agents picked up a 24-year-old Colombian woman working at a Paris bank, Ampara Silva-Masmela. They also arrested a British woman working as a secretary at the College de France, Angela Armstrong, 29, who was Carlos' last known contact in Paris.

More important, they found a mass of documents involving both Carlos and Moukarbel—primarily Moukarbel's "paymaster records" for the ring.

Moukarbel had records of hotel bills, airline tickets, restaurant receipts, travel agency bills and car rental bills. These and other receipts and documents establish Carlos' movements and presence in such places as Amsterdam, The Hague, Paris, Lyons, London and elsewhere at or around the time when terrorist actions either took place or would have been in preparation in those cities.

THE LATIN CONNECTION

About the time DST agents in Paris were picking up Ampara Silva-Masmela, Scotland Yard detectives in London visited another apartment in the Bayswater Road area not far from where Barry Woodhams had stored Carlos' arms-laden suitcase.

A second cache of arms was discovered, and Scotland Yard took into custody another young Colombian woman known variously as Maria Romero, Maria Tonbon de Romero and Lydia Tonbon. The last appears to be her true name.

She has since been further identified as a member of the secretariat of the Colombian Communist Party and the former wife of a senior man in its hierarchy named Alonso Romero Buj. He also has worked for the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a Communist-front organization.

Miss Tonbon was said to have had contacts both with Carlos and with a second secretary of the Cuban Embassy in London. She is still in custody.

Next Scotland Yard put out a wanted notice for a 45-year-old Ecuadorian named Antonio Dages Bouvier. He was said to have shared a London apartment with Carlos and to have been involved with Carlos in joint plotting of attacks on British Jewish leaders—probably including the assassination attempt on Sieff.

Meanwhile, the trail on Carlos himself went cold. He apparently spent Friday night after the killings at Miss Silva-Masmela's Rue Amelie apartment. The

next day he wrote a brief note in Spanish to Angela Otaola in London, which was intercepted by Scotland Yard. The letter said:

"I'm going on a trip for an undetermined time. But I hope I won't be long in returning. As for the *chiquitin* [little baby], I've sent him to a better life for his treachery."

Angela Armstrong, the British woman who was picked up in Paris by the DST, added further details of Carlos' last known day in Paris when she appeared for a hearing in late July.

Miss Armstrong told her French magistrate that on the Saturday morning after the shooting, she went to the Invalides air terminal in Paris to buy a ticket to send her small daughter to London. Carlos, whom she knew through a former roommate, suddenly appeared. She had no explanation as to how Carlos learned that he might find her at the terminal.

She told the judge that Carlos first asked if she had read the newspapers, and then said: "It's not my habit to kill, but a dirty Arab betrayed me—I only kill those who betray me."

He told her he was leaving for the Middle East.

The pattern which emerges is that Carlos operated with a mixed entourage of tough, trained professional Latin-American accomplices. He was also assisted by a lot of women friends, who were ready to help with hideouts but who probably had little knowledge of what was really going on.

THE JAPANESE CONNECTION

In July, 1974, a young Japanese terrorist named Yoshiaki Yamada, traveling as a student under the alias of Koji Susuki, was arrested at Orly airport when he tried to enter France with three false passports and 100 counterfeit U.S. dollar bills.

Two months later, on Sept. 13, three terrorists of the Japanese Red Army invaded the French embassy in The Hague. For two days they held 11 hostages, including French Ambassador Jacques Senard. They demanded the release of Yamada, an airplane to fly them to Syria and \$1 million.

Carlos, it is now known, was the planner and mastermind of the whole operation.

The Japanese connection with the Palestinian terrorists, which in turn spills over into terrorist operations in Europe, is one of the more bizarre aspects of the picture. A counterintelligence man who has followed many a terrorist trail in the Middle East and Europe for the past seven or eight years opts for a very simple explanation of how and why the Japanese Red Army got involved.

Things were getting too hot for them in Japan, he says, so a few of them took off to the Middle East—where they could find terrorist soul mates, arms, equipment, money and, above all, targets. Others joined the first arrivals in the Middle East, and the infamous raid on Lydda airport in Tel Aviv in May, 1972, was their first big job. They killed 26 people and wounded more than 70 others there. One terrorist was killed by the Israelis, one killed himself and the third is serving a life sentence.

The linkup of the Red Army with the Palestinian terrorists was thus sealed in Israeli blood. And the Lydda shoot-out certainly built up "cash in the bank" in Beirut for the Japanese.

When it came to drawing on this with the terrorist PFLP to force the release of Yamada from French custody, the PFLP passed the problem to Carlos in Paris and to his Lebanese associate and paymaster Moukarbel.

Among Moukarbel's papers and documents, found in Silva Masmela's apartment after Moukarbel's death, were notebooks which carried surprising details about operations the two had planned and carried out together.

The papers showed that the two traveled several times to The Hague and to Zurich in August and September, 1974, just before the attack on the French embassy. There was a note dated Sept. 3 concerning a meeting in Switzerland "with the Japanese" at which final plans were worked out. And on Sept. 12, the day before the attack, the Moukarbel notebooks recorded that Carlos had left for Amsterdam.

Further investigation by the Dutch security police has uncovered evidence that Carlos changed a large sum of money in Amsterdam that same day. He appears to have taken no active part in the assault or the overall action, but he must have been close at hand.

THE GERMAN CONNECTION

Beginning with the disruption of the Free University of West Berlin by leftist student leaders in 1967-68, terrorism has come closer to "destabilizing" political life in West Germany than anywhere else in Europe.

Some terrorism has come from the outside—thus, the Palestinian seizure of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games which ended in a shoot-out at Munich airport with captors and hostages killed.

But central to terrorism in West Germany for at least seven years has been a gang named after a 41-year-old woman, Ulrike Meinhof, and a 32-year-old man, Andreas Baader.

At present, approximately 30 Baader-Meinhof gang members or accomplices are scattered in German jails in top security condition. A trial of the two leaders along with two others opened in May in an especially built, super-security prison court house outside of Stuttgart.

The terrorist acts of the Baader-Meinhof gang run the gamut of bombings, bank robberies, assassinations, attacks on U.S. army installations, arson, police killings.

Last April the gang kidnaped the leader of the Berlin Christian Democratic Party at the height of a municipal election campaign and successfully got five of their members sprung from jail and flown to South Yemen in exchange for his life.

In early August, West German security officials alerted the French DST to the possibility that a new coordinated attack may be in the making somewhere—possibly involving Palestinians, Japanese, South American and German urban guerrillas. It would be staged both to demonstrate solidarity with the Germans and to try once more to force release of members of the Baader-Meinhof gang from prison. The warning is being taken seriously right now.

The "Carlos connection" with the Baader-Meinhof gang has been identified primarily through arms, ammunition and grenades. But there is a second, somewhat more shadowy connection—and that is communism.

As the West German police finally closed in on the two gang leaders in 1973, the story of Communist financing and Communist involvement in its operations began to emerge.

Ulrike Meinhof's divorced husband of the 1960s, Klaus Rainer Rohl, disclosed that both he and his wife were secret party members, and that he received something like \$400,000 in secret Communist funds through East Berlin and Prague. The money financed an influential leftist revolutionary magazine which he was then editing. It also financed leftist student movement which began the disruption of the Free University and then went on to general terrorism under Baader-Meinhof leadership.

Moreover, gang members and student terrorists were constantly supported by the KGB-controlled East German secret police with houses in East Berlin, false papers and identity cards, money, arms, ammunition and terrorist training. They also got transportation from East Berlin to the Middle East where they were in contact with the PFLP and other terrorist groups.

The evidence of the stolen ammunition and arms is circumstantial, not totally provable, but sufficiently solid to satisfy the French DST, the Scotland Yard specialist, the West German police and the American Army in Germany. In every case, the grenades and certain guns or ammunition were the same types as munitions stolen by the Baader-Meinhof gang from U.S. Army installations in West Germany. There is no conclusive proof in the form of exact serial number records, for example, but it nevertheless seems certain that Carlos was getting arms through his German connection.

When Carlos disappeared, he left behind a curious and somewhat confusing batch of notes, clippings and documents that were assumed to be a potential list of assassination targets and projects for terrorist operations. The list included British Minister Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, British playwright John Osborne and his actress wife, Jill Bennett; singer Vera Lynn and the Earl of Drogheda, former chairman of London's Covent Garden Opera House. Farther afield, some of the activities which Carlos appears to have been contemplating would seem at odds with his mainly Jewish targets in Britain.

In the Middle East, the targets in his papers included Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani; Moslem Prime Minister Ali Aref of the former French Somaliland and the wife of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. His group also had prepared plans to place an explosive device in a ship in the Suez Canal, timed to sink the vessel at a point where it would block the canal again.

Nobody knows how good a communist Carlos might still be or how close his connections with the KGB have been since he left Moscow in 1969. The Middle East targets on his list could be construed as serving the Palestinian cause by disrupting Egypt and Saudi Arabia—two of the least militant Arab nations in the confrontation with Israel. But blowing up a ship to block the Suez Canal could scarcely be regarded as serving the interests of the Soviet Union.

It is difficult to deduce from the known evidence in the Carlos case—as well as the evidence of the Baader-Meinhof gang and other international terrorist operations—that the KGB is drawing up lists of targets and masterminding terrorism on a world-wide scale. The targeting almost always has served a precise political aim of one of the diverse groups, such as the PFLP or the Red Army or Baader-Meinhof gang.

THE SOVIET CONNECTION?

The Rand Corp. carried out a study of international terrorism in 1974. Its report says:

"Unless we try to think like terrorists, we are also liable to miss the point, for the objectives of terrorism are often obscured by the fact that specific terrorist attacks may appear to be random, directed against targets whose death or destruction does not appear directly to benefit the terrorist cause. But the objectives of terrorism are not those of conventional combat. Terrorists want a lot of people watching and a lot of people listening, not a lot of people dead. Terrorism is publicity, theater and may be aimed at causing widespread disorder, demoralizing society and breaking down social order."

Therefore, even though terrorism may not appear to serve direct Soviet aims, that does not mean that the KGB is not taking a benevolent interest in what is going on. By giving terrorist groups a little causal help and a distant blessing without trying to control operations, or tell the terrorists what to do, the KGB may well be building up a position where it might one day collect its investment by telling a "Carlos" it has a special job to be done.

The Rand study records that there were 507 incidents of international terrorism from January, 1968, to April, 1974. The figure is for international terrorism and does not include national terrorism such as that in Ireland.

While this total is not large (there are about 18,000 murders or killings in the United States alone every year), the disruptive effect is out of all proportion to the number of incidents. In this sense, terrorism certainly works.

And Carlos on the run has friends, money and a whole world in which to hide. Counter-terrorism is rapidly overtaking counter-espionage as the biggest problem facing the intelligence services of the West. It is not very reassuring how frequently communism and terrorism are intertwined.

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