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THE ATTEMPT TO STEAL
THE BICENTENNIAL

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission

REPORT

OF 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



MAY 1976

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RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the attached report entitled "The Attempt to Steal the Bicentennial: The People's Bicentennial Commission" shall be printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

Approved : April 27, 1976.

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INTRODUCTION

BY

SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND

This report has aptly been captioned, "The Attempt to Steal the Bicentennial".

This year our nation is celebrating the 200th anniversary of its founding. So that this anniversary could be observed in a proper, dignified and meaningful manner at every level of our society, Congress in July of 1966 established the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission which, under new legislation enacted in January 1974, was converted into the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration. ARBA is currently funded at an approximate level of ten million dollars a year, with another eleven million disbursable to assist states and communities in planning their observances. In enacting this legislation, it was the hope and expectation of Congress that in this way our citizens, old and young, would be given a better understanding of our magnificent national history and would be able to draw a fresh inspiration from the examples of the founding fathers and the immortal documents of liberty which they handed down to us.

It is obvious that the successful national observance of our Bicentennial will require the cooperation of our schools, of our churches, of our media, and of our great national organizations. But the evidence presented in this report and in the hearing record on which it is based points to the conclusion that a privately funded organization, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, operating with some hundreds of thousands of dollars, has been far more successful in reaching our churches, our schools, and our media, than has the official Bicentennial organization, ARBA. What is more, this heavily documented evidence establishes beyond challenge that the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is a far-left organization whose true views are far closer to those of Castro and Mao than they are to those of our founding fathers. Its participation in the Bicentennial is a deception and a fraud. By muscling in on the Bicentennial observance, it seeks first of all to pervert its meaning, and secondly, to exploit it for the purpose of overthrowing our free society.

Because the PBC propaganda is skillful, many well-intentioned people have been taken in by it. As Mr. Frank Watson, one of the witnesses who testified, put the matter:

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

In opening the hearing which is the subject of this report, I made the following statement:

It is important that the Congress and the public be aware of the existence of organizations of the revolutionary left which seek to pervert the legitimate meaning of the American Revolution and which, with the tacit connivance of front organizations, have engaged in a massive campaign to try to "capture" the Bicentennial celebration for themselves.

Knowing something of the evidence which a lengthy staff investigation had already developed, I expressed the belief that our hearings would be able to—

Peel back the patriotic veneer of the name "Peoples Bicentennial Commission" for the purpose of examining and laying before the Congress and the public, facts by which the legitimacy of this organization's publicly stated goals and objectives and the integrity of their spokesmen may be objectively evaluated.

That the committee was able to achieve the objectives suggested by the preliminary evidence is amply demonstrated in the report that follows.

THE ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE BICENTENNIAL

THE PEOPLES BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

On March 18th and 19th the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security held hearings on the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, a private activist organization that has attracted much attention. The witnesses were Mr. Frank M. Watson, Jr. of Dunn Loring, Virginia, and Mrs. Mary Walton of the State of Illinois.

Mr. Watson, who is a retired Army officer with a masters degree in Journalism, has worked for over 12 years in the field of media analysis and propaganda analysis. In the latter field, he has been primarily concerned with revolutionary organizations.

A private citizen, writer and lecturer, Mrs. Walton has for 14 years made an intensive study of revolutionary movements, has worked with many educators on the problem of student radicalism and drug abuse, and served on the Illinois Governor's Advisory Council on Student Radicalism under Governor Ogilvie.

The report that follows is based on the testimony Mr. Watson and Mrs. Walton presented to the Subcommittee and the numerous exhibits which they submitted in support of their testimony.

* * * * *

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission over the past two years or more has received considerable attention from the American media. The early reports placed their primary emphasis on the PBC's educational activities and on its opposition to the commercialization of the Bicentennial. These reports were generally highly laudatory in nature. But the PBC's roster of activities—especially in recent months—has included certain items which could not have washed too well even with its best misguided friends in the media:

In April of 1975 it was responsible for the disorderly counter-demonstration which heckled President Ford and uglified the commemorative proceedings at Concord, Massachusetts.

Within the past month, it has sent 8,000 cassette recordings, accompanied by first name covering letters, to the wives of corporate executives. The tape recordings told the wives about "the recent wave of corporate scandals and criminal activity," and called upon the wives in effect, to crossexamine their husbands about any "criminal and abusive policies" in which they might be involved.

In recent weeks, too, the PBC has sent letters to some thousands of secretaries of corporation executives, offering a reward of \$25,000 to any secretary who would provide information leading to the successful prosecution of her boss.

It has announced plans for a mass demonstration, similar to the Concord demonstration, in Washington, D.C. on July 4th; and the PBC

has repeatedly claimed that it plans to mobilize 250,000 people for the occasion. It is also secretly collaborating with the National July 4th Coalition, an amalgam of far-left organizations which is planning a parallel demonstration in Philadelphia.

Despite all this, there is widespread public confusion about the real nature and purpose of the PBC. Because the name is so similar, many people, in fact, tend to confuse it with the official "American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration (ARBA)". An elementary school teacher in Fort Dodge, Iowa, for example, wrote in to ARBA to ask if "the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is another name for your group of coordinators, or if it is a separate organization..."

What is the "Peoples Bicentennial Commission"?

The "Peoples Bicentennial Commission", with headquarters at 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., poses as a "nationwide citizens organization dedicated to restoring the democratic principles that shaped the birth of this republic." In actual fact, it is a propaganda and organizing tool of a small group of new-left political extremists whose pantheon of political heroes include 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.

In a document prepared for the Subcommittee, Mr. Watson described the purposes and modus operandi of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission in the following apt words:

Under the guise of the noblest of patriotic claims, and with the appearance of the most altruistic concern for the "little guy", they seek to promote dissatisfactions and divisions among broad segments of the population. Methodically they seek to discredit each of the traditions and institutions of the existing political and economic system, and to encourage the citizenry to demand the bit-by-bit substitution of those of a socialist state. Their program is extremely well thought out, and it is subtle. It has fooled quite a number of honest and well-meaning people and organizations, and has garnered encouragement and financial support from some most unlikely sources. Indeed, an amount of careful study is required to unmask the scheme for what it is.

To quote an expression which was responsible for launching the PBC, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission seeks to "radicalize Americans by Americanizing radicalism." It is a tribute to the skillfulness of the PBC's propaganda that it has been able to persuade most of the American media that its patriotism is for real. Newspaper columns and TV and radio programs have thrown open their doors to the PBC—to the point where the coverage it has received far exceeds

that of the official American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration (ARBA). In general, the media coverage of the PBC has ranged from uncritical to laudatory. Even the staid Wall Street Journal has written favorably about the PBC, describing its program as "old-fashioned egalitarianism"—this, despite the fact that the PBC literature calls for the abolition of corporate ownership and its replacement by worker and community ownership. As Mr. Watson summed up the matter, even their bad press would have been a public relations man's dream.

PBC reports that its radio series, "The Voices of '76" is being aired on a daily basis by 924 radio stations across the U.S.; that a television series with a similar caption is being aired on an ongoing basis by 102 TV stations in major metropolitan areas; that the PBC feature services are sent to over 14,000 general and specialized media publications and journals; and that the PBC's ambitious book publishing program includes major publishers like Bantam Books, Simon and Schuster, and McGraw Hill.

Following the lead of the media, PBC reports that "thousands of libraries, churches, fraternal clubs, schools, civic associations, etc., are currently using [educational] materials and [social action] programs especially developed by the PBC." According to PBC, 65,000 churches are using Bicentennial material prepared by it.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PBC—JEREMY RIFKIN AND JOHN ROSSEN

The man who is generally credited with having launched the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and who serves as its principal spokesman is a 30-year old Chicagoan by the name of Jeremy Rifkin. Rifkin describes himself as an "economist". There is more to his background than this, however.

Jeremy Rifkin, as a New Left activist, played a prominent role in the anti-Vietnam war movement, serving as National Coordinator for the National Committee for Citizens Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam. (Like the rest of the Old Left and New Left "humanitarians", Rifkin exploded with fraudulent indignation over the massacre of several score civilians at Mylai—in violation of a whole series of orders and troop directives—but has remained completely silent over the Communist killing of half a million Cambodians through executions, forced marches, and starvation.)

At a later date, in 1971, Rifkin was a founding member of the New American Movement, a far left New-Left organization, which combined calls for revolution with professions of commitment to democracy. What these professed commitments to democracy really meant is apparent from the fact that the NAM repudiated the moderate and democratic socialist parties of Western Europe as upholders of the capitalist regime, and sent fraternal delegates to last year's conference of the Castro-dominated Puerto Rican Socialist Party, in the company of other fraternal organizations like the Prairie Fire Organiz-

ing Committee (the support organization of the terrorist Weather Underground), the American Indian Movement, and the American Section of the Philippine Communist Party.

In attempting to describe the NAM's position in the Left Wing spectrum, Mr. Frank Watson said:

If you were to draw up a family tree of the splintering and combining of the Communist factions in the U.S. over the past 5 or 6 years, you would probably have to consider the New American Movement something of a second cousin to such terrorist organizations as the Weathermen and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

At the founding meeting of the NAM, Jeremy Rifkin successfully urged that the movement commit itself to a Peoples Bicentennial Commission program. In a statement subsequently published in the November-December 1971 issue of the "New American Movement", Rifkin said:

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

The article argued further that by establishing "Peoples Bicentennial Commissions" on the state or local level the New American Movement could attract citizens from communities, unions, civic organizations, grade schools, high schools, and colleges, for eventual recruitment to the local chapters of the New American Movement itself. "Aside from engaging large numbers of people for the first time who might not feel comfortable relating directly to the New American Movement," said the article, "the Peoples Commissions would provide a unique forum for mass media exposure over the next four years. This mechanism could be used to raise political awareness and to promote the New American Movement and other radical activities and demands."

Today Jeremy Rifkin is no longer listed as a member of the NAM, and the PBC does its utmost to obscure NAM's seminal role in the founding of the PBC. The language Rifkin uses and the authorities he invokes are selected with care so that people will be led to believe that his radicalism is in the Jeffersonian tradition and that it reflects nothing more than an "old-fashioned egalitarianism"—to quote the Wall Street Journal again.

A Washington Star News article on November 24, 1974, had this to say about Jeremy Rifkin:

When he calls himself and his colleagues revolutionary, he says he is not thinking about Lenin and Karl Marx, he is thinking about Paul Revere and Nathan Hale. Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams are the revolutionaries he likes to quote.

In the article in the New American Movement which has already been quoted above, Rifkin put things a little bit differently:

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

Mr. Watson pointed out that Rifkin was one of a committee of seven appointed to sanitize the NAM's literature for the purpose of eliminating telltale rhetoric that would frighten away the ordinary citizen. Rifkin did his work well. The paragraph quoted above, in a "sanitized" version, appeared in the introduction to "America's Birthday", a PBC volume published by Simon and Schuster. (page 13.) The sanitized paragraph is reproduced below, with the changes indicated in brackets:

A genuine understanding of American democratic ideals ["revolutionary" has been changed to "democratic"] is what links the American people with the struggles of all oppressed people in the world. [Rifkin's previous reference to "Lenin, Mao and Che" has been deleted.] Indeed, the American Revolution has stood as an example of revolution to the Third World. Not until the majority of Americans begin to re-identify with our democratic principles [the word "democratic" has been inserted] and develop our own revolutionary struggle will we be able to form a real bond of fraternalism and solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed peoples.

Mr. Watson underscored the fact that this kind of camouflage consistently characterizes PBC propaganda. He said that, in the case of Rifkin's introduction to "America's Birthday", "you can go down through it page by page and find whole paragraphs that have been picked up and plopped in there—with the scare words and scare names taken out." He offered for the record a comparative sheet, on one side of which were four paragraphs from Rifkin's writings for the underground press, where he was speaking to fellow leftists, while on the other side were the same four paragraphs as they appeared in "America's Birthday", with scare words and scare names deleted.

Despite the fact that Jeremy Rifkin is generally portrayed as the founder of the PBC, according to both witnesses the real ideological and propaganda genius responsible for launching the Peoples Bicentennial Commission was not Rifkin but an aging fellow Chicagoan by the name of John Rossen.

The witnesses submitted extensive documentation to establish that the basic set of ideas behind the PBC, its rhetoric, its revolutionary quotations, its graphic designs, including the "Don't tread on me" coiled rattlesnake logo, were all the product of Rossen's earlier efforts, preceding the PBC by a good several years. As Mr. Watson put the matter, "Rifkin, more generally acceptable, 30 years of age versus Rossen's age between 65 and 70, simply took the blueprints for the PBC and moved the locus of the operation from Chicago to Washington."

The evidence established that Rossen had been a long time member of the Communist Party, from approximately 1930 to the mid-50's. Among other things, he served as a Communist Party organizer in the State of Illinois, he ran for mayor of St. Louis on the Communist Party ticket, and he served with the Communist-dominated Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. Although Rossen claims that he broke with the Communist Party—apparently some time in the 50's—he still speaks with pride of the years he spent as a Communist activist and organizer.

In the early 60's, Rossen was a leader of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the Chicago area. (The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was the subject of an intensive investigation by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. This investigation established that the Committee received a substantial part of its funding from the Castro government.) At a later stage, he was prominently identified with the SDS—the SDS, in fact, maintained its national headquarters in a Chicago building owned by Rossen.

In the late 60's, together with a group of other American radicals, Rossen met with a delegation of North Vietnamese and Vietcong in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Rossen quoted the Vietnamese Communists as telling the American delegation: "The problem with you American friends is that you have not yet found your identity; you do not identify with the American people." When he got back to the United States, Rossen used his own publishing operation, the Johnny Appleseed Press of Cicero, Illinois, to print and distribute "an open letter to the American Left."

The basic problem confronting the American left, said Rossen in this "open letter", was "how to get started on the American road to socialism." The letter continued:

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

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

American radicals, who are really American and really radical, must accept the proposition that 20th century Americanism is humanist-socialism.

A revival and updating of the spirit of '76 by the American left, and a revamping of left theory and practice in terms of that spirit would not only defeat the fascist danger, but would create conditions for an offensive by the left that would speed the day of the arrival of the American people at the next milestone in our history—a humanist-socialist society.

In conjunction with his open letter to the American left, Rossen announced the launching of a new movement, which he called the

"New Patriotic Movement", and he also published a paper called *The New Patriot*.

About the time he started putting out *The New Patriot*, Rossen published a pocket-sized booklet entitled, "Revolutionary Quotations From the Thoughts of Uncle Sam". The first edition, published in 1969, said in its foreword that it had been inspired by the "Little Red Book" of quotations from Mao Tse-tung. This booklet was offered as a subscription bonus with some of the more radical underground papers in the Midwest, such as *Rising Up Angry*, published in Chicago, and *Kaleidoscope*, published in Milwaukee. Mr. Watson submitted for the record a copy of an advertisement for the Rossen book of quotations which appeared in the nationally circulated weekly, *The Guardian*, which claims to be Marxist-Leninist, and whose sympathies are obviously Maoist. (*The Guardian*, May 3, 1969.) The advertisement, again, drew a comparison between "Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans" and the "Little Red Book" of Mao. The advertisement said that the book contained quotations from Thomas Paine to Tom Hayden, from Sitting Bull to Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton, from Gene Debs and Bill Haywood to Helen Keller and C. Wright Mills, and from Richard Daley to Rennie Davis.

When this booklet was advertised a short while later in "*The New Patriot*", where Rossen was seeking a broader and somewhat less radical audience, Mr. Watson pointed out that a few dramatic changes took place. First, the name of the booklet was altered to read "Little Red, White and Blue Book of Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans". Second, there was no reference to Mao's book. Third, there was no longer any reference to names like Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton and Sitting Bull, etc.—for the very good reason that most Americans are not inclined to regard such people as revolutionary heroes.

This early deception by John Rossen is characteristic of the more grandiose deception practiced by the PBC.

Mr. Watson pointed out that the packet of educational materials which the PBC is now sending out, contains a little booklet, approximately 3½" by 5" in size, entitled "First Principles". He said that this had a table of contents that bore many similarities to the table of contents of the two versions of Rossen's "Revolutionary Quotations", but that it had been further sanitized to eliminate the traces of modern revolutionaries.

The themes of "revolutionary nationalism" and of "radicalizing Americans by Americanizing radicalism" run consistently through Rossen's writings. In his contribution to "How to Commit Revolution American Style", Rossen, for example, quoted Regis Debray, the French Marxist writer (his principal book is the "Revolution Within the Revolution") who was an aide to Che Guevara in his guerrilla foray against Bolivia. "There will never be an authentic nation on this continent without revolutionary socialism, just as there will never be socialism without revolutionary nationalism."

Rossen participated, together with Rifkin, in the founding conference of the "New American Movement" in the fall of 1971. He and Rifkin were the prime movers in selling the PBC concept to the conference. Describing the Rifkin-Rossen presentation to their NAM comrades, Mr. Watson said their argument ran roughly as follows:

Look, they were saying to the New Left radicals, you have been trying to bring a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolution to the United States by using opposition to the Vietnam War as an issue, and we agree with you on this goal. But you're going at it wrong. People in this country are not going to buy off from the turgid writings of Marx, the easily identifiable polemics of Lenin, or "Quotations from the Thoughts of Chairman Mao." You have tried that, and it has not worked. Here, give them the "Revolutionary Quotations From the Thoughts of Uncle Sam." We are completely committed to bringing a Cuban or Chinese type regime to the U.S. just as you are, but it simply cannot be done the way you are trying to do it.

As part of the current emphasis on camouflage, Rossen rejects indignantly the allegation that he is a Marxist. He told Bob Wiedrich of the Chicago Tribune: "I reject Marxism and Stalinism and Maoism. I have abandoned any ideas that were purely Marxist."

This denial by Rossen, said Mr. Watson, called to mind an editorial which Rossen had written in his tabloid *The New Patriot*. He quoted Rossen as follows:

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

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

Rossen speaks of "scientific revolutionary-socialist methodology." Marx and Lenin also spoke of "scientific revolutionary-socialist methodology". From his statement it is clear that Rossen does not completely reject Marx—indeed he believes that modern revolutionaries must build on the sturdy foundations laid by Karl Marx.

So much for John Rossen's anti-Marxism.

As part of the grandiose deception in which they are now involved, Rifkin and Rossen now seek to conceal the fact that Rossen and his Johnny Appleseed Press and the New American Movement were responsible for the conception and launching of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission; they seek to downplay their own relationship; and they are doing their utmost to convert "How to Commit Revolution American Style", which they coedited in 1973 as PBC's first publication, into a "nonbook". On this point, Mr. Watson observed:

The odds are that much of this cover-up attitude came from a degree of success with the PBC idea that none of those in-

volved in the launching had predicted. PBC did catch on quite rapidly, and, as we have pointed out earlier, with people who would not have had anything to do with the goals and strategy Rossen and Rifkin were expressing in their initial writings.

In the light of the massive documentation submitted to the Subcommittee by both witnesses, Rossen's protestations that he is not the true father of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission ring very hollow. The complete record can be found in the proceedings of the two hearings of March 17th and 18th and in the appendices to these hearings. But it might be of interest before leaving this point to note that when Mrs. Walton recently wrote to the PBC office in Chicago asking for a copy of an early edition of Rossen's "The New Patriot" which appeared in September 1970, the PBC obliged by sending her a copy of the 6-year-old publication—with the PBC's insignia conveniently stamped on the front page. Mrs. Walton also noted that:

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

THE PBC PROGRAM—THE CAMOUFLAGE AND THE REALITY

In a widely distributed flyer, the PBC describes itself in these terms:

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

Statements such as this; plus the repeated invocation of the names of the founding fathers; plus the numerous quotations from the writings of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Tom Paine; plus the clever use of various paraphrases of the Declaration of Independence; plus the authentic revolutionary line drawings and engravings and woodcuts with which they have so lavishly illustrated their literature; plus their continuing emphasis on the American revolutionary tradition, and their avoidance of scarewords like Marxism, Castroism, Maoism—all of these things taken together have effectively camouflaged

the real goals of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and have given it a popular credibility a thousand times greater than anything it could expect to enjoy if it presented its objectives honestly to the American people.

What are the real objectives of the PBC?

In 1973, Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen were co-editors of a PBC anthology of revolutionary writings captioned "How to Commit Revolution American Style". The book was published by Lyle Stuart of New York, a publishing house specializing in revolutionary literature of all kinds.*

Rifkin and Rossen do not talk about "How to Commit Revolution American Style" today. It is clear from the evidence that they are embarrassed by it and that they would like to hide it—if they could. At that early stage in their operation, the two founders of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission were still amateurs at the art of revolutionary camouflage, and they expressed their beliefs and commitments in terms which they carefully avoid today.

In an article on Revolutionary Nationalism which appeared in "How to Commit Revolution American Style", John Rossen paid tribute to Castro as "an early revolutionary nationalist" who was "clearly aware of this powerful new current and its effect on world revolutionary strategy."

Rossen continued:

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

On the European Continent similar fires are scorching the hides of imperialists. In Spain, Franco's fascist empire, kept afloat for nearly three decades with the aid of the U.S. imperialist establishment, may well be smashed on the rocks of Basque and Catalan revolutionary opposition and the new patriots within Castile itself. In Northern Ireland, the Catholic minority represents a form of revolutionary nationalism; and closer to home for the British imperialists, the resistance of Scottish and Welsh nationalists forbodes new headaches for #10 Downing Street.

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

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

*Among Lyle Stuart's more notorious productions in recent years was "The Anarchist Cookbook" a terrorist manual complete with detailed how-to-do-it instructions for bombers and other categories of terrorists. In presenting his evidence about "How to Commit Revolution American Style", Mr. Watson reminded the Subcommittee that Lyle Stuart had served as the Treasurer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early 1960's, when investigations conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security established that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee had been set up with the connivance of the Castro Government and had received money from it.

From the paragraphs quoted above, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the New American Revolution which Rossen talks about is one which would establish in the United States regimes very similar to those that exist in Cuba and China. The expression "revolutionary nationalism", as Rossen and the PBC use it, is simply PBC "doublespeak" for what most people would call a Communist takeover.

It is also interesting to note that Rossen speaks with undisguised sympathy for terrorist nationalist organizations like the Quebecois Liberation Front and the Irish Republican Army. Apparently these movements, too, are covered by the euphemism "revolutionary nationalism" and this sanctifies them in the eyes of Rossen.

Despite their endless quotations from the founding fathers and their deliberate obfuscation of their own objectives, the PBC should not remain a mystery to any intelligent reader who looks beyond the beautiful revolutionary drawings in their literature. The PBC, for example, has printed a document called the "Declaration of Economic Independence" in which they set forth their economic program for America. This document, which was put into the record by Mrs. Walton, reads, in part:

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

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all people are created equal. That they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights economic institutions are instituted among people, deriving their just power from the consent of the citizens.

That whenever an economic system becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new economic system laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

The history of the present giant corporations is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having as their direct object an establishment of absolute tyranny over the states.

To prove this, let the facts be submitted to a candid world. America's giant corporations have seized control over the great land and resources of our country. They have forced millions of Americans into unemployment lines by systematically closing down their American plants and moving their business operations abroad so they can hire cheaper labor and reap still greater profits for their owners.

After listing further grievances against the corporate system, the Declaration continues:

We, therefore, the citizens of the United States of America, hereby call for the abolition of these giant institutions of tyranny and the establishment of new economic enterprises, with new laws and safeguards to provide for the equal and

democratic participation of all American citizens in the economic decisions that effect the well-being of our families, our communities, and our nation. In furtherance of our joint hopes and aspirations and mindful of the lessons of history, we steadfastly adhere to the general principle that a democratic republic can only exist to the extent that economic decision-making power is above the exercise by the people and not delegated to a few.

Such is the necessity which compels us to act in support of decentralized economic enterprises with ownership and control being shared jointly by the workers in the plants and by the local communities in which they operate, with similar patterns of shared representative control being exercised on a regional and national level to insure the smooth and efficient coordination of all economic operations. For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Not a word is breathed about the fact that the American free enterprise system, despite its shortcomings has produced for the American people the highest standard of living known to history, or about the fact that millions of people would have starved in recent years in Communist countries if American free enterprise agriculture had not made up for the colossal failure of socialized agriculture.

Is the PBC, in its Declaration of Economic Independence and other economic statements, talking about Communism or Socialism?

Mr. Watson told the Subcommittee that efforts to get the PBC to answer this question have resulted in repeated evasions. But Rossen was not evasive in this point in his chapter on revolutionary nationalism in "How to Commit Revolution American Style". There he said, "The American version of the concept of revolutionary nationalism will be anti-capitalist and socialist in content and national in form and rhetoric."

That the PBC advocates the total destruction of the free enterprise system rather than any reforms designed to make it a more effective servant of the people, is repeatedly made clear in the literature of the organization. For example, the April 1974 issue of Common Sense says the following:

Can any reformer of the giant corporation tell us how it is possible to put that institution into the hands of the people without taking it out of the hands of the wealthy to control it? Make no mistake about it! This was the same dilemma that faced the moderate reformers of the Continental convention in 1776. They advocated power to the People and preservation of the monarchy at the same time. The fallacy of their position seemed self evident in perspective. Yet there are some among us today who hold the same position in regard to the business corporation.

Even in its current literature, the PBC says many things which makes it clear that they are not thinking of any liberalized or reformed variant of the free enterprise system. Mrs. Walton submitted for the record, a page from the PBC organ, Common Sense. On one

page, there was a picture of all the Presidential candidates as of March 1975, ranging from conservative candidate Governor Ronald Reagan, to Senator Birch Bayh and former Senator Fred Harris, whom the press have regarded as the most liberal of the Democratic candidates. On the page facing the photographs, the PBC says:

After 200 years, is this the best we can do? Look at these men. All of them want to be President of the United States. Each of them wants your vote . . . We think it is time to put the candidates on notice we are fed up with worthless cliches and endless chatter from a cast of tweedle dee dee and tweedle de dum candidates. We want some action.

The PBC then states that it is conducting the "Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy". The Common Sense Campaign for a Democratic Economy, it says, is forming groups across the country to heckle all the Presidential candidates.

THE PBC'S HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM

The PBC has had remarkable success in the high schools, thanks in part to the cleverness and deceptiveness of their own propaganda, and thanks in other part to the failure of the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration—the official Bicentennial body—to provide ready-made packages of educational material for the high schools and to suggest detailed activities in which high school students could engage in connection with the Bicentennial. Thousands of teachers and student leaders, searching for such prepared packages of material on the Bicentennial and seeking guidance for their activities, have ordered the standard PBC package at \$10.00, or else have taken advantage of the PBC's offer to send the package gratis to anyone who can't afford it.

According to both witnesses before the Subcommittee, some teachers have been horrified by what they have found and have sought to have the use of the PBC material discontinued in their schools. It is a tribute to the cleverness of the PBC package, however, that the "Student-Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial"—if PBC claims of success can be believed—has apparently resulted in deceiving and misleading scores of thousands of less knowledgeable and less critical teachers and students.

The PBC states that their program is designed to reawaken the radical student movement of the 60's. In the words of the PBC's Student-Teacher Program:

Educational reform today is meaningless without a general reorientation of our society. Students and teachers can never really take control of the educational process from administrators, boards of education, and the needs of big business and demagogic politicians, until the people of America take control of our society from the neo-tories who run our government and economic system.

The PBC appeals to student grievances, real and imagined, and to the natural desire of young people to feel themselves involved with history. One of their cleverest gimmicks is the Declaration of Student Independence. This declaration starts out:

As the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution nears, we, the students of ----- High School, pledge ourselves to reaffirm and live the revolutionary principles, the ideals that founded this country.

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

The Declaration of Student Independence goes on to declare, in language carefully modeled after the Declaration of Independence, that students are forbidden the basic right of freedom of speech, press, assembly and thought; that students are at the mercy of their teachers and administrators; that they have no part in hiring or firing faculty; and that they therefore have no meaningful decision-making power over their lives as students.

After spelling out a long list of grievances, the Declaration concludes:

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

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

The Student-Teacher Program then provides the students with detailed instructions on how to publicize and implement their Declaration of Independence. They are told to make large copies of the Declaration and paste them up around the school and student hang-outs and stores. They are also told to present it to the principal, who is cast in the role of King George in this script. Finally, they are told that when 70% of the students have endorsed the student declaration of independence, they should hold a public festival to celebrate the occasion.

While the PBC package is targeted primarily at the high schools, they also state that the program of activities outlined in the package can be adopted for elementary and junior high schools and for college campuses. They suggest that student activists take the initiative in creating high school or college PBC chapters. "Building a campus Bicentennial Commission," they say, "will give a sense of movement, energy and growth. Imagine how powerful an entire network of campus PBC's could make students feel by 1976." They instruct the students to organize around what they call "oppressive issues", and "the purpose of achieving student freedom and self-determination."

All told, the student-teacher guide outlines 16 different activities in which students and teachers can engage, each one with a set of instructions. Basically, these activities are supposed to take them out into the community for the purpose of discovering how existing conditions in our society stack up against the ideals of the American Revolution.

The first activity listed is called "Consent of Who?". The purpose

of this activity, ostensibly, is to explore the concept of government by the consent of the governed. Students are instructed to conduct surveys, asking employers, military officers, and landlords whether they actually govern by the consent of their employees, enlisted men, and tenants. Conversely, the private soldier is asked, for example, whether he is taking orders from his officer on the basis that he has consented to be governed by him. As Mr. Watson pointed out after describing this project, "I would argue that this is a propaganda gimmick guaranteed to produce an amount of dissatisfaction, and an unrealistic application of the meaning of our founding documents."

Students are told to read the original Declaration of Independence and to discuss its language. The manual asks a series of questions:

Is your school, like King George's empire, destructive of your rights as human beings? Are your grievances similar to those of 1776? Has your school's administration refused to institute any rules "wholesome and necessary for the public good," such as freedom of press and assembly for students? When students are suspended, are they deprived "of the benefits of trial by jury?" Has your school answered your demand for democratization of your education only by repeated injury?

Students are also urged to circulate a petition for the purpose of compelling the school administration's acceptance of a "Student Bill of Rights." Mrs. Walton pointed out that this Student Bill of Rights is modeled very closely after the "High School Bill of Rights", originally promulgated by the Student Mobilization Committee in 1970. This High School Bill of Rights at the time was presented to school districts across the country. Although a few school districts accepted parts of the proposed Bill of Rights, it was rejected out of hand by the overwhelming majority of school districts. The Student Mobilization Committee then went to the American Civil Liberties Union and asked for their assistance. The Civil Liberties Union, in response, printed a little booklet which was distributed to students throughout the country, telling them what their rights are—as Mrs. Walton observed, the rights in this booklet were identical to the rights demanded by the Student Mobilization's High School Bill of Rights.

Mrs. Walton expressed particular concern over two of the "rights" recommended for implementation. First, she said, students are encouraged to assess their textbooks. If they decide their textbooks are worthless, they are told to organize for the purpose of having them "assigned to the trash bin." Finally, in order to dramatize their objections, students are told to rewrite the textbooks, chapter by chapter. The books written by the students, they are told, should be called "peoples textbooks".

Second, students are encouraged to push for a "free week"—a time when anyone will teach any class he wishes to teach. As an example, the student-teacher guide suggests that the history of the peace movement could be taught, with students doing the bulk of the teaching and teachers learning.

Students are told they should have the choice of curriculum and they should be able to decide how subjects will be taught, with teachers serving only as advisors. They are told that once they succeed in break-

ing down curriculum barriers, exams, grades, and homework will be the next issues. It is suggested to them that suitable issues to be taken up during the Bicentennial year would be compulsory school attendance, access to school buildings and equipment for organizing purposes, dress codes, and so on.

The teacher-student guide tells students that official school newspapers are controlled and censored by the administration. They are encouraged to seize control of the official school paper, but, if this fails, then they are told to start their own underground paper.

To start such a paper, they are advised to write to FPS, Youth Liberation, 2007 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, Michigan for its 25c pamphlet, "How to Start a High School Underground Newspaper." For an additional dollar, they can receive a sample package of ten high school underground newspapers. Mrs. Walton submitted as evidence a sample of such a package of high school underground newspapers. These newspapers were generally Marxist or New Left in orientation, including the use of the clenched fist salute, shared by the Old and New Left.

As step No. 1, students are told that if they have any difficulty in obtaining a paper supply for the publication of their underground paper, they can always rip off a paper supply from their own high school.

In step No. 2, students are told that if the school administration opposes their underground paper, they should pass it out anyway, and sue the school for violating their First Amendment rights.

Mrs. Walton said that the PBC provides teachers with a whole series of multi-media tools for use in the schools. All of these, she said:

Have the theme that ours is an oppressive Tory society and that they—students, teachers, PBC people—are today's "new patriots", and it is their duty to overthrow their oppressors. One tool is the "Patriots Handbook", a syllabus and study guide to the American Revolution, with such recommended books as Herbert Aptheker's "The Colonial Era of the Americana Revolution" and "The Negro in the American Revolution".

(Herbert Aptheker, it should be noted, has long been regarded as the principal theoretician of the American Communist Party.)

Mrs. Walton related that earlier this year she was lecturing in a Chicago suburb, and when she mentioned Dr. Aptheker, a concerned mother approached her and said that her daughter had brought home Dr. Aptheker's book on the American Revolution from her high school and that they were using this as a Bicentennial educational book.

What does the PBC hope to accomplish through its Student and Teacher Programs for a Peoples Bicentennial? They are careful to avoid the references to Castro and Mao that characterized their earlier writings and that might give unwary readers some understanding of their true objectives. On the other hand, they do make it clear that they seek nothing less than total revolution. "In the end," says "America's Birthday," "the patriots of 1776 should teach us not only patience, but that revolutionizing individual institutions in society without a societal revolution is meaningless. After all, we go to high school for just three or four years. We live in American society for 60 or 70. We can begin laying the basis for a revolutionary education, but we cannot change it until we have revolutionized society."

PEOPLES RESEARCH OPERATION FOR THE BICENTENNIAL ERA (PROBE)

The Community Program for the Peoples Bicentennial suggest to its readers that they take the initiative in their communities or on their campuses in launching research operations to be called "Peoples Research Operation for the Bicentennial Era (PROBE)." Students are told that PROBE can be used as a continuing aspect of the student revolt of the 60's. They are instructed that PROBE should go into the community and ask a series of questions—many of which sound perfectly proper and patriotic, while others are clearly designed to foster discontent wherever a grievance can be found. Among the suggested questions are the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Watson pointed out that PBC in virtually all of its literature and in its abbreviations and paraphrases of the Declaration of Independence, goes heavy on emphasizing the "duty and right" to overthrow oppressive governments but invariably ignores the Declaration's vital caveat that "prudence, indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes."

Those who buy the PBC approach, are urged to organize around a whole series of community issues, dealing with education, recreation, jobs, senior citizens, transportation, sanitation, police, courts, health, welfare, and daycare. On the latter point, the PBC proposes the development of a daycare operation—the National Daycare Child Development Council of America—that would be the largest in the nation. Mrs. Walton noted that the PBC's grassroots door to door campaign "Birthday Parties for Kids" aims at enlisting 10 million parents into a daycare lobby to press for quality community control daycare by 1976.

"THE LIGHT IN THE STEEPLE"—THE PBC'S CHURCH PROGRAM

Many of these activities sound proper and even noble, and some of the grievances to which they point are certainly legitimate. But the far left has always been adept at exploiting legitimate grievances and ostensibly noble purposes for evil and totalitarian ends.

One of the most remarkable coups pulled off by the PBC involved the production, under contract to the National Council of Churches, of a church guide for Bicentennial observance, bearing the title "The Light in the Steeple." "The Light in the Steeple" contains suggestions for sermons by clergymen, suggestions for discussions by church groups, and outlines of activities in which church groups can engage in connection with the Bicentennial.

In an apparent effort to give the publication the broadest possible acceptance by all religious groups, "The Light in the Steeple" was published and has been distributed by the Ecumenical Task Force on the Religious Observance of the Nation's Bicentennial. But from statements made by both sides, it is clear that the PBC, rather than the Ecumenical Task Force, must be given primary credit for the general conception of the publication and for most of its content, as well as for the lay-out and printing. In his U.S. News and World Report interview of March 24, 1975, Jeremy Rifkin claimed that "there are 65,000 churches using that guide right now."

Copies of "The Light in the Steeple" are contained in the standard PBC kit. The publication bears the notation that additional copies may be obtained from the Ecumenical Institute, Riverside Drive, New York.

CAMPAIGN CORPORATE EXPOSURE

In early April the PBC announced the launching of "Campaign Corporate Exposure", "to mark the 200th anniversary of capitalism." They said that by sending out tape recordings and covering letters to the wives of corporate executives, they planned to "reach directly into the living rooms of America's top 8,000 corporate families." The press release said further:

Over the next 40 days each of America's most prominent corporate families will be receiving a series of personal tape recorded communiques and letters detailing their involvement in big business policies that are threatening the economic survival of millions of hardworking Americans and undermining the democratic foundations of our Republic.

Our first communication, a tape recorded message concerning the recent wave of corporate scandals and criminal activity, has already been sent out to the private home addresses of America's most prominent business families (see enclosed transcript of the messages).

This unprecedented communication effort is aimed directly at the families of America's top business leaders because we believe that the family itself is the basic social unit that must take on the responsibility of confronting and dealing with the criminal and abusive policies that our Nation's business leaders are involved in.

We are calling on the wives and children of America's top business leaders to begin a frank and open discussion, in their own homes, of the immoral and amoral behavior of America's financial leaders.

The standard tape recording that was sent out said to the wives of corporation executives:

We are communicating with you because your husband is one of the top business leaders in the country. For that reason we think you should listen carefully to what we have to say.

No doubt you are aware of the recent revelations of widespread corruption and criminality in the corporate board rooms We say these corporate scandals put a special responsibility on your family to ask some probing questions of your husband because it is no longer possible to argue that the rapid [rampant?] corporate criminality represents merely isolated incidents or the aberrational behavior of a few perverted individuals. In fact, a recent survey by the prestigious Conference Board found that over half the executives surveyed said that they would not hesitate to make the same kind of payoff [referring to the recently revealed payoffs by Lockheed and other aviation concerns] if they felt it would help their company make a sale.

Have you ever asked your husband which half of that survey he falls in? Have you ever asked him if he or his colleagues of his firm have ever been involved in criminal activity? . . .

Would you inform the authorities if you uncovered such information?

A follow-up letter to the recipients of the tape said the following:

We hope your family has begun to discuss some of the questions regarding corporate immorality that we raised in our last communication to you.

As you probably know, the extent of corporate abuse of power goes well beyond the question of strictly illegal activity.

Today, 200 giant corporations already own over two-thirds of the manufacturing assets of the country. Heading up these corporate empires are a small group of nameless, faceless men who have amassed enough power to virtually dominate American life, from the aisles of the supermarket to the halls of Congress.

Your husband is a part of this small privileged business elite. That puts a special responsibility on you and your family to speak up against corporate policies that result in price-fixing, induced unemployment, environmental destruction, excessive profiteering, unfair distribution of wealth and other abuses.

On the heels of their letters to corporation wives, apparently as part of their operation "Campaign Corporate Exposure", the PBC announced that it was sending personal letters to over 10,000 secretaries who work for major corporate executives, and to 13,000 journalists across the country, offering them \$25,000 in cash for "information that leads directly to the arrest, prosecution, conviction and imprisonment of a chief executive officer of one of America's Fortune 500 corporations for criminal activity relating to corporate operations."

[The information contained in the paragraphs above is based on documents submitted by Mr. Frank Watson subsequent to his testimony, and ordered into the record by the Chairman.]

SOME OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE PBC

The PBC has engaged in a number of other activities in various parts of the country. A few of them are worth noting, because they underscore both its deviousness and its effectiveness.

Mrs. Walton reported that on December 16, 1974, the PBC had organized an observance at the gravesite of David Kennison, who was the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party. The stone at the gravesite originally had a dedication on it from the Daughters of the American Revolution. Just before the commemoration, the bronze plaque was stolen. John Rossen, who has been in charge of the PBC operation in Chicago, contacted the regent of the David Kennison Chapter of the DAR in Oak Park and asked if they would work with the PBC to restore the plaque and join with them in a commemoration ceremony. Mrs. Walton said that she found out about the invitation in time to alert the DAR to the true nature of the PBC. The DAR did not participate in the ceremony. Nevertheless, the Chicago press gave handsome coverage to the ceremony, photographs and all.

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Mrs. Walton also reported that the PBC had a protest demonstration in Chicago on the 2nd and 3rd of August, 1975, when the Freedom Train visited the city. (The Freedom Train has toured the country, bearing documents and memorabilia of the American Revolution, as part of the official Bicentennial program.) PBC put out flyers and letters which called upon the people to protest the "Freedom Train rip-off." They said that General Motors invested one million dollars in the Freedom Train while laying off workers, that Kraft food had invested one million dollars while raising their prices at the supermarket, that Pepsi Cola had received a one million dollar tax write-off in helping to bring the Freedom Train to Chicago.

* * * * *

An item from the Daily Chicago News for Friday, October 31, 1975, submitted by Mrs. Walton, described another demonstration sponsored by the PBC in collaboration with other organizations. The item read:

Veterans for Peace [Veterans for Peace has been cited as a Communist Party front] will hold an all day vigil outside the Federal Building, 219 South Dearborne, on Veterans Day, on November 11th, to urge amnesty for Vietnam war resisters.

Joining in the effort will be the Chicago PBC, the Chicago Peace Council [which has been cited by the House Internal Security Committee report as being a Communist Party front] and Women for Peace.

Mrs. Walton said that she later heard Leroy Wollins, head of Veterans for Peace, state over radio WBBM on the 10 p.m. news on October 6, 1975, that Veterans for Peace were co-sponsoring the Vietnam Amnesty Vigil with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

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One of PBC's most effective propaganda ploys took the form of a highly questionable poll, conducted for PBC by Peter Hart Associates, on public attitudes toward the free enterprise system and the business community. The purported findings of this poll received tremendous pick-up in the national press. The Wall Street Journal, for example, on

August 22, 1975, in a front page item captioned "Anti-Business Feelings", said:

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

The Wall Street Journal article did not even indicate that the poll had been commissioned by the PBC; nor did it suggest that, in view of the origins of the poll, the possibility existed that the poll had been specifically tailored to provide the PBC with the kind of information they wanted for their propaganda purposes.

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While the PBC attacks the official American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration and advertise themselves as an alternative to ARBA, they have, as a matter of tactics, refrained from attacking the state and local commissions and instead have sought to cooperate with them and infiltrate them.

Mr. Watson said that he had sat at meetings of the PBC and listened to the speakers tell the people "to go back home and, if you can't start a PBC of your own, get yourself a job in the official Bicentennial Commission and see that this literature gets used."

* * * * *

The PBC pulled another major coup with its counter-demonstration at Concord, Massachusetts, on April 19, 1975, commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Concord. The PBC was able to mobilize some 40,000 to 45,000 people for the occasion. Mrs. Walton pointed out that they received a permit from the Park District in Concord to camp out on Punkahasset Hill, which is on the side of the Concord bridge where the embattled farmers stood—thus forcing President Ford and the Official Commemoration Committee to hold their service on the side where the British had stood. In addition to their heckling and disrupting of the official ceremony, Mrs. Walton said that the PBC demonstrators had left Punkahasset Hill in the "worse kind of mess" and that there had been a great deal of property damage.

THE PBC'S FINANCES

The witnesses were able to provide only limited information about the finances of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. Mr. Watson testified that the first money they received was in the form of a grant of \$7,210 from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a government organization. The Subcommittee has received evidence indicating that this initial grant was approved by the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission—acting in complete ignorance of the real purposes of the PBC. The witnesses also said that the PBC had received grants from the Stern Foundation and other foundations.

According to Mr. Watson, when Rifkin is asked about the sources of their money, he "sometimes . . . will simply say that they received donations from a lot of concerned citizens, plus the fact that they sell these

packets for \$10.00 apiece. At other times, and especially when he thinks that he is off the record, in his remarks he will laugh and say, "Hell, I go to rich liberals and tell them that there is a new McCarthy era pressing down on us and if we don't do something about it, we are all going to be in trouble and they jerk out their checkbooks. They just lap up what I am saying and write me a check."

Mr. Watson said that the staff of the PBC in the Washington office range from 12 to 15, and that according to Jeremy Rifkin, nobody on the staff makes more than \$85.00 a week. He said that the total income of the PBC was generally quoted as somewhere between \$200,000 and \$300,000 a year. This money, however, is very effectively spent because of the low salaries paid to staffers and because of the great amount of volunteer assistance they receive in their travels around the country.

THE JULY 4TH DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON

The PBC, as has previously been indicated, has set itself the target of mobilizing 250,000 people for a mass demonstration in Washington on July the Fourth. According to the PBC's plans, the demonstration will begin with an 8:00 a.m. memorial service at the Jefferson Memorial and from that point, when the service is over, the demonstrators will march to the Capitol.

Advertised speakers include a number of people who would have to be placed in the left liberal spectrum—but in addition to these, the speakers' list includes far left radicals like Phil Foner, a Marxist historian long associated with the CPUSA's Jefferson School in New York City; Eqbal Ahmed, head of the Transnational Institute of the Institute for Policy Studies, a New Left think tank; and Sam Lovejoy, who publicly took responsibility in February 1974 for sabotaging a power facility in Montague, Mass.

THE PBC, THE JULY 4TH COALITION, AND THE PLANNED MASS DEMONSTRATION IN PHILADELPHIA

While the PBC is in command of the mass demonstration scheduled for Washington, D.C. on July 4th, another organization, the "National July 4th Coalition," is planning a parallel mass demonstration in Philadelphia for that day. The individuals and organizations supporting the July 4th Coalition belong to the far left end of the political spectrum. Among the organization affiliations which appear in the list of sponsors are the National Lawyers Guild (long identified as a Communist Party front), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (identified in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security as a Castro DGI operation), the American Indian Movement, the Center for Constitutional Rights (William Kunstler), the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (Jennifer Dohrn), the Communist Party (Grace Mora), the National Committee of the New American Movement, and the Third World Coalition. The solid far left nature of the July 4th Coalition is remarkable despite the notation that organizations are listed "for identification purposes only".

The temper of the propaganda put out by the July 4th Coalition and of the upcoming demonstration in Philadelphia may be gleaned from the following sentence taken from a newspaper-size throw-away:

Today, the abuses and crimes committed by the U.S. Government and the giant corporations it serves against the peoples of the United States and the world exceed in their inhumanity those committed by the British against the people of the 13 colonies.

Publicly, the PBC has so far not identified with the July 4th Coalition because the image it casts is far to the left of what the PBC considers desirable. There is, however, evidence indicating that the two movements are coordinating their July 4th actions in Washington and Philadelphia. The Subcommittee has received a copy of a form letter sent out by the Chicago July 4th Coalition. The return address on the form letter is the same as the address for the PBC—2440 North Lincoln Avenue—and the phone number given is also identical to the PBC's Chicago phone number—327-1776. What clearly emerges from this is that the Chicago July 4th Coalition is running its operation out of PBC's Chicago headquarters.

The Subcommittee has also been informed that on Monday, April 19, at an organizing meeting of the Chicago July 4th Coalition, John Rossen was on hand, manning a PBC literature table.

PBC AND ARBA

Mrs. Walton in her testimony underscored the fact that much of the success the PBC has had has been due to the failure of ARBA to provide ready made packets of educational materials for use in the schools and elsewhere. Mrs. Walton's words on this point are worth quoting:

In furtherance of their program of education for the Bicentennial, the PBC, working with Bantam Books Inc., which is a subsidiary of Simon and Schuster, the publishers of "America's Birthday", has put out a flyer directed at teachers and schools.

Bantam Books has what they call a "Learning Adventures Section," which puts out educational publications. There has been set up a PBC department within the Learning Adventures Section. Their flyer has been widely distributed. It is called "Create Your Own Birthday Package." It is a complete educational program for the Bicentennial, based primarily on the Peoples Bicentennial Commission's documents, using this particular one, "Common Sense II" which was authored by Jeremy Rifkin.

If I may say at this time, I am disturbed by the fact that no one else has seemed to come up with an educational program through the schools on the Bicentennial. I feel very strongly that ARBA should have done so—this should have fallen within the realm of ARBA's activities. . . . They have not come up with an educational program for the schools. To the best of my knowledge, the PBC is the only organization that has done this.

In speaking to educators when I go around to lecture, they are very disappointed that the government did not come up with an educational program for the Bicentennial because

they are looking for that and many of them have said that they have put their own programs together because they have received nothing. It is likely that the Bantam Books-PBC program has, in many instances, filled this void, as have other PBC educational materials.

Mrs. Walton was asked, "When a concerned citizen has questions that they would like answered about the PBC, and they contact the official American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, what type of response do they get?" Mrs. Walton replied that she had had some correspondence on the subject with Mr. John Warner, who is Chairman of the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, and that the reply she had received was "completely neutral and lacking in information." Mrs. Walton said that, after learning that Mr. Warner planned to invite Jeremy Rifkin to a planning session for the Bicentennial, she sent Mr. Warner a letter providing him with background material on the PBC. She received from Mr. Warner a reply dated May 7, 1975, providing her with background information about ARBA. About the PBC, the reply stated:

The Peoples Bicentennial Commission, which was established long before this new administration, is one of many organizations springing up across the United States in response to the particular needs and desires of our diverse peoples.

Under PL93179, Congress authorized the Administration to pass judgement on Bicentennial programs which are submitted to us for official recognition. Since the Peoples Bicentennial Commission has not made any such request, we have not officially reviewed any of their activities. In general, this organization, as well as others participating in the Bicentennial, express their views freely, consistent with the Constitutional guarantees provided all of us.

In the end the people of the United States, quite properly, will make the ultimate choice from among the many Bicentennial themes being advanced.

At this point, the Subcommittee staff added the information that ARBA, in responding to requests for information about the PBC, has advised people that they could obtain PBC literature by writing to the National Office, whose address they then provided.

PBC AND THE MEDIA

The tremendous public impact of the PBC is due in large measure to its success in harnessing the media to its bandwagon. Comparing media treatment of the PBC with media treatment of the government-sponsored American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, Mr. Watson told the Subcommittee: "To say that the PBC has gotten more time and space than the official Bicentennial administration is an understatement." He said that the media, conservative and liberal, "have fallen all over themselves in providing Rifkin and his self-appointed Peoples Bicentennial Commission time and space. Newspapers, news magazines and radio and television outlets have taken

things at face value, and, in the process, have simply made themselves conveyor belts for anything the PBC wants to pump out to the American public." Among the many publications named as having run favorable or uncritical articles about the PBC were the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Washington Star News, the Boston Globe, Playboy Magazine, the National Observer, the Wall Street Journal, and U.S. News and World Report. Mr. Watson estimated that 90 to 95 percent of the press coverage of the PBC had been favorable. He said that some of this coverage was lavish to the point of being amazing.

The New York Times, for example, on May 26, 1975, carried an article by Jeremy Rifkin on the subject of economic freedom. This article was basically a rewrite of the PBC's declaration of economic independence, which calls for the elimination of the free enterprise system, or the "corporate system", as they call it. In describing Jeremy Rifkin's credentials, the New York Times said simply that he was an economist, co-director of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and author of "Common Sense II". Not a word was said about Rifkin's revolutionary antecedents, or about his many public statements in recent years which make it clear that his real goal is the establishment of a Castroite or Maoist society in America.

There was a similar article by Rifkin—a feature article—in the Sunday magazine section of the Boston Globe on April 13, 1975, under the caption "What Dare We Dream?"

The editors of the U.S. News and World Report accorded Rifkin the same uncritical treatment in a 2-page interview published in their issue of March 24, 1975. The interview was captioned "The Government Bicentennial is Very Shallow". Rifkin could not possibly have hoped for more considerate treatment, or for more effective promotion. For example, in response to the question, "Exactly what is the Peoples Bicentennial Commission?" Rifkin replied—without challenge of any kind: "We're a nonprofit organization. We felt there had been a spirit of (19)76—Is It a Bicentennial or a Buycentennial on a national level that could help develop programs and ideas for a meaningful Bicentennial. We have a very specific move in mind—helping to shape a new patriotic movement in this country."

Mr. Watson also offered for the record a copy of an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of April 15, 1975. This article was titled "The Spirit of (19)76—Is It a Bicentennial or a Buycentennial?" (The pun "Buycentennial" is frequently used by the PBC to describe the official Bicentennial program.) The article had the following to say about the PBC:

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

All of which must have made the PBC sound downright fascinating to readers of the Wall Street Journal, with their firm attachment to

the free enterprise system. As Mr. Watson observed, the article made PBC appear as an "altruistic alternative to the government's Bicentennial agency."

Even Rifkin's bad press, observed Mr. Watson, would be "a public relations man's dream". He pointed out that when PBC-inspired rowdies tried to disrupt the ceremonies at Concord, Massachusetts on April 19, 1975, shouting "Down with the corporations" and heckling President Ford to the point where it was almost impossible for him to speak, even the conservative U.S. News and World Report described the PBC demonstrators as "a bunch of juvenile delinquents out for a good time."

The American press has an unrivaled genius for investigative journalism. But where the PBC is concerned, investigative journalism has been virtually nonexistent. Mr. Watson did pay credit to investigative articles exposing the real facts about the PBC, written by Chicago Tribune columnist Bob Weidrich and by Lloyd Jenkins Jones of Tulsa, Oklahoma. But he underscored the fact that such articles were very rare exceptions.

The media have further assisted the PBC in putting its imprint on the Bicentennial celebration by the lavishly laudatory reviews of the PBC book, "America's Birthday"; and they have been assisted, further by the many favorable comments on their packaged material emanating from reputable sources.

The Organization of American Historians' newsletter of January 1975, for example, stated that the PBC had produced a complete Bicentennial display package of books on the American Revolution entitled "In the Minds and Hearts of the People", and that this display package was highly suited to library and school use. Describing this display package, the newsletter said: "It contains eight large posters, based on quotes from the founding fathers and mothers, 30 reproductions of the revolutionary era, engravings, captions and headlines describing the major events and themes of the American Revolution, and a syllabus and study guide developed by Dr. Page Smith, senior staff historian and Bancroft Award winning author. The display package can be ordered from PBC, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., for \$20.00."

The New York Times book review of "America's Birthday" contained this uninhibited paragraph of praise: "The only book to come along that is dedicated to Sam Adams and Tom Paine . . . 'America's Birthday' is opposed to flag-waving and commercialism. The book demands that Americans need not relive the past, but at least think and act like descendants of the men who wrote the Declaration and Constitution . . . A readable, challenging, handsomely illustrated and designed book."

In the article anticipating the PBC which he wrote for the November-December 1971 issue of "New American Movement", a New Left organization of which he was a founder, Jeremy Rifkin called for the establishment of "Peoples Bicentennial Commissions" on the state and local level. In his concluding paragraphs, he set forth this ambitious estimate of what such a movement could expect to accomplish:

Aside from engaging large numbers of people for the first time who might not feel comfortable relating directly to the

New American Movement, the Peoples Commissions would provide a unique forum for mass media exposure over the next four years. This mechanism could be used to raise political awareness and to promote the New American Movement and other radical activities.

As Mr. Watson observed in his commentary, almost every line in this paragraph has come true in the four years that have elapsed since the article was written—to a degree probably surpassing Jeremy Rifkin's fondest dreams.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Obviously, the first thing that has to be done is to establish the true facts about the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and about the two men primarily responsible for the movement, Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen. It is to be hoped that now some of the facts have been set forth in this record, the media, conservative as well as liberal, will be disposed to show a bit more investigative zeal in writing their stories about the PBC.

But in addition to setting forth the facts about the PBC, there are certain positive things that can be done to counteract the propaganda of the PBC and to provide our young people, in particular, with meaningful alternatives to PBC's sponsored activities. On this point, Mr. Frank Watson offered the following thoughts in a document he left with the Subcommittee:

Why not sponsor projects, right down into the communities, to examine just the opposite of the "Peoples" group's contentions, and have people going around among their institutions looking for freedoms Americans enjoy that other people in the world do not? Why not sponsor discussions, papers, or even displays, which illustrate the interrelationship of our freedoms—how the freedom to do the kind of work you choose, to sell your products on an open market, and to bargain with others freely for goods and services, are inherent to the maintenance of freedom of speech, press, worship, and assembly?

Why not instigate the formulation of a new Declaration of Independence—a 1976 Declaration of Independence from Despair—and get people in the communities to sign it? Why not recognize "gloom" and "doom" as the King and the Tories of 1976, and set people out to put their fingers on the "long train of abuses" at their hands?

Why not also make the Bicentennial an occasion on which everybody is encouraged to give a birthday present to the country—individuals, schools, churches, and businesses. Why not move the spotlight from criticism and the "discussion of issues" to finding solutions, and break people out of the "rap session" approach, where the most vocal participants carry the day. Find ways for letting individuals think as free individuals again. Take a cue from former President Kennedy's remark and pose the question to every man, woman and child: "What can I do for my country"—not just "what do I think

the country's most serious problem is," but "what can I do, in my own little way, toward solving it?" Why could not businesses at local levels offer prizes for the best individual answers to questions of this sort?—with state and national elimination contests? Why not get executives, newspaper editors, doctors, lawyers, and educational, religious and political leaders to address themselves to such questions—trying to define and put into action solutions that do not erode individual freedoms.

There are many, many subordinate projects that would help to provide us all a better understanding of the relationships between individual freedom and the system in which we enjoy it—moral codes and freedom; laws and freedom; the profit, or incentive, motive and freedom; violence and freedom; the press and freedom; and on and on. A really impressive list of ways for getting people and institutions involved in constructive ways could be made if the amount of thinking and research that went into the "Peoples" program were applied to a positive approach to the Bicentennial. It will take that magnitude of effort, though. No one should think otherwise. And the businessman should expect it to cost him time and money. But it will not be nearly so expensive as the dissent, protests, boycotts, strikes, consumer rebellions, and restrictive legislation that the "Peoples Bicentennial Commission" program can bring on if it is left to dominate the field.





